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Ammianus Marcellinus

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The Complete Works of
AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

(c. AD 325–c. 391)



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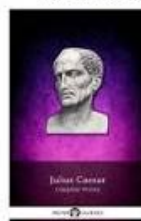
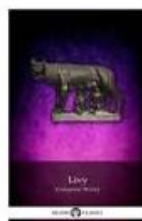
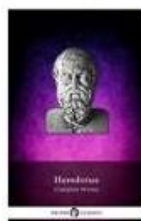
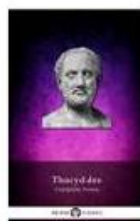
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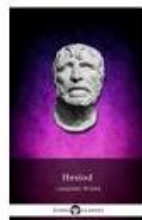
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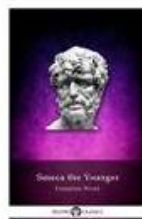
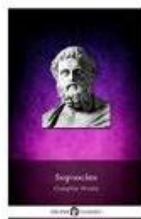
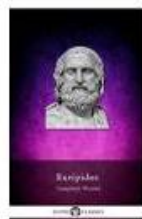
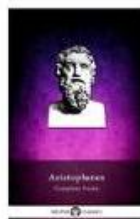
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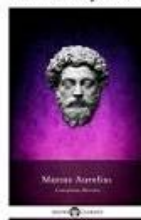
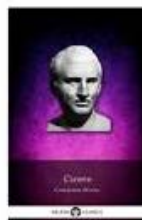
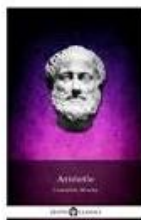
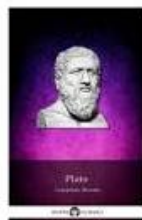
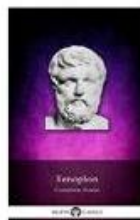
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The Complete Works of
AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS



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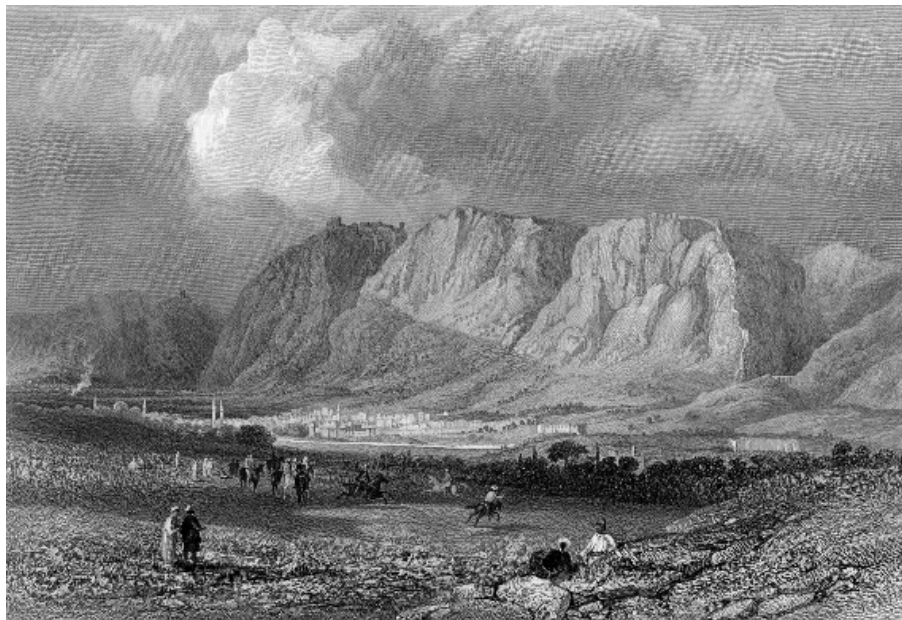
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The Translations



*Ruins at Antioch on the Orontes, an ancient city on the eastern side of the Orontes River,
near the modern city of Antakya, Turkey — Ammianus' birthplace*



Victorian drawing of Antioch by Byam Martin

HISTORY OF ROME



Ammianus Marcellinus was a fourth-century Roman soldier and historian, whose sole surviving work, *Res Gestae*, is now regarded as the penultimate major historical account surviving from Antiquity, with the last being by Procopius. Ammianus' *History of Rome* chronicled the years AD 96, from the accession of Nerva, to the death of Valens at the Battle of Adrianople in AD 378, forming a continuation of Tacitus' great historical work. Ammianus presumably completed his work before 391, as in the twenty-second book he praises the Serapeum in Egypt as the glory of the empire, though in that year the Emperor granted the temple grounds to the Christian bishop, causing the pagans to barricade themselves in the temple, plundering its contents and torturing Christians, leading to the temple's destruction.

Res Gestae was originally written in thirty-one books, but the first thirteen books are now lost, with the extant text of eighteen books covering the years 353 to 378. As a whole the text is considered extremely valuable, offering a clear and comprehensive account of events by a contemporary witness. However, like most ancient historians, Ammianus had a strong political and religious agenda to pursue, as demonstrated by his contrasts of the emperors Constantius II and Julian, always to the former's disadvantage. Edward Gibbon judged Ammianus "an accurate and faithful guide, who composed the history of his own times without indulging the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary." Nevertheless, Gibbon also criticised Ammianus for his lack of literary flair: "The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy."

Ammianus provides us with a remarkably accurate and impartial record of his own times. As an experienced soldier, who joined the army when still young, serving under the governor Ursicinus and the emperors Constantius II and Julian, his work is rich in military experience, demonstrating a keen understanding in economic and social affairs. Ammianus is also refreshingly broad-minded towards non-Romans and accepting of Christianity. His polished style indicates that his prose was intended for recitation, yet the concise and knowledgeable manner of conveying his historical account ensures that we gather a clear understanding of the causes of the Roman empire's fall.

The surviving text has suffered badly from the manuscript transmission. As well as the loss of the first thirteen books, the remaining eighteen are in many places corrupt and contain lacunae. The sole surviving manuscript from which almost every other is derived is a ninth-century Carolingian text, named

Vatican lat. 1873 (V), produced in Fulda from an insular exemplar. The only independent textual source for Ammianus lies in *Fragmenta Marbugensia* (M), another ninth-century Frankish codex, which was taken apart to provide covers for account-books during the fifteenth century. Only six leaves of M survive; however, before this manuscript was dismantled the Abbot of Hersfeld lent the manuscript to Sigismund Gelenius, who used it in preparing the text of the second Froben edition (G).



Ancient depiction of Constantius II (317-361) on horseback with a spear. Constantius II was Roman Emperor from 337 to 361. The second son of Constantine I and Fausta, he ascended the throne with his brothers Constantine II and Constans after their father's death.



Portrait of Julian (Julian the Apostate) on a bronze coin from Antioch, (c. 331-363). Julian was Roman Emperor from 361 to 363, as well as a notable philosopher and author of Greek works.



Edirne, Turkey — near the site of the Battle of Adrianople, which took place on 9 August 378 and forms the last major event of Ammianus' historical work.



Valens (328-378), who was Emperor from 364 to 378 and led the Eastern Roman army during the Battle of Adrianople.



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PREFACE.

Of Ammianus Marcellinus, the writer of the following History, we know very little more than what can be collected from that portion of it which remains to us. From that source we learn that he was a native of Antioch, and a soldier; being one of the *prefectores domestici* — the body-guard of the emperor, into which none but men of noble birth were admitted. He was on the staff of Ursicinus, whom he attended in several of his expeditions; and he bore a share in the campaigns which Julian made against the Persians. After that time he never mentions himself, and we are ignorant when he quitted the service and retired to Rome, in which city he composed his History. We know not when he was born, or when he died, except that from one or two incidental passages in his work it is plain that he lived nearly to the end of the fourth century: and it is even uncertain whether he was a Christian or a Pagan; though the general belief is, that he adhered to the religion of the ancient Romans, without, however, permitting it to lead him even to speak disrespectfully of Christians or Christianity.

His History, which he divided into thirty-one books (of which the first thirteen are lost, while the text of those which remain is in some places imperfect), began with the accession of Nerva, A.D. 96, where Tacitus and Suetonius end, and was continued to the death of Valens, A.D. 378, a period of 282 years. And there is probably no work as to the intrinsic value of which there is so little difference of opinion. Gibbon bears repeated testimony to his accuracy, fidelity, and impartiality, and quotes him extensively. In losing his aid after A.D. 378, he says, "It is not without sincere regret that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times without indulging the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary." Professor Ramsay (in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography) says, "We are indebted to him for a knowledge of many important facts not elsewhere recorded, and for much valuable insight into the modes of thought and the general tone of public feeling prevalent in his day. Nearly all the statements admitted appear to be founded upon his own observations, or upon the information derived from trustworthy eye-witnesses. A considerable number of dissertations and digressions are introduced, many of them highly interesting and valuable. Such are his notices of the institutions and manners of the Saracens (xiv. 4), of the Scythians and Sarmatians (xvii. 12), of the Huns and Alani (xxxi. 2), of the Egyptians and their country (xxii. 6, 14–16), and his geographical discussions upon Gaul (xv. 9), the Pontus (xxii. 8), and Thrace (xxvii. 4). Less legitimate and less judicious are his geological speculations upon earthquakes (xvii. 7), his astronomical inquiries into eclipses (xx. 3), comets (xxv. 10), and the regulation of the calendar (xxvi. 1); his medical researches into the origin of epidemics (xix. 4); his zoological theory on the destruction of lions by

mosquitos (xviii. 7), and his horticultural essay on the impregnation of palms (xxiv. 3). In addition to industry in research and honesty of purpose, he was gifted with a large measure of strong common sense, which enabled him in many points to rise superior to the prejudices of his day, and with a clear-sighted independence of spirit which prevented him from being dazzled or over-awed by the brilliancy and the terrors which enveloped the imperial throne. But although sufficiently acute in detecting and exposing the follies of others, and especially in ridiculing the absurdities of popular superstition, Ammianus did not entirely escape the contagion. The general and deep-seated belief in magic spells, omens, prodigies, and oracles, which appears to have gained additional strength upon the first introduction of Christianity, evidently exercised no small influence over his mind. The old legends and doctrines of the pagan creed, and the subtle mysticism which philosophers pretended to discover lurking below, when mixed up with the pure and simple but startling tenets of the new faith, formed a confused mass which few intellects could reduce to order and harmony."

The vices of our author's style, and his ambitious affectation of ornament, are condemned by most critics; but some of the points which strike a modern reader as defects evidently arise from the alteration which the Latin language had already undergone since the days of Livy. His great value, however, consists in the facts he has made known to us, and is quite independent of the style or language in which he has conveyed that knowledge, of which without him we should have been nearly destitute.

The present translation has been made from Wagner and Erfurdt's edition, published at Leipzig in 1808, and their division of chapters into short paragraphs has been followed.

Feb. 1862.

NOTE: THE FIRST THIRTEEN BOOKS ARE LOST.

BOOK XIV.

ARGUMENT.

I. The cruelty of the Cæsar Gallus. — II. The incursions of the Isaurians. — III. The unsuccessful plans of the Persians. — IV. The invasion of the Saracens, and the manners of that people. — V. The punishment of the adherents of Magnentius. — VI. The vices of the senate and people of Rome. — VII. The ferocity and inhumanity of the Cæsar Gallus. — VIII. A description of the provinces of the East. — IX. About the Cæsar Constantius Gallus. — X. The Emperor Constantius grants the Allemanni peace at their request. — XI. The Cæsar Constantius Gallus is sent for by the Emperor Constantius, and beheaded.

I.

A.D. 353.

§ 1. After the events of an expedition full of almost insuperable difficulties, while the spirits of all parties in the state, broken by the variety of their dangers and toils, were still enfeebled; while the clang of trumpets was ringing in men's ears, and the troops were still distributed in their winter quarters, the storms of angry fortune surrounded the commonwealth with fresh dangers through the manifold and terrible atrocities of Cæsar Gallus:¹ who, when just entering into the prime of life, having been raised with unexpected honour from the lowest depth of misery to the highest rank, exceeded all the legitimate bounds of the power conferred on him, and with preposterous violence threw everything into confusion. For by his near relationship to the royal family, and his connection with the name of Constantine, he was so inflated with pride, that if he had had more power, he would, as it seemed, have ventured to attack even the author of his prosperity.

2. His wife added fuel to his natural ferocity; she was a woman immoderately proud of her sisterly relationship to Augustus, and had been formerly given in marriage by the elder Constantine to King Hannibalianus,² his brother's son. She was an incarnate fury: never weary of inflaming his savage temper, thirsting for human blood as insatiably as her husband. The pair, in process of time, becoming more skilful in the infliction of suffering, employed a gang of underhand and crafty talebearers, accustomed in their wickedness to make random additions to their discoveries, which consisted in general of such falsehoods as they themselves delighted in; and these men loaded the innocent with calumnies, charging them with aiming at kingly power, or with practising infamous acts of magic.

3. And among his less remarkable atrocities, when his power had gone beyond the bounds of moderate crimes, was conspicuous the horrible and sudden death of a certain noble citizen of Alexandria, named Clematius. His mother-in-law, having conceived a passion for him, could not prevail on him to gratify it; and in consequence, as was reported, she, having obtained an introduction by a secret door into the palace, won over the queen by the

present of a costly necklace, and procured a fatal warrant to be sent to Honoratus, at that time count-governor of the East, in compliance with which Clematius was put to death, a man wholly innocent of any kind of wickedness, without being permitted to say a word in his defence.

4. After this iniquitous transaction, which struck others also with fear lest they should meet with similar treatment, as if cruelty had now obtained a licence, many were condemned on mere vague suspicion; of whom some were put to death, others were punished by the confiscation of their property, and driven forth as exiles from their homes, so that having nothing left but their tears and complaints, they were reduced to live on the contributions of their friends; and many opulent and famous houses were shut up, the old constitutional and just authority being changed into a government at the will of a bloodthirsty tyrant.

5. Nor amid these manifold atrocities was any testimony of an accuser, not even of a suborned one, sought for, in order to give at least an appearance of these crimes being committed according to law and statute, as very commonly even the most cruel princes have done: but whatever suited the implacable temper of Cæsar was instantly accomplished in haste, as if its accordance with human and divine law had been well considered.

6. After these deeds a fresh device was adopted, and a body of obscure men, such as, by reason of the meanness of their condition, were little likely to excite suspicion, were sent through all the districts of Antioch, to collect reports, and to bring news of whatever they might hear. They, travelling about, and concealing their object, joined clandestinely in the conversational circles of honourable men, and also in disguise obtained entrance into the houses of the rich. When they returned they were secretly admitted by back doors into the palace, and then reported all that they had been able to hear or to collect; taking care with an unanimous kind of conspiracy to invent many things, and to exaggerate for the worse all they really knew; at the same time suppressing any praises of Cæsar which had come to their ears, although these were wrung from many, against their consciences, by the dread of impending evils.

7. And it had happened sometimes that, if in his secret chamber, when no domestic servant was by, the master of the house had whispered anything into his wife's ear, the very next day, as if those renowned seers of old, Amphiaraus or Marcius, had been at hand to report it, the emperor was informed of what had been said; so that even the walls of a man's secret chamber, the only witnesses to his language, were viewed with apprehension.

8. And Cæsar's fixed resolution to inquire into these and other similar occurrences was increased by the queen, who constantly stimulated his desire, and was driving on the fortunes of her husband to headlong destruction, while she ought rather, by giving him useful advice, to have led him back into the paths of truth and mercy, by feminine gentleness, as, in recounting the acts of the Gordiani, we have related to have been done by the wife of that truculent

emperor Maximinus.

9. At last, by an unsurpassed and most pernicious baseness, Gallus ventured on adopting a course of fearful wickedness, which indeed Gallienus, to his own exceeding infamy, is said formerly to have tried at Rome; and, taking with him a few followers secretly armed, he used to rove in the evening through the streets and among the shops, making inquiries in the Greek language, in which he was well skilled, what were the feelings of individuals towards Cæsar. And he used to do this boldly in the city, where the brilliancy of the lamps at night often equalled the light of day. At last, being often recognized, and considering that if he went out in this way he should be known, he took care never to go out except openly in broad daylight, to transact whatever business which he thought of serious importance. And these things caused bitter though secret lamentation, and discontent to many.

10. But at that time Thalassius was the present prefect³ of the palace, a man of an arrogant temper; and he, perceiving that the hasty fury of Gallus gradually increased to the danger of many of the citizens, did not mollify it by either delay or wise counsels, as men in high office have very often pacified the anger of their princes; but by untimely opposition and reproof, did often excite him the more to frenzy; often also informing Augustus of his actions, and that too with exaggeration, and taking care, I know not with what intention, that what he did should not be unknown to the emperor. And at this Cæsar soon became more vehemently exasperated, and, as if raising more on high than ever the standard of his contumacy, without any regard to the safety of others or of himself, he bore himself onwards like a rapid torrent, with an impetuosity which would listen to no reason, to sweep away all the obstacles which opposed his will.

II.

§ 1. Nor indeed was the East the only quarter which this plague affected with its various disasters. For the Isaurians also, a people who were accustomed to frequent alternations of peace, and of turbulence which threw everything into confusion with sudden outbreaks — impunity having fostered their growing audacity and encouraged it to evil — broke out in a formidable war. Being especially excited, as they gave out by this indignity, that some of their allies, having been taken prisoners, were in an unprecedented manner exposed to wild beasts, and in the games of the amphitheatre, at Iconium, a town of Pisidia.

2. And as Cicero⁴ says, that “even wild beasts, when reminded by hunger, generally return to that place where they have been fed before.” So they all, descending like a whirlwind from their high and pathless mountains, came into the districts bordering on the sea: in which hiding themselves in roads full of lurking-places, and in defiles, when the long nights were approaching, the moon being at that time new, and so not yet giving her full light, they lay wait for the sailors; and when they perceived that they were wrapped in sleep, they,

crawling on their hands and feet along the cables which held the anchors, and raising themselves up by them, swung themselves into the boats, and so came upon the crews unexpectedly, and, their natural ferocity being inflamed by covetousness, they spared not even those who offered no resistance, but slew them all, and carried off a splendid booty with no more trouble than if it had been valueless.

3. This conduct did not last long, for when the deaths of the crews thus plundered and slaughtered became known, no one afterwards brought a vessel to the stations on that coast; but, avoiding them as they would have avoided the deadly precipices of Sciron,⁵ they sailed on, without halting, to the shores of Cyprus, which lie opposite to the rocks of Isauria.

4. Therefore as time went on, and no foreign vessels went there any more, they quitted the sea-coast, and betook themselves to Lycaonia, a country which lies on the borders of Isauria. And there, occupying the roads with thick barricades, they sought a living by plundering the inhabitants of the district, as well as travellers. These outrages aroused the soldiers who were dispersed among the many municipal towns and forts which lie on the borders. And they, endeavouring to the utmost of their strength to repel these banditti, who were spreading every day more widely, sometimes in solid bodies, at others in small straggling parties, were overcome by their vast numbers.

5. Since the Isaurians, having been born and brought up amid the entangled defiles of lofty mountains, could bound over them as over plain and easy paths, and attacked all who came in their way with missiles from a distance, terrifying them at the same time with savage yells.

6. And very often our infantry were compelled in pursuit of them to climb lofty crags, and, when their feet slipped, to catch hold of the shrubs and briars to raise themselves to the summits; without ever being able to deploy into battle array, by reason of the narrow and difficult nature of the ground, nor even to stand firm; while their enemy running round in every direction hurled down upon them fragments of rock from above till they retired down the declivities with great danger. Or else, sometimes, in the last necessity fighting bravely, they were overwhelmed with fragments of immense bulk and weight.

7. On this account they subsequently were forced to observe more caution, and whenever the plunderers began to retire to the high ground, our soldiers yielded to the unfavourable character of the country and retired. But whenever they could be met with in the plain, which often happened, then charging them without giving them time to combine their strength, or even to brandish the javelins of which they always carried two or three, they slaughtered them like defenceless sheep.

8. So that these banditti, conceiving a fear of Lycaonia, which is for the most part a champaign country, since they had learnt by repeated proofs that they were unequal to our troops in a pitched battle, betook themselves by unfrequented tracks to Pamphylia. This district had long been free from the evils of war, but nevertheless had been fortified in all quarters by strong forts

and garrisons, from the dread entertained by the people of rapine and slaughter, since soldiers were scattered over all the neighbouring districts.

9. Therefore hastening with all speed, in order by their exceeding celerity of movement to anticipate all rumour of their motions, trusting to their strength and activity of body, they travelled by winding roads until they reached the high ground on the tops of the mountains, the steepness of which delayed their march more than they had expected. And when at last, having surmounted all the difficulties of the mountains, they came to the precipitous banks of the Melas, a deep river and one full of dangerous currents, which winds round the district, protecting the inhabitants like a wall, the night which had overtaken them increased their fears, so that they halted for a while awaiting the daylight. For they expected to be able to cross without hindrance, and then, in consequence of the suddenness of their inroad, to be able to ravage all the country around; but they had incurred great toil to no purpose.

10. For when the sun rose they were prevented from crossing by the size of the river, which though narrow was very deep. And while they were searching for some fishing-boats, or preparing to commit themselves to the stream on rafts hastily put together, the legions which at that time were wintering about Side, came down upon them with great speed and impetuosity; and having pitched their standards close to the bank with a view to an immediate battle, they packed their shields together before them in a most skilful manner, and without any difficulty slew some of the banditti, who either trusted to their swimming, or who tried to cross the river unperceived in barks made of the trunks of trees hollowed out.

11. And the Isaurians having tried many devices to obtain success in a regular battle, and having failed in everything, being repulsed in great consternation, and with great vigour on the part of the legions, and being uncertain which way to go, came near the town of Laranda. And there, after they had refreshed themselves with food and rest, and recovered from their fears, they attacked several wealthy towns; but being presently scared by the support given to the citizens by some squadrons of horse which happened to be at hand, and which they would not venture to resist in the extensive plains, they retreated, and retracing their steps summoned all the flower of their youth which had been left at home to join them.

12. And as they were oppressed with severe famine, they made for a place called Palea, standing on the sea-shore, and fortified with a strong wall; where even to this day supplies are usually kept in store, to be distributed to the armies which defend the frontier of Isauria.

13. Therefore they encamped around this fortress for three days and three nights, and as the steepness of the ground on which it stood prevented any attempt to storm it without the most deadly peril, and as it was impossible to effect anything by mines, and no other manœuvres such as are employed in sieges availed anything, they retired much dejected, being compelled by the necessities of their situation to undertake some enterprise, even if it should be

greater than their strength was equal to.

14. Then giving way to greater fury than ever, being inflamed both by despair and hunger, and their strength increased by their unrestrainable ardour, they directed their efforts to destroy the city of Seleucia, the metropolis of the province, which was defended by Count Castucius, whose legions were inured to every kind of military service.

15. The commanders of the garrison being forewarned of their approach by their own trusty scouts, having, according to custom, given, out the watchword to the troops, led forth all their forces in a rapid sally, and having with great activity passed the bridge over the river Calicadnus, the mighty waters of which wash the turrets of the walls, they drew out their men as if prepared for battle. But as yet no man left the ranks, and the army was not allowed to engage; for the band of the Isaurians was dreaded, inasmuch as they were desperate with rage, and superior in number, and likely to rush upon the arms of the legions without any regard to their lives. Therefore as soon as the army was beheld at a distance, and the music of the trumpeters was heard, the banditti halted and stood still for a while, brandishing their threatening swords, and after a time they marched on slowly. And when the steady Roman soldiery began to deploy, preparing to encounter them, beating their shields with their spears (a custom which rouses the fury of the combatants, and strikes terror into their enemies), they filled the front ranks of the Isaurians with consternation. But as the troops were pressing forward eagerly to the combat their generals recalled them, thinking it inopportune to enter upon a contest of doubtful issue, when their walls were not far distant, under protection of which the safety of the whole army could be placed on a solid foundation.

16. Therefore the soldiers were brought back inside the walls in accordance with this resolution, and all the approaches and gates were strongly barred; and the men were placed on the battlements and bulwarks, having vast stones and weapons of all kinds piled close at hand, so that if any one forced his way inside he might be overwhelmed with a multitude of missiles and stones.

17. But those who were shut up in the walls were at the same time greatly afflicted, because the Isaurians having taken some vessels which were conveying grain down the river, were well provided with abundance of food, while they themselves, having almost consumed the usual stores of food, were in a state of alarm dreading the fatal agonies of approaching famine. When the news of this distress got abroad, and when repeated messages to this effect had moved Gallus Cæsar, because the master of the horse was kept away longer than usual at that season, Nebridius the count of the East was ordered to collect a military force from all quarters, and hastened forward with exceeding zeal to deliver the city, so wealthy and important, from such a peril. And when this was known the banditti retired, without having performed any memorable exploit, and dispersing, according to their wont, they sought the

trackless recesses of the lofty mountains.

III.

§ 1. While affairs were in this state in Isauria, and while the king of Persia was involved in wars upon his frontier, repulsing from his borders a set of ferocious tribes which, being full of fickleness, were continually either attacking him in a hostile manner, or, as often happens, aiding him when he turned his arms against us, a certain noble, by name Nohodares, having been appointed to invade Mesopotamia, whenever occasion might serve, was anxiously exploring our territories with a view to some sudden incursion, if he could anywhere find an opportunity.

2. And because since every part of Mesopotamia is accustomed to be disturbed continually, the lands were protected by frequent barriers, and military stations in the rural districts, Nohodares, having directed his march to the left, had occupied the most remote parts of the Osdroene, having devised a novel plan of operations which had never hitherto been tried. And if he had succeeded he would have laid waste the whole country like a thunderbolt.

3. Now the plan which he had conceived was of this kind. There is a town in Anthemusia called Batne, built by the ancient Macedonians, a short distance from the river Euphrates, thickly peopled by wealthy merchants. To this city, about the beginning of the month of September, a great multitude of all ranks throng to a fair, in order to buy the wares which the Indians and Chinese send thither, and many other articles which are usually brought to this fair by land and sea.

4. The leader before named, preparing to invade this district on the days set apart for this solemnity, marching through the deserts and along the grassy banks of the river Abora, was betrayed by information given by some of his own men, who being alarmed at the discovery of certain crimes which they had committed, deserted to the Roman garrisons, and accordingly he retired again without having accomplished anything; and after that remained quiet without undertaking any further enterprise.

IV.

§ 1. At this time also the Saracens, a race whom it is never desirable to have either for friends or enemies, ranging up and down the country, if ever they found anything, plundered it in a moment, like rapacious hawks who, if from on high they behold any prey, carry it off with rapid swoop, or, if they fail in their attempt, do not tarry.

2. And although, in recounting the career of the Prince Marcus, and once or twice subsequently, I remember having discussed the manners of this people, nevertheless I will now briefly enumerate a few more particulars concerning them.

3. Among these tribes, whose primary origin is derived from the cataracts

of the Nile and the borders of the Blemmyæ, all the men are warriors of equal rank; half naked, clad in coloured cloaks down to the waist, overrunning different countries, with the aid of swift and active horses and speedy camels, alike in times of peace and war. Nor does any member of their tribes ever take plough in hand or cultivate a tree, or seek food by the tillage of the land; but they are perpetually wandering over various and extensive districts, having no home, no fixed abode or laws; nor can they endure to remain long in the same climate, no one district or country pleasing them for a continuance.

4. Their life is one continued wandering; their wives are hired, on special covenant, for a fixed time; and that there may be some appearance of marriage in the business, the intended wife, under the name of a dowry, offers a spear and a tent to her husband, with a right to quit him after a fixed day, if she should choose to do so. And it is inconceivable with what eagerness the individuals of both sexes give themselves up to matrimonial pleasures.

5. But as long as they live they wander about with such extensive and perpetual migrations, that the woman is married in one place, brings forth her children in another, and rears them at a distance from either place, no opportunity of remaining quiet being ever granted to her.

6. They all live on venison, and are further supported on a great abundance of milk, and on many kinds of herbs, and on whatever birds they can catch by fowling. And we have seen a great many of them wholly ignorant of the use of either corn or wine.

7. So much for this most mischievous nation. Now let us return to the subject we originally proposed to ourselves.

V.

§ 1. While these events were taking place in the East, Constantius was passing the winter at Arles; and after an exhibition of games in the theatre and in the circus, which were displayed with most sumptuous magnificence, on the tenth of October, the day which completed the thirtieth year of his reign, he began to give the reins more freely to his insolence, believing every information which was laid before him as proved, however doubtful or false it might be; and among other acts of cruelty, he put Gerontius, a count of the party of Magnentius, to the torture, and then condemned him to banishment.

2. And as the body of a sick man is apt to be agitated by even trifling grievances, so his narrow and sensitive mind, thinking every sound that stirred something either done or planned to the injury of his safety, made his victory⁶ mournful by the slaughter of innocent men.

3. For if any one of his military officers, or of those who had ever received marks of honour, or if any one of high rank was accused, on the barest rumour, of having favoured the faction of his enemy, he was loaded with chains and dragged about like a beast. And whether any enemy of the accused man pressed him or not, as if the mere fact that his name had been mentioned

was sufficient, every one who was informed against or in any way called in question, was condemned either to death, or to confiscation of his property, or to confinement in a desert island.

4. For his ferocity was excited to a still further degree when any mention was made of treason or sedition; and the bloodthirsty insinuations of those around him, exaggerating everything that happened, and pretending great concern at any danger which might threaten the life of the emperor, on whose safety, as on a thread, they hypocritically exclaimed the whole world depended, added daily to his suspicions and watchful anger.

5. And therefore it is reported he gave orders that no one who was at any time sentenced to punishment for these or similar offences should be readmitted to his presence for the purpose of offering the usual testimonies to his character, a thing which the most implacable princes have been wont to permit. And thus deadly cruelty, which in all other men at times grows cool, in him only became more violent as he advanced in years, because the court of flatterers which attended on him added continual fuel to his stern obstinacy.

6. Of this court a most conspicuous member was Paulus, the secretary, a native of Spain, a man keeping his objects hidden beneath a smooth countenance, and acute beyond all men in smelling out secret ways to bring others into danger. He, having been sent into Britain to arrest some military officers who had dared to favour the conspiracy of Magnentius, as they could not resist, licentiously exceeded his commands, and like a flood poured with sudden violence upon the fortunes of a great number of people, making his path through manifold slaughter and destruction, loading the bodies of free-born men with chains, and crushing some with fetters, while patching up all kinds of accusations far removed from the truth. And to this man is owing one especial atrocity which has branded the time of Constantius with indelible infamy.

7. Martinus, who at that time governed these provinces as deputy, being greatly concerned for the sufferings inflicted on innocent men, and making frequent entreaties that those who were free from all guilt might be spared, when he found that he could not prevail, threatened to withdraw from the province, in the hope that this malevolent inquisitor, Paulus, might be afraid of his doing so, and so give over exposing to open danger men who had combined only in a wish for tranquillity.

8. Paulus, thinking that this conduct of Martinus was a hindrance to his own zeal, being, as he was, a formidable artist in involving matters, from which people gave him the nickname of "the Chain," attacked the deputy himself while still engaged in defending the people whom he was set to govern, and involved him in the dangers which surrounded every one else, threatening that he would carry him, with his tribunes and many other persons, as a prisoner to the emperor's court. Martinus, alarmed at this threat, and seeing the imminent danger in which his life was, drew his sword and attacked Paulus. But because from want of strength in his hand he was unable

to give him a mortal wound, he then plunged his drawn sword into his own side. And by this unseemly kind of death that most just man departed from life, merely for having dared to interpose some delay to the miserable calamities of many citizens.

9. And when these wicked deeds had been perpetrated, Paulus, covered with blood, returned to the emperor's camp, bringing with him a crowd of prisoners almost covered with chains, in the lowest condition of squalor and misery; on whose arrival the racks were prepared, and the executioner began to prepare his hooks and other engines of torture. Of these prisoners, many of them had their property confiscated, others were sentenced to banishment, some were given over to the sword of the executioner. Nor is it easy to cite the acquittal of a single person in the time of Constantius, where the slightest whisper of accusation had been brought against him.

VI.

§ 1. At this time Orfitus was the governor of the Eternal City, with the rank of prefect; and he behaved with a degree of insolence beyond the proper limits of the dignity thus conferred upon him. A man of prudence indeed, and well skilled in all the forensic business of the city, but less accomplished in general literature and in the fine arts than was becoming in a nobleman. Under his administration some very formidable seditions broke out in consequence of the scarcity of wine, as the people, being exceedingly eager for an abundant use of that article, were easily excited to frequent and violent disorders.

2. And since I think it likely that foreigners who may read this account (if, indeed, any such should meet with it) are likely to wonder how it is that, when my history has reached the point of narrating what was done at Rome, nothing is spoken of but seditions, and shops, and cheapness, and other similarly inconsiderable matters, I will briefly touch upon the causes of this, never intentionally departing from the strict truth.

3. At the time when Rome first rose into mundane brilliancy — that Rome which was fated to last as long as mankind shall endure, and to be increased with a sublime progress and growth — virtue and fortune, though commonly at variance, agreed upon a treaty of eternal peace, as far as she was concerned. For if either of them had been wanting to her, she would never have reached her perfect and complete supremacy.

4. Her people, from its very earliest infancy to the latest moment of its youth, a period which extends over about three hundred years, carried on a variety of wars with the natives around its walls. Then, when it arrived at its full-grown manhood, after many and various labours in war, it crossed the Alps and the sea, till, as youth and man, it had carried the triumphs of victory into every country in the world.

5. And now that it is declining into old age, and often owes its victories to its mere name, it has come to a more tranquil time of life. Therefore the venerable city, after having bowed down the haughty necks of fierce nations,

and given laws to the world, to be the foundations and eternal anchors of liberty, like a thrifty parent, prudent and rich, intrusted to the Cæsars, as to its own children, the right of governing their ancestral inheritance.

6. And although the tribes are indolent, and the countries peaceful, and although there are no contests for votes, but the tranquillity of the age of Numa has returned, nevertheless, in every quarter of the world Rome is still looked up to as the mistress and the queen of the earth, and the name of the Roman people is respected and venerated.

7. But this magnificent splendour of the assemblies and councils of the Roman people is defaced by the inconsiderate levity of a few, who never recollect where they have been born, but who fall away into error and licentiousness, as if a perfect impunity were granted to vice. For as the lyric poet Simonides teaches us, the man who would live happily in accordance with perfect reason, ought above all things to have a glorious country.

8. Of these men, some thinking that they can be handed down to immortality by means of statues, are eagerly desirous of them, as if they would obtain a higher reward from brazen figures unendowed with sense than from a consciousness of upright and honourable actions; and they even are anxious to have them plated over with gold, a thing which is reported to have been first done in the instance of Acilius Glabrio, who by his wisdom and valour had subdued King Antiochus. But how really noble a thing it is to despise all these inconsiderable and trifling things, and to bend one's attention to the long and toilsome steps of true glory, as the poet of Ascrea⁷ has sung, and Cato the Censor has shown by his example. For when he was asked how it was that while many other nobles had statues he had none, replied: "I had rather that good men should marvel how it was that I did not earn one, than (what would be a much heavier misfortune) inquire how it was that I had obtained one."

9. Others place the height of glory in having a coach higher than usual, or splendid apparel; and so toil and sweat under a vast burden of cloaks, which are fastened to their necks by many clasps, and blow about from the excessive fineness of the material; showing a desire, by the continual wriggling of their bodies, and especially by the waving of the left hand, to make their long fringes and tunics, embroidered in multiform figures of animals with threads of various colours, more conspicuous.

10. Others, with not any one asking them, put on a feigned severity of countenance, and extol their patrimonial estates in a boundless degree, exaggerating the yearly produce of their fruitful fields, which they boast of possessing in numbers from east to west, being forsooth ignorant that their ancestors, by whom the greatness of Rome was so widely extended, were not eminent for riches; but through a course of dreadful wars overpowered by their valour all who were opposed to them, though differing but little from the common soldiers either in riches, or in their mode of life, or in the costliness of their garments.

11. This is how it happened that Valerius Publicola was buried by the contributions of his friends, and that the destitute wife of Regulus was, with her children, supported by the aid of the friends of her husband, and that the daughter of Scipio had a dowry provided for her out of the public treasury, the other nobles being ashamed to see the beauty of this full-grown maiden, while her moneyless father was so long absent on the service of his country.

12. But now if you, as an honourable stranger, should enter the house of any one well off, and on that account full of pride, for the purpose of saluting him, at first, indeed, you will be hospitably received, as though your presence had been desired; and after having had many questions put to you, and having been forced to tell a number of lies, you will wonder, since the man had never seen you before, that one of high rank should pay such attention to you who are but an unimportant individual; so that by reason of this as a principal source of happiness, you begin to repent of not having come to Rome ten years ago.

13. And when relying on this affability you do the same thing the next day, you will stand waiting as one utterly unknown and unexpected, while he who yesterday encouraged you to repeat your visit, counts upon his fingers who you can be, marvelling, for a long time, whence you come, and what you want. But when at length you are recognized and admitted to his acquaintance, if you should devote yourself to the attention of saluting him for three years consecutively, and after this intermit your visits for an equal length of time, then if you return to repeat a similar course, you will never be questioned about your absence any more than if you had been dead, and you will waste your whole life in submitting to court the humours of this blockhead.

14. But when those long and unwholesome banquets, which are indulged in at certain intervals, begin to be prepared, or the distribution of the usual dole-baskets takes place, then it is discussed with anxious deliberation whether when those to whom a return is due are to be entertained, it is proper to invite also a stranger; and if, after the matter has been thoroughly sifted, it is determined that it may be done, that person is preferred who waits all night before the houses of charioteers, or who professes a skill in dice, or pretends to be acquainted with some peculiar secrets.

15. For such entertainers avoid all learned and sober men as unprofitable and useless; with this addition, that the nomenclators⁸ also, who are accustomed to make a market of these invitations and of similar favours, selling them for bribes, do for gain thrust in mean and obscure men at these dinners.

16. The whirlpools of banquets, and the various allurements of luxury, I omit, that I may not be too prolix, and with the object of passing on to this fact, that some people, hastening on without fear of danger, drive their horses, as if they were post-horses, with a regular licence, as the saying is, through the wide streets of the city, over the roads paved with flint, dragging behind

them large bodies of slaves like bands of robbers; not leaving at home even Sannio,⁹ as the comic poet says.

17. And many matrons, imitating these men, gallop over every quarter of the city with their heads covered, and in close carriages. And as skilful conductors of battles place in the van their densest and strongest battalions, then their light-armed troops, behind them the darters, and in the extreme rear troops of reserve, ready to join in the attack if necessity should arise; so, according to the careful arrangements of the stewards of these city households, who are conspicuous by wands fastened to their right hands, as if a regular watchword had been issued from the camp, first of all, near the front of the carriage march all the slaves concerned in spinning and working; next to them come the blackened crew employed in the kitchen; then the whole body of slaves promiscuously mixed up with a gang of idle plebeians from the neighbourhood; last of all, the multitude of eunuchs, beginning with the old men and ending with the boys, pale and unsightly from the distorted deformity of their features; so that whichever way any one goes, seeing troops of mutilated men, he will detest the memory of Semiramis, that ancient queen who was the first person to castrate male youths of tender age; doing as it were a violence to nature, and forcing it back from its appointed course, which at the very first beginning and birth of the child, by a kind of secret law revealing the primitive fountains of seed, points out the way of propagating posterity.

18. And as this is the case, those few houses which were formerly celebrated for the serious cultivation of becoming studies, are now filled with the ridiculous amusements of torpid indolence, re-echoing with the sound of vocal music and the tinkle of flutes and lyres. Lastly, instead of a philosopher, you find a singer; instead of an orator, some teacher of ridiculous arts is summoned; and the libraries closed for ever, like so many graves; organs to be played by water-power are made; and lyres of so vast a size, that they look like waggons; and flutes, and ponderous machines suited for the exhibitions of actors.

19. Last of all, they have arrived at such a depth of unworthiness, that when, no very long time ago, on account of an apprehended scarcity of food, the foreigners were driven in haste from the city; those who practised liberal accomplishments, the number of whom was exceedingly small, were expelled without a moment's breathing-time; yet the followers of actresses, and all who at that time pretended to be of such a class, were allowed to remain; and three thousand dancing-girls had not even a question put to them, but stayed unmolested with the members of their choruses, and a corresponding number of dancing masters.

20. And wherever you turn your eyes, you may see a multitude of women with their hair curled, who, as far as their age goes, might, if they had married, been by this time the mothers of three children, sweeping the pavements with their feet till they are weary, whirling round in rapid gyrations, while

representing innumerable groups and figures which the theatrical plays contain.

21. It is a truth beyond all question, that, when at one time Rome was the abode of all the virtues, many of the nobles, like the Lotophagi, celebrated in Homer, who detained men by the deliciousness of their fruit, allured foreigners of free birth by manifold attentions of courtesy and kindness.

22. But now, in their empty arrogance, some persons look upon everything as worthless which is born outside of the walls of the city, except only the childless and the unmarried. Nor can it be conceived with what a variety of obsequious observance men without children are courted at Rome.

23. And since among them, as is natural in a city so great as to be the metropolis of the world, diseases attain to such an insurmountable degree of violence, that all the skill of the physician is ineffectual even to mitigate them; a certain assistance and means of safety has been devised, in the rule that no one should go to see a friend in such a condition, and to a few precautionary measures a further remedy of sufficient potency has been added, that men should not readmit into their houses servants who have been sent to inquire how a man's friends who may have been seized with an illness of this kind are, until they have cleansed and purified their persons in the bath. So that a taint is feared, even when it has only been seen with the eyes of another.

24. But nevertheless, when these rules are observed thus stringently, some persons, if they be invited to a wedding, though the vigour of their limbs be much diminished, yet, when gold is offered¹⁰ in the hollow palm of the right hand, will go actively as far as Spoletum. These are the customs of the nobles.

25. But of the lower and most indigent class of the populace some spend the whole night in the wine shops. Some lie concealed in the shady arcades of the theatres; which Catulus was in his ædileship the first person to raise, in imitation of the lascivious manners of Campania, or else they play at dice so eagerly as to quarrel over them; snuffing up their nostrils and making unseemly noises by drawing back their breath into their noses; or (and this is their favourite pursuit of all others) from sunrise to evening they stay gaping through sunshine or rain, examining in the most careful manner the most sterling good or bad qualities of the charioteers and horses.

26. And it is very wonderful to see an innumerable multitude of people with great eagerness of mind intent upon the event of the contests in the chariot race. These pursuits, and others of like character, prevent anything worth mentioning or important from being done at Rome. Therefore we must return to our original subject.

VII.

§ 1. His licentiousness having now become more unbounded, the Cæsar began to be burdensome to all virtuous men; and discarding all moderation, he harassed every part of the East, sparing neither those who had received public honours, nor the chief citizens of the different cities; nor the common people.

2. At last by one single sentence he ordered all the principal persons at Antioch to be put to death; being exasperated because when he recommended that a low price should be established in the market at an unseasonable time, when the city was threatened with a scarcity, they answered him with objections, urged with more force than he approved; and they would all have been put to death to a man, if Honoratus, who was at that time count of the East, had not resisted him with pertinacious constancy.

3. This circumstance was also a proof, and that no doubtful or concealed one, of the cruelty of his nature, that he took delight in cruel sports, and in the circus he would rejoice as if he had made some great gain, to see six or seven gladiators killing one another in combats which have often been forbidden.

4. In addition to these things a certain worthless woman inflamed his purpose of inflicting misery; for she, having obtained admission to the palace, as she had requested, gave him information that a plot was secretly laid against him by a few soldiers of the lowest rank. And Constantina, in her exultation, thinking that her husband's safety was now fully secured, rewarded and placed this woman, in a carriage, and in this way sent her out into the public street through the great gate of the palace, in order, by such a temptation, to allure others also to give similar or more important information.

5. After these events, Gallus being about to set out for Hierapolis, in order, as far as appearance went, to take part in the expedition, the common people of Antioch entreated him in a suppliant manner to remove their fear of a famine which for many reasons (some of them difficult to explain) it was believed was impending; Gallus, however, did not, as is the custom of princes whose power, by the great extent of country over which it is diffused, is able continually to remedy local distresses, order any distribution of food to be made, or any supplies to be brought from the neighbouring countries; but he pointed out to them a man of consular rank, named Theophilus, the governor of Syria, who happened to be standing by, replying to the repeated appeals of the multitude, who were trembling with apprehensions of the last extremities, that no one could possibly want food if the governor were not willing that they should be in want of it.

6. These words increased the audacity of the lower classes, and when the scarcity of provisions became more severe, urged by hunger and frenzy, they set fire to and burnt down the splendid house of a man of the name of Eubulus, a man of great reputation among his fellow-citizens; and they attacked the governor himself with blows and kicks as one especially made over to them by the judgment of the emperor, kicking him till he was half dead, and then tearing him to pieces in a miserable manner. And after his wretched death every one saw in the destruction of this single individual a type of the danger to which he was himself exposed, and, taught by this recent example, feared a similar fate.

7. About the same time Serenianus, who had previously been duke¹¹ of Phœnicia, to whose inactivity it was owing, as we have already related, that

Celse in Phœnicia was laid waste, was deservedly and legally accused of treason and no one saw how he could possibly be acquitted. He was also manifestly proved to have sent an intimate friend with a cap (with which he used to cover his own head) which had been enchanted by forbidden acts to the temple of prophecy,¹² on purpose to ask expressly whether, according to his wish, a firm enjoyment of the whole empire was portended for him.

8. And in these days a twofold misfortune occurred: first, that a heavy penalty had fallen upon Theophilus who was innocent; and, secondly, that Serenianus who deserved universal execration, was acquitted without the general feeling being able to offer any effectual remonstrance.

9. Constantius then hearing from time to time of these transactions, and having been further informed of some particular occurrences by Thalassius, who however had now died by the ordinary course of nature, wrote courteous letters to the Cæsar, but at the same time gradually withdrew from him his support, pretending to be uneasy, least as the leisure of soldiers is usually a disorderly time, the troops might be conspiring to his injury: and he desired him to content himself with the schools of the Palatine,¹³ and with those of the Protectors, with the Scutarii, and Gentiles. And he ordered Domitianus, who had formerly been the Superintendent of the Treasury, but who was now promoted to be a prefect, as soon as he arrived in Syria, to address Gallus in persuasive and respectful language, exhorting him to repair with all speed to Italy, to which province the emperor had repeatedly summoned him.

10. And when, with this object, Domitianus had reached Antioch, having travelled express, he passed by the gates of the palace, in contempt of the Cæsar, whom, however, he ought to have visited, and proceeded to the general's camp with ostentatious pomp, and there pretended to be sick; he neither visited the palace, nor ever appeared in public, but keeping himself private, he devised many things to bring about the destruction of the Cæsar, adding many superfluous circumstances to the relations which he was continually sending to the emperor.

11. At last, being expressly invited by the Cæsar, and being admitted into the prince's council-chamber, without making the slightest preface he began in this inconsiderate and light-minded manner: "Depart," said he, "as you have been commanded, O Cæsar, and know this, that if you make any delay I shall at once order all the provisions allotted for the support of yourself and your court to be carried away." And then, having said nothing more than these insolent words, he departed with every appearance of rage; and would never afterwards come into his sight though frequently sent for.

12. The Cæsar being indignant at this, as thinking he had been unworthily and unjustly treated, ordered his faithful protectors to take the prefect into custody; and when this became known, Montius, who at that time was quæstor, a man of deep craft indeed, but still inclined to moderate measures,¹⁴ taking counsel for the common good, sent for the principal members of the

Palatine schools and addressed them in pacific words, pointing out that it was neither proper nor expedient that such things should be done; and adding also in a reproving tone of voice, that if such conduct as this were approved of, then, after throwing down the statues of Constantius the prefect would begin to think how he might also with the greater security take his life also.

13. When this was known Gallus, like a serpent attacked with stones or darts, being now reduced to the extremity of despair, and eager to insure his safety by any possible means, ordered all his troops to be collected in arms, and when they stood around him in amazement he gnashed his teeth, and hissing with rage, said, —

14. “You are present here as brave men, come to the aid of me who am in one common danger with you. Montius, with a novel and unprecedented arrogance, accuses us of rebellion and resistance to the majesty of the emperor, by roaring out all these charges against us. Being offended forsooth that, as a matter of precaution, I ordered a contumacious prefect, who pretended not to know what the state of affairs required, to be arrested and kept in custody.”

15. On hearing these words the soldiers immediately, being always on the watch to raise disturbances, first of all attacked Montius, who happened to be living close at hand, an old man of no great bodily strength, and enfeebled by disease; and having bound his legs with coarse ropes, they dragged him straddling, without giving him a moment to take breath, as far as the general’s camp.

16. And with the same violence they also bound Domitianus, dragging him head first down the stairs; and then having fastened the two men together, they dragged them through all the spacious streets of the city at full speed. And, all their limbs and joints being thus dislocated, they trampled on their corpses after they were dead, and mutilated them in the most unseemly manner; and at last, having glutted their rage, they threw them into the river.

17. But there was a certain man named Luscus, the governor of the city, who, suddenly appearing among the soldiers, had inflamed them, always ready for mischief, to the nefarious actions which they had thus committed; exciting them with repeated cries, like the musician who gives the tune to the mourners at funerals, to finish what they had begun: and for this deed he was, not long after, burnt alive.

18. And because Montius, when just about to expire under the hands of those who were tearing him to pieces, repeatedly named Epigonius and Eusebius, without indicating either their rank or their profession, a great deal of trouble was taken to find out who they were; and, lest the search should have time to cool, they sent for a philosopher named Epigonius, from Lycia, and for Eusebius the orator, surnamed Pittacos, from Emissa; though they were not those whom Montius had meant, but some tribunes, superintendents of the manufactures of arms, who had promised him information if they heard of any revolutionary measures being agitated.

19. About the same time Apollinaris, the son-in-law of Domitianus, who a short time before had been the chief steward of the Cæsar's palace, being sent to Mesopotamia by his father-in-law, took exceeding pains to inquire among the soldiers whether they had received any secret despatches from the Cæsar, indicating his having meditated any deeper designs than usual. And as soon as he heard of the events which had taken place at Antioch, he passed through the lesser Armenia and took the road to Constantinople; but he was seized on his journey by the Protectors, and brought back to Antioch, and there kept in close confinement.

20. And while these things were taking place there was discovered at Tyre a royal robe, which had been secretly made, though it was quite uncertain who had placed it where it was, or for whose use it had been made. And on that account the governor of the province, who was at that time the father of Apollinaris, and bore the same name, was arrested as an accomplice in his guilt; and great numbers of other persons were collected from different cities, who were all involved in serious accusations.

21. And now, when the trumpets of internal war and slaughter began to sound, the turbulent disposition of the Cæsar, indifferent to any consideration of the truth, began also to break forth, and that not secretly as before. And without making any solemn investigation into the truth of the charges brought against the citizens, and without separating the innocent from the guilty, he discarded all ideas of right or justice, as if they had been expelled from the seat of judgment. And while all lawful defence on trials was silent, the torturer, and plunderer, and the executioner, and every kind of confiscation of property, raged unrestrained throughout the eastern provinces of the empire, which I think it now a favourable moment to enumerate, with the exception of Mesopotamia, which I have already described when I was relating the Parthian wars; and also with the exception of Egypt, which I am forced to postpone to another opportunity.

VIII.

§ 1. After passing over the summit of Mount Taurus, which towards the east rises up to a vast height, Cilicia spreads itself out for a very great distance — a land rich in all valuable productions. It is bordered on its right by Isauria, which is equally fertile in vines and in many kinds of grain. The Calycadnus, a navigable river, flows through the middle of Isaurus.

2. This province, besides other towns, is particularly adorned by two cities, Seleucia, founded by King Seleucus, and Claudiopolis, which the Emperor Claudius Cæsar established as a colony. For the city of Isauria, which was formerly too powerful, was in ancient times overthrown as an incurable and dangerous rebel, and so completely destroyed that it is not easy to discover any traces of its pristine splendour.

3. The province of Cilicia, which exults in the river Cydnus, is ornamented by Tarsus, a city of great magnificence. This city is said to have been founded

by Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danaë; or else, and more probably, by a certain emigrant who came from Ethiopia, by name Sandan, a man of great wealth and of noble birth. It is also adorned by the city of Anazarbus, which bears the name of its founder; and by Mopsuestia, the abode of the celebrated seer Mopsus, who wandered from his comrades the Argonauts when they were returning after having carried off the Golden Fleece, and strayed to the African coast, where he died a sudden death. His heroic remains, though covered by Punic turf, have ever since that time cured a great variety of diseases, and have generally restored men to sound health.

4. These two provinces being full of banditti were formerly subdued by the proconsul Servilius, in a piratical war, and were passed under the yoke, and made tributary to the empire. These districts being placed, as it were, on a prominent tongue of land, are cut off from the main continent by Mount Amanus.

5. The frontier of the East stretching straight forward for a great distance, reached from the banks of the river Euphrates to those of the Nile, being bounded on the left by the tribes of the Saracens and on the right by the sea.

6. Nicator Seleucus, after he had occupied that district, increased its prosperity to a wonderful degree, when, after the death of Alexander, king of Macedonia, he took possession of the kingdom of Persia by right of succession; being a mighty and victorious king, as his surname indicates. And making free use of his numerous subjects, whom he governed for a long time in tranquillity, he changed groups of rustic habitations into regular cities, important for their great wealth and power, the greater part of which at the present day, although they are called by Greek names which were given them by the choice of their founder, have nevertheless not lost their original appellations which the original settlers of the villages gave them in the Assyrian language.

7. After Osdroene, which, as I have already said, I intend to omit from this description, the first province to be mentioned is Commagena, now called Euphratensis, which has arisen into importance by slow degrees, and is remarkable for the splendid cities of Hierapolis, the ancient Ninus, and Samosata.

8. The next province is Syria, which is spread over a beautiful champaign country. This province is ennobled by Antioch, a city known over the whole world, with which no other can vie in respect of its riches, whether imported or natural: and by Laodicea and Apameia, and also by Seleucia, all cities which have ever been most prosperous from their earliest foundation.

9. After this comes Phœnicia, a province lying under Mount Lebanon, full of beauty and elegance, and decorated with cities of great size and splendour, among which Tyre excels all in the beauty of its situation and in its renown. And next come Sidon and Berytus, and on a par with them Emissa and Damascus, cities founded in remote ages.

10. These provinces, which the river Orontes borders, a river which passes

by the foot of the celebrated and lofty mountain Cassius, and at last falls into the Levant near the Gulf of Issus, were added to the Roman dominion by Cnæus Pompey, who, after he had conquered Tigranes, separated them from the kingdom of Armenia.

11. The last province of the Syrias is Palestine, a district of great extent, abounding in well-cultivated and beautiful land, and having several magnificent cities, all of equal importance, and rivalling one another as it were, in parallel lines. For instance, Cæsarea, which Herod built in honour of the Prince Octavianus, and Eleutheropolis, and Neapolis, and also Ascalon, and Gaza, cities built in bygone ages.

12. In these districts no navigable river is seen: in many places, too, waters naturally hot rise out of the ground well suited for the cure of various diseases. These regions also Pompey formed into a Roman province after he had subdued the Jews and taken Jerusalem: and he made over their government to a local governor.

13. Contiguous to Palestine is Arabia, a country which on its other side joins the Nabathæi — a land full of the most plenteous variety of merchandize, and studded with strong forts and castles, which the watchful solicitude of its ancient inhabitants has erected in suitable defiles, in order to repress the inroads of the neighbouring nations. This province, too, besides several towns, has some mighty cities, such as Bostra, Gerasa, and Philadelphia, fortified with very strong walls. It was the Emperor Trajan who first gave this country the name of a Roman province, and appointed a governor over it, and compelled it to obey our laws, after having by repeated victories crushed the arrogance of the inhabitants, when he was carrying his glorious arms into Media and Parthia.

14. There is also the island of Cyprus, not very far from the continent, and abounding in excellent harbours, which, besides its many municipal towns, is especially famous for two renowned cities, Salamis and Paphos, the one celebrated for its temple of Jupiter, the other for its temple of Venus. This same Cyprus is so fertile, and so abounding in riches of every kind, that without requiring any external assistance, it can by its own native resources build a merchant ship from the very foundation of the keel up to the top sails, and send it to sea fully equipped with stores.

15. It is not to be denied that the Roman people invaded this island with more covetousness than justice. For when Ptolemy, the king, who was connected with us by treaty, and was also our ally, was without any fault of his own proscribed, merely on account of the necessities of our treasury, and slew himself by taking poison, the island was made tributary to us, and its spoils placed on board our fleet, as if taken from an enemy, and carried to Rome by Cato. We will now return to the actions of Constantius in their due order.

§ 1. Amid all these various disasters, Ursicinus, who was the governor of Nisibis, an officer to whom the command of the emperor had particularly attached me as a servant, was summoned from that city, and in spite of his reluctance, and of the opposition which he made to the clamorous bands of flatterers, was forced to investigate the origin of the pernicious strife which had arisen. He was indeed a soldier of great skill in war, and an approved leader of troops; but a man who had always kept himself aloof from the strife of the forum. He, alarmed at his own danger when he saw the corrupt accusers and judges who were associated with him, all emerging out of the same lurking-places, wrote secret letters to Constantius informing him of what was going on, both publicly and in secret; and imploring such assistance as, by striking fear into Gallus, should somewhat curb his notorious arrogance.

2. But through excessive caution he had fallen into a worse snare, as we shall relate hereafter, since his enemies got the opportunity of laying numerous snares for him, to poison the mind of Constantius against him; Constantius, in other respects a prince of moderation, was severe and implacable if any person, however mean and unknown, whispered suspicion of danger into his ears, and in such matters was wholly unlike himself.

3. On the day appointed for this fatal examination, the master of the horse took his seat under the pretence of being the judge; others being also set as his assessors, who were instructed beforehand what was to be done: and there were present also notaries on each side of him, who kept the Cæsar rapidly and continually informed of all the questions which were put and all the answers which were given; and by his pitiless orders, urged as he was by the persuasions of the queen, who kept her ear at the curtain, many were put to death without being permitted to soften the accusations brought against them, or to say a word in their own defence.

4. The first persons who were brought before them were Epigonius and Eusebius, who were ruined because of the similarity of their names to those of other people; for we have already mentioned that Montius, when just at the point of death, had intended to inculcate the tribunes of manufactures, who were called by these names, as men who had promised to be his supports in some future enterprise.

5. Epigonius was only a philosopher as far as his dress went, as was evident, when, having tried entreaties in vain, his sides having been torn with blows, and the fear of instant death being presented to him, he affirmed by a base confession that his companion was privy to his plans, though in fact he had no plans; nor had he ever seen or heard anything, being wholly unconnected with forensic affairs. But Eusebius, confidently denying what he was accused of, continued firm in unshaken constancy, loudly declaring that it was a band of robbers before whom he was brought, and not a court of justice.

6. And when, like a man well acquainted with the law, he demanded that

his accuser should be produced, and claimed the usual rights of a prisoner; the Cæsar, having heard of his conduct, and looking on his freedom as pride, ordered him to be put to the torture as an audacious calumniator; and when Eusebius had been tortured so severely that he had no longer any limbs left for torments, imploring heaven for justice, and still smiling disdainfully, he remained immovable, with a firm heart, not permitting his tongue to accuse himself or any one else. And so at length, without having either made any confession, or being convicted of anything, he was condemned to death with the spiritless partner of his sufferings. He was then led away to death, protesting against the iniquity of the times; imitating in his conduct the celebrated Stoic of old, Zeno, who, after he had been long subjected to torture in order to extract from him some false confession, tore out his tongue by the roots and threw it, bloody as it was, into the face of the king of Cyprus, who was examining him.

7. After these events the affair of the royal robe was examined into. And when those who were employed in dyeing purple had been put to the torture, and had confessed that they had woven a short tunic to cover the chest, without sleeves, a certain person, by name Maras, was brought in, a deacon, as the Christians call him; letters from whom were produced, written in the Greek language to the superintendent of the weaving manufactory at Tyre, which pressed him to have the beautiful work finished speedily; of which work, however, these letters gave no further description. And at last this man also was tortured, to the danger of his life, but could not be made to confess anything.

8. After the investigation had been carried on with the examination, under torture of many persons, when some things appeared doubtful, and others it was plain were of a very unimportant character, and after many persons had been put to death, the two Apollinares, father and son, were condemned to banishment; and when they had come to a place which is called Crateræ, a country house of their own, which is four-and-twenty miles from Antioch, there, according to the order which had been given, their legs were broken, and they were put to death.

9. After their death Gallus was not at all less ferocious than before, but rather like a lion which has once tasted blood, he made many similar investigations, all of which it is not worth while to relate, lest I should exceed the bounds which I have laid down for myself; an error which is to be avoided.

X.

§ 1. While the East was thus for a long time suffering under these calamities, at the first approach of open weather, Constantius being in his seventh consulship, and the Cæsar in his third, the emperor quitted Arles and went to Valentia, with the intention of making war upon the brothers

Gundomadus and Vadamarius, chiefs of the Allemanni; by whose repeated inroads the territories of the Gauls, which lay upon their frontier, were continually laid waste.

2. And while he was staying in that district, as he did for some time while waiting for supplies, the importation of which from Aquitania was prevented by the spring rains which were this year more severe than usual, so that the rivers were flooded by them, Herculanus arrived, a principal officer of the guard, son of Hermogenes, who had formerly been master of the horse at Constantinople, and had been torn to pieces in a popular tumult as we have mentioned before. And as he brought a faithful account of what Gallus had done, the emperor, sorrowing over the miseries that were passed, and full of anxious fear for the future, for a time stilled the grief of his mind as well as he could.

3. But in the mean time all the soldiery being assembled at Cabillon,¹⁵ began to be impatient of delay, and to get furious, being so much the more exasperated because they had not sufficient means of living, the usual supplies not yet having arrived.

4. And in consequence of this state of things, Rufinus, at that time prefect of the camp, was exposed to the most imminent danger. For he himself was compelled to go among the soldiers, whose natural ferocity was inflamed by their want of food, and who on other occasions are by nature generally inclined to be savage and bitter against men of civil dignities. He was compelled, I say, to go among them to appease them and explain on what account the arrival of their corn was delayed.

5. And the task thus imposed on him was very cunningly contrived, in order that he, the uncle of Gallus, might perish in the snare; lest he, being a man of great power and energy, should rouse his nephew to confidence, and lead him to undertake enterprises which might be mischievous. Great caution, however, was used to escape this; and, when the danger was got rid of for a while, Eusebius, the high chamberlain, was sent to Cabillon with a large sum of money, which he distributed secretly among the chief leaders of sedition: and so the turbulent and arrogant disposition of the soldiers was pacified, and the safety of the prefect secured. Afterwards food having arrived in abundance the camp was struck on the day appointed.

6. After great difficulties had been surmounted, many of the roads being buried in snow, the army came near to Rauracum¹⁶ on the banks of the Rhine, where the multitude of the Allemanni offered great resistance, so that by their fierceness the Romans were prevented from fixing their bridge of boats, darts being poured upon them from all sides like hail; and, when it seemed impossible to succeed in that attempt, the emperor being taken by surprise, and full of anxious thoughts, began to consider what to do.

7. When suddenly a guide well acquainted with the country arrived, and for a reward pointed out a ford by night, where the river could be crossed; and the army crossing at that point, while the enemy had their attention directed

elsewhere, might without any one expecting such a step, have and waste the whole country, if a few men of the same nation to whom the higher posts in the Roman army were intrusted had not (as some people believe) informed their fellow-countrymen of the design by secret messengers.

8. The disgrace of this suspicion fell chiefly on Latinus, a commander of the domestic guard, and on Agilo, an equerry, and on Scudilo, the commander of the Scutarii, men who at that time were looked up to as those who supported the republic with their right hands.

9. But the barbarians, though taking instant counsel on such an emergency, yet either because the auspices turned out unfavourable, or because the authority of the sacrifices prohibited an instant engagement, abated their energy, and the confidence with which they had hitherto resisted; and sent some of their chiefs to beg pardon for their offences, and sue for peace.

10. Therefore, having detained for some time the envoys of both the kings, and having long deliberated over the affair in secret, the emperor, when he had decided that it was expedient to grant peace on the terms proposed, summoned his army to an assembly with the intention of making them a short speech, and mounting the tribunal, surrounded with a staff of officers of high rank, spoke in the following manner:

11. "I hope no one will wonder, after the long and toilsome marches we have made, and the vast supplies and magazines which have been provided, from the confidence which I felt in you, that now although we are close to the villages of the barbarians, I have, as if I had suddenly changed my plans, adopted more peaceful counsels.

12. "For if every one of you, having regard to his own position and his own feelings, considers the case, he will find this to be the truth: that the individual soldier in all cases, however strong and vigorous he may be, regards and defends nothing but himself and his own life; while the general, looking on all with impartiality as the guardian of their general safety, is aware that the common interest of the people cannot be separated from his own safety; and he is bound to seize with alacrity every remedy of which the condition of affairs admits, as being put into his hand by the favour of the gods.

13. "That therefore I may in a few words set before you and explain on what account I wished all of you, my most faithful comrades, to assemble here, I entreat you to listen attentively to what I will state with all the brevity possible. For the language of truth is always concise and simple.

14. "The kings and people of the Allemanni, viewing with apprehension the lofty steps of your glory (which fame, increasing in magnificence, has diffused throughout the most distant countries), now by their ambassadors humbly implore pardon for their past offences, and peace. And this indulgence I, as a cautious and prudent adviser of what is useful, think expedient to grant them, if your consent be not wanting: being led to this opinion by many considerations, in the first place that so we may avoid the doubtful issues of war; in the second place, that instead of enemies we may have allies, as they

promise we shall find them; further, that without bloodshed we may pacify their haughty ferocity, a feeling which is often mischievous in our provinces; and last of all, recollecting that the man who falls in battle, overwhelmed by superior weapons or strength, is not the only enemy who has to be subdued; and that with much greater safety to the state, even while the trumpet of war is silent, he is subdued who makes voluntary submission, having learnt by experience that we lack neither courage against rebels, nor mercy towards suppliants.

15. "To sum up, making you as it were the arbitrators, I wait to see what you determine: having no doubt myself, as an emperor always desirous of peace, that it is best to employ moderation while prosperity descends upon us. For, believe me, this conduct which I recommend, and which is wisely chosen, will not be imputed to want of courage on your part, but to your moderation and humanity."

16. As soon as he had finished speaking, the whole assembly being ready to agree to what the emperor desired, and praising his advice, gave their votes for peace; being principally influenced by this consideration, that they had already learnt by frequent expeditions that the fortune of the emperor was only propitious in times of civil troubles; but that when foreign wars were undertaken they had often proved disastrous. On this, therefore, a treaty being made according to the customs of the Allemanni, and all the solemnities being completed, the emperor retired to Milan for the winter.

XI.

§ 1. At Milan, having discarded the weight of other cares, the emperor took into his consideration that most difficult gordian knot, how by a mighty effort to uproot the Cæsar. And while he was deliberating on this matter with his friends in secret conference by night, and considering what force, and what contrivances might be employed for the purpose, before Gallus in his audacity should more resolutely set himself to plunging affairs into confusion, it seemed best that Gallus should be invited by civil letters, under pretence of some public affairs of an urgent nature requiring his advice, so that, being deprived of all support, he might be put to death without any hindrance.

2. But as several knots of light-minded flatterers opposed this opinion, among whom was Arbetio, a man of keen wit and always inclined to treachery, and Eusebius, a man always disposed to mischief, at that time the principal chamberlain, they suggested that if the Cæsar were to quit those countries it would be dangerous to leave Ursicinus in the East, with no one to check his designs, if he should cherish ambitious notions.

3. And these counsels were supported by the rest of the royal eunuchs, whose avarice and covetousness at that period had risen to excess. These men, while performing their private duties about the court, by secret whispers supplied food for false accusations; and by raising bitter suspicions of Ursicinus, ruined a most gallant man, creating by underhand means a belief

that his grown-up sons began to aim at supreme power; intimating that they were youths in the flower of their age and of admirable personal beauty, skilful in the use of every kind of weapon, well trained in all athletic and military exercises, and favourably known for prudence and wisdom. They insinuated also that Gallus himself, being by nature fierce and unmanageable, had been excited to acts of additional cruelty and ferocity by persons placed about him for that purpose, to the end that, when he had brought upon himself universal detestation, the ensigns of power might be transferred to the children of the master of the horse.

4. When these and similar suspicions were poured into the ears of Constantius, which were always open to reports of this kind, the emperor, revolving different plans in his mind, at last chose the following as the most advisable course. He commanded Ursicinus in a most complimentary manner to come to him, on the pretence that the urgent state of certain affairs required to be arranged by the aid of his counsel and concurrence, and that he had need of such additional support in order to crush the power of the Parthian tribes, who were threatening war.

5. And that he who was thus invited might not suspect anything unfriendly, the Count Prosper was sent to act as his deputy till he returned. Accordingly, when Ursicinus had received the letters, and had obtained a sufficient supply of carriages, and means of travelling, we¹⁷ hastened to Milan with all speed.

6. The next thing was to contrive to summon the Cæsar, and to induce him to make the like haste. And to remove all suspicion in his mind, Constantius used many hypocritical endearments to persuade his own sister, Gallus's wife, whom he pretended he had long been wishing to see, to accompany him. And although she hesitated from fear of her brother's habitual cruelty, yet, from a hope that, as he was her brother, she might be able to pacify him, she set out; but when she reached Bithynia, at the station named Cæni Gallici, she was seized with a sudden fever and died. And after her death, her husband, considering that he had lost his greatest security and the chief support on which he relied, hesitated, taking anxious thought what he should do.

7. For amid the multiplicity of embarrassing affairs which distracted his attention, this point especially filled his mind with apprehension, that Constantius, determining everything according to his own sole judgment, was not a man to admit of any excuse, or to pardon any error; but being, as he was, more inclined to severity towards his kinsmen than towards others, would be sure to put him to death if he could get him into his power.

8. Being therefore in this critical situation, and feeling that he had to expect the worst unless he took vigilant care, he embraced the idea of seizing on the supreme power if he could find any opportunity: but for two reasons he distrusted the good faith of his most intimate councillors; both because they dreaded him as at once cruel and fickle, and also because amid civil dissensions they looked with awe upon the loftier fortune of Constantius.

9. While perplexed with these vast and weighty anxieties he received

continual letters from the emperor, advising and entreating him to come to him; and giving him hints that the republic neither could nor ought to be divided; but that every one was bound to the utmost of his power to bring aid to it when it was tottering; alluding in this to the devastations of the Gauls.

10. And to this suggestion he added an example of no great antiquity, that in the time of Diocletian and his colleague,¹⁸ the Cæsars obeyed them as their officers, not remaining stationary, but hastening to execute their orders in every direction. And that even Galerius went in his purple robe on foot for nearly a mile before the chariot of Augustus¹⁹ when he was offended with him.

11. After many other messengers had been despatched to him, Scudilo the tribune of the Scutarii arrived, a very cunning master of persuasion under the cloak of a rude, blunt disposition. He, by mixing flattering language with his serious conversation, induced him to proceed, when no one else could do so, continually assuring him, with a hypocritical countenance, that his cousin was extremely desirous to see him; that, like a clement and merciful prince, he would pardon whatever errors had been committed through thoughtlessness; that he would make him a partner in his own royal rank, and take him for his associate in those toils which the northern provinces, long in a disturbed state, imposed upon him.

12. And as when the Fates lay their hand upon a man his senses are wont to be blunted and dimmed, so Gallus, being led on by these alluring persuasions to the expectation of a better fortune, quitted Antioch under the guidance of an unfriendly star, and hurried, as the old proverb has it, out of the smoke into the flame;²⁰ and having arrived at Constantinople as if in great prosperity and security, at the celebration of the equestrian games, he with his own hand placed the crown on the head of the charioteer Corax, when he obtained the victory.

13. When Constantius heard this he became exasperated beyond all bounds of moderation; and lest by any chance Gallus, feeling uncertain of the future, should attempt to consult his safety by flight, all the garrisons stationed in the towns which lay in his road were carefully removed.

14. And at the same time Taurus, who was sent as quæstor into Armenia, passed by without visiting or seeing him. Some persons, however, by the command of the emperor, arrived under the pretence of one duty or another, in order to take care that he should not be able to move, or make any secret attempt of any kind. Among whom was Leontius, afterwards prefect of the city, who was sent as quæstor; and Lucillianus, as count of the domestic guards, and a tribune of the Scutarii named Bainobaudes.

15. Therefore after a long journey through the level country, when he had reached Hadrianopolis, a city in the district of Mount Hæmus, which had been formerly called Uscudama, where he stayed twelve days to recover from his fatigue, he found that the Theban legions, who were in winter quarters in the neighbouring towns of those parts, had sent some of their comrades to exhort

him by trustworthy and sure promises to remain there relying upon them, since they were posted in great force among the neighbouring stations; but those about him watched him with such diligent care that he could get no opportunity of seeing them, or of hearing their message.

16. Then, as letter after letter from the emperor urged him to quit that city, he took ten public carriages, as he was desired to do, and leaving behind him all his retinue, except a few of his chamberlains and domestic officers, whom he had brought with him, he was in this poor manner compelled to hasten his journey, his guards forcing him to use all speed; while he from time to time, with many regrets, bewailed the rashness which had placed him in a mean and despised condition at the mercy of men of the lowest class.

17. And amid all these circumstances, in moments when exhausted nature sought repose in sleep, his senses were kept in a state of agitation by dreadful spectres making unseemly noises about him; and crowds of those whom he had slain, led on by Domitianus and Montius, seemed to seize and torture him with all the torments of the Furies.

18. For the mind, when freed by sleep from its connection with the body, is nevertheless active, and being full of the thoughts and anxieties of mortal pursuits, engenders mighty visions which we call phantoms.

19. Therefore his melancholy fate, by which it was destined he should be deprived of empire and life, leading the way, he proceeded on his journey by continual relays of horses, till he arrived at Petobio,²¹ a town in Noricum. Here all disguise was thrown off, and the Count Barbatio suddenly made his appearance, with Apodemius, the secretary for the provinces, and an escort of soldiers whom the emperor had picked out as men bound to him by especial favours, feeling sure that they could not be turned from their obedience either by bribes or pity.

20. And now the affair was conducted to its conclusion without further disguise or deceit, and the whole portion of the palace which is outside the walls was surrounded by armed men. Barbatio, entering the palace before daybreak, stripped the Cæsar of his royal robes, and clothed him with a tunic and an ordinary soldier's garment, assuring him with many protestations, as if by the especial command of the emperor, that he should be exposed to no further suffering; and then said to him, "Stand up at once." And having suddenly placed him in a private carriage, he conducted him into Istria, near to the town of Pola, where it is reported that Crispus, the son of Constantine, was formerly put to death.

21. And while he was there kept in strict confinement, being already terrified with apprehensions of his approaching destruction, Eusebius, at that time the high chamberlain, arrived in haste, and with him Pentadius the secretary, and Mallobaudes the tribune of the guard, who had the emperor's orders to compel him to explain, case by case, on what accounts he had ordered each of the individuals whom he had executed at Antioch to be put to death.

22. He being struck with a paleness like that of Adrastus²² at these questions, was only able to reply that he had put most of them to death at the instigation of his wife Constantina; being forsooth ignorant that when the mother of Alexander the Great urged him to put to death some one who was innocent, and in the hope of prevailing with him, repeated to him over and over again that she had borne him nine months in her womb, and was his mother, that emperor made her this prudent answer, "My excellent mother, ask for some other reward; for the life of a man cannot be put in the balance with any kind of service."

23. When this was known, the emperor, giving way to unchangeable indignation and anger, saw that his only hope of establishing security firmly lay in putting the Cæsar to death. And having sent Serenianus, whom we have already spoken of as having been accused of treason, but acquitted by intrigue, and Pentadius the secretary, and Apodemius the secretary for the provinces, he commanded that they should put him to death. And accordingly his hands were bound like those of some convicted thief, and he was beheaded, and his carcass, which but a little while ago had been the object of dread to cities and provinces, deprived of head and defaced: it was then left on the ground.

24. In this the supervision of the supreme Deity manifested itself to be everywhere vigilant. For not only did the cruelties of Gallus bring about his own destruction, but they also who, by their pernicious flattery and instigation, and charges supported by perjury, had led him to the perpetration of many murders, not long afterwards died miserably. Scudilo, being afflicted with a liver complaint which penetrated to his lungs, died vomiting; while Barbatio, who had long busied himself in inventing false accusations against Gallus, was accused by secret information of aiming at some post higher than his command of infantry, and being condemned, though unjustly, was put to death, and so by his melancholy end made atonement to the shade of the Cæsar.

25. These, and innumerable other actions of the same kind, Adrastea, who is also called Nemesis, the avenger of wicked and the rewarder of good deeds, is continually bringing to pass: would that she could always do so! She is a kind of sublime agent of the powerful Deity, dwelling, according to common belief, above the human circle; or, as others define her, she is a substantial protection, presiding over the particular destinies of individuals, and feigned by the ancient theologians to be the daughter of Justice, looking down from a certain inscrutable eternity upon all terrestrial and mundane affairs.

26. She, as queen of all causes of events, and arbitress and umpire in all affairs of life, regulates the urn which contains the lots of men, and directs the alternations of fortune which we behold in the world, frequently bringing our undertakings to an issue different from what we intended, and involving and changing great numbers of actions. She also, binding the vainly swelling pride of mankind by the indissoluble fetters of necessity, and swaying the

inclination of progress and decay according to her will, sometimes bows down and enfeebles the stiff neck of arrogance, and sometimes raises virtuous men from the lowest depth, leading them to a prosperous and happy life. And it is on this account that the fables of antiquity have represented her with wings, that she may be supposed to be present at all events with prompt celerity. And they have also placed a rudder in her hand and given her a wheel under her feet, that mankind may be aware that she governs the universe, running at will through all the elements.^{23]}

27. In this untimely manner did the Cæsar, being himself also already weary of life, die, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, having reigned four years. He was born in the country of the Etrurians, in the district of Veternum,²⁴ being the son of Constantius, the brother of the Emperor Constantine; his mother was Galla, the sister of Rufinus and Cerealis, men who had been ennobled by the offices of consul and prefect.

28. He was a man of splendid stature and great beauty of person and figure, with soft hair of a golden colour, his newly sprouting beard covering his cheeks with a tender down, and in spite of his youth his countenance showed dignity and authority. He differed as much from the temperate habits of his brother Julian, as the sons of Vespasian, Domitian and Titus, differed from each other.

29. After he had been taken by the emperor as his colleague, and raised to the highest eminence of power, he experienced the fickle changeableness of fortune which mocks mortality, sometimes raising individuals to the stars, at others sinking them to the lowest depths of hell.

30. And though the examples of such vicissitudes are beyond number, nevertheless I will only enumerate a few in a cursory manner. This changeable and fickle fortune made Agathocles, the Sicilian, a king from being a potter, and reduced Dionysius, formerly the terror of all nations, to be the master of a grammar school. This same fortune emboldened Andriscus of Adramyttium, who had been born in a fuller's shop, to assume the name of Philip, and compelled the legitimate son of Perseus²⁵ to descend to the trade of a blacksmith to obtain a livelihood. Again, fortune surrendered Mancinus²⁶ to the people of Numantia, after he had enjoyed the supreme command, exposed Veturius²⁷ to the cruelty of the Samnites, Claudius²⁸ to that of the Corsicans, and made Regulus²⁹ a victim to the ferocity of the Carthaginians. Through the injustice of fortune, Pompey,³⁰ after he had acquired the surname of the Great by the grandeur of his exploits, was murdered in Ægypt at the pleasure of some eunuchs, while a fellow named Eunus, a slave who had escaped from a house of correction, commanded an army of runaway slaves in Sicily. How many men of the highest birth, through the connivance of this same fortune, submitted to the authority of Viriathus and of Spartacus!³¹ How many heads at which nations once trembled have fallen under the deadly hand of the executioner! One man is thrown into prison, another is promoted to unexpected power, a third is hurled down from the highest rank and dignity.

But he who would endeavour to enumerate all the various and frequent instances of the caprice of fortune, might as well undertake to number the sands or ascertain the weight of mountains.

NOTES.

¹ Gallus and his brother Julian were the nephews of the great Constantine, sons of his brother Julius. When Constantius, who succeeded Constantine on the throne, murdered his uncles and most of his cousins, he spared these two, probably on account of their tender age.

² Hannibalianus was another nephew of Constantine. That emperor raised his own three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, to the dignity of Cæsar; and of his two favourite nephews, Dalmacius and Hannibalianus, he raised the first, by the title of Cæsar, to an equality with his cousins; “in favour of the latter he invented the new and singular appellation of Fortitissimus, to which he annexed the flattering distinction of a robe of purple and gold. But of the whole series of Roman princes in any age of the empire Hannibalianus alone was distinguished by the title of *king*, a name which the subjects of Tiberius would have detested as the profane and cruel insult of capricious tyranny.” — Gibbon, cxviii. The editor of Bohn’s edition adds in a note: “The title given to Hannibalianus did not apply to him as a *Roman* prince, but as king of a territory assigned to him in Asia. This territory consisted of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia, the city of Cæsarea being chosen for his residence.” — Gibbon, Bohn’s edition, vol. ii. p. 257.

³ “There was among the commanders of the soldiery one prefect who was especially entitled Præsens, or Præsentalis, because his office was to be always in the court or about the person of the prince, and because the emperor’s body-guard was under his particular orders.” — H. Valesius.

⁴ The passage is found in Cicero’s Oration pro Cluentio, c. 25.

⁵ Sciron was a pirate slain by Theseus, v. Ov. Metam. vii. 44 and the Epistle of Ariadne to Theseus.

“Cum fuerit Sciron lectus, torvusque Procrustes.”

⁶ His victory over Magnentius, whom he defeated at Mursa, on the Doave, in the year 351. Magnentius fled to Aquileia, but was pursued, and again defeated the next year, at a place called Mons Seleuci, in the neighbourhood of Gap, and threw himself on his own sword to avoid falling into the hands of Constantius.

⁷ Hesiod. Ammianus refers to the passage in Hesiod’s Op. et Dies, 289, beginning — τῆς δ’ ἀρεῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρποιθεν ἔθισαν.

⁸ A nomenclator was a slave who attended a great noble in his walk through the city to remind him of the names of those whom he met. See Cicero pro Muræna, c. 36.

⁹ The name of a slave in the Eunuch, of Terence, who says, act. iv sc. 8 — Sannio alone stays at home.

¹⁰ It was customary on such solemnities, as also on the occasion of assuming the toga virilis, or entering on any important magistracy, to make small presents of money to the guests who were invited to celebrate the occasion. Cf. Plin. Epist. x. 117.

¹¹ The Latin is *Dux*. It is about this period that the title Duke and Count, which we have already had, arose, indicating however at first not territorial possessions, but military commands; and it is worth noticing that the rank of Count was the higher of the two.

¹² Constantine, on his conversion to Christianity, had issued an edict forbidding the consultation of oracles; but the practice was not wholly abandoned till the time of Theodosius.

¹³ Schools was the name given at Rome to buildings where men were wont to meet for any purpose, whether of study, of traffic, or of the practice of any art. The schools of the Palatine were the station of the cohorts of the guard. The “Protectors or Guards” were a body of soldiers of higher rank, receiving also higher pay; called also “Domestici or household troops,” as especially set apart for the protection of the imperial palace and person. The “Scutarii” (shield-bearers) belonged to the Palatine schools; and the Gentiles were troops enlisted from among those nations which were still accounted barbarous.

¹⁴ Gibbon here proposes for *lenitatem* to read *levitatem*, fickleness; himself describing Montius as “a statesman whose art and experience were frequently betrayed by the levity of his disposition.” — Cap. xix., , vol. iii., Bohn’s edition.

¹⁵ Châlons sur Saône.

¹⁶ Near Basle.

¹⁷ It will be observed that Ammianus here speaks of himself as in attendance upon Ursicinus.

¹⁸ Maximianus Herculius.

¹⁹ Diocletian.

²⁰ As we say, Out of the frying-pan into the fire.

²¹ The town of Pettau, on the Drave.

²² A paleness such as overspread the countenance of Adrastus when he saw his two sons-in-law, Pydeus and Polynices, slain at Thebes. Virgil speaks of *Adrasti pallentis imago*, *Æn.* vi. 480.

²³ Ammianus here confounds Nemesis with Fortuna. Compare Horace’s description of the latter goddess, *Lib. i. Od. 34*: —

“ ... Valet ima summis
Mutare, et insignia attenuat deus
Obscura promens: hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit; hic posuisse gaudet.”

Or, as it is translated by Dr. Francis: —

“The hand of Jove can crush the proud
Down to the meanness of the crowd:

And raise the lowest in his stead:
But rapid Fortune pulls him down,
And snatches his imperial crown,
To place, not *fix* it, on another's head."

²⁴ Near the modern city of Sienna.

²⁵ See Plutarch's *Life of Æmilius*, c. 37. The name of the young prince was Alexander.

²⁶ Called also Hostilius; cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 1.

²⁷ Cf. Liv. ix. c. x.; Cicero de Officiis, iii. 30.

²⁸ Cf. Val. Max. vi. 3.

²⁹ Cf. Horace, Od. iv. ult.; Florus, ii. 1. The story of the cruelties inflicted on Regulus is now, however, generally disbelieved.

³⁰ The fate of Pompey served also as an instance to Juvenal in his satire on the vanity of human wishes.

Provida Pompeio diderat Campania febres
Optandas, sed multæ urbes et publica vota
Vicerunt; igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit.

Sat. X. 283, &c.

³¹ Spartacus was the celebrated leader of the slaves in the Servile War.

BOOK XV.

ARGUMENT.

I. The death of the Cæsar Gallus is announced to the emperor. — II. Ursicinus, the commander of the cavalry in the East; Julian, the brother of the Cæsar Gallus; and Gorgonius, the high chamberlain, are accused of treason. — III. The adherents and servants of the Cæsar Gallus are punished. — IV. The Allemanni of the district of Lintz are defeated by the Emperor Constantius with great loss. — V. Silvanus, a Frank, the commander of the infantry in Gaul, is saluted as emperor at Cologne; and on the twenty-eighth day of his reign is destroyed by stratagem. — VI. The friends and adherents of Silvanus are put to death. — VII. Seditions of the Roman people are repressed by Leontius, the prefect of the city; Liberius, the bishop, is driven from his see. — VIII. Julian, the brother of Gallus, is created Cæsar by the Emperor Constantius, his uncle; and is appointed to command. — IX. On the origin of the Gauls, and from whence they derive the names of Celts and Gauls; and of their treaties. — X. Of the Gallic Alps, and of the various passes over them. — XI. A brief description of Gaul, and of the course of the River Rhone. — XII. Of the manners of the Gauls. — XIII. Of Musonianus, prefect of the Prætorium in the East.

I.

A.D. 354.

§ 1. Having investigated the truth to the best of our power we have hitherto related all the transactions which either our age permitted us to witness, or which we could learn from careful examination of those who were concerned in them, in the order in which the several events took place. The remaining facts, which the succeeding books will set forth, we will, as far as our talent permits, explain with the greatest accuracy, without fearing those who may be inclined to cavil at our work as too long; for brevity is only to be praised when, while it puts an end to unseasonable delays, it suppresses nothing which is well authenticated.

2. Gallus had hardly breathed his last in Noricum, when Apodemius, who as long as he lived had been a fiery instigator of disturbances, caught up his shoes and carried them off, journeying, with frequent relays of horses, so rapidly as even to kill some of them by excess of speed, and so brought the first news of what had occurred to Milan. And having made his way into the palace, he threw down the shoes before the feet of Constantius, as if he were bringing the spoils of a king of the Parthians who had been slain. And when this sudden news arrived that an affair so unexpected and difficult had been executed with entire facility in complete accordance with the wish of the emperor, the principal courtiers, according to their custom, exerting all their zeal in the path of flattery, extolled to the skies the virtue and good fortune of the emperor, at whose nod, as if they had been mere common soldiers, two princes had thus been deprived of their power, namely, Veteranio and Gallus.

3. And Constantius being exceedingly elated at the exquisite taste of this adulation, and thinking that he himself for the future should be free from all the ordinary inconveniences of mortality, now began to depart from the path of justice so evidently that he even at times laid claim to immortality; and in

writing letters with his own hand, would style himself lord of the whole world; a thing which, if others had said, any one ought to have been indignant at, who laboured with proper diligence to form his life and habits in emulation of the constitutional princes who had preceded him, as he professed to do.

4. For even if he had under his power the infinities of worlds fancied by Democritus, as Alexander the Great, under the promptings of Anaxarchus, did fancy, yet either by reading, or by hearing others speak, he might have considered that (as mathematicians unanimously agree) the circumference of the whole earth, immense as it seems to us, is nevertheless not bigger than a pin's point as compared with the greatness of the universe.

II.

§ 1. And now, after the pitiable death of the Cæsar, the trumpet of judicial dangers sounded the alarm, and Ursicinus was impeached of treason, envy gaining more and more strength every day to attack his safety; envy which is inimical to all powerful men.

2. For he was overcome by this difficulty, that, while the ears of the emperor were shut against all defences which were reasonable and easy of proof, they were open to all the secret whispers of calumniators, who pretended that his name was almost disused among all the districts of the East, and that Ursicinus was urged by them both privately and publicly to be their commander, as one who could be formidable to the Persian nation.

3. But this magnanimous man stood his ground immovably against whatever might happen, only taking care not to throw himself away in an abject manner, and grieving from his heart that innocence had no safe foundation on which to stand. And the more sad also for this consideration, that before these events took place many of his friends had gone over to other more powerful persons, as in cases of official dignity the lictors go over to the successors of former officers.

4. His colleague Arbetio was attacking him by cajoling words of feigned good-will, often publicly speaking of him as a virtuous and brave man; Arbetio being a man of great cunning in laying snares for men of simple life, and one who at that season enjoyed too much power. For as a serpent that has its hole underground and hidden from the sight of man observes the different passers-by, and attacks whom it will with a sudden spring, so this man, having been raised from being a common soldier of the lowest class to the highest military dignities, without having received any injury or any provocation, polluted his conscience from an insatiable desire of doing mischief.

5. Therefore, having a few partners in his secrets for accomplices, he had secretly arranged with the emperor when he asked his opinion, that on the next night Ursicinus should be seized and carried away from the sight of the soldiers, and so be put to death uncondemned, just as formerly Domitius Corbulo, that faithful and wise defender of our provinces, is said to have been slain in the miserable period of Nero's cruelty.

6. And after the matter had been thus arranged, while the men destined for the service of seizing Ursicinus were waiting for the appointed time, the emperor's mind changed to mercy, and so this impious deed was put off for further consideration.

7. Then the engine of calumny was directed against Julian, who had lately been brought to court; a prince who afterwards became memorable, but who was now attacked with a twofold accusation, as the iniquity of his enemies thought requisite. First, that he had gone from the Park of Macellum, which lies in Cappadocia, into Asia, from a desire of acquiring polite learning. Secondly, that he had seen his brother as he passed through Constantinople.

8. And when he had explained away the charges thus brought against him, and had proved that he had not done either of these things without being ordered, he would still have perished through the intrigues of the abandoned court of flatterers, if he had not been saved by the favour of the supreme Deity, with the assistance of Queen Eusebia. By her intercession he obtained leave to be conducted to the town of Como, in the neighbourhood of Milan; and after he had remained there a short time he was permitted to go to Greece for the purpose of cultivating his literary tastes, as he was very eager to do.

9. Nor were there wanting other incidents arising out of these occurrences, which might be looked upon as events under the direction of Providence, as some of them were rightly punished, while others failed of their design, proving vain and ineffective. But it occasionally happened that rich men, relying on the protection of those in office, and clinging to them as the ivy clings to lofty trees, bought acquittals at immense prices; and that poor men who had little or no means of purchasing safety were condemned out of hand. And therefore truth was overshadowed by falsehood, and sometimes falsehood obtained the authority of truth.

10. In these days Gorgonius also was summoned to court, the man who had been the Cæsar's principal chamberlain. And though it was made plain by his own confession that he had been a partner in his undertakings, and sometimes a chief instigator of them, yet through the conspiracy of the eunuchs justice was overpowered by dexterously arranged falsehoods, and he was acquitted and so escaped the danger.

III.

§ 1. While these events were taking place at Milan, battalions of soldiers were brought from the East to Aquileia, with a number of members of the court, who, being broken in spirit, while their limbs were enfeebled by the weight of their chains, cursed the protraction of their lives which were surrounded with every variety of misery. For they were accused of having been the ministers of the ferocity of Gallus, and it was believed to be owing to them that Domitian had been torn to pieces, and that Montius and others had been brought to destruction.

2. Arboreus, and Eusebius, at that time high chamberlain, both men of

insane arrogance, and equally unjust and cruel, were appointed to try these men. And they, without any careful examination, or making any distinction between the innocent and the guilty, condemned some to scourgings, others to torture and exile, some they adjudged to serve in the lowest ranks of the army, and the rest they condemned to death. And when they had thus filled the sepulchres with dead bodies, they returned as if in triumph, and brought an account of their exploits to the emperor, who was notoriously severe and implacable against all offences of the kind.

3. After this, throughout the rest of his reign, Constantius, as if resolved to reverse the prescribed arrangement of the Fates, behaved with greater violence than ever, and opened his heart to numbers of designing plotters. And owing to this conduct, many men arose who watched for all kinds of reports, at first attacking, as with the appetite of wild beasts, those in the enjoyment of the highest honours and rank, and afterwards both poor and rich indiscriminately. Not like those Cibyrateæ in the time of Verres,³² fawning on the tribunal of a single lieutenant, but harassing the limbs of the whole republic by means of all the evils that arose anywhere.

4. Among these men Paulus and Mercurius were especially conspicuous, the first a Dacian born, the latter a Persian. Mercurius was a notary, and Paulus had been promoted from being a steward of the emperor's table to a receivership in the provinces. Paulus, as I have already mentioned, had been nicknamed The Chain, because in weaving knots of calumnies he was invincible, scattering around foul poisons and destroying people by various means, as some skilful wrestlers are wont in their contests to catch hold of their antagonists by the heel.

5. Mercurius was nicknamed Count of Dreams, because (as a dog fond of biting secretly fawns and wags his tail while full of inward spite) he forced his way into feasts and companies, and if any one in his sleep (when nature roves about with an extraordinary degree of freedom) communicated to a friend that he had seen anything, exaggerated it, colouring it for the most part with envenomed arts, and bore it to the open ears of the emperor. And for such speeches men were attacked with formidable accusations, as if they had committed inexpiable crimes.

6. The news of these events having got abroad, men were so cautious of even relating nocturnal dreams, that, in the presence of a stranger, they would scarcely confess they had slept at all. And some accomplished men lamented that they had not been born in the country of Mount Atlas,³³ where it is said that dreams never occur, though what the cause of such a fact is, we must leave to those who are learned in such matters to decide.

7. Amid all these terrible investigations and punishments, another disaster took place in Illyricum, which from some empty words involved many in danger. At an entertainment given by Africanus, the governor of the second Pannonia, at Sirmium, some men having drunk rather too much, and thinking there was no witness of their proceedings, spoke freely of the existing

imperial government, accusing it as most vexatious to the people. And some of them expressed a hope that a change, such as was wished for by all, might be at hand, affirming that this was portended by omens, while some, with incredible rashness, affirmed that the auguries of their ancestral house promised the same thing.

8. Among those present at the banquet was Gaudentius, one of the secretaries, a stupid man, and of a hasty disposition. And he looking upon the matter as serious, reported it to Rufinus, who was at that time the chief commander of the guard of the prætorian prefecture, a man always eager for the most cruel measures, and infamous for every kind of wickedness.

9. He immediately, as if borne on wings, flew to the court of the emperor, and so bitterly inflamed him, always easy of access and susceptible of impressions from suspicious circumstances of this kind, that without a moment's deliberation he ordered Africanus and all who had been partakers of his fatal banquet to be seized. And when this was done, the wicked informer, always fond of whatever is contrary to popular manners, obtained what he most coveted, a continuation of his existing office for two years.

10. To arrest these men, Teutomeres, the chief of the Protectores, was sent with his colleague; and he loaded them all with chains, and conducted them, as he had been ordered, to the emperor's court. But when they arrived at Aquileia, Marinus, who from having been a drillmaster had been promoted to a tribuneship, but who at that time had had no particular duty, being a man who had held dangerous language, and who was in other respects of an intemperate disposition, being left in an inn while things necessary for the journey were being prepared, stabbed himself with a knife which he accidentally found, and his bowels gushed out, so that he died. The rest were conducted to Milan, and subjected to torture; and having been forced by their agony to confess that while at the banquet they had used some petulant expressions, were ordered to be kept in penal confinement, with some hope, though an uncertain one, of eventual release. But Teutomeres and his colleague, being accused of having allowed Marinus to kill himself, were condemned to banishment, though they were afterwards pardoned through the intercession of Arbetio.

IV.

§ 1. Soon after this transaction had been thus terminated, war was declared against the tribes of the Allemanni around Lentia,³⁴ who had often made extensive incursions into the contiguous Roman territories. The emperor himself set out on the expedition, and went as far as Rhætia, and the district of the Canini.³⁵ And there, after long and careful deliberation, it was decided to be both honourable and expedient that Arbetio, the master of the horse, should march with a division of the troops, in fact with the greater part of the army, along the borders of the lake of Brigantia, with the object of coming to an immediate engagement with the barbarians. And I will here describe the

character of the ground briefly, as well as I can.

2. The Rhine rising among the defiles of lofty mountains, and forcing its way with immense violence through steep rocks, stretches its onward course without receiving any foreign waters, in the same manner as the Nile pours down with headlong descent through the cataracts. And it is so abundantly full by its own natural riches that it would be navigable up to its very source were it not like a torrent rather than a stream.

3. And soon after it has disentangled itself from its defiles, rolling onward between high banks, it enters a vast lake of circular form, which the Rhætian natives call Brigantia,³⁶ being four hundred and sixty furlongs in length, and of nearly equal extent in breadth, unapproachable on account of a vast mass of dark woods, except where the energy of the Romans has made a wide road through them, in spite of the hostility of the barbarians, and the unfavourable character both of the ground and the climate.

4. The Rhine forcing its way into this pool, and roaring with its foaming eddies, pierces the sluggish quiet of the waters, and rushes through the middle from one end to the other. And like an element separated from some other element by eternal discord, without any increase or diminution of the volume of water which it has brought into the lake, it comes forth from it again with its old name and its unalloyed power, never having suffered from the contact, and so proceeds till it mingles with the waves of the sea.

5. And what is exceedingly strange, the lake is not moved at all by this rapid passage of the river through it, nor is it affected by the muddy soil beneath the waters of the lake; the two bodies of water being incapable of mingling with each other. A thing which would be supposed impossible, did not the very sight of the lake prove the fact.

6. In a similar manner, the Alpheus, rising in Arcadia, being seized with a love for the fountain Arethusa,³⁷ passing through the Ionian sea, as is related by the poets, proceeds onward till it arrives at the neighbourhood of its beloved fountain.

7. Arbetio not choosing to wait till messengers arrived to announce the approach of the barbarians, although he knew the fierce way in which they begin their wars, allowed himself to be betrayed into a hidden ambush, where he stood without the power of moving, being bewildered by the suddenness of his disaster.

8. In the mean time the enemy, showing themselves, sprang forth from their hiding-places and spared not one who came in their way, but overwhelmed them with every kind of weapon. For none of our men could offer the smallest resistance, nor was there any hope of any of them being able to save their lives except by a speedy flight. Therefore, being intent only on avoiding wounds, our soldiers, losing all order, ran almost at random in every direction, exposing their backs to the blows of the enemy. Nevertheless the greater part of them, scattering themselves among narrow paths, were saved

from danger by the protecting darkness of the night, and at the return of day recovered their courage and rejoined their different legions. But still by this sad and unexpected disaster a vast number of common soldiers and ten tribunes were slain.

9. The Allemanni were greatly elated at this event, and advanced with increased boldness, every day coming up to the fortifications of the Romans while the morning mists obscured the light; and drawing their swords roamed about in every direction, gnashing their teeth, and threatening us with haughty shouts. Then with a sudden sally our Scutarii would rush forth, and after being stopped for a moment by the resistance of the hostile squadrons, would call out all their comrades to join them in the engagement.

10. But the greater part of our men were alarmed by the recollection of their recent disaster, and Arbetio hesitated, thinking everything pregnant with danger. Upon this three tribunes at once sallied forth, Arintheus who was a lieutenant commander of the heavy troops, Seniauchus who commanded the cavalry of the Comites,³⁸ and Bappo who had the command of the Promoti³⁹ and of those troops who had been particularly intrusted to his charge by the emperor.

11. These men, looking on the common cause as their own, resolved to repel the violence of the enemy according to the example of their ancient comrades. And pouring down upon the foe like a torrent, not in a regular line of battle, but in desultory attacks like those of banditti, they put them all to flight in a disgraceful manner. Since they, being in loose order and straggling, and hampered by their endeavours to escape, exposed their unprotected bodies to our weapons, and were slain by repeated blows of sword and spear.

12. Many too were slain with their horses, and seemed as they lay on their backs to be so entangled as still to be sitting on them. And when this was seen, all our men who had previously hesitated to engage in battle with their comrades, poured forth out of the camp; and now, forgetful of all precautions, they drove before them the mob of barbarians, except such as flight had saved from destruction, trampling on the heaps of slain, and covered with gore.

13. When the battle was thus terminated the emperor in triumph and joy returned to Milan to winter quarters.

V.

A.D. 355.

§ 1. After these unhappy circumstances, accompanied as they were with equal calamities in the provinces, a whirlwind of new misfortunes arose which seemed likely to destroy the whole state at once, if Fortune, which regulates the events of human life, had not terminated a state of affairs which all regarded with great apprehension, by bringing the dangers to a speedy issue.

2. From the long neglect with which these provinces had been treated, the Gauls, having no assistance on which to rely, had borne cruel massacres, with plunder and conflagration, from barbarians who raged throughout their land

with impunity. Silvanus, the commander of the infantry, being a man well suited to correct these evils, went thither at the command of the emperor, Arbetio at the same time urging with all his power that this task should be undertaken without delay, with the object of imposing the dangerous burden of this duty on his absent rival, whom he was vexed to see still in prosperity....

3. There was a certain man named Dynamius, the superintendent of the emperor's beasts of burden, who had begged of Silvanus recommendatory letters to his friends as of one who was admitted to his most intimate friendship. Having obtained this favour, as Silvanus, having no suspicion of any evil intention, had with great simplicity granted what he was asked, Dynamius kept the letters, in order at a future time to plan something to his injury.

4. Therefore, when the aforesaid commander had gone to the Gauls in the service of the republic, and while he was engaged in repelling the barbarians, who already began to distrust their own power, and to be filled with alarm, Dynamius, being restless, like a man of cunning and practised deceitfulness, devised a wicked plot; and in this it is said he had for his accomplices Lampadius, the prefect of the prætorian guard, Eusebius, who had been the superintendent of the emperor's privy purse, and was known by the nickname of Mattyocopa,⁴⁰ and Ædesius, formerly keeper of the records, whom this prefect had contrived to have elected consul, as being his dearest friend. He then with a sponge effaced the contents of the letters, leaving nothing but the address, and inserted a text materially differing from the original writing, as if Silvanus had asked, by indirect hints, and entreated his friends who were within the palace, and those who had no office (among whom was Albinus of Etruria, and many others), to aid him in projects of loftier ambition, as one who would soon attain the imperial throne. This bundle of letters he thus made up, inventing at his leisure, in order with them to endanger the life of this innocent man.

5. Dynamius was appointed to investigate these charges on behalf of the emperor; and while he was artfully weaving these and similar plans, he contrived to enter alone into the imperial chamber, choosing his opportunity, and hoping to entangle firmly in his meshes the most vigilant guardian of the emperor's safety. And being full of wicked cunning, after he had read the forged packet of letters in the council chamber, the tribunes were ordered to be committed to custody, and also several private individuals were commanded to be arrested and brought up from the provinces, whose names were mentioned in those letters.

6. But presently Malarichus, the commander of the Gentiles, being struck with the iniquity of the business, and taking his colleagues to his counsel, spoke out loudly that men devoted to the preservation of the emperor ought not to be circumvented by factions and treachery. He accordingly demanded that he himself, his nearest relations being left as hostages, and Mallobaudes, the tribune of the heavy-armed soldiers, giving bail that he would return,

might be commissioned to go with speed to bring back Silvanus, who he was certain had never entertained the idea of any such attempt as these bitter plotters had imputed to him. Or, as an alternative, he entreated that he might become security for Mallobaudes, and that their officers might be permitted to go and do what he had proposed to take upon himself.

7. For he affirmed that he knew beyond all question that, if any stranger were sent, Silvanus, who was inclined to be somewhat apprehensive of danger, even when no circumstances were really calculated to alarm him, would very likely throw matters into confusion.

8. But, although the advice which he gave was useful and necessary, he spoke as to the winds, to no purpose. For by the counsels of Arbetio, Apodemius, who was a persevering and bitter enemy to all good men, was sent with letters to summon Silvanus to the presence. When he had arrived in Gaul, taking no heed of the commission with which he was charged, and caring but little for anything that might happen, he remained inactive, without either seeing Silvanus, or delivering the letters which commanded him to appear at court. And having taken the receiver of the province into his counsels, he began with arrogance and malevolence to harass the clients and servants of the master of the horse, as if that officer had been already condemned and was on the point of being executed.

9. In the mean time, while the arrival of Silvanus was looked for, and while Apodemius was throwing everything, though quiet before, into commotion, Dynamius, that he might by still more convincing proofs establish belief in his wicked plots, had sent other forged letters (agreeing with the previous ones which he had brought under the emperor's notice by the agency of the prefect) to the tribune of the factory at Cremona: these were written in the names of Silvanus and Malarichus, in which the tribune, as one privy to their secrets, was warned to lose no time in having everything in readiness.

10. But when this tribune had read the whole of the letters, he was for some time in doubt and perplexity as to what they could mean (for he did not recollect that those persons whose letters he had thus received had ever spoken with him upon private transactions of any kind); and accordingly he sent the letters themselves, by the courier who had brought them, to Malarichus, sending a soldier also with him; and entreated Malarichus to explain in intelligible language what he wanted, and not to use such obscure terms. For he declared that he, being but a plain and somewhat rude man, had not in the least understood what was intimated so obscurely.

11. Malarichus the moment he received the letters, being already in sorrow and anxiety, and alarmed for his own fate and that of his countryman Silvanus, called around him the Franks, of whom at that time there was a great multitude in the palace, and in resolute language laid open and proved the falsehood of the machinations by which their lives were threatened, and was loud in his complaints.

12. When these things became known to the emperor, he appointed the

members of his secret council and the chief officers of his army to make further investigation of the matter. And when the judges appeared to make light of it, Florentius the son of Nigridianus, who at that time filled the post of master of the offices,⁴¹ having examined the writings carefully, and detecting beneath them some vestiges of the tops of the former words which had been effaced, perceived, as was indeed the case, that by interpolations of the original letter, matters very different from any of which Silvanus was author had been written over them, according to the fancy of the contriver of this forgery.

13. On this the cloud of treachery was dispersed, and the emperor, informed of the truth by a faithful report, recalled the powers granted to the prefect, and ordered him to be submitted to an examination. Nevertheless he was acquitted through the active combination of many of his friends; while Eusebius, the former treasurer of the emperor's secret purse, being put to the torture, confessed that these things had been done with his privity.

14. Ædesius, affirming with obstinate denial that he had never known anything which had been done in the matter, escaped, being adjudged innocent. And thus the transaction was brought to an end, and all those who had been accused in the original information were acquitted; and Dynamius, as a man of exceeding accomplishments and prudence, was appointed to govern Etruria with the rank of corrector.

15. While these affairs were proceeding, Silvanus was living at Agrippina,⁴² and having learnt by continual information sent to him by his friends what Apodemius was doing with the hope of effecting his ruin; and knowing also how impressible the mind of the feeble emperor was; began to fear lest in his absence, and without being convicted of any crime, he might still be treated as a criminal. And so, being placed in a situation of the greatest difficulty, he began to think of trusting himself to the good faith of the barbarians.

16. But being dissuaded from this by Laniogaisus, at that time a tribune, whom we have already spoken of as the only person who was present with Constans when he was dying, himself serving at that time as a volunteer; and being assured by Laniogaisus that the Franks, of whom he himself was a countryman, would put him to death, or else betray him for a bribe, he saw no safety anywhere in the present emergency, and so was driven to extreme counsels. And by degrees, having secretly conferred with the chiefs of the principal legions, and having excited them by the magnitude of promised rewards, he tore for use on this occasion the purple silk from the insignia of the dragons⁴³ and standards, and so assumed the title of emperor.

17. And while these events are passing in Gaul, one day, a little before sunset, an unexpected messenger arrived at Milan, relating fully that Silvanus, being ambitious to rise above his place as commander of the infantry, had tampered with the army, and assumed the imperial dignity.

18. Constantius, at this amazing and unexpected event, seemed as if struck

by a thunderbolt of fate, and having at once summoned a council to meet at the second watch, all the nobles hastened to the palace. No one had either mind to conceive or tongue to recommend what was best to be done; but in suppressed tones they mentioned the name of Ursicinus as a man eminent for skill in affairs of war, and one who had been undeservedly exposed to most injurious treatment. He was immediately sent for by the principal chamberlain, which is the most honourable kind of summons, and as soon as he entered the council-chamber was offered the purple to salute much more graciously than at any former time. Diocletian was the first who introduced the custom of offering reverence to the emperor after this foreign manner and royal pretension; whereas all former princes, as we read, had been saluted like judges.

19. And so the man who a little while before, through the malevolent persecution of certain of the courtiers, had been termed the whirlpool of the East, and who had been accused of a design to aim at the supreme power for his sons, was now recommended as one who was a most skilful general, who had been the comrade of the great Constantine, and as the only man capable of extinguishing the threatened conflagration. And though the reasons for which he was sent for were honest, they were not wholly free from underhand motives. For while great anxiety was felt that Silvanus should be destroyed as a most formidable rebel, yet, if that object miscarried, it was thought that Ursicinus, being damaged by the failure, would himself easily be ruined; so that no scruple, which else was to be feared, would interpose to save him from destruction.

20. While arrangements were being made for accelerating his journey, the general was preparing to repel the charges which had been brought against him; but the emperor prevented him, forbidding him in conciliatory language, saying that this was not an opportunity suitable for undertaking any controversy in defence of his cause, when the imminent necessity of affairs rather prompted that no delay should be interposed to the restoration of parties to their pristine concord before the disunion got worse.

21. Therefore, after a long deliberation about many things, the first and most important matter in which consultation was held, was by what means Silvanus could be led to think the emperor still ignorant of his conduct. And the most likely manner to confirm him in his confidence appeared to be that he should be informed, in a complimentary despatch, that Ursicinus was appointed his successor, and that he was invited to return to court with undiminished power.

22. After this affair was arranged, the officer who had brought the news to Milan was ordered to depart with some tribunes and ten of the Protectores and domestic guard as an escort, given to him at his own request, to aid him in the discharge of his public duty. And of these I myself was one, with my colleague Verrinianus; and all the rest were either friends or relations of mine.

23. And now all of us, fearing mainly for ourselves, accompanied him a long distance on his journey; and although we seemed as exposed to danger as gladiators about to fight with wild beasts, yet considering in our minds that evils are often the forerunners of good, we recollected with admiration that expression of Cicero's, uttered by him in accordance with the eternal maxims of truth, which runs in these words:44]— "And although it is a thing most desirable that one's fortune should always continue in a most flourishing condition; still that general level state of life brings not so much sensation of joy as we feel when, after having been surrounded by disasters or by dangers, fortune returns into a happier condition."

24. Accordingly we hastened onwards by forced journeys, in order that the master of the horse, who was eager to acquire the honour of suppressing the revolt, might make his appearance in the suspected district before any rumour of the usurpation of Silvanus had spread among the Italians. But rapidly as we hastened, fame, like the wind, had outstripped us, and had revealed some part of the facts; and when we reached Agrippina we found matters quite out of the reach of our attempts.

25. For a vast multitude of people, assembled from all quarters, were, with a mixture of haste and alarm, strengthening the foundations of Silvanus's enterprise, and a numerous military force was collected; so that it seemed more advisable, on the existing emergency, for our unfortunate general to await the intentions and pleasure of the new emperor, who was assuring himself by ridiculous omens and signs that he was gaining accessions of strength. By permitting his feelings of security to increase, by different pretences of agreement and flattery, Silvanus, it was thought, might be relieved from all fear of hostility, and so be the more easily deceived.

26. But the accomplishment of such a design appeared difficult. For it was necessary to use great care and watchfulness to make our desires subordinate to our opportunities, and to prevent their either outrunning them, or falling behind them; since if our wishes were allowed to become known unseasonably, it was plain we should all be involved in one sentence of death.

27. However our general was kindly received, and (the very business itself forcing us to bend our necks), having been compelled to prostrate himself with all solemnity before the newly robed prince, still aiming at higher power, was treated as a highly favoured and eminent friend; having freedom of access and the honour of a seat at the royal table granted to him in preference to every one else, in order that he might be consulted with the more secrecy about the principal affairs of state.

28. Silvanus expressed his indignation that, while unworthy persons had been raised to the consulship and to other high dignities, he and Ursicinus alone, after the frequent and great toils which they had endured for the sake of the republic, had been so despised that he himself had been accused of treason in consequence of the examination of some slaves, and had been exposed to an ignoble trial; while Ursicinus had been brought over from the East, and

placed at the mercy of his enemies; and these were the subjects of his incessant complaints both in public and in private.

29. While, however, he was holding this kind of language, we were alarmed at the murmurs of our soldiers who were now suffering from want, which surrounded us on all sides; the troops showing every eagerness to make a rapid march, through the defiles of the Cottian Alps.

30. In this state of anxiety and agitation, we occupied ourselves in secretly deliberating on the means of arriving at our object; and at length, after our plans had been repeatedly changed out of fear, it was determined to use great industry in seeking out prudent agents, binding them to secrecy by solemn oaths, in order to tamper with the Gallic soldiers whom we knew to be men of doubtful fidelity, and at any time open to change for a sufficient reward.

31. Therefore, after we had secured our success by the address of some agents among the common soldiers, men by their very obscurity fitted for the accomplishment of such a task, and now excited by the expectation of reward, at sunrise, as soon as the east began to redden, a band of armed men suddenly sallied forth, and, as is common in critical moments, behaving with more than usual audacity. They slew the sentinels and penetrated into the palace, and so having dragged Silvanus out of a little chapel in which, in his terror, he had taken refuge on his way to a conventicle devoted to the ceremonies of the Christian worship, they slew him with repeated strokes of their swords.

32. In this way did a general of no slight merit perish, through fear of false accusations heaped on him in his absence by a faction of wicked men, and which drove him to the utmost extremities in order to preserve his safety.

33. For although he had acquired strong claims on the gratitude of Constantius by his seasonable sally with his troops before the battle of Mursa, and although he could boast the valorous exploits of his father Bonitus, a man of Frankish extraction, but who had espoused the party of Constantine, and often in the civil war had exhibited great prowess against the troops of Licinius, still he always feared him as a prince of wavering and fickle character.

34. Now before any of these events had taken place in Gaul, it happened that one day in the Circus Maximus at Rome, the populace cried out with a loud voice, "Silvanus is conquered." Whether influenced by instinct or by some prophetic spirit, cannot be decided.

35. Silvanus having been slain, as I have narrated, at Agrippina, the emperor was seized with inconceivable joy when he heard the news, and gave way to exceeding insolence and arrogance, attributing this event also to the prosperous course of his good fortune; giving the reins to his habitual disposition which always led him to hate men of brave conduct, as Domitian in former times had done, and desiring at all times to destroy them by every act of opposition.

36. And he was so far from praising even his act of diligence and fidelity, that he recorded in writing a charge that Ursicinus had embezzled a part of the

Gallic treasures, which no one had ever touched. And he ordered strict inquiry to be made into the fact, by an examination of Remigius, who was at that time accountant-general to Ursicinus in his capacity of commander of the heavy troops. And long afterwards, in the time of Valentinian, this Remigius hung himself on account of the trouble into which he fell in the matter of his appointment as legate in Tripolis.

37. And after this business was terminated, Constantius, thinking his prosperity had now raised him to an equality with the gods, and had bestowed on him entire sovereignty over human affairs, gave himself up to elation at the praises of his flatterers, whom he himself encouraged, despising and trampling under foot all who were unskilled in that kind of court. As we read that Cræsus, when he was king, drove Solon headlong from his court because he would not fawn on him; and that Dionysius threatened the poet Philoxenus with death because, when the king recited his absurd and unrhythmical verses, he alone refused to fall into an ecstasy while all the rest of the courtiers praised them.

38. And this mischievous taste is the nurse of vices; for praise ought only to be acceptable in high places, where blame also is permitted when things are not sufficiently performed.

VI.

§ 1. And now, after the re-establishment of security, investigations as usual were set on foot, and many persons were put in prison as guilty. For that infernal informer Paulus, boiling over with delight, arose to exercise his poisonous employment with increased freedom, and while the members of the emperor's council and the military officers were employed in the investigation of these affairs, as they were commanded, Proculus was put to the torture, who had been a servant of Silvanus, a man of weak body and of ill health; so that every one was afraid lest the exceeding violence of his torture should prove too much for his feeble limbs, so that he would expose numbers to be implicated in the accusations of atrocious crimes. But the result proved quite different to what had been expected.

2. For remembering a dream in which he had been forbidden, while asleep, as he affirmed, to accuse any innocent person, though he should be tortured till he was brought to the very point of death, he neither informed against, nor even named any one; but, with reference to the usurpation of Silvanus, he invariably asserted that he had been driven to contemplate that act, not out of ambition, but from sheer necessity; and he proved this assertion by evident arguments.

3. For he adduced one important excuse, which was established by the testimony of many persons, that, five days before he assumed the ensigns of imperial authority, he addressed the soldiers, while distributing their pay to them, in the name of Constantius, exhorting them to prove always brave and loyal. From which it was plain that if he had then been thinking of seizing on

a loftier fortune, he would have given them this money as if it had proceeded from himself.

4. After Proculus, Pœmenius was condemned and put to death: he who, as we have mentioned before,⁴⁵ when the Treveri had shut their gates against Cæsar Decentius, was chosen to defend that people. After him, Asclepiodotus, and Luto, and Maudio, all Counts, were put to death, and many others also, the obdurate cruelty of the times seeking for these and similar punishments with avidity.

VII.

§ 1. While the fatal disturbances of the state multiplied these general slaughters, Leontius, who was the governor of Rome itself, gave many proofs of his deserving the character of an admirable judge; being prompt in hearing cases, rigidly just in deciding them, and merciful by nature, although, for the sake of maintaining lawful authority, he appeared to some people to be severe. He was also of a somewhat amorous temperament.

2. The first pretext for exciting any sedition against him was a most slight and trumpery one. For when an order had been issued to arrest a charioteer, named Philoromus, the whole populace followed him, as if resolved to defend something of their own, and with terrible violence assailed the prefect, presuming him to be timorous. But he remained unmoved and upright, and sending his officers among the crowd, arrested some and punished them, and then, without any one venturing to oppose him, or even to murmur, condemned them to banishment.

3. A few days later the populace again became excited to its customary frenzy, and alleging as a grievance the scarcity of wine, assembled at the well-known place called Septemzodium, where the Emperor Marcus built the Nymphæum,⁴⁶ an edifice of great magnificence. To that place the prefect went forthwith, although he was earnestly entreated by all his household and civil officers not to trust himself among an arrogant and threatening multitude, now in a state of fury equal to any of their former commotions; but he, unsusceptible of fear, went right onwards, though many of his attendants deserted him, when they saw him hastening into imminent danger.

4. Therefore, sitting in a carriage, with every appearance of confidence, he looked with fierce eyes at the countenance of the tumultuous mobs thronging towards him from all quarters, and agitating themselves like serpents. And after suffering many bitter insults, at last, when he had recognized one man who was conspicuous among all the rest by his vast size and red hair, he asked him whether his name was Petrus Valvomeris, as he had heard it was; and when the man replied in a defiant tone that it was so, Leontius, in spite of the outcries of many around, ordered him to be seized as one who had long since been a notorious ringleader of the disaffected, and having his hands bound behind him, commanded him to be suspended on a rack.

5. And when he was seen in the air, in vain imploring the aid of his fellow-

tribesmen, the whole mob, which a little while before was so closely packed, dispersed at once over the different quarters of the city, so as to offer no hindrance to the punishment of this seditious leader, who after having been thus tortured — with as little resistance as if he been in a secret dungeon of the court — was transported to Picenum, where, on a subsequent occasion, having offered violence to a virgin of high rank, he was condemned to death by the judgment of Patruinus, a noble of consular dignity.

6. While Leontius governed the city in this manner, Liberius, a priest of the Christian law, was ordered by Constantius to be brought before the council, as one who had resisted the commands of the emperor, and the decrees of many of his own colleagues, in an affair which I will explain briefly.

7. Athanasius was at that time bishop of Alexandria; and as he was a man who sought to magnify himself above his profession, and to mix himself up with affairs which did not belong to his province, as continual reports made known, an assembly of many of his sect met together — a synod, as they call it — and deprived him of the right of administering the sacraments, which he previously enjoyed.

8. For it was said that he, being very deeply skilled in the arts of prophecy and the interpretation of auguries and omens, had very often predicted coming events. And to these charges were added others very inconsistent with the laws of the religion over which he presided.

9. So Liberius, being of the same opinion with those who condemned these practices, was ordered, by the sentence of the emperor, to expel Athanasius from his priestly seat; but this he firmly refused to do, reiterating the assertion that it was the extremity of wickedness to condemn a man who had neither been brought before any court nor been heard in his defence, in this openly resisting the commands of the emperor.

10. For that prince, being always unfavourable to Athanasius, although he knew that what he ordered had in fact taken effect, yet was exceedingly desirous that it should be confirmed by that authority which the bishops of the Eternal City enjoy, as being of higher rank. And as he did not succeed in this, Liberius was removed by night; a measure which was not effected without great difficulty, through the fear which his enemies had of the people, among whom he was exceedingly popular.

VIII.

§ 1. These events, then, took place at Rome, as I have already mentioned. But Constantius was agitated by frequent intelligence which assured him that the Gauls were in a lamentable condition, since no adequate resistance could be made to the barbarians who were now carrying their devastations with fire and sword over the whole country. And after deliberating a long time, in great anxiety, what force he could employ to repel these dangers (himself remaining in Italy, as he thought it very dangerous to remove into so remote a country), he at last determined on a wise plan, which was this: to associate with himself

in the cares of the empire his cousin Julian, whom he had some time before summoned to court, and who still retained the robe he had worn in the Greek schools.

2. And when, oppressed by the heavy weight of impending calamities, he had confessed to his dearest friends that by himself he was unequal to the burden of such weighty and numerous difficulties — a thing which he had never felt before — they, being trained to excessive flattery, tried to fill him with foolish ideas, affirming that there was nothing in the world so difficult but what his pre-eminent virtue and his good fortune, equal to that of the gods, would be able to overcome, as it always hitherto had done. And many of them added further, being stung by their consciousness of guilt, that henceforth he ought to beware of conferring the title of Cæsar on any one, enumerating the deeds which had been done in the time of Gallus.

3. They therefore opposed his design resolutely, and it was supported by no one but the queen, who, whether it was that she feared a journey to a distant country, or that, from her own natural wisdom, she saw the best course for the common good, urged him that a relation like Julian ought to be preferred to every one else. Accordingly, after many undecided deliberations and long discussions, his resolution was at last taken decidedly, and having discarded all further vain debate, he resolved on associating Julian with him in the empire.

4. He was therefore summoned; and when he had arrived, on a fixed day, the whole of his fellow-comrades who were in the city were ordered to attend, and a tribunal was erected on a lofty scaffolding, surrounded by the eagles and standards. And Augustus, mounting it, and holding Julian by the right hand, made this conciliatory speech: —

5. “We stand here before you, most excellent defenders of the republic, to avenge with one unanimous spirit the common dangers of the state. And how I propose to provide for it I will briefly explain to you, as impartial judges.

6. “After the death of those rebellious tyrants whom rage and madness prompted to engage in the enterprises which they undertook, the barbarians, as if they meant to sacrifice unto their wicked manes with Roman blood, having violated the peace and invaded the territories of the Gauls, are encouraged by this consideration, that our empire, being spread over very remote countries, causes us to be beset with great difficulties.

7. “If, then, your decision and mine are mutual to encounter this evil, already progressing beyond the barriers which were opposed to it, while there is still time to check it, the necks of these haughty nations will learn to humble their pride, and the borders of the empire will remain inviolate. It remains for you to give, by your strength, prosperous effect to the hopes which I entertain.

8. “You all know my cousin Julian, whom I here present to you; a youth endeared to us by his modesty as well as by his relationship; a youth of virtue already proved, and of conspicuous industry and energy. Him I have determined to raise to the rank of Cæsar, and hope, if this seems expedient to

you, to have my decision confirmed by your consent.”

9. He was proceeding to say more, but was prevented by the whole assembly interrupting him with friendly shouts, declaring that his decision was the judgment of the Supreme Deity, and not of any human mind; with such certainty that one might have thought them inspired with the spirit of prophecy.

10. The emperor stood without moving till they resumed silence, and then with greater confidence proceeded to explain what he had to say further.

“Because, therefore, your joyful acclamations show that you look favourably on the design I have announced, let this youth, of tranquil strength, whose temperate disposition it will be better to imitate than merely to praise, rise up now to receive the honours prepared for him. His excellent disposition, increased as it has been by all liberal accomplishments, I will say no more of than is seen in the fact that I have chosen him. Therefore, now, with the manifest consent of the Deity, I will clothe him with the imperial robe.”

11. This was his speech. And then, having immediately clothed Julian with the purple robe of his ancestors, and having pronounced him Cæsar, to the great joy of the army, he thus addressed him, though Julian himself appeared by his grave countenance to be somewhat melancholy.

12. “Most beloved of all my brothers, you thus in early youth have received the splendid honour belonging to your birth, not, I confess, without some addition to my own glory; who thus show myself as just in conferring supreme power on a noble character nearly related to me, as I appear also sublime by virtue of my own power. Come thou, therefore, to be a partner in my labours and dangers, and undertake the defence of the government of the Gauls, devoting thyself with all beneficence to alleviate the calamities of those afflicted countries.

13. “And if it should be necessary to engage with the enemy in battle, do thou take thy place steadily among the standard-bearers themselves, as a prudent encourager of daring at the proper opportunity; exciting the warriors by leading them on with caution, supporting any troops which may be thrown into disorder by reserves, gently reproving those who hang back, and being present as a trustworthy witness of the actions of all, whether brave or timid.

14. “Think that a serious crisis is upon us, and so show yourself a great man, worthy to command brave men. We ourselves will stand by you in the energetic constancy of affection, or will join you in the labours of war, so that we may govern together the whole world in peace, if only God will grant us, as we pray he may, to govern with equal moderation and piety. You will everywhere represent me, and I also will never desert you in whatever task you may be engaged. To sum up: Go forth; go forth supported by the friendly prayers of men of all ranks, to defend with watchful care the station assigned to you, it may be said, by the republic itself.”

15. After the emperor had thus ended his speech, no one held his peace, but all the soldiers, with a tremendous crash, rattled their shields against their

knees (which is an abundant indication of applause; while on the other hand to strike the shield with the spear is a testimony of anger and indignation), and it was marvellous with what excessive joy they all, except a very few, showed their approbation of the judgment of Augustus: and they received the Cæsar with well-deserved admiration, brilliant as he was with the splendour of the imperial purple.

16. And while they gazed earnestly on his eyes, terrible in their beauty, and his countenance more attractive than ever by reason of his present excitement, they augured from his looks what kind of ruler he was likely to prove, as if they had been searching into those ancient volumes which teach how to judge of a man's moral disposition by the external signs on his person. And that he might be regarded with the greater reverence, they neither praised him above measure, nor yet below his desert. And so the voices raised in his favour were looked upon as the judgment of censors, not of soldiers.

17. After the ceremony was over, Julian was taken up into the imperial chariot and received into the palace, and was heard to whisper to himself this verse of Homer —

“Now purple death hath seized on me,
And powerful strength of destiny.”

These transactions took place on the sixth of November, in the year of the consulship of Arbetio and Lollianus.

18. A few days afterwards, Helen, the maiden sister of Constantius, was also given in marriage to the Cæsar. And everything being got ready which the journey required, he started on the first of December with a small retinue, and having been escorted on his way by Augustus himself as far as the spot, marked by two pillars, which lies between Laumellum and Ticinum, he proceeded straight on to the country of the Taurini, where he received disastrous intelligence, which had recently reached the emperor's court, but still had been intentionally kept back, lest all the preparations made for his journey should be wasted.

19. And this intelligence was that Colonia Agrippina,⁴⁷ a city of great renown in lower Germany, had been carried by a vigorous siege of the barbarians, who appeared before it in great force, and had utterly destroyed it.

20. Julian being greatly distressed at this news, looking on it as a kind of omen of misfortunes to come, was often heard to murmur in querulous tones, “that he had gained nothing except the fate of dying amid greater trouble and employment than before.”

21. But when he arrived at Vienne, people of every age and class went forth to meet him on his entrance to the city, with a view to do him honour by their reception of him as one who had been long wished for, and was now granted to their prayers. And when he was seen in the distance the whole population of the city and of the adjacent neighbourhood, going before his chariot, celebrated his praises, saluting him as Emperor, clement and

prosperous, greeting with eager joy this royal procession in honour of a lawful prince. And they placed all their hopes of a remedy for the evils which affected the whole province on his arrival, thinking that now, when their affairs were in a most desperate condition, some friendly genius had come to shine upon them.

22. And a blind old woman, when in reply to her question "Who was entering the city?" she received for answer "Julian the Cæsar," cried out that "He would restore the temples of the gods."

IX.

§ 1. Now then, since, as the sublime poet of Mantua has sung, "A greater series of incident rises to my view; in a more arduous task I engage," — I think it a proper opportunity to describe the situation and different countries of the Gauls, lest, among the narration of fiery preparations and the various chances of battles, I should seem, while speaking of matters not understood by every one, to resemble those negligent sailors, who, when tossed about by dangerous waves and storms, begin to repair their sails and ropes which they might have attended to in calm weather.

2. Ancient writers, pursuing their investigations into the earliest origin of the Gauls, left our knowledge of the truth very imperfect; but at a later period, Timagenes, a thorough Greek both in diligence and language, collected, from various writings facts which had been long unknown, and guided by his faithful statements, we, dispelling all obscurity, will now give a plain and intelligible relation of them.

3. Some persons affirm that the first inhabitants ever seen in these regions were called Celts, after the name of their king, who was very popular among them, and sometimes also Galatæ, after the name of his mother. For Galatæ is the Greek translation of the Roman term Galli. Others affirm that they are Dorians, who, following a more ancient Hercules, selected for their home the districts bordering on the ocean.

4. The Druids affirm that a portion of the people was really indigenous to the soil, but that other inhabitants poured in from the islands on the coast, and from the districts across the Rhine, having been driven from their former abodes by frequent wars, and sometimes by inroads of the tempestuous sea.

5. Some again maintain that after the destruction of Troy, a few Trojans fleeing from the Greeks, who were then scattered over the whole world, occupied these districts, which at that time had no inhabitants at all.

6. But the natives of these countries affirm this more positively than any other fact (and, indeed, we ourselves have read it engraved on their monuments), that Hercules, the son of Amphytrion, hastening to the destruction of those cruel tyrants, Geryon and Tauriscus, one of whom was oppressing the Gauls, and the other Spain, after he had conquered both of them, took to wife some women of noble birth in those countries, and became the father of many children; and that his sons called the districts of which they

became the kings after their own names.

7. Also an Asiatic tribe coming from Phocæa in order to escape the cruelty of Harpalus, the lieutenant of Cyrus the king, sought to sail to Italy.⁴⁸ And a part of them founded Velia, in Lucania, others settled a colony at Marseilles, in the territory of Vienne; and then, in subsequent ages, these towns increasing in strength and importance, founded other cities. But we must avoid a variety of details which are commonly apt to weary.

8. Throughout these provinces, the people gradually becoming civilized, the study of liberal accomplishments flourished, having been first introduced by the Bards, the Eubages,⁴⁹ and the Druids. The Bards were accustomed to employ themselves in celebrating the brave achievements of their illustrious men, in epic verse, accompanied with sweet airs on the lyre. The Eubages investigated the system and sublime secrets of nature, and sought to explain them to their followers. Between these two came the Druids, men of loftier genius, bound in brotherhoods according to the precepts and example of Pythagoras; and their minds were elevated by investigations into secret and sublime matters, and from the contempt which they entertained for human affairs they pronounced the soul immortal.

X.

§ 1. This country then of the Gauls was by reason of its lofty mountain ranges perpetually covered with terrible snows, almost unknown to the inhabitants of the rest of the world, except where it borders on the ocean; vast fortresses raised by nature, in the place of art, surrounding it on all sides.

2. On the southern side it is washed by the Etruscan and Gallic sea: where it looks towards the north it is separated from the tribes of the barbarians by the river Rhine; where it is placed under the western star it is bounded by the ocean, and the lofty chain of the Pyrenees; where it has an eastern aspect it is bounded by the Cottian⁵⁰ Alps. In these mountains King Cottius, after the Gauls had been subdued, lying by himself in their defiles, and relying on the rugged and pathless character of the country, long maintained his independence; though afterwards he abated his pride, and was admitted to the friendship of the Emperor Octavianus. And subsequently he constructed immense works to serve as a splendid gift to the emperor, making roads over them, short, and convenient for travellers, between other ancient passes of the Alps; on which subject we will presently set forth what discoveries have been made.

3. In these Cottian Alps, which begin at the town of Susa, one vast ridge rises up, scarcely passable by any one without danger.

4. For to travellers who reach it from the side of Gaul it descends with a steepness almost precipitous, being terrible to behold, in consequence of the bulk of its overhanging rocks. In the spring, when the ice is melting, and the snow beginning to give way from the warm spring breezes, if any one seeks to descend along the mountain, men and beasts and wagons all fall together

through the fissures and clefts in the rocks, which yawn in every direction, though previously hidden by the frost. And the only remedy ever found to ward off entire destruction is to have many vehicles bound together with enormous ropes, with men or oxen hanging on behind, to hold them back with great efforts; and so with a crouching step they get down with some degree of safety. And this, as I have said, is what happens in the spring.

5. But in winter, the ground being covered over with a smooth crust of ice, and therefore slippery under foot, the traveller is often plunged headlong; and the valleys, which seem to open here and there into wide plains, which are merely a covering of treacherous ice, sometimes swallow up those who try to pass over them. On account of which danger those who are acquainted with the country fix projecting wooden piles over the safest spots, in order that a series of them may conduct the traveller unhurt to his destination; though if these piles get covered with snow and hidden, or thrown down by melting torrents descending from the mountains, then it is difficult for any one to pass, even if natives of the district lead the way.

6. But on the summit of this Italian mountain there is a plain, seven miles in extent, reaching as far as the station known by the name of Mars; and after that comes another ridge, still more steep, and scarcely possible to be climbed, which stretches on to the summit of Mons Matriona, named so from an event which happened to a noble lady.

7. From this point a path, steep indeed, but easily passable, leads to the fortress of Virgantia.⁵¹ The sepulchre of this petty prince whom we have spoken of as the maker of these roads is at Susa, close to the walls; and his remains are honoured with religious veneration for two reasons: first of all, because he governed his people with equitable moderation; and secondly, because, by becoming an ally of the Roman republic, he procured lasting tranquillity for his subjects.

8. And although this road which I have been speaking of runs through the centre of the district, and is shorter and more frequented now than any other, yet other roads also were made at much earlier periods, on different occasions.

9. The first of them, near the maritime alps, was made by the Theban Hercules, when he was proceeding in a leisurely manner to destroy Geryon and Tauriscus, as has already been mentioned; and he it was who gave to these alps the name of the Grecian Alps.⁵² In the same way he consecrated the citadel and port of Monæcus to keep alive the recollection of his name for ever. And this was the reason why, many ages afterwards, those alps were called the Penine Alps.^{53]}

10. Publius Cornelius Scipio, the father of the elder Africanus, when about to go to the assistance of the citizens of Saguntum — celebrated for the distresses which they endured, and for their loyalty to Rome, at the time when they were besieged with great resolution by the Carthaginians — led to the Spanish coast a fleet having on board a numerous army. But after the city had been destroyed by the valour of the Carthaginians, he, being unable to

overtake Hannibal, who had crossed the Rhone, and had obtained three days' start of him in the march towards Italy, crossed the sea, which at that point was not wide, making a rapid voyage; and taking his station near Genoa, a town of the Ligures, awaited his descent from the mountains, so that, if chance should afford him an opportunity, he might attack him in the plain while still fatigued with the ruggedness of the way by which he had come.

11. But still, having regard to the interests of the republic, he ordered Cnæus Scipio, his brother, to go into Spain, to prevent Hasdrubal from making a similar expedition from that country. But Hannibal, having received information of their design by some deserters, being also a man of great shrewdness and readiness of resources, obtained some guides from the Taurini who inhabited those districts, and passing through the Tricastini and through the district of the Vocontii, he thus reached the defiles of the Tricorii.⁵⁴ Then starting from this point, he made another march over a line previously impassable. And having cut through a rock of immense height, which he melted by means of mighty fires, and pouring over it a quantity of vinegar, he proceeded along the Druentia, a river full of danger from its eddies and currents, until he reached the district of Etruria. This is enough to say of the Alps; now let us return to our original subject.

XI.

§ 1. In former times, when these provinces were little known, as being barbarous, they were considered to be divided into three races:⁵⁵ namely, the Celtæ, the same who are also called Galli; the Aquitani, and the Belgæ: all differing from each other in language, manners, and laws.

2. The Galli, who, as I have said, are the same as the Celtæ, are divided from the Aquitani by the river Garonne, which rises in the mountains of the Pyrenees; and after passing through many towns, loses itself in the ocean.

3. On the other side they are separated from the Belgians by the Marne and the Seine, both rivers of considerable size, which flowing through the tribe of the Lugdunenses, after surrounding the stronghold of the Parisii named Lutetia, so as to make an island of it, proceed onwards together, and fall into the sea near the camp of Constantius.

4. Of all these people the Belgians are said by ancient writers to be the most warlike, because, being more remote from civilization, and not having been rendered effeminate by foreign luxuries, they have been engaged in continual wars with the Germans on the other side of the Rhine.

5. For the Aquitanians, to whose shores, as being nearest and also pacific, foreign merchandise is abundantly imported, were easily brought under the dominion of the Romans, because their character had become enervated.

6. But from the time when the Gauls, after long and repeated wars, submitted to the dictator Julius, all their provinces were governed by Roman officers, the country being divided into four portions; one of which was the province of Narbonne; containing the districts of Vienne and Lyons: a second

province comprehended all the tribes of the Aquitanians; upper and lower Germany formed a third jurisdiction, and the Belgians a fourth at that period.

7. But now the whole extent of the country is portioned out into many provinces. The second (or lower) Germany is the first, if you begin on the western side, fortified by Cologne and Tongres, both cities of great wealth and importance.

8. Next comes the first (or high) Germany, in which, besides other municipal towns, there is Mayence, and Worms, and Spiers, and Strasburg, a city celebrated for the defeats sustained by the barbarians in its neighbourhood.

9. After these the first Belgic province stretches as far as Metz and Treves, which city is the splendid abode of the chief governor of the country.

10. Next to that comes the second Belgic province, where we find Amiens, a city of conspicuous magnificence, and Châlons,⁵⁶ and Rheims.

11. In the province of the Sequani, the finest cities are Besançon and Basle. The first Lyonnese province contains Lyons, Châlons,⁵⁷ Sens, Bourges, and Autun, the walls of which are very extensive and of great antiquity.

12. In the second Lyonnese province are Tours, and Rouen, Evreux, and Troyes. The Grecian and Penine Alps have, besides other towns of less note, Avenche, a city which indeed is now deserted, but which was formerly one of no small importance, as even now is proved by its half-ruinous edifices. These are the most important provinces, and most splendid cities of the Galli.

13. In Aquitania, which looks towards the Pyrenees, and that part of the ocean which belongs to the Spaniards, the first province is Aquitanica, very rich in large and populous cities; passing over others, I may mention as pre-eminent, Bordeaux, Clermont, Saintes, and Poitiers.

14. The province called the Nine Nations is enriched by Auch and Bazas. In the province of Narbonne, the cities of Narbonne, Euses, and Toulouse are the principal places of importance. The Viennese exults in the magnificence of many cities, the chief of which are Vienne itself, and Arles, and Valence; to which may be added Marseilles, by the alliance with and power of which we read that Rome itself was more than once supported in moments of danger.

15. And near to these cities is also Aix, Nice, Antibes, and the islands of Hieres.

16. And since we have come in the progress of our work to this district, it would be inconsistent and absurd to omit all mention of the Rhone, a river of the greatest celebrity. The Rhone rises in the Penine Alps, from sources of great abundance, and descending with headlong impetuosity into the more champaign districts, it often overruns its banks with its own waters, and then plunges into a lake called Lake Leman, and though it passes through it, yet it never mingles with any foreign waters, but, rushing over the top of those which flow with less rapidity, in its search for an exit, it forces its own way by the violence of its stream.

17. And thus passing through that lake without any damage, it runs through

Savoy and the district of Franche Comté; and, after a long course, it forms the boundary between the Viennese on its left, and the Lyonnese on its right. Then after many windings it receives the Saône, a river which rises in the first Germany, and this latter river here merges its name in the Rhone. At this point is the beginning of the Gauls. And from this spot the distances are measured not by miles but by leagues.

18. From this point also, the Rhone, being now enriched by other rivers, becomes navigable for large vessels, which are often tossed about in it by gales of wind; and at last, having finished the course which nature has marked out for it, foaming on it joins the Gallic Sea in the wide gulf which they call the Gulf of Lyons, about eighteen miles from Arles. This is enough to say of the situation of the province; I will now proceed to describe the appearance and character of the inhabitants.

XII.

§ 1. Nearly all the Gauls are of a lofty stature, fair, and of ruddy complexion; terrible from the sternness of their eyes, very quarrelsome, and of great pride and insolence. A whole troop of foreigners would not be able to withstand a single Gaul if he called his wife to his assistance, who is usually very strong, and with blue eyes; especially when, swelling her neck, gnashing her teeth, and brandishing her sallow arms of enormous size, she begins to strike blows mingled with kicks, as if they were so many missiles sent from the string of a catapult.

2. The voices of the generality are formidable and threatening, whether they are in good humour or angry: they are all exceedingly careful of cleanliness and neatness, nor in all the country, and most especially in Aquitania, could any man or woman, however poor, be seen either dirty or ragged.

3. The men of every age are equally inclined to war, and the old man and the man in the prime of life answer with equal zeal the call to arms, their bodies being hardened by their cold weather and by constant exercise so that they are all inclined to despise dangers and terrors. Nor has any one of this nation ever mutilated his thumb from fear of the toils of war, as men have done in Italy, whom in their district are called Murci.

4. The nation is fond of wine, and of several kinds of liquor which resemble wine. And many individuals of the lower orders, whose senses have become impaired by continual intoxication, which the apophthegm of Cato defined to be a kind of voluntary madness, run about in all directions at random; so that there appears to be some point in that saying which is found in Cicero's oration in defence of Fonteius, "that henceforth the Gauls will drink their wine less strong than formerly," because forsooth they thought there was poison in it.

5. These countries, and especially such parts of them as border on Italy, fell gradually under the dominion of the Romans without much trouble to their

conquerors, having been first attacked by Fulvius, afterwards weakened in many trifling combats by Sextius, and at last entirely subdued by Fabius Maximus; who gained an additional surname from the complete accomplishment of this task, after he had brought into subjection the fierce tribe of the Allobroges.

6. Cæsar finally subdued all the Gauls, except where their country was absolutely inaccessible from its morasses, as we learn from Sallust, after a war of ten years, in which both nations suffered many disasters; and at last he united them to us in eternal alliance by formal treaties. I have digressed further than I had intended, but now I will return to my original subject.

XIII.

§ 1. After Domitianus had perished by a cruel death, Musonianus his successor governed the East with the rank of prætorian prefect; a man celebrated for his eloquence and thorough knowledge of both the Greek and Latin languages; from which he reaped a loftier glory than he expected.

2. For when Constantine was desirous of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the different sects in the empire, the Manicheans and other similar bodies, and no one could be found able sufficiently to explain them, Musonianus was chosen for the task, having been recommended as competent; and when he had discharged this duty with skill, the emperor gave him the name of Musonianus, for he had been previously called Strategius. After that he ran through many degrees of rank and honour, and soon reached the dignity of prefect; being in other matters also a man of wisdom, popular in the provinces, and of a mild and courteous disposition. But at the same time, whenever he could find an opportunity, especially in any controversies or lawsuits (which is most shameful and wicked), he was greatly devoted to sordid gain. Not to mention many other instances, this was especially exemplified in the investigations which were made into the death of Theophilus, the governor of Syria, a man of consular rank, who gave information against the Cæsar Gallus, and who was torn to pieces in a tumult of the people; for which several poor men were condemned, who, it was clearly proved, were at a distance at the time of the transaction, while certain rich men who were the real authors of the crime were spared from all punishment, except the confiscation of their property.

3. In this he was equalled by Prosper, at that time master of the horse in Gaul; a man of abject spirit and great inactivity; and, as the comic poet has it, despising the acts of secret robbing he plundered openly.^{58]}

4. And, while these two officers were conniving together, and reciprocally helping each other to many means of acquiring riches, the chiefs of the Persian nation who lived nearest to the river, profiting by the fact that the king was occupied in the most distant parts of his dominions, and that these commanders were occupied in plundering the people placed under their authority, began to harass our territories with predatory bands, making

audacious inroads, sometimes into Armenia, often also into Mesopotamia.

NOTES.

³² Tlepolemus and Hiero, whom Cicero, *Verres* iii. 11, calls *Cibyatici canes*.

³³ Herodotus, iv. 184, records that in Africa, in the country about Mount Atlas, dreams are unknown.

³⁴ Lintz.

³⁵ The district around Bellinzona.

³⁶ The Bodensee, more generally known as the Lake of Constance: at its south-eastern end is the town of Bregenz, the ancient Brigantia.

³⁷ The Arethusa is in Sicily, near Syracuse.

³⁸ The *Comites* were a picked body of troops, divided into several regiments distinguished by separate names, such as *Seniores*, *Juniores*, *Sagittarii*, &c.

³⁹ The *Promoti* were also picked men, something like the *Comites*; the French translator calls them the Veterans.

⁴⁰ From κόπτω to cut, and μαρτύα any delicate food; meant as equivalent to our cheeseparer, or skinflint.

⁴¹ This was a very important post; it seems to have united the functions of a modern chamberlain, chancellor, and secretary of state. The master presented citizens to the emperor, received foreign ambassadors, recommended men for civil employments, decided civil actions of several kinds, and superintended many of the affairs of the post.

⁴² Cologne.

⁴³ The dragons were the effigies on some of the standards.

⁴⁴ There is no such passage in any extant work of Cicero, but a sentence in his speech *ad Pontifices* resembles it: "For although it be more desirable to end one's life without pain, and without injury, still it tends more to an immortality of glory to be regretted by one's countrymen, than to have been always free from injury." And a still closer likeness to the sentiment is found in his speech *ad Quirites post reditum*: "Although there is nothing more to be wished for by man than prosperous, equal, continual good-fortune in life, flowing on in a prosperous course, without any misadventure; still, if all my life had been tranquil and peaceful, I should have been deprived of the incredible and almost heavenly delight and happiness which I now enjoy through your kindness." — *Orations*, v. 2; Bohn, -2.

⁴⁵ In one of the lost books of this history.

⁴⁶ The *Nymphæum* was a temple sacred to the Nymphs, deriving its name of *Septemzodium*, or *Septizonium* (which it shared with more than one other building at Rome), from the seven

rows of pillars, one above the other, and each row lessening both in circuit and in height, with which the exterior was embellished. Another temple of this kind was built by Septimius Severus.

⁴⁷ Cologne.

⁴⁸ This story of the Phocæenses is told by Herodotus, i. 166, and alluded to by Horace, Epod. xv. 10.

⁴⁹ The Eubages, or Οὐαρεῖς, as Strabo calls them, appear to have been a tribe of priests.

⁵⁰ The Cottian Alps are Mont Genevre. It is unnecessary to point out how Ammianus mistakes the true bearing of these frontiers of Gaul.

⁵¹ Briançon.

⁵² The Graiæ Alps are the Little St. Bernard; and it was over them that Hannibal really passed, as has been conclusively proved by Dr. J.A. Cramer.

⁵³ From the god Pen, or Peninus, Liv. xxi. 38. The Alpes Peninæ are the Great St. Bernard.

⁵⁴ Compare Livy's account of Hannibal's march, from which, wholly erroneous as it is, this description seems to have been taken; not that even Livy has made such a gross mistake about the Druentia, or Durance, which falls into the Rhone.

⁵⁵ Cæsar's account of his expedition begins with the statement that "Gaul is divided into three provinces."

⁵⁶ Châlons sur Marne.

⁵⁷ Châlons sur Saône.

⁵⁸ Ammianus refers to Plautus, Epidicus, Act. I., sc. i., line 10: —

Thesprio. I am less of a pilferer now than formerly.

Ep. How so?

Thes. I rob openly.

BOOK XVI.

ARGUMENT.

I. A panegyric of Julian the Cæsar. — II. Julian attacks and defeats the Allemanni. — III. He recovers Cologne, which had been taken by the Franks, and concludes a peace with the king of the Franks. — IV. He is besieged in the city of Sens by the Allemanni. — V. His virtues — VI. The prosecution and acquittal of Arbeto. — VII. The Cæsar Julian is defended before the emperor by his chamberlain Eutherius against the accusations of Marcellus. — VIII. Calumnies are rife in the camp of the Emperor Constantius, and the courtiers are rapacious. — IX. The question of peace with the Persians. — X. — The triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome. — XI. Julian attacks the Allemanni in the islands of the Rhine in which they had taken refuge, and repairs the fort of Saverne. — XII. He attacks the kings of the Allemanni on the borders of Gaul, and defeats them at Strasburg.

I.

A.D. 356.

§ 1. While the chain of destiny was bringing these events to pass in the Roman world, Julian, being at Vienne, was taken by the emperor, then in his own eighth consulship, as a partner in that dignity; and, under the promptings of his own innate energy, dreamt of nothing but the crash of battles and the slaughter of the barbarians; preparing without delay to re-establish the province, and to reunite the fragments that had been broken from it, if only fortune should be favourable to him.

2. And because the great achievements which by his valour and good fortune Julian performed in the Gauls, surpass many of the most gallant exploits of the ancients, I will relate them in order as they occurred, employing all the resources of my talents, moderate as they are, in the hope that they may suffice for the narrative.

3. But what I am about to relate, though not emblazoned by craftily devised falsehood, and being simply a plain statement of facts, supported by evident proofs, will have all the effect of a studied panegyric.

4. For it would seem that some principle of a more than commonly virtuous life guided this young prince from his very cradle to his last breath. Increasing rapidly in every desirable quality, he soon became so conspicuous both at home and abroad, that in respect to his prudence he was looked upon as a second Titus: in his glorious deeds of war he was accounted equal to Trajan; in mercy he was the prototype of Antoninus; and in the pursuit and discovery of true and perfect wisdom, he resembled Marcus Aurelius, in imitation of whom he formed all his actions and character.

5. And since, as we are taught by Cicero, that the loftiness of great virtues delights us, as does that of high trees, while we are not equally interested in the roots and trunks; so, also, the first beginnings of his admirable disposition were kept concealed by many circumstances which threw a cloud over them; though in fact they ought to be preferred to many of his most marvellous actions of later life, in that he, who in his early youth had been brought up like

Erectheus in the retirement sacred to Minerva, nevertheless when he was drawn forth from the quiet shades of the academy (and not from any military tent) into the labours of war, subdued Germany, tranquillized the districts of the frozen Rhine, routed the barbarian kings breathing nothing but bloodshed and slaughter, and forced them to submission.

II.

§ 1. Therefore while passing a toilsome winter in the city aforesaid, he learnt, among the numerous reports which were flying about, that the ancient city of Autun, the walls of which, though of vast extent, were in a state of great decay from age, was now besieged by the barbarians, who had suddenly appeared before it in great force; and while the garrison remained panic-stricken and inactive, the town was defended by a body of veterans who were behaving with great courage and vigilance; as it often happens that extreme despair repulses dangers which appear destructive of all hope or safety.

2. Therefore, without relaxing his anxiety about other matters, and putting aside all the adulation of the courtiers with which they sought to divert his mind towards voluptuousness and luxury, he hastened his preparations, and when everything was ready he set out, and on the 24th of June arrived at Autun; behaving like a veteran general conspicuous alike for skill and prowess, and prepared to fall upon the barbarians, who were straggling in every direction over the country, the moment fortune afforded him an opportunity.

3. Therefore having deliberated on his plans, and consulted those who were acquainted with the country as to what would be the safest line of march for him to adopt, after having received much information in favour of different routes, some recommending Arbois, others insisting on it that the best way was by Saulieu and Cure.

4. But as some persons affirmed that Silvanus, in command of a body of infantry, had, a short time before, made his way with 8,000 men by a road shorter than either, but dangerous as lying through many dark woods and defiles suitable for ambuscades, Julian became exceedingly eager to imitate the audacity of this brave man.

5. And to prevent any delay, taking with him only his cuirassiers and archers, who would not have been sufficient to defend his person had he been attacked, he took the same route as Silvanus; and so came to Auxerre.

6. And there, having, according to his custom, devoted a short time to rest, for the purpose of refreshing his men, he proceeded onwards towards Troyes; and strengthened his flanks that he might with the greater effect watch the barbarians, who attacked him in numerous bodies, which he avoided as well as he could, thinking them more numerous than they really were. Presently, however, having occupied some favourable ground, he descended upon one body of them, and routed it, and took some prisoners whom their own fears delivered to him; and then he allowed the rest, who now devoted all their

energies to flying with what speed they could, to escape unattacked, as his men could not pursue them by reason of the weight of their armour.

7. This occurrence gave him more hope of being able to resist any attack which they might make, and marching forwards with this confidence, after many dangers he reached Troyes so unexpectedly, that when he arrived at the gates, the inhabitants for some time hesitated to give him entrance into the city, so great was their fear of the straggling multitudes of the barbarians.

8. After a little delay, devoted to again refreshing his weary troops, thinking that there was no time to waste, he proceeded to the city of Rheims, where he had ordered his whole army, carrying⁵⁹ ... to assemble, and there to await his presence. The army at Rheims was under the command of Marcellus, the successor of Ursicinus; and Ursicinus himself was ordered to remain there till the termination of the expedition.

9. Again Julian took counsel, and after many opinions of different purport had been delivered, it was determined to attack the host of the Allemanni in the neighbourhood of Dieuse; and to that quarter the army now marched in dense order, and with more than usual alacrity.

10. And because the weather, being damp and misty, prevented even what was near from being seen, the enemy, availing themselves of their knowledge of the country, came by an oblique road upon the Cæsar's rear, and attacked two legions while they were piling their arms; and they would almost have destroyed them if the uproar which suddenly arose had not brought the auxiliary troops of the allies to their support.

11. From this time forth Julian, thinking it impossible to find any roads or any rivers free from ambuscades, proceeded with consummate prudence and caution; qualities which above all others in great generals usually bring safety and success to armies.

12. Hearing therefore that Strasburg, Brumat, Saverne, Spiers, Worms, and Mayence, were all in the hands of the barbarians, who were established in their suburbs, for the barbarians shunned fixing themselves in the towns themselves, looking upon them like graves surrounded with nets, he first of all entered Brumat, and just as he reached that place he was encountered by a body of Germans prepared for battle.

13. Having arranged his own army in the form of a crescent, the engagement began, and the enemy were speedily surrounded and utterly defeated. Some were taken prisoners, others were slain in the heat of the battle, the rest sought safety by rapid flight.

III.

§ 1. After this, meeting with no resistance, he determined to proceed to recover Cologne, which had been destroyed before his arrival in Gaul. In that district there is no city or fortress to be seen except that near Confluentes;⁶⁰ a place so named because there the river Moselle becomes mingled with the Rhine; there is also the village of Rheinmagen, and likewise a single tower

near Cologne.

2. After having taken possession of Cologne he did not leave it till the Frank kings began, through fear of him, to abate of their fury, when he contracted a peace with them likely to be of future advantage to the republic. In the mean time he put the whole city into a state of complete defence.

3. Then, auguring well from these first-fruits of victory, he departed, passing through the district of Treves, with the intention of wintering at Sens, which was a town very suitable for that purpose. When bearing, so to say, the weight of a world of wars upon his shoulders, he was occupied by perplexities of various kinds, and among them how to provide for establishing in places most exposed to danger the soldiers who had quitted their former posts; how to defeat the enemies who had conspired together to injure the Roman cause; and further, how to provide supplies for the army while employed in so many different quarters.

IV.

§ 1. While he was anxiously revolving these things in his mind, he was attacked by a numerous force of the enemy, who had conceived a hope of being able to take the town. And they were the more confident of success because, from the information of deserters, they had learnt that he neither had with him his Scutarii nor his Gentiles, both of which bodies of troops had been distributed among the different municipal towns in order that they might be the more easily supplied with provisions.

2. Therefore after the gates of the city had been barricaded, and the weakest portions of the walls carefully strengthened, Julian was seen night and day on the battlements and ramparts, attended by a band of armed men, boiling over with anger and gnashing his teeth, because, often as he wished to sally forth, he was prevented from taking such a step by the scantiness of the force which he had with him.

3. At last, after thirty days, the barbarians retired disappointed, murmuring that they had been so vain and weak as to attempt the siege of such a city. It deserves however to be remarked, as a most unworthy circumstance, that when Julian was in great personal danger, Marcellus, the master of the horse, who was posted in the immediate neighbourhood, omitted to bring him any assistance, though the danger of the city itself, even if the prince had not been there, ought to have excited his endeavours to relieve it from the peril of a siege by so formidable an enemy.

4. Being now delivered from this fear, Julian, ever prudent and active, directed his anxious thoughts incessantly to the care of providing that, after their long labours, his soldiers should have rest, which, however brief, might be sufficient to recruit their strength. In addition to the exhaustion consequent on their toils, they were distressed by the deficiency of crops on the land, which through the frequent devastations to which they had been exposed afforded but little suitable for human food.

5. But these difficulties he likewise surmounted by his ever wakeful diligence, and a more confident hope of future success opening itself to his mind, he rose with higher spirits to accomplish his other designs.

V.

§ 1. In the first place (and this is a most difficult task for every one), he imposed on himself a rigid temperance, and maintained it as if he had been living under the obligation of the sumptuary laws. These were originally brought to Rome from the edicts of Lycurgus and the tables of laws compiled by Solon, and were for a long time strictly observed. When they had become somewhat obsolete, they were re-established by Sylla, who, guided by the apophthegms of Democritus, agreed with him that it is Fortune which spreads an ambitious table, but that Virtue is content with a sparing one.

2. And likewise Cato of Tusculum, who from his pure and temperate way of life obtained the surname of the Censor, said with profound wisdom on the same subject, "When there is great care about food, there is very little care about virtue."

3. Lastly, though he was continually reading the little treatise which Constantius, when sending him as his step-son to prosecute his studies, had written for him with his own hand, in which he made extravagant provision for the dinner-expenses of the Cæsar, Julian now forbade pheasants, or sausages, or even sow's udder to be served up to him, contenting himself with the cheap and ordinary food of the common soldiers.

4. Hereupon arose his custom of dividing his nights into three portions, one of which he allotted to rest, one to the affairs of the state, and one to the study of literature; and we read that Alexander the Great had been accustomed to do the same, though he practised the rule with less self-reliance. For Alexander, having placed a brazen shell on the ground beneath him, used to hold a silver ball in his hand, which he kept stretched outside his bed, so that when sleep pervading his whole body had relaxed the rigour of his muscles, the rattling of the ball falling might banish slumber from his eyes.

5. But Julian, without any instrument, awoke whenever he pleased; and always rising when the night was but half spent, and that not from a bed of feathers, or silken coverlets shining with varied brilliancy, but from a rough blanket or rug, would secretly offer his supplications to Mercury, who, as the theological lessons which he had received had taught him, was the swift intelligence of the world, exciting the different emotions of the mind. And thus removed from all external circumstances calculated to distract his attention, he gave his whole attention to the affairs of the republic.

6. Then, after having ended this arduous and important business, he turned and applied himself to the cultivation of his intellect. And it was marvellous with what excessive ardour he investigated and attained to the sublime knowledge of the loftiest matters, and how, seeking as it were some food for his mind which might give it strength to climb up to the sublimest truths, he

ran through every branch of philosophy in profound and subtle discussions.

7. Nevertheless, while engaged in amassing knowledge of this kind in all its fullness and power, he did not despise the humbler accomplishments. He was tolerably fond of poetry and rhetoric, as is shown by the invariable and pure elegance, mingled with dignity, of all his speeches and letters. And he likewise studied the varied history of our own state and of foreign countries. To all these accomplishments was added a very tolerable degree of eloquence in the Latin language.

8. Therefore, if it be true, as many writers affirm, that Cyrus the king, and Simonides the lyric poet, and Hippias of Elis, the most acute of the Sophists, excelled as they did in memory because they had obtained that faculty through drinking a particular medicine, we must also believe that Julian in his early manhood had drunk the whole cask of memory, if such a thing could ever be found. And these are the nocturnal signs of his chastity and virtue.

9. But as for the manner in which he passed his days, whether in conversing with eloquence and wit, or in making preparations for war, or in actual conflict of battle, or in his administration of affairs of the state, correcting all defects with magnanimity and liberality, these things shall all be set forth in their proper place.

10. When he was compelled, as being a prince, to apply himself to the study of military discipline, having been previously confined to lessons of philosophy, and when he was learning the art of marching in time while the pipes were playing the Pyrrhic air, he often, calling upon the name of Plato, ironically quoted that old proverb, "A pack-saddle is placed on an ox; this is clearly a burden which does not belong to me."

11. On one occasion, when some secretaries were introduced into the council-chamber, with solemn ceremony, to receive some gold, one of their company did not, as is the usual custom, open his robe to receive it, but took it in the hollow of both his hands joined together; on which Julian said, secretaries only know how to seize things, not how to accept them.

12. Having been approached by the parents of a virgin who had been ravished, seeking for justice, he gave sentence that the ravisher, on conviction, should be banished; and when the parents complained of this sentence as unequal to the crime, because the criminal had not been condemned to death, he replied, "Let the laws blame my clemency: but it is fitting that an emperor of a most merciful disposition should be superior to all other laws."

13. Once when he was about to set forth on an expedition, he was interrupted by several people complaining of injuries which they had received, whom he referred for a hearing to the governors of their respective provinces. And after he had returned, he inquired what had been done in each case, and with genuine clemency mitigated the punishments which had been assigned to the offences.

14. Last of all, without here making any mention of the victories in which

he repeatedly defeated the barbarians, and the vigilance with which he protected his army from all harm, the benefits which he conferred on the Galli, previously exhausted by extreme want, are most especially evident from this fact, that when he first entered the country he found that four-and-twenty pieces of gold were exacted, under the name of tribute, in the way of poll-tax, from each individual. But when he quitted the country seven pieces only were required, which made up all the payments due from them to the state. On which account they rejoiced with festivals and dances, looking upon him as a serene sun which had shone upon them after melancholy darkness.

15. Moreover we know that up to the very end of his reign and of his life, he carefully and with great benefit observed this rule, not to remit the arrears of tribute by edicts which they call indulgences. For he knew that by such conduct he should be giving something to the rich, whilst it is notorious everywhere that, the moment that taxes are imposed, the poor are compelled to pay them all at once without any relief.

16. But while he was thus regulating and governing the country in a manner deserving the imitation of all virtuous princes, the rage of the barbarians again broke out more violently than ever.

17. And as wild beasts, which, owing to the carelessness of the shepherds, have been wont to plunder their flocks, even when these careless keepers are exchanged for more watchful ones, still cling to their habit, and being furious with hunger, will, without any regard for their own safety, again attack the flocks and herds; so also the barbarians, having consumed all their plunder, continued, under the pressure of hunger, repeatedly to make inroads for the sake of booty, though sometimes they died of want before they could obtain any.

VI.

§ 1. These were the events which took place in Gaul during this year; at first of doubtful issue, but in the end successful. Meanwhile in the emperor's court envy constantly assailed Arbetio, accusing him of having already assumed the ensigns of imperial rank, as if designing soon to attain the supreme dignity itself. And especially was he attacked by a count named Verissimus, who with great vehemence brought forth terrible charges against him, openly alleging that although he had been raised from the rank of a common soldier to high military office, he was not contented, thinking little of what he had obtained, and aiming at the highest place.

2. And he was also vigorously attacked by a man named Dorus, who had formerly been surgeon of the Scutarii, and of whom we have spoken, when promoted in the time of Magnentius to be inspector of the works of art at Rome, as having brought accusations against Adelphius, the prefect of the city, as forming ambitious designs.

3. And when the matter was brought forward for judicial inquiry, and all preliminary arrangements were made, proof of the accusations which had

been confidently looked for was still delayed; when suddenly, as if the business had been meant as a satire on the administration of justice, through the interposition of the chamberlain as rumour affirmed, the persons who had been imprisoned as accomplices were released from their confinement: Dorus disappeared, and Verissimus kept silence for the future, as if the curtain had dropped and the scene had been suddenly changed.

VII.

§ 1. About the same time, Constantius having learnt, from common report, that Marcellus had omitted to carry assistance to the Cæsar when he was besieged at Sens, cashiered him, and ordered him to retire to his own house. And he, as if he had received a great injury, began to plot against Julian, relying upon the disposition of the emperor to open his ears to every accusation.

2. Therefore, when he departed, Eutherius, the chief chamberlain, was immediately sent after him, that he might convict him before the emperor if he propagated any falsehoods. But Marcellus, unaware of this, as soon as he arrived at Milan, began talking loudly, and seeking to create alarm, like a vain chatterer half mad as he was. And when he was admitted into the council-chamber, he began to accuse Julian of being insolent, and of preparing for himself stronger wings in order to soar to a greater height. For this was his expression, agitating his body violently as he uttered it.

3. While he was thus uttering his imaginary charges with great freedom, Eutherius being, at his own request, introduced into the presence, and being commanded to say what he wished, speaking with great respect and moderation showed the emperor that the truth was being overlaid with falsehood. For that, while the commander of the heavy-armed troops had, as it was believed, held back on purpose, the Cæsar having been long besieged at Sens, had by his vigilance and energy repelled the barbarians. And he pledged his own life that the Cæsar would, as long as he lived, be faithful to the author of his greatness.

4. The opportunity reminds me here to mention a few facts concerning this same Eutherius, which perhaps will hardly be believed; because if Numa Pompilius or Socrates were to say anything good of a eunuch, and were to confirm what they said by an oath, they would be accused of having departed from the truth. But roses grow up among thorns, and among wild beasts some are of gentle disposition. And therefore I will briefly mention a few of his most important acts which are well ascertained.

5. He was born in Armenia, of a respectable family, and having while a very little child been taken prisoner by the enemies on the border, he was castrated and sold to some Roman merchants, and by them conducted to the palace of Constantine, where, while growing up to manhood, he began to display good principles and good talents, becoming accomplished in literature to a degree quite sufficient for his fortune, displaying extraordinary acuteness

in discovering matters of a doubtful and difficult complexion; being remarkable also for a marvellous memory, always eager to do good, and full of wise and honest counsel. A man, in short, who, if the Emperor Constantius had listened to his advice, which, whether he gave it in youth or manhood, was always honourable and upright, would have been prevented from committing any errors, or at least any that were not pardonable.

6. When he became high chamberlain he sometimes also found fault even with Julian, who, as being tainted with Asiatic manners, was apt to be capricious. Finally, when he quitted office for private life, and again when he was recalled to court, he was always sober and consistent, cultivating those excellent virtues of good faith and constancy to such a degree that he never betrayed any secret, except for the purpose of securing another's safety; nor was he ever accused of covetous or grasping conduct, as the other courtiers were.

7. From which it arose that, when at a late period he retired to Rome, and fixed there the abode of his old age, bearing with him the company of a good conscience, he was loved and respected by men of all ranks, though men of that class generally, after having amassed riches by iniquity, love to seek secret places of retirement, just as owls or moths, and avoid the sight of the multitude whom they have injured.

8. Though I have often ransacked the accounts of antiquity, I do not find any ancient eunuch to whom I can compare him. There were indeed among the ancients some, though very few, faithful and economical, but still they were stained by some vice or other; and among the chief faults which they had either by nature or habit, they were apt to be either rapacious or else boorish, and on that account contemptible; or else ill-natured and mischievous; or fawning too much on the powerful; or too elated with power, and therefore arrogant. But of any one so universally accomplished and prudent, I confess I have neither ever read nor heard, relying for the truth of this judgment on the general testimony of the age.

9. But if any careful reader of ancient histories should oppose to us Menophilus, the eunuch of King Mithridates, I would warn him to recollect that nothing is really known of him except this single fact, that he behaved gloriously in a moment of extreme danger.

10. When the king above mentioned, having been defeated by the Romans under the command of Pompey, and fleeing to his kingdom of Colchis, left a grown-up daughter, named Drypetina, who at the time was dangerously ill, in the castle of Synhorium, under the care of this Menophilus, he completely cured the maiden by a variety of remedies, and preserved her in safety for her father; and when the fortress in which they were enclosed began to be besieged by Manlius Priscus, the lieutenant of the general, and when he became aware that the garrison were proposing to surrender, he, fearing that, to the dishonour of her father, this noble damsel might be made a prisoner and be ravished, slew her, and then fell upon his sword himself. Now I will return

to the point from which I digressed.

VIII.

§ 1. After Marcellus had been foiled, as I have mentioned, and had returned to Serdica, which was his native place, many great crimes were perpetrated in the camp of Augustus, under pretence of upholding the majesty of the emperor.

2. For if any one had consulted any cunning soothsayer about the squeak of a mouse, or the appearance of a weasel, or any other similar portent, or had used any old woman's chants to assuage any pain — a practice which the authority of medicine does not always prohibit — such a man was at once informed against, without being able to conceive by whom, and was brought before a court of law, and at once condemned to death.

3. About the same time an individual named Dames was accused by his wife of certain trifling acts, of which, whether he was innocent or not is uncertain; but Rufinus was his enemy, who, as we have mentioned, had given information of some matters which had been communicated to him by Gaudentius, the emperor's secretary, causing Africanus, then governing Pannonia with the rank of a consul, to be put to death, with all his friends. This Rufinus was now, for his devotion to the interests of the emperor, the chief commander of the prætorian guard.

4. He, being given to talking in a boastful manner, after having seduced that easily deluded woman (the wife of Dames) into an illicit connection with him, allured her into a perilous fraud, and persuaded her by an accumulation of lies to accuse her innocent husband of treason, and to invent a story that he had stolen a purple garment from the sepulchre of Diocletian, and, by the help of some accomplices, still kept it concealed.

5. When this story had been thus devised in a way to cause the destruction of many persons, Rufinus himself, full of hopes of some advantage, hastened to the camp of the emperor, to spread his customary calumnies. And when the transaction had been divulged, Manlius, at that time the commander of the prætorian camp, a man of admirable integrity, received orders to make a strict inquiry into the charge, having united to him, as a colleague in the examination, Ursulus, the chief paymaster, a man likewise of praiseworthy equity and strictness.

6. There, after the matter had been rigorously investigated according to the fashion of that period, and when, after many persons had been put to the torture, nothing was found out, and the judges were in doubt and perplexity; at length truth, long suppressed, found a respite, and, under the compulsion of a rigorous examination, the woman confessed that Rufinus was the author of the whole plot, nor did she even conceal the fact of her adultery with him. Reference was immediately made to the law, and as order and justice required, the judges condemned them both to death.

7. But as soon as this was known, Constantius became greatly enraged, and lamenting Rufinus as if the champion of his safety had been destroyed, he sent couriers on horseback express, with threatening orders to Ursulus, commanding him to return to court. Ursulus, disregarding the remonstrances of those who advised him to disobey, hastened fearlessly to the presence; and having entered the emperor's council-chambers, with undaunted heart and voice related the whole transaction; and this confident behaviour of his shut the mouths of the flatterers, and delivered both the prefect and himself from serious danger.

8. It was at this time also that an event took place in Aquitania which was more extensively talked about. A certain cunning person being invited to a splendid and sumptuous banquet, which are frequent in that province, having seen a pair of coverlets, with two purple borders of such width, that by the skill of those who waited they seemed to be but one; and beholding the table also covered with a similar cloth, he took up one in each hand, and arranged them so as to resemble the front of a cloak, representing them as having formed the ornament of the imperial robe; and then searching over the whole house in order to find the robe which he affirmed must be hidden there, he thus caused the ruin of a wealthy estate.

9. With similar malignity, a certain secretary in Spain, who was likewise invited to a supper, hearing the servants, while bringing in the evening candles, cry "let us conquer," affixing a malignant interpretation to that common exclamation, in like manner ruined a noble family.

10. These and other evils increasing more and more, because Constantius, being a man of a very timorous disposition, was always thinking that blows were being aimed at him, like the celebrated tyrant of Sicily, Dionysius, who, because of this vice of his, taught his daughters to shave him, in order that he might not have to put his face in a stranger's power; and surrounded the small chamber in which he was accustomed to sleep with a deep ditch, so placed that it could only be entered by a drawbridge; the loose beams and axles of which when he went to bed he removed into his own chamber, replacing them when about to go forth at daybreak.

11. Moreover, those who had influence in the court promoted the spread of these evils, with the hope of joining to their own estates the forfeited possessions of those who should be condemned; and thus becoming rich by the ruin of their neighbours.

12. For, as clear evidence has shown, if Constantine was the first to excite the appetites of his followers, Constantius was the prince who fattened them on the marrow of the provinces.

13. For under him the principal persons of every rank burnt with an insatiable desire of riches, without any regard for justice or right. And among the ordinary judges, Rufinus, the chief prefect of the prætorium, was conspicuous for this avarice. And among the military officers Arbetio, the master of the horse, and Eusebius, the high chamberlain, ... Ard ... anus, the

quæstor, and in the city, the two Anicii, whose posterity, treading in the steps of their fathers, could not be satisfied even with possessions much larger than they themselves had enjoyed.

IX.

§ 1. But in the East, the Persians now practising predatory inroads and forays, in preference to engaging in pitched battles, as they had been wont to do before, carried off continually great numbers of men and cattle: sometimes making great booty, owing to the unexpectedness of their incursions, but at other times being overpowered by superior numbers, they suffered losses. Sometimes, also, the inhabitants of the districts which they had invaded had removed everything which could be carried off.

2. But Musonianus, the prefect of the prætorium, a man, as we have already said, of many liberal accomplishments but corrupt, and a person easily turned from the truth by a bribe, acquired, by means of some emissaries who were skilful in deceiving and obtaining information, a knowledge of the plans of the Persians; taking to his counsels on this subject Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, a veteran who had served many campaigns, and had become hardened by all kinds of dangers.

3. And when, by the concurrent report of spies, these officers had become certain that Sapor was occupied in the most remote frontier of his kingdom in repelling the hostilities of the bordering tribes, which he could not accomplish without great difficulty and bloodshed, they sought to tamper with Tamsapor, the general in command in the district nearest our border. Accordingly they sent soldiers of no renown to confer with him secretly, to engage him, if opportunity served, to write to the king to persuade him to make peace with the Roman emperor; whereby he, being then secure on every side, might be the better able to subdue the rebels who were never weary of exciting disturbances.

4. Tamsapor coincided with these wishes, and, trusting to them, reported to the king that Constantius, being involved in very formidable wars, was a suppliant for peace. But it took a long time for these letters to reach the country of the Chionites and the Euseni, on whose borders Sapor had taken up his winter quarters.

X.

§ 1. While matters were thus proceeding in the eastern regions and in the Gauls, Constantius, as if the temple of Janus were now shut and hostilities everywhere at an end, became desirous of visiting Rome, with the intention of celebrating his triumph over Magnentius, to which he could give no name, since the blood that he had spilt was that of Roman foes.

2. For indeed, neither by his own exertions, nor by those of his generals did he ever conquer any nation that made war upon him; nor did he make any

additions to the empire; nor at critical moments was he ever seen to be the foremost or even among the foremost; but still he was eager to exhibit to the people, now in the enjoyment of peace, a vast procession, and standards heavy with gold, and a splendid train of guards and followers, though the citizens themselves neither expected nor desired any such spectacle.

3. He was ignorant, probably, that some of the ancient emperors were, in time of peace, contented with their lictors, and that when the ardour of war forbade all inactivity, one,⁶¹ in a violent storm, had trusted himself to a fisherman's boat; another,⁶² following the example of the Decii, had sacrificed his life for the safety of the republic; another⁶³ had by himself, accompanied by only a few soldiers of the lowest rank, gone as a spy into the camp of the enemy: in short, that many of them had rendered themselves illustrious by splendid exploits, in order to hand down to posterity a glorious memory of themselves, earned by their achievements.

4. Accordingly, after long and sumptuous preparation, ... in the second prefecture of Orfitus, Constantius, elated with his great honours, and escorted by a formidable array of troops, marching in order of battle, passed through Ocricoli, attracting towards himself the astonished gaze of all the citizens.

5. And when he drew near to the city, contemplating the salutations offered him by the senators, and the whole body of fathers venerable from their likeness to their ancestors, he thought, not like Cineas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, that a multitude of kings was here assembled together, but that the city was the asylum of the whole world.

6. And when from them he had turned his eyes upon the citizens, he marvelled to think with what rapidity the whole race of mankind upon earth had come from all quarters to Rome; and, as if he would have terrified the Euphrates or the Rhine with a show of armed men, he himself came on, preceded by standards on both sides, sitting alone in a golden chariot, shining with all kinds of brilliant precious stones, which seemed to spread a flickering light all around.

7. Numbers also of the chief officers who went before him were surrounded by dragons embroidered on various kinds of tissue, fastened to the golden or jewelled points of spears, the mouths of the dragons being open so as to catch the wind, which made them hiss as though they were inflamed with anger; while the coils of their tails were also contrived to be agitated by the breeze.

8. After these marched a double row of heavy-armed soldiers, with shields and crested helmets, glittering with brilliant light, and clad in radiant breastplates; and among these were scattered cavalry with cuirasses, whom the Persians call Clibanarii,⁶⁴ protected by coverings of iron breastplates, and girdled with belts of iron, so that you would fancy them statues polished by the hand of Praxiteles, rather than men. And the light circular plates of iron which surrounded their bodies, and covered all their limbs, were so well fitted to all their motions, that in whatever direction they had occasion to move, the

joints of their iron clothing adapted themselves equally to any position.

9. The emperor as he proceeded was saluted as Augustus by voices of good omen, the mountains and shores re-echoing the shouts of the people, amid which he preserved the same immovable countenance which he was accustomed to display in his provinces.

10. For though he was very short, yet he bowed down when entering high gates, and looking straight before him, as though he had had his neck in a vice, he turned his eyes neither to the right nor to the left, as if he had been a statue: nor when the carriage shook him did he nod his head, or spit, or rub his face or his nose; nor was he ever seen even to move a hand.

11. And although this calmness was affectation, yet these and other portions of his inner life were indicative of a most extraordinary patience, as it may be thought, granted to him alone.

12. I pass over the circumstance that during the whole of his reign he never either took up any one to sit with him in his chariot, or admitted any private person to be his partner in the consulship, as other emperors had done; also many other things which he, being filled with elation and pride, prescribed to himself as the justest of all rules of conduct, recollecting that I mentioned those facts before, as occasion served.

13. As he went on, having entered Rome, that home of sovereignty and of all virtues, when he arrived at the rostra, he gazed with amazed awe on the Forum, the most renowned monument of ancient power; and, being bewildered with the number of wonders on every side to which he turned his eyes, having addressed the nobles in the senate-house, and harangued the populace from the tribune, he retired, with the good-will of all, into his palace, where he enjoyed the luxury he had wished for. And often, when celebrating the equestrian games, was he delighted with the talkativeness of the common people, who were neither proud, nor, on the other hand, inclined to become rebellious from too much liberty, while he himself also reverently observed a proper moderation.

14. For he did not, as was usually done in other cities, allow the length of the gladiatorial contests to depend on his caprice; but left it to be decided by various occurrences. Then, traversing the summits of the seven hills, and the different quarters of the city, whether placed on the slopes of the hills or on the level ground, and visiting, too, the suburban divisions, he was so delighted that whatever he saw first he thought the most excellent of all. Admiring the temple of the Tarpeian Jupiter, which is as much superior to other temples as divine things are superior to those of men; and the baths of the size of provinces; and the vast mass of the amphitheatre, so solidly erected of Tibertine stone, to the top of which human vision can scarcely reach; and the Pantheon with its vast extent, its imposing height, and the solid magnificence of its arches, and the lofty niches rising one above another like stairs, adorned with the images of former emperors; and the temple of the city, and the forum of peace, and the theatre of Pompey, and the odeum, and the racecourse, and

the other ornaments of the Eternal City.

15. But when he came to the forum of Trajan, the most exquisite structure, in my opinion, under the canopy of heaven, and admired even by the deities themselves, he stood transfixed with wonder, casting his mind over the gigantic proportions of the place, beyond the power of mortal to describe, and beyond the reasonable desire of mortals to rival. Therefore giving up all hopes of attempting anything of this kind, he contented himself with saying that he should wish to imitate, and could imitate the horse of Trajan, which stands by itself in the middle of the hall, bearing the emperor himself on his back.

16. And the royal prince Hormisdas, whose departure from Persia we have already mentioned, standing by answered, with the refinement of his nature, "But first, O emperor, command such a stable to be built for him, if you can, that the horse which you purpose to make may have as fair a domain as this which we see." And when he was asked what he thought of Rome, he said that "he was particularly delighted with it because he had learnt that men died also there."

17. Now after he had beheld all these various objects with awful admiration, the emperor complained of fame, as either deficient in power, or else spiteful, because, though it usually exaggerates everything, it fell very short in its praises of the things which are at Rome; and having deliberated for some time what he should do, he determined to add to the ornaments of the city by erecting an obelisk in the Circus Maximus, the origin and form of which I will describe when I come to the proper place.

18. At this time Eusebia, the queen, who herself was barren all her life, began to plot against Helena, the sister of Constantius, and wife of the Cæsar Julian, whom she had induced to come to Rome under a pretence of affection, and by wicked machinations she induced her to drink a poison which she had procured, which should have the effect, whenever Helena conceived, of producing abortion.

19. For already, when in Gaul, she had borne a male child, but that also had been dishonestly destroyed because the midwife, having been bribed, killed it as soon as it was born, by cutting through the navel-string too deeply; such exceeding care was taken that this most gallant man should have no offspring.

20. But the emperor, while wishing to remain longer in this most august spot of the whole world, in order to enjoy a purer tranquillity and higher degree of pleasure, was alarmed by repeated intelligence on which he could rely, which informed him that the Suevi were invading the Tyrol, that the Quadi were ravaging Valeria,⁶⁵ and that the Sarmatians, a tribe most skilful in plunder, were laying waste the upper Mœsia, and the second Pannonia. And roused by these news, on the thirtieth day after he had entered Rome, he again quitted it, leaving it on the 29th of May, and passing through Trent he proceeded with all haste towards Illyricum.

21. And from that city he sent Severus to succeed Marcellus, a man of great experience and ripe skill in war, and summoned Ursicinus to himself.

He, having gladly received the letter of summons, came to Sirmium, with a large retinue, and after a long deliberation on the peace which Musonianus had reported as possible to be made with the Persians, he was sent back to the East with the authority of commander-in-chief, and the older officers of our company having been promoted to commands over the soldiers, we younger men were ordered to follow him to perform whatever he commanded us for the service of the republic.

XI.

A.D. 357.

§ 1. But Julian, having passed his winter at Sens, amid continual disturbance, in the ninth consulship of the emperor, and his own second, while the threats of the Germans were raging on all sides, being roused by favourable omens, marched with speed to Rheims, with the greater alacrity and joy because Severus was in command of the army there; a man inclined to agree with him, void of arrogance, but of proved propriety of conduct and experience in war, and likely to follow his lawful authority, obeying his general like a well-disciplined soldier.

2. In another quarter, Barbatio, who after the death of Silvanus had been promoted to the command of the infantry, came from Italy by the emperor's orders, to Augst, with 25,000 heavy-armed soldiers.

3. For the plan proposed and very anxiously prepared was, that the Allemanni, who were in a state of greater rage than ever, and were extending their incursions more widely, should be caught between our two armies, as if between the arms of a pair of pincers, and so driven into a corner and destroyed.

4. But while these well-devised plans were being pressed forward, the barbarians, in joy at some success which they had obtained, and skilful in seizing every opportunity for plunder, passed secretly between the camps of the armies, and attacked Lyons unexpectedly. And having plundered the district around, they would have stormed and burnt the city itself, if they had not found the gates so strongly defended that they were repulsed; so that they only destroyed all they could find outside the city.

5. When this disaster was known, Cæsar, with great alacrity, despatched three squadrons of light cavalry, of approved valour, to watch three lines of road, knowing that beyond all question the invaders must quit the district by one of them.

6. Nor was he mistaken; for all who came by these roads were slaughtered by our men, and the whole of the booty which they were carrying off was recovered unhurt. Those alone escaped in safety who passed by the camp of Barbatio, who were suffered to escape in that direction because Bainobaudes the tribune, and Valentinian (afterwards emperor), who had been appointed to watch that pass with the squadrons of cavalry under their orders, were

forbidden by Cella (the tribune of the Scutarii, who had been sent as colleague to Barbatio) to occupy that road, though they were sure that by that the Germans would return to their own country.

7. The cowardly master of the horse, being also an obstinate enemy to the glory of Julian, was not contented with this, but being conscious that he had given orders inconsistent with the interests of Rome (for when he was accused of it Cella confessed what he had done), he made a false report to Constantius, and told him that these same tribunes had, under a pretence of the business of the state, come thither for the purpose of tampering with the soldiers whom he commanded. And owing to this statement they were deprived of their commands, and returned home as private individuals.

8. In these days, also, the barbarians, alarmed at the approach of our armies, which had established their stations on the left bank of the Rhine, employed some part of their force in skilfully barricading the roads, naturally difficult of access, and full of hills, by abattis constructed of large trees cut down; others occupied the numerous islands scattered up and down the Rhone, and with horrid howls poured forth constant reproaches against the Romans and the Cæsar; who, being now more than ever resolved to crush some of their armies, demanded from Barbatio seven of those boats which he had collected, for the purpose of constructing a bridge with them, with the intention of crossing the river. But Barbatio, determined that no assistance should be got from him, burnt them all.

9. Julian, therefore, having learnt from the report of some spies whom he had lately taken prisoners, that, when the drought of summer arrived, the river was fordable, addressed a speech of encouragement to his light-armed auxiliary troops, and sent them forward with Bainobaudes, the tribune of the Cornuti, to try and perform some gallant exploit, if they could find an opportunity. And they, entering the shallow of the river, and sometimes, when there was occasion for swimming, putting their shields under them like canoes, reached a neighbouring island, and having landed, killed every one they found on it, men and women, without distinction of age, like so many sheep. And having found some empty boats, though they were not very safe, they crossed in them, forcing their way into many places of the same land. When they were weary of slaughter, and loaded with a rich booty, some of which, however, they lost through the violence of the river, they returned back to the camp without losing a man.

10. And when this was known, the rest of the Germans, thinking they could no longer trust the garrisons left in the islands, removed their relations, and their magazines, and their barbaric treasures, into the inland parts.

11. After this Julian turned his attention to repair the fortress known by the name of Saverne, which had a little time before been destroyed by a violent attack of the enemy, but which, while it stood, manifestly prevented the Germans from forcing their way into the interior of the Gauls, as they had been accustomed to do; and he executed this work with greater rapidity than

he expected, and he laid up for the garrison which he intended to post there sufficient magazines for a whole year's consumption, which his army collected from the crops of the barbarians, not without occasional contests with the owners.

12. Nor indeed was he contented with this, but he also collected provisions for himself and his army sufficient for twenty days. For the soldiers delighted in using the food which they had won with their own right hands, being especially indignant because, out of all the supplies which had been recently sent them, they were not able to obtain anything, inasmuch as Barbatio, when they were passing near his camp, had with great insolence seized on a portion of them, and had collected all the rest into a heap and burnt them. Whether he acted thus out of his own vanity and insane folly, or whether others were really the authors of this wickedness, relying on the command of the emperor himself, has never been known.

13. However, as far as report went, the story commonly was, that Julian had been elected Cæsar, not for the object of relieving the distresses of the Gauls, but rather of being himself destroyed by the formidable wars in which he was sure to be involved; being at that time, as was supposed, inexperienced in war, and not likely to endure even the sound of arms.

14. While the works of the camp were steadily rising, and while a portion of the army was being distributed among the stations in the country districts, Julian occupied himself in other quarters with collecting supplies, operating with great caution, from the fear of ambuscades. And in the mean time, a vast host of the barbarians, outstripping all report of their approach by the celerity of their movements, came down with a sudden attack upon Barbatio, and the army which (as I have already mentioned) he had under his command, separated from the Gallic army of Severus only by a rampart; and having put him to flight, pursued him as far as Augst, and beyond that town too, as far as they could; and, having made booty of the greater part of his baggage and beasts of burden, and having carried off many of the sutlers as prisoners, they returned to their main army.

15. And Barbatio, as if he had brought his expectations to a prosperous issue, now distributed his soldiers into winter quarters, and returned to the emperor's court, to forge new accusations against the Cæsar, according to his custom.

XII.

§ 1. When this disgraceful disaster had become known, Chnodomarius and Vestralpus, the kings of the Allemanni, and Urius and Ursicinus, with Serapion, and Suomarius, and Hortarius, having collected all their forces into one body, encamped near the city of Strasburg, thinking that the Cæsar, from fear of imminent danger, had retreated at the very time that he was wholly occupied with completing a fortress to enable him to make a permanent stand.

2. Their confidence and assurance of success was increased by one of the Scutarii who deserted to them, who fearing punishment for some offence which he had committed, crossed over to them after the departure of Barbatio, and assured them that Julian had now only 13,000 men remaining with him. For that was the number of troops that he had now with him, while the ferocious barbarians were stirring up attacks upon him from all sides.

3. And as he constantly adhered to the same story, they were excited to more haughty attempts by the confidence with which he inspired them, and sent ambassadors in an imperious tone to Cæsar, demanding that he should retire from the territory which they had acquired by their own valour in arms. But he, a stranger to fear, and not liable to be swayed either by anger or by disappointment, despised the arrogance of the barbarians, and detaining the ambassadors till he had completed the works of his camp, remained immovable on his ground with admirable constancy.

4. But King Chnodomarius, moving about in every direction, and being always the first to undertake dangerous enterprises, kept everything in continual agitation and confusion, being full of arrogance and pride, as one whose head was turned by repeated success.

5. For he had defeated the Cæsar Decentius in a pitched battle, and he had plundered and destroyed many wealthy cities, and he had long ravaged all Gaul at his own pleasure without meeting with any resistance. And his confidence was now increased by the recent retreat of a general superior to him in the number and strength of his forces.

6. For the Allemanni, beholding the emblems on their shields, saw that a few predatory bands of their men had wrested those districts from those soldiers whom they had formerly never engaged but with fear, and by whom they had often been routed with much loss. And these circumstances made Julian very anxious, because, after the defection of Barbatio, he himself under the pressure of absolute necessity was compelled to encounter very populous tribes, with but very few, though brave troops.

7. And now, the sun being fully risen, the trumpets sounded, and the infantry were led forth from the camp in slow march, and on their flanks were arrayed the squadrons of cavalry, among which were both the cuirassiers and the archers, troops whose equipment was very formidable.

8. And since from the spot from which the Roman standards had first advanced to the rampart of the barbarian camp were fourteen leagues, that is to say one-and-twenty miles, Cæsar, carefully providing for the advantage and safety of his army, called in the skirmishers who had gone out in front, and having ordered silence in his usual voice, while they all stood in battalions around him, addressed them in his natural tranquillity of voice.

9. "The necessity of providing for our common safety, to say the least of it, compels me, and I am no prince of abject spirit, to exhort you, my comrades, to rely so much on your own mature and vigorous valour, as to follow my counsels in adopting a prudent manner of enduring or repelling the evils

which we anticipate, rather than resort to an overhasty mode of action which must be doubtful in its issue.

10. "For though amid dangers youth ought to be energetic and bold, so also in cases of necessity it should show itself manageable and prudent. Now what I think best to be done, if your opinion accords with mine, and if your just indignation will endure it, I will briefly explain.

11. "Already noon is approaching, we are weary with our march, and if we advance we shall enter upon rugged paths where we can hardly see our way. As the moon is waning the night will not be lighted up by any stars. The earth is burnt up with the heat, and will afford us no supplies of water. And even if by any contrivance we could get over these difficulties comfortably, still, when the swarms of the enemy fall upon us, refreshed as they will be with rest, meat, and drink, what will become of us? What strength will there be in our weary limbs, exhausted as we shall be with hunger, thirst, and toil, to encounter them?

12. "Therefore, since the most critical difficulties are often overcome by skilful arrangements, and since, after good counsel has been taken in good part, divine-looking remedies have often re-established affairs which seemed to be tottering; I entreat you to let us here, surrounded as we are with fosse and rampart, take our repose, after first parcelling out our regular watches, and then, having refreshed ourselves with sleep and food as well as the time will allow, let us, under the protection of God, with the earliest dawn move forth our conquering eagles and standards to reap a certain triumph."

13. The soldiers would hardly allow him to finish his speech, gnashing their teeth, and showing their eagerness for combat by beating their shields with their spears; and entreating at once to be led against the enemy already in their sight, relying on the favour of the God of heaven, and on their own valour, and on the proved courage of their fortunate general. And, as the result proved, it was a certain kind genius that was present with them thus prompting them to fight while still under his inspiration.

14. And this eagerness of theirs was further stimulated by the full approval of the officers of high rank, and especially of Florentius the prefect of the prætorian guard, who openly gave his opinion for fighting at once, while the enemy were in the solid mass in which they were now arranged; admitting the danger indeed, but still thinking it the wisest plan, because, if the enemy once dispersed, it would be impossible to restrain the soldiers, at all times inclined by their natural vehemence of disposition towards sedition; and they were likely to be, as he thought, so indignant at being denied the victory they sought, as to be easily tempted to the most lawless violence.

15. Two other considerations also added to the confidence of our men. First, because they recollected that in the previous year, when the Romans spread themselves in every direction over the countries on the other side of the Rhine, not one of the barbarians stood to defend his home, nor ventured to encounter them; but they contented themselves with blockading the roads in

every direction with vast abattis, throughout the whole winter retiring into the remote districts, and willingly endured the greatest hardships rather than fight; recollecting also that, after the emperor actually invaded their territories, the barbarians neither ventured to make any resistance, nor even to show themselves at all, but implored peace in the most suppliant manner, till they obtained it.

16. But no one considered that the times were changed, because the barbarians were at that time pressed with a threefold danger. The emperor hastening against them through the Tyrol, the Cæsar who was actually in their country cutting off all possibility of retreat, while the neighbouring tribes, whom recent quarrels had converted into enemies, were all but treading on their heels; and thus they were surrounded on all sides. But since that time the emperor, having granted them peace, had returned to Italy, and the neighbouring tribes, having all cause of quarrel removed, were again in alliance with them; and the disgraceful retreat of one of the Roman generals had increased their natural confidence and boldness.

17. Moreover there was another circumstance which at this crisis added weight to the difficulties which pressed upon the Romans. The two royal brothers, who had obtained peace from Constantius in the preceding year, being bound by the obligations of that treaty, neither ventured to raise any disturbance, nor indeed to put themselves in motion at all. But a little after the conclusion of that peace one of them whose name was Gundomadus, and who was the most loyal and the most faithful to his word, was slain by treachery, and then all his tribe joined our enemies; and on this the tribe of Vadomarius also, against his will, as he affirmed, ranged itself on the side of the barbarians who were arming for war.

18. Therefore, since all the soldiers of every rank, from the highest to the lowest, approved of engaging instantly, and would not relax the least from the rigour of their determination, on a sudden the standard-bearer shouted out, "Go forth, O Cæsar, most fortunate of all princes. Go whither thy better fortune leads thee. At least we have learnt by your example the power of valour and military skill. Go on and lead us, as a fortunate and gallant champion. You shall see what a soldier under the eye of a warlike general, a witness of the exploits of each individual, can do, and how little, with the favour of the Deity, any obstacle can avail against him."

19. When these words were heard, without a moment's delay, the whole army advanced and approached a hill of moderate height, covered with ripe corn, at no great distance from the banks of the Rhine. On its summit were posted three cavalry soldiers of the enemy as scouts, who at once hastened back to their comrades to announce that the Roman army was at hand; but one infantry soldier who was with them, not being able to keep up with them, was taken prisoner by the activity of some of our soldiers, and informed us that the Germans had been passing over the river for three days and three nights.

20. And when our generals beheld them now at no great distance forming

their men into solid columns, they halted, and formed all the first ranks of their troops into a similarly solid body, and with equal caution the enemy likewise halted.

21. And when in consequence of this halt, the enemy saw (as the deserter I mentioned above had informed them) that all our cavalry was ranged against them in our right wing, then they posted all their own cavalry in close order on their left wing. And with them they mingled every here and there a few infantry, skirmishers and light-armed soldiers, which indeed was a very wise manoeuvre.

22. For they knew that a cavalry soldier, however skilful, if fighting with one of our men in complete armour, while his hands were occupied with shield and bridle, so that he could use no offensive weapon but the spear which he brandished in his right hand, could never injure an enemy wholly covered with iron mail; but that an infantry soldier, amid the actual struggles of personal conflict, when nothing is usually guarded against by a combatant except that which is straight before him, may crawl unperceivedly along the ground, and piercing the side of the Roman soldier's horse, throw the rider down headlong, rendering him thus an easy victim.

23. When these dispositions had been thus made, the barbarians also protected their right flank with secret ambuscades and snares. Now the whole of these warlike and savage tribes were on this day under the command of Chnodomarius and Serapio, monarchs of more power than any of their former kings.

24. Chnodomarius was indeed the wicked instigator of the whole war, and bearing on his head a helmet blazing like fire, he led on the left wing with great boldness, confiding much on his vast personal strength. And now with great eagerness for the impending battle he mounted a spirited horse, that by the increased height he might be more conspicuous, leaning upon a spear of most formidable size, and remarkable for the splendour of his arms. Being indeed a prince who had on former occasions shown himself brave as a warrior and a general, eminent for skill above his fellows.

25. The right wing was led by Serapio, a youth whose beard had hardly grown, but who was beyond his years in courage and strength. He was the son of Mederichus the brother of Chnodomarius, a man throughout his whole life of the greatest perfidy; and he had received the name of Serapio because his father, having been given as a hostage, had been detained in Gaul for a long time, and had there learnt some of the mysteries of the Greeks, in consequence of which he had changed the name of his son, who at his birth was named Agenarichus, into that of Serapio.

26. These two leaders were followed by five other kings who were but little inferior in power to themselves, by ten petty princes, a vast number of nobles, and thirty-five thousand armed men, collected from various nations partly by pay, and partly by a promise of requiting their service by similar assistance on a future day.

27. The trumpets now gave forth a terrible sound; Severus, the Roman general in command of the left wing, when he came near the ditches filled with armed men, from which the enemy had arranged that those who were there concealed should suddenly rise up, and throw the Roman line into confusion, halted boldly, and suspecting some yet hidden ambuscade, neither attempted to retreat nor advance.

28. Seeing this, Julian, always full of courage at the moment of the greatest difficulty, galloped with an escort of two hundred cavalry through the ranks of the infantry at full speed, addressing them with words of encouragement, as the critical circumstances in which they were placed required.

29. And as the extent of the space over which they were spread and the denseness of the multitude thus collected into one body, would not allow him to address the whole army (and also because on other accounts he wished to avoid exposing himself to malice and envy, as well as not to affect that which Augustus thought belonged exclusively to himself), he, while taking care of himself as he passed within reach of the darts of the enemy, encouraged all whom his voice could reach, whether known or unknown to him, to fight bravely, with these and similar words: —

30. “Now, my comrades, the fit time for fighting has arrived; the time which I, as well as you, have long desired, and which you just now invited when, with gestures of impatience, you demanded to be led on.” Again, when he came to those in the rear rank, who were posted in reserve: “Behold,” said he, “my comrades, the long-wished-for day is at hand, which incites us all to wash out former stains, and to restore to its proper brightness the Roman majesty. These men before you are barbarians, whom their own rage and intemperate madness have urged forward to meet with the destruction of their fortunes, defeated as they will now be by our might.”

31. Presently, when making better dispositions for the array of some troops who, by long experience in war, had attained to greater skill, he aided his arrangements by these exhortations. “Let us rise up like brave men; let us by our native valour repel the disgrace which has at one time been brought upon our arms, from contemplating which it was that after much delay I consented to take the name of Cæsar.”

32. But to any whom he saw inconsiderately demanding the signal to be given for instant battle, and likely by their rash movements to be inattentive to orders, he said, “I entreat you not to be too eager in your pursuit of the flying enemy, so as to risk losing the glory of the victory which awaits us, and also never to retreat, except under the last necessity.

33. “For I shall certainly take no care of those who flee. But among those who press on to the slaughter of the enemy I shall be present, and share with you indiscriminately, provided only that your charge be made with moderation and prudence.”

34. While repeatedly addressing these and similar exhortations to the troops, he drew up the principal part of his army opposite to the front rank of

the barbarians. And suddenly there arose from the Allemanni a great shout, mingled with indignant cries, all exclaiming with one voice that the princes ought to leave their horses and fight in the ranks on equal terms with their men, lest if any mischance should occur they should avail themselves of the facility of escaping, and leave the mass of the army in miserable plight.

35. When this was known, Chnodomarius immediately leapt down from his horse, and the rest of the princes followed his example without hesitation. For indeed none of them doubted but that their side would be victorious.

36. Then the signal for battle being given as usual by the sound of trumpets, the armies rushed to the combat with all their force. First of all javelins were hurled, and the Germans, hastening on with the utmost impetuosity, brandishing their javelins in their right hands, dashed among the squadrons of our cavalry, uttering fearful cries. They had excited themselves to more than usual rage; their flowing hair bristling with their eagerness, and fury blazing from their eyes. While in opposition to them our soldiers, standing steadily, protecting their heads with the bulwark of their shields, and drawing their swords or brandishing their javelins, equally threatened death to their assailants.

37. And while in the very conflict of battle, the cavalry kept their gallant squadrons in close order, and the infantry strengthened their flanks, standing shoulder to shoulder with closely-locked shields, clouds of thick dust arose, and the battle rocked to and fro, our men sometimes advancing, sometimes receding. Some of the most powerful warriors among the barbarians pressed upon their antagonists with their knees, trying to throw them down; and in the general excitement men fought hand to hand, shield pressing upon shield; while the heaven resounded with the loud cries of the conquerors and of the dying. Presently, when our left wing, advancing forward, had driven back with superior strength the vast bands of German assailants, and was itself advancing with loud cries against the enemy, our cavalry on the right wing unexpectedly retreated in disorder; but when the leading fugitives came upon those in the rear, they halted, perceiving themselves covered by the legions, and renewed the battle.

38. This disaster had arisen from the cuirassiers seeing their commander slightly wounded, and one of their comrades crushed under the weight of his own arms, and of his horse, which fell upon him while they were changing their position, on which they all fled as each could, and would have trampled down the infantry, and thrown everything into confusion, if the infantry had not steadily kept their ranks and stood immovable, supporting each other. Julian, when from a distance he saw his cavalry thus seeking safety in flight, spurred his horse towards them, and himself stopped them like a barrier.

39. For as he was at once recognized by his purple standard of the dragon, which was fixed to the top of a long spear, waving its fringe as a real dragon sheds its skin, the tribune of one squadron halted, and turning pale with alarm, hastened back to renew the battle.

40. Then, as is customary in critical moments, Julian gently reproached his men: “Whither,” said he, “gallant comrades, are ye retreating? Are ye ignorant that flight, which never insures safety, proves the folly of having made a vain attempt? Let us return to our army, to be partakers of their glory, and not rashly desert those who are fighting for the republic.”

41. Saying these words in a dignified tone, he led them all back to discharge their duties in the fight, imitating in this the ancient hero Sylla, if we make allowances for the difference of situation. For when Sylla, having led his army against Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, became exhausted by the violence of the conflict, and was deserted by all his soldiers, he ran to the foremost rank, and seizing a standard he turned it against the enemy, exclaiming, “Go! ye once chosen companions of my dangers; and when you are asked where I, your general, was left, tell them this truth, — alone in Bœotia, fighting for us all, to his own destruction.”

42. The Allemanni, when our cavalry had been thus driven back and thrown into confusion, attacked the first line of our infantry, expecting to find their spirit abated, and to be able to rout them without much resistance.

43. But when they came to close quarters with them, they found they had met an equal match. The conflict lasted long; for the Cornuti and Braccati,⁶⁶ veterans of great experience in war, frightening even by their gestures, shouted their battle cry, and the uproar, through the heat of the conflict, rising up from a gentle murmur, and becoming gradually louder and louder, grew fierce as that of waves dashing against the rocks; the javelins hissed as they flew hither and thither through the air; the dust rose to the sky in one vast cloud, preventing all possibility of seeing, and causing arms to fall upon arms, man upon man.

44. But the barbarians, in their undisciplined anger and fury, raged like the flames; and with ceaseless blows of their swords sought to pierce through the compact mass of the shields with which our soldiers defended themselves, as with the testudo.^{67]}

45. And when this was seen, the Batavi, with the royal legion, hastened to the support of their comrades, a formidable band, well able, if fortune aided them, to save even those who were in the extremest danger. And amid the fierce notes of their trumpets, the battle again raged with undiminished ferocity.

46. But the Allemanni, still charging forward impetuously, strove more and more vigorously, hoping to bear down all opposition by the violence of their fury. Darts, spears, and javelins never ceased; arrows pointed with iron were shot; while at the same time, in hand-to-hand conflict, sword struck sword, breastplates were cloven, and even the wounded, if not quite exhausted with loss of blood, rose up still to deeds of greater daring.

47. In some sense it may be said that the combatants were equal. The Allemanni were the stronger and the taller men; our soldiers by great practice were the more skilful. The one were fierce and savage, the others composed

and wary; the one trusted to their courage, the others to their physical strength.

48. Often, indeed, the Roman soldier was beaten down by the weight of his enemy's arms, but he constantly rose again; and then, on the other hand, the barbarian, finding his knees fail under him with fatigue, would rest his left knee on the ground, and even in that position attack his enemy, an act of extreme obstinacy.

49. Presently there sprang forward with sudden vigour a fiery band of nobles, among whom also were the princes of the petty tribes, and, as the common soldiers followed them in great numbers, they burst through our lines, and forced a path for themselves up to the principal legion of the reserve, which was stationed in the centre, in a position called the prætorian camp; and there the soldiery, being in closer array, and in densely serried ranks, stood firm as so many towers, and renewed the battle with increased spirit. And intent upon parrying the blows of the enemy, and covering themselves with their shields as the Mirmillos⁶⁸ do, with their drawn swords wounded their antagonists in the sides, which their too vehement impetuosity left unprotected.

50. And thus the barbarians threw away their lives in their struggles for victory, while toiling to break the compact array of our battalions. But still, in spite of the ceaseless slaughter made among them by the Romans, whose courage rose with their success, fresh barbarians succeeded those who fell; and as the frequent groans of the dying were heard, many became panic-stricken, and lost all strength.

51. At last, exhausted by their losses, and having no strength for anything but flight, they sought to escape with all speed by different roads, like as sailors and traders, when the sea rages in a storm, are glad to flee wherever the wind carries them. But any one then present will confess that escape was a matter rather to be wished than hoped for.

52. And the merciful protection of a favourable deity was present on our side, so that our soldiers, now slashing at the backs of the fugitives, and finding their swords so battered that they were insufficient to wound, used the enemy's own javelins, and so slew them. Nor could any one of the pursuers satiate himself enough with their blood, nor allow his hand to weary with slaughter, nor did any one spare a suppliant out of pity.

53. Numbers, therefore, lay on the ground, mortally wounded, imploring instant death as a relief; others, half dead with failing breath turned their dying eyes to the last enjoyment of the light. Of some the heads were almost cut off by the huge weapons, and merely hung by small strips to their necks; others, again, who had fallen because the ground had been rendered slippery by the blood of their comrades, without themselves receiving any wound, were killed by being smothered in the mass of those who fell over them.

54. While these events were proceeding thus prosperously for us, the conquerors pressed on vigorously, though the edges of their weapons were

blunted by frequent use, and shining helmets and shields were trampled under foot. At last, in the extremity of their distress, the barbarians, finding the heaps of corpses block up all the paths, sought the aid of the river, which was the only hope left to them, and which they had now reached.

55. And because our soldiers unweariedly and with great speed pressed, with arms in their hands, upon the fleeing bands, many, hoping to be able to deliver themselves from danger by their skill in swimming, trusted their lives to the waves. And Julian, with prompt apprehension, seeing what would be the result, strictly forbade the tribunes and captains to allow any of our men to pursue them so eagerly as to trust themselves to the dangerous currents of the river.

56. In consequence of which order they halted on the brink, and from it wounded the Germans with every kind of missile; while, if any of them escaped from death of that kind by the celerity of their movements, they still sunk to the bottom from the weight of their own arms.

57. And as sometimes in a theatrical spectacle the curtain exhibits marvellous figures, so here one could see many strange things in that danger; some unconsciously clinging to others who were good swimmers, others who were floating were pushed off by those less encumbered as so many logs, others again, as if the violence of the stream itself fought against them, were swallowed up in the eddies. Some supported themselves on their shields avoiding the heaviest attacks of the opposing waves by crossing them in an oblique direction, and so, after many dangers, reached the opposite brink, till at last the foaming river, discoloured with barbarian blood, was itself amazed at the unusual increase it had received.

58. And while this was going on, Chnodomarius, the king, finding an opportunity of escaping, making his way over the heaps of dead with a small escort, hastened with exceeding speed towards the camp which he had made near the two Roman fortresses of Alstatt and Lauterbourg, in the country of the Tribocci, that he might embark in some boats which had already been prepared in case of any emergency, and so escape to some secret hiding-place in which he might conceal himself.

59. And because it was impossible for him to reach his camp without crossing the Rhine, he hid his face that he might not be recognized, and after that retreated slowly. And when he got near the bank of the river, as he was feeling his way round a marsh, partly overflowed, seeking some path by which to cross it, his horse suddenly stumbled in some soft and sticky place, and he was thrown down, but though he was fat and heavy, he without delay reached the shelter of a hill in the neighbourhood; there he was recognized (for indeed he could not conceal who he was, being betrayed by the greatness of his former fortune): and immediately a squadron of cavalry came up at full gallop with its tribune, and cautiously surrounded the wooded mound; though they feared to enter the thicket lest they should fall into any ambuscade concealed among the trees.

60. But when he saw them he was seized with extreme terror, and of his own accord came forth by himself and surrendered; and his companions, two hundred in number, and his three most intimate friends, thinking it would be a crime in them to survive their king, or not to die for him if occasion required, gave themselves up also as prisoners.

61. And, as barbarians are naturally low spirited in adverse fortune, and very much the reverse in moments of prosperity, so now that he was in the power of another he became pale and confused, his consciousness of guilt closing his mouth; widely different from him who lately, insulting the ashes of the Gauls with ferocious and lamentable violence, poured forth savage threats against the whole empire.

62. Now after these affairs were thus by the favour of the deity brought to an end, the victorious soldiers were recalled at the close of the day to their camp by the signal of the trumpeter, and marched towards the bank of the Rhine, and there erecting a rampart of shields piled together in several rows, they refreshed themselves with food and sleep.

63. There fell in this battle, of Romans 243, and four generals: Bainobaudes, the tribune of the Cornuti, and with him Laipso, and Innocentius, who commanded the cuirassiers and one tribune who had no particular command, and whose name I forget. But of the Allemanni, there were found 6000 corpses on the field, and incalculable numbers were carried down by the waves of the river.

64. Then Julian, as one who was now manifestly approved by fortune, and was also greater in his merit than even in his authority, was by unanimous acclamation hailed as Augustus by the soldiers; but he sharply reproved them for so doing, affirming with an oath that he neither wished for such an honour, nor would accept it.

65. In order to increase the joy at his recent success, Julian ordered Chnodomarius to be brought before him at his council; who at first bowing, and then like a suppliant, prostrating himself on the ground, and imploring pardon with entreaties framed after the fashion of his nation, was bidden to take courage.

66. A few days afterwards he was conducted to the court of the emperor, and thence he was sent to Rome, where he died of a lethargy in the foreign camp which is stationed on Mons Cælius.

67. Notwithstanding that these numerous and important events were brought to so happy an issue, some persons in the palace of Constantius, disparaging Julian in order to give pleasure to the emperor, in a tone of derision called him Victorinus, because he, modestly relating how often he had been employed in leading the army, at the same time related that the Germans had received many defeats.

68. They at the same time, by loading the emperor with empty praises, of which the extravagance was glaringly conspicuous, so inflated an inherent pride, already beyond all natural bounds, that he was led to believe that,

whatever took place in the whole circumference of the earth was owing to his fortunate auspices.

69. So that, being inflated by the pompous language of his flatterers, he then, and at all subsequent periods, became accustomed in all the edicts which he published to advance many unfounded statements; assuming, that he by himself had fought and conquered, when in fact he had not been present at anything that had happened; often also asserting that he had raised up the suppliant kings of conquered nations. For instance, if while he was still in Italy any of his generals had fought a brilliant campaign against the Persians, the emperor would write triumphant letters to the provinces without the slightest mention of the general throughout its whole length, relating with odious self-praise how he himself had fought in the front ranks.

70. Lastly, edicts of his are still extant, laid up among the public records of the empire ... relating ...⁶⁹ and extolling himself to the skies. A letter also is to be found, though he was forty days' journey from Strasburg when the battle was fought, describing the engagement, saying that he marshalled the army, stood among the standard-bearers, and put the barbarians to the rout; and with amazing falsehood asserting that Chnodomarius was brought before him, without (oh shameful indignity!) saying a single word about the exploits of Julian; which he would have utterly buried in oblivion if fame had not refused to let great deeds die, however many people may try to keep them in the shade.

NOTES.

⁵⁹ The text is defective here, as it is wherever these marks occur.

⁶⁰ Coblenz.

⁶¹ Julius Cæsar: the story of the frightened fisherman being encouraged by the assurance that he was carrying “Cæsar and his fortunes” is universally known.

⁶² Claudius, who devoted himself in the Gothic war.

⁶³ Galerius Maximianus, who reconnoitred in person the camp of the king of Persia.

⁶⁴ The word is derived from κλιβανov, an oven, and seems to mean entirely clothed in iron.

⁶⁵ Valeria was a division of Pannonia, so called from Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian, and the wife of Galerius.

⁶⁶ Troops named from the fashion of their arms; the Cornuti having projections like horns on their helmets, the Braccati wearing drawers.

⁶⁷ The testudo was properly applied to the manner in which they locked their shields over their heads while advancing to storm a walled town.

⁶⁸ The Mirmillo was a gladiator opposed to a Retiarius, protecting himself by his oblong shield against the net of the latter.

⁶⁹ The text is mutilated here, as in many other passages similarly marked.

BOOK XVII.

ARGUMENT.

I. Julian crosses the Rhine and plunders and burns the towns of the Allemanni, repairs the fortress of Trajan, and grants the barbarians a truce for ten months. — II. He hems in six hundred Franks who are devastating the second Germania, and starves them into surrender. — III. He endeavours to relieve the Gauls from some of the tribute which weighs them down. — IV. By order of the Emperor Constantius an obelisk is erected at Rome in the Circus Maximus; — some observations on obelisks and on hieroglyphics. — V. Constantius and Sapor, king of the Persians, by means of ambassadors and letters, enter into a vain negotiation for peace. — VI. The Nethargi, an Allemanni tribe, are defeated in the Tyrol, which they were laying waste. — VII. Nicomedia is destroyed by an earthquake; some observations on earthquakes — VIII. Julian receives the surrender of the Salii, a Frankish tribe. He defeats one body of the Chamavi, takes another body prisoners, and grants peace to the rest. — IX. He repairs three forts on the Meuse that had been destroyed by the barbarians. His soldiers suffer from want, and become discontented and reproachful. — X. Surmarius and Hortarius, kings of the Allemanni, surrender their prisoners and obtain peace from Julian. — XI. Julian, after his successes in Gaul, is disparaged at the court of Constantius by enviers of his fame, and is spoken of as inactive and cowardly. — XII. The Emperor Constantius compels the Sarmatians to give hostage, and to restore their prisoners; and imposes a king on the Sarmatian exiles, whom he restores to their country and to freedom. — XIII. He compels the Limigantes, after defeating them with great slaughter, to emigrate, and harangues his own soldiers. — XIV. The Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to treat for peace, return from Persia; and Sapor returns into Armenia and Mesopotamia.

I.

A.D. 357.

§ 1. After the various affairs which we have described were brought to a conclusion, the warlike young prince, now that the battle of Strasburg had secured him the navigation of the Rhine, felt anxious that the ill-omened birds should not feed on the corpses of the slain, and so ordered them all to be buried without distinction. And having dismissed the ambassadors whom we have mentioned as having come with some arrogant messages before the battle, he returned to Saverne.

2. From this place he ordered all the booty and the prisoners to be brought to Metz, to be left there till his return. Then departing for Mayence, to lay down a bridge at that city and to seek the barbarians in their own territories, since he had left none of them in arms, he was at first met by great opposition on the part of his army; but addressing them with eloquence and persuasion he soon won them to his opinion. For their affection for him, becoming strengthened by repeated experience, induced them to follow one who shared in all their toils, and who, while never surrendering his authority, was still accustomed, as every one saw, to impose more labour on himself than on his men. They soon arrived at the appointed spot, and, crossing the river by a bridge they laid down, occupied the territory of the enemy.

3. The barbarians, amazed at the greatness of his enterprise, inasmuch as they had fancied they were situated in a position in which they could hardly be disturbed, were now led by the destruction of their countrymen to think

anxiously of their own future fate, and accordingly, pretending to implore peace that they might escape from the violence of his first invasion, they sent ambassadors to him with a set message, offering a lasting treaty of agreement; but (though it is not known what design or change of circumstances altered their purpose) they immediately afterwards sent off some others with all speed, to threaten our troops with implacable war if they did not at once quit their territories.

4. And when this was known, the Cæsar, as soon as all was quiet, at the beginning of night embarked 800 men in some small swift boats, with the intention that they should row with all their strength up stream for some distance, and then land and destroy all they could find with fire and sword.

5. After he had made this arrangement, the barbarians were seen at daybreak on the tops of the mountains, on which our soldiers were led with speed to the higher ground; and when no enemy was found there (since the barbarians, divining their plan, immediately retreated to a distance), presently large volumes of smoke were seen, which indicated that our men had broken into the enemy's territory, and were laying it waste.

6. This event broke the spirit of the Germans, who, deserting the ambuscades which they had laid for our men in narrow defiles full of lurking-places, they fled across the river Maine to carry aid to their countrymen.

7. For, as is often the case in times of uncertainty and difficulty, they were panic-stricken by the incursion of our cavalry on the one side, and the sudden attacks of our infantry, conveyed in boats, on the other; and therefore, relying on their knowledge of the country, they sought safety in the rapidity of their flight; and, as their retreat left the motions of our troops free, we plundered the wealthy farms of their crops and their cattle, sparing no one. And having carried off a number of prisoners, we set fire to, and burnt to the ground all their houses, which in that district were built more carefully than usual, in the Roman fashion.

8. And when we had penetrated a distance of ten miles, till we came near a wood terrible from the denseness of its shade, our army halted for a while, and stayed its advance, having learnt from information given by a deserter that a number of enemies were concealed in some subterranean passages and caverns with many entrances in the neighbourhood, ready to sally forth when a favourable opportunity should appear.

9. Nevertheless our men presently ventured to advance in full confidence, and found the roads blockaded by oaks, ashes, and pines, of great size, cut down and laid together. And so they retreated with caution, perceiving that it was impossible to advance except by long and rugged defiles; though they could hardly restrain their indignation at being compelled to do so.

10. The weather too became very severe, so that they were enveloped in all kinds of toil and danger to no purpose (forasmuch as it was now past the autumnal equinox, and the snow, which had already fallen in those regions, covered the mountains and the plains), and so, instead of proceeding, Julian

undertook a work worthy of being related.

11. He repaired with great expedition, while there was no one to hinder him, the fortress which Trajan had constructed in the territory of the Allemanni, and to which he had given his own name, and which had lately been attacked with great violence and almost destroyed. And he placed there a temporary garrison, and also some magazines, which he had collected from the barbarians.

12. But when the Allemanni saw these preparations made for their destruction, they assembled rapidly in great consternation at what had already been done, and sent ambassadors to implore peace, with prayers of extreme humility. And the Cæsar, now that he had fully matured and secured the success of all his designs, taking into consideration all probabilities, granted them a truce for ten months. In reality he was especially influenced by this prudent consideration, that the camp which he had thus occupied without hindrance, in a way that could hardly have been hoped for, required, nevertheless, to be fortified with mural engines and other adequate equipments.

13. Trusting to this truce, three of the most ferocious of those kings who had sent reinforcements to their countrymen when defeated at Strasburg, came to him, though still in some degree of alarm, and took the oaths according to the formula in use in their country, that they would create no further disturbance, but that they would keep the truce faithfully up to the appointed day, because that had been the decision of our generals; and that they would not attack the fortress; and that they would even bring supplies to it on their shoulders if the garrison informed them that they were in want; all which they promised, because their fear bridled their treachery.

14. In this memorable war, which deserves to be compared with those against the Carthaginians or the Gauls, yet was accompanied with very little loss to the republic, Julian triumphed as a fortunate and successful leader. The very smallness of his losses might have given some colour to the assertions of his detractors, who declared that he had only fought bravely on all occasions, because he preferred dying gloriously to being put to death like his brother Gallus, as a condemned malefactor, as they had expected he would be, if he had not, after the death of Constantius, continued to distinguish himself equally by splendid exploits.

II.

§ 1. Now when everything was settled in that country as fairly as the case permitted, Julian, returning to his winter quarters, found some trouble still left for him. Severus, the master of the horse, being on the way to Rheims through Cologne and Juliers, fell in with some strong battalions of Franks, consisting of six hundred light-armed soldiers, who were laying waste those places which were not defended by garrisons. They had been encouraged to this audacious wickedness by the opportunity afforded them when the Cæsar was

occupied in the remote districts of the Allemanni, thinking to obtain a rich booty without any hindrance. But in fear of the army which had now returned, they occupied two fortresses which had been abandoned for some time, and defended themselves there as long as they could.

2. Julian, amazed at the novelty of such an attempt, and thinking it impossible to say how far such a spirit would spread if he allowed it to pass without a check, halted his soldiers, and gave orders to blockade the forts.... The Meuse passes beneath them; and the blockade was protracted for fifty-four days, through nearly the entire months of December and January, the barbarians resisting with incredible obstinacy and courage.

3. Then the Cæsar, like an experienced general, fearing that the barbarians might take advantage of some moonless night to cross over the river, which was now thoroughly frozen, ordered soldiers to go up and down the stream every day in light boats, from sunset till daybreak, so as to break the crust of ice and prevent any one from escaping in that manner. Owing to this manœuvre, the barbarians were so exhausted by hunger, watching, and the extremity of despair, that at last they voluntarily surrendered, and were immediately sent to the court of the emperor.

4. And a vast multitude of Franks, who had come to their assistance, hearing that they were taken prisoners and sent off, would not venture on any further enterprise, but returned to their own country. And when this affair was finished, the Cæsar retired to Paris to pass the winter there.

III.

§ 1. It was now expected that a number of tribes would unite in greater force, and therefore the prudent Julian, bearing in mind the uncertainties of war, became very anxious and full of care. And as he thought that the truce lately made, though not free from trouble, and not of long duration, still gave him opportunity to remedy some things which were faulty, he began to remodel the arrangements about tribute.

2. And when Florentius, the prefect of the prætorium, having taken an estimate of everything, affirmed that whatever deficiency there might be in the produce of a capitation tax he should be able to make good from what he could levy by force, Julian, deprecating this practice, determined to lose his own life rather than permit it.

3. For he knew that the wounds inflicted by such extortions, or, as I should rather call them, confiscations, are incurable, and have often reduced provinces to extreme destitution. Indeed, such conduct, as will be related hereafter, utterly lost us Illyricum.

4. And when, owing to this resolution of his, the prætorian prefect exclaimed that it could not be endured that he, to whom the emperor had intrusted the chief authority in this matter, should be thus distrusted, Julian attempted to appease him, showing by exact and accurate calculations that the capitation tax was not only enough, but more than enough to provide all the

necessary supplies.

5. And when some time afterwards an edict for a supplementary tax was nevertheless presented to him by Florentius, he refused to sign or even to read it; and threw it on the ground; and when warned by letters from the emperor (written on receiving the prefect's report) not to act in so embarrassing a manner, lest he should seem to be diminishing the authority of Florentius, Julian wrote in answer, that it was a matter to be thankful for, if a province that had been devastated in every direction could still pay its regular taxes, without demanding from it any extraordinary contributions, which indeed no punishments could extort from men in a state of destitution: and then, and from that time forward, owing to the firmness of one man, no one ever attempted to extort anything illegal in Gaul beyond the regular taxes.

6. The Cæsar had also in another affair set an example wholly unprecedented, entreating the prefect to intrust to him the government of the second Belgic province, which was oppressed by manifold evils; on the especial and single condition that no officer, either belonging to the prefect or to the garrison, should force any one to pay anything. And the whole people whom he thus took under his care, comforted and relieved by this mildness, paid all the taxes due from them before the appointed day, without any demand being made upon them.

IV.

§ 1. While Julian was thus beginning to put Gaul into a better condition, and while Orfitus was still governor of the second province, an obelisk was erected at Rome, in the Circus Maximus, concerning which, as this seems a convenient opportunity, I will mention a few particulars.

2. The city of Thebes, in Egypt, built in remote ages, with enormous walls, and celebrated also for entrances by a hundred gates, was from this circumstance called by its founders ἑκατόμπευλος (*Hecatompylos*); and from the name of this city the whole district is known as Thebais.

3. When Carthage began to rise in greatness, the Carthaginian generals conquered and destroyed Thebes by a sudden attack. And after it was rebuilt, Cambyses, the celebrated king of Persia, who throughout his whole life was covetous and ferocious, overran Egypt, and again attacked this city that he might plunder it of its wealth, which was enough to excite his envy; and he spared not even the offerings which had been made to the gods.

4. And while he was in his savage manner moving to and fro among his plunderers, he got entangled in his own flowing robes, and fell on his face, and by the fall his dagger, which he wore close to his thigh, got loose from the scabbard, and he was mortally wounded and died.

5. And long afterwards, Cornelius Gallus, who was governor of Egypt at the time when Octavianus was emperor of Rome, impoverished the city by plundering it of most of its treasures; and returning to Rome on being accused of theft and of laying waste the province, he, from fear of the nobles,

who were bitterly indignant against him, as one to whom the emperor had committed a most honourable task, fell on his own sword and so died. If I mistake not, he is the same person as Gallus the poet, whose loss Virgil deplores at the end of his *Bucolics*, celebrating his memory in sweet verses.

6. In this city of Thebes, among many works of art and different structures recording the tales relating to the Egyptian deities, we saw several obelisks in their places, and others which had been thrown down and broken; which the ancient kings, when elated at some victory or at the general prosperity of their affairs, had caused to be hewn out of mountains in distant parts of the world, and erected in honour of the gods, to whom they solemnly consecrated them.

7. Now an obelisk is a rough stone, rising to a great height, shaped like a pillar in the stadium; and it tapers upwards in imitation of a sunbeam, keeping its quadrilateral shape, till it rises almost to a point, being made smooth by the hand of a sculptor.

8. On these obelisks the ancient authority of elementary wisdom has caused innumerable marks of strange forms all over them, which are called hieroglyphics.

9. For the workmen, carving many kinds of birds and beasts, some even such as must belong to another world, in order that the recollection of the exploits which the obelisk was designed to commemorate might reach to subsequent ages, showed by them the accomplishment of vows which the kings had made.

10. For it was not the case then as it is now, that the established number of letters can distinctly express whatever the human mind conceives; nor did the ancient Egyptians write in such a manner; but each separate character served for a separate noun or verb, and sometimes even for an entire sense.

11. Of which fact the two following may for the present be sufficient instances: by the figure of a vulture they indicate the name of nature; because naturalists declare that no males are found in this class of bird. And by the figure of a bee making honey they indicate a king; showing by such a sign that stings as well as sweetness are the characteristics of a ruler; and there are many similar emblems.

12. And because the flatterers, who were continually whispering into the ear of Constantius, kept always affirming that when Augustus Octavianus had brought two obelisks from Heliopolis, a city of Egypt, one of which was placed in the Circus Maximus, and the other in the Campus Martius, he yet did not venture to touch or move this one which has just been brought to Rome, being alarmed at the greatness of such a task; I would have those, who do not know the truth, learn that the ancient emperor, though he moved several obelisks, left this one untouched, because it was especially dedicated to the Sun-god, and was set up within the precincts of his magnificent temple, which it was impious to profane; and of which it was the most conspicuous ornament.

13. But Constantine deeming that a consideration of no importance, had it

torn up from its place, and thinking rightly that he should not be offering any insult to religion if he removed a splendid work from some other temple to dedicate it to the gods at Rome, which is the temple of the whole world, let it lie on the ground for some time while arrangements for its removal were being prepared. And when it had been carried down the Nile, and landed at Alexandria, a ship of a burden hitherto unexampled, requiring three hundred rowers to propel it, was built to receive it.

14. And when these preparations were made, and after the aforementioned emperor had died, the enterprise began to cool. However, after a time it was at last put on board ship, and conveyed over sea, and up the stream of the Tiber, which seemed as it were frightened, lest its own winding waters should hardly be equal to conveying a present from the almost unknown Nile to the walls which itself cherished. At last the obelisk reached the village of Alexandria, three miles from the city; and then it was placed in a cradle, and drawn slowly on, and brought through the Ostran gate and the public fish-market to the Circus Maximus.

15. The only work remaining to be done was to raise it, which was generally believed to be hardly, if at all, practicable. And vast beams having been raised on end in a most dangerous manner, so that they looked like a grove of machines, long ropes of huge size were fastened to them, darkening the very sky with their density, as they formed a web of innumerable threads; and into them the great stone itself, covered over as it was with elements of writing, was bound, and gradually raised into the empty air, and long suspended, many thousands of men turning it round and round like a millstone, till it was at last placed in the middle of the square; and on it was placed a brazen sphere, made brighter with plates of gold: and as that was immediately afterwards struck by lightning, and destroyed, a brazen figure like a torch was placed on it, also plated with gold — to look as if the torch were fully alight.

16. Subsequent ages also removed other obelisks; one of which is in the Vatican, a second in the garden of Sallust; and two in the monument of Augustus.

17. But the writing which is engraven on the old obelisk in the Circus, we have set forth below in Greek characters, following in this the work of Hermapion: —

APXHN AΠIO TON NOTION ΔΙΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΜΕΝΑ
ΕΧΕΙ
ΣΤΙΧΟΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΕ ΤΑΔΕ.

18. The first line, beginning on the south side, bears this interpretation—
“The Sun to Ramestes the king — I have given to thee to reign with joy over the whole earth; to thee whom the Sun and Apollo love — to thee, the mighty truth-loving son of Heron — the god-born ruler of the habitable earth; whom

the Sun has chosen above all men, the valiant warlike King Ramestes. Under whose power, by his valour and might, the whole world is placed. The King Ramestes, the immortal son of the Sun."

19. The second line is— "The mighty Apollo, who takes his stand upon truth, the lord of the diadem, he who has honoured Egypt by becoming its master, adorning Heliopolis, and having created the rest of the world, and having greatly honoured the gods who have their shrines in the city of the Sun; whom the son loves."

20. The third line— "The mighty Apollo, the all-brilliant son of the Sun, whom the Sun chose above all others, and to whom the valiant Mars gave gifts. Thou whose good fortune abideth for ever. Thou whom Ammon loves. Thou who hast filled the temple of the Phœnix with good things. Thou to whom the gods have given long life. Apollo the mighty son of Heron, Ramestes the king of the world. Who has defended Egypt, having subdued the foreign enemy. Whom the Sun loves. To whom the gods have given long life — the master of the world — the immortal Ramestes."

21. Another second line— "The Sun, the great God, the master of heaven. I have given unto thee a life free from satiety. Apollo, the mighty master of the diadem; to whom nothing is comparable. To whom the lord of Egypt has erected many statues in this kingdom. And has made the city of Heliopolis as brilliant as the Sun himself, the master of heaven. The son of the Sun, the king living for ever, has co-operated in the completion of this work."

22. A third line— "I, the Sun, the god, the master of heaven, have given to Ramestes the king might and authority over all. Whom Apollo the truth-lover, the master of time, and Vulcan the father of the gods hath chosen above others by reason of his courage. The all-rejoicing king, the son of the Sun, and beloved by the Sun."

23. The first line, looking towards the east— "The great God of Heliopolis, the mighty Apollo who dwelleth in Heaven, the son of Heron whom the Sun hath guided. Whom the gods have honoured. He who ruleth over all the earth: whom the Sun has chosen before all others. The king valiant by the favour of Mars. Whom Ammon loveth, and the all-shining god, who hath chosen him as a king for everlasting." And so on.

V.

A.D. 358.

§ 1. In the consulship of Datianus and Cerealis, when all arrangements in Gaul were made with more careful zeal than before, and while the terror caused by past events still checked the outbreaks of the barbarians, the king of the Persians, being still on the frontiers of those nations which border on his dominions, and having made a treaty of alliance with the Chionitæ and the Gelani, the most warlike and indefatigable of all tribes, being about to return to his own country, received the letters of Tamsapor which announced to him

that the Roman emperor was a suppliant for peace.

2. And he, suspecting that Constantius would never have done so if the empire had not been weakened all over, raised his own pretensions, and embracing the name indeed of peace, offered very unwelcome conditions. And having sent a man of the name of Narses as ambassador with many presents, he gave him letters to Constantius, in which he in no respect abated of his natural pride. The purport of these letters we have understood to be this:

3. "I, Sapor, king of kings, partner of the stars, brother of the sun and moon, to Constantius Cæsar my brother send much greeting. I am glad and am well pleased that at last thou hast returned to the right way, and hast acknowledged the incorruptible decree of equity, having gained experience by facts, and having learnt what disasters an obstinate covetousness of the property of others has often caused.

4. "Because therefore the language of truth ought to be unrestrained and free, and because men in the highest rank ought only to say what they mean, I will reduce my propositions into a few words; remembering that I have already often repeated what I am now about to say.

5. "Even your own ancient records bear witness that my ancestors possessed all the country up to the Strymon and the frontier of Macedonia. And these lands it is fitting that I who (not to speak arrogantly) am superior to those ancient kings in magnificence, and in all eminent virtues, should now reclaim. But I am at all times thoughtful to remember that, from my earliest youth, I have never done anything to repent of.

6. "And therefore it is a duty in me to recover Armenia and Mesopotamia, which were wrested from my ancestor by deliberate treachery. That principle was never admitted by us which you with exultation assert, that all successes in war deserve praise, without considering whether they were achieved by valour or by treachery.

7. "Lastly, if you are willing to be guided by one who gives you good advice, I would bid you despise a small part of your dominions which is ever the parent of sorrow and bloodshed, in order to reign in safety over the rest. Wisely considering that physicians also sometimes apply cautery or amputation, and cut off portions of the body that the patient may have good use of the rest of his limbs. Nay, that even beasts do the same: since when they observe on what account they are most especially hunted, they will of their own accord deprive themselves of that, in order henceforth to be able to live in security.

8. "This, in short, I declare, that should my present embassy return without having succeeded in its object, after giving the winter season to rest I will gird myself up with all my strength, and while fortune and justice give me a well-founded hope of ultimate success, I will hasten my march as much as Providence will permit."

9. Having given long consideration to this letter, the emperor with upright

and wise heart, as the saying is, made answer in this manner: —

10. “Constantius, always august, conqueror by land and sea, to my brother Sapor much health. I congratulate thee on thy safety, as one who is willing to be a friend to thee if thou wilt. But I greatly blame thy insatiable covetousness, now more grasping than ever.

11. “Thou demandest Mesopotamia as thine own, and then Armenia. And thou biddest me cut off some members from my sound body in order to place its health on a sound footing: a demand which is to be rejected at once rather than to be encouraged by any consent. Receive therefore the truth, not covered with any pretences, but clear, and not to be shaken by any threats.

12. “The prefect of my prætorian guard, thinking to undertake an affair which might be beneficial to the state, without my knowledge discoursed about peace with thy generals, by the agency of some low persons. Peace we should neither regret nor refuse — let it only come with credit and honour, in such a way as to impair neither our self-respect nor our dignity.

13. “For it would be an unbecoming and shameful thing when all men’s ears are filled with our exploits, so as to have shut even the mouth of envy; when after the destruction of tyrants the whole Roman world obeys us, to give up those territories which even when limited to the narrow boundaries of the east we preserved undiminished.

14. “But I pray thee make an end of the threats which thou utterest against me, in obedience to thy national habit, when it cannot be doubted that it is not from inactivity, but from moderation, that we have at times endured attacks instead of being the assailants ourselves: and know that, whenever we are attacked, we defend our own with bravery and good will: being assured both by thy reading and thy personal experience that in battle it has been rare for Romans to meet with disaster; and that in the final issue of a war we have never come off the worst.”

15. The embassy was therefore dismissed without gaining any of its objects; and indeed no other reply could be given to the unbridled covetousness of the king. And a few days afterwards, Count Prosper followed, and Spectatus the tribune and secretary; and also, by the suggestion of Musonianus, Eustathius the philosopher, as one skilful in persuading, bearing a letter from the emperor, and presents, with a view to induce Sapor to suspend his preparations, so that all our attention might be turned to fortifying the northern provinces in the most effective manner.

VI.

§ 1. Now while these affairs, of so doubtful a complexion, were proceeding, that portion of the Allemanni which borders on the regions of Italy, forgetful of the peace and of the treaties which they only obtained by abject entreaty, laid waste the Tyrol with such fury that they even went beyond their usual habit in undertaking the siege of some walled towns.

2. And when a strong force had been sent to repel them under the command of Barbatio, who had been promoted to the command of the infantry in the room of Silvanus, a man of not much activity, but a fluent talker, he, as his troops were in a high state of indignation at the invaders, gave them so terrible a defeat, that only a very few, who took to flight in their panic, escaped to carry back their tears and lamentations to their homes.

3. In this battle Nevitta, who afterwards became consul, was present as commander of a squadron of cavalry, and displayed great gallantry.

VII.

§ 1. This year also some terrible earthquakes took place in Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Pontus, and their repeated shocks overthrew many towns, and even mountains. But the most remarkable of all the manifold disasters which they caused was the entire ruin of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia; which I will here relate with truth and brevity.

2. On the 23rd of August, at daybreak, some heavy black clouds suddenly obscured the sky, which just before was quite fair. And the sun was so wholly concealed that it was impossible to see what was near or even quite close, so completely did a thick lurid darkness settle on the ground, preventing the least use of the eyes.

3. Presently, as if the supreme deity were himself letting loose his fatal wrath, and stirring up the winds from their hinges, a violent raging storm descended, by the fury of which the groaning mountains were struck, and the crash of the waves on the shore was heard to a vast distance. And then followed typhoons and whirlwinds with a horrid trembling of the earth, throwing down the whole city and its suburbs.

4. And as most of the houses were built on the slopes of the hills, they now fell down one over the other, while all around resounded with the vast crash of their fall. In the mean time the tops of the hills re-echoed all sorts of noises, as well as outcries of men seeking their wives and children, and other relations.

5. At last, after two hours, or at least within three, the air became again clear and serene, and disclosed the destruction which till then was unseen. Some, overwhelmed by the enormous masses of ruins which had fallen upon them, were crushed to death. Some were buried up to the neck, and might have been saved if there had been any timely help at hand, but perished for want of assistance; others were transfixed by the points of beams projecting forth, on which they hung suspended.

6. Here was seen a crowd of persons slain by one blow; there a promiscuous heap of corpses piled in various ways — some were buried beneath the roofs of falling houses, which leant over so as to protect them from any actual blows, but reserved them for an agonizing death by starvation. Among whom was Aristænetus, who, with the authority of deputy, governed Bithynia, which had been recently erected into a province; and to

which Constantius had given the name of Piety, in honour of his wife Eusebia, (a Greek word, equivalent to Pietas in Latin); and he perished thus by a lingering death.

7. Others who were overwhelmed by the sudden fall of vast buildings, are still lying entombed beneath the immovable masses. Some with their skulls fractured, or their shoulders or legs cut through, lay between life and death, imploring aid from others suffering equally with themselves; but in spite of their entreaties they were abandoned.

8. Not but what the greater part of the temples and buildings and of the citizens also would have escaped unhurt, if a fire had not suddenly broken out, which raged with great violence for fifty days and nights, and destroyed all that remained.

9. I think this a good opportunity to enumerate a few of the conjectures which the ancients have formed about earthquakes. For as to any accurate knowledge of their causes, not only has that never been attained by the ignorance of the common people, but they have equally eluded the long lucubrations and subtle researches of natural philosophers.

10. And on this account in all priestly ceremonies, whether ritual or pontifical, care is taken not at such times to name one god more than another, for fear of impiety, since it is quite uncertain which god causes these visitations.

11. But as the various opinions, among which Aristotle wavers and hesitates, suggest, earthquakes are engendered either in small caverns under the earth, which the Greeks call οὐρίγγες, because of the waters pouring through them with a more rapid motion than usual, or, as Anaxagoras affirms, they arise from the force of the wind penetrating the lower parts of the earth, which, when they have got down to the encrusted solid mass, finding no vent-holes, shake those portions in their solid state, into which they have got entrance when in a state of solution. And this is corroborated by the observation that at such times no breezes of wind are felt by us above ground, because the winds are occupied in the lowest recesses of the earth.

12. Anaximander says that the earth when burnt up by excessive heat and drought, and also after excessive rains, opens larger fissures than usual, which the upper air penetrates with great force and in excessive quantities, and the earth, shaken by the furious blasts which penetrate those fissures, is disturbed to its very foundations; for which reason these fearful events occur either at times of great evaporation or else at those of an extravagant fall of rain from heaven. And therefore the ancient poets and theologians gave Neptune the name of Earthshaker,⁷⁰ as being the power of moist substance.

13. Now earthquakes take place in four manners: either they are *brasmatia*,⁷¹ which raise up the ground in a terrible manner, and throw vast masses up to the surface, as in Asia, Delos arose, and Hiera; and also Anaphe and Rhodes, which has at different times been called Ophiusa and Pelagia, and was once watered with a shower of gold;⁷² and Eleusis in Bœotia, and the

Hellenian islands in the Tyrrhenian sea, and many other islands. Or they are *climatiæ*,⁷³ which, with a slanting and oblique blow, level cities, edifices, and mountains. Or *chasmatiæ*,⁷⁴ which suddenly, by a violent motion, open huge mouths, and so swallow up portions of the earth, as in the Atlantic sea, on the coast of Europe, a large island⁷⁵ was swallowed up, and in the Crissæan Gulf, Helice and Bura,⁷⁶ and in Italy, in the Ciminian district, the town of Saccumum⁷⁷ was swallowed up in a deep gulf and hidden in everlasting darkness. And among these three kinds of earthquakes, *myæmotiæ*⁷⁸ are heard with a threatening roar, when the elements either spring apart, their joints being broken, or again resettle in their former places, when the earth also settles back; for then it cannot be but that crashes and roars of the earth should resound with bull-like bellowings. Let us now return to our original subject.

VIII.

§ 1. Cæsar, passing his winter among the Parisii, was eagerly preparing to anticipate the Allemanni, who were not yet assembled in one body, but who, since the battle of Strasburg, were working themselves up to a pitch of insane audacity and ferocity. And he was waiting with great impatience for the month of July, when the Gallic campaigns usually begin. For indeed he could not march before the summer had banished the frost and cold, and allowed him to receive supplies from Aquitania.

2. But as diligence overcomes almost all difficulties, he, revolving many plans of all kinds in his mind, at last conceived the idea of not waiting till the crops were ripe, but falling on the barbarians before they expected him. And having resolved on that plan, he caused his men to take corn for twenty days' consumption from what they had in store, and to make it into biscuit, so that it might keep longer; and this enabled the soldiers to carry it, which they did willingly. And relying on this provision, and setting out as before, with favourable auspices, he reckoned that in the course of five or six months he might finish two urgent and indispensable expeditions.

3. And when all his preparations were made, he first marched against the Franks, that is against that tribe of them usually called Salii, who some time before had ventured with great boldness to fix their habitations on the Roman soil near Toxandria.⁷⁹ But when he had reached Tongres, he was met by an embassy from this tribe, who expected still to find him in his winter quarters, offering him peace on condition of his leaving them unattacked and unmolested, as if the ground they had seized were rightfully their own. Julian comprehended the whole affair, and having given the ambassadors an ambiguous reply, and also some presents, sent them back again, leaving them to suppose he would remain in the same place till they returned.

4. But the moment they had departed he followed them, sending Severus along the bank of the river, and suddenly came upon the whole settlement like a thunderbolt; and availing himself of his victory to make a reasonable exhibition of clemency, as indeed they met him with entreaties rather than

with resistance, he received the submission of them and their children.

5. He then attacked the Chamavi,⁸⁰ who had been guilty of similar audacity, and through the same celerity of movement he slew one portion of them, and another who made a vigorous resistance he took prisoners, while others who fled precipitately he allowed to escape unhurt to their own territories, to avoid exhausting his soldiers with a long campaign. And when ambassadors were afterwards sent by them to implore his pardon, and generally to do what they could for them, when they prostrated themselves before him, he granted them peace on condition of retiring to their own districts without doing any mischief.

IX.

§ 1. Everything thus succeeding according to his wish, Julian, always on the watch to establish by every means in his power the security of the provinces on a solid foundation, determined to put in as good repair as the time permitted those fortresses erected in a line on the banks of the Meuse, which some time before had been destroyed by an attack of the barbarians. And accordingly he desisted for a while from all other operations, and restored them.

2. And that he might by a prudent rapidity insure their safety, he took a part of the seventeen days' provisions, which troops, when going on an expedition, carry on their backs, and stored in those forts, hoping to replace what he thus took from the soldiers by seizing the crops of the Chamavi.

3. But he was greatly disappointed. For as the crops were not yet ripe, the soldiers when they had consumed what they had with them were unable to find food, and began to utter violent threats against Julian, mingled with fierce cries and reproaches, calling him Asiatic, Greek, a cheat, and a fool pretending to be wise. And as it is commonly the case among soldiers that some men are found of remarkable fluency of speech, they poured forth such harangues as this: —

4. “Whither are we being dragged, having lost all hope of good fortune? We formerly, indeed, suffered terrible hardships in the snow, and cruel biting frost; but now (oh, shame!), when we have the fate of the enemy in our hands, we are wasting away with famine, the most miserable of all deaths. Let no one think that we are stirrers up of tumults; we declare that we are speaking for our very lives. We do not ask for gold or silver, which it is long since we have touched or seen, and which are as much denied to us as if we had been convicted of having encountered all our toils and perils in the service of the enemies of the republic.”

5. And their complaints were just. For after all his gallant exploits and all his doubtful changes and dangers, the soldiers were exhausted by his Gallic campaigns, without even receiving either donation or pay from the time that Julian was sent to take the command; because he himself had nothing to give, nor would Constantius permit anything to be drawn for that purpose from the

treasury, as had been the custom.

6. And at a later period it was manifest that this was owing more to ill-will than to parsimony, because when Julian had given some small coin to one of the common soldiers, who, as was the custom, had asked for some to get shaved with, he was attacked for it with most insulting calumnies by Gaudentius, the secretary, who had long remained in Gaul as a spy upon his actions, and whom he himself subsequently ordered to be put to death, as will be related in its fitting place.

X.

§ 1. When at length their discontent was appeased by various kinds of caresses, and when the Rhine had been crossed by a bridge of boats, which was thrown over it, Severus, the master of the horse, up to that time a brave and energetic soldier, suddenly lost all his vigour.

2. And he who had frequently been used to exhort the troops, both in bodies and as individuals, to gallant acts, now seemed a base and timid skulker from battle, as if he feared the approach of death. As we read in the books of Tages⁸¹ that those who are fated to be soon struck by lightning, so lose their senses that they cannot hear thunder, or even greater noises. And he marched on in a lazy way, not natural to him, and even threatened with death the guides, who were leading on the army with a brisk step, if they would not agree to say that they were wholly ignorant of the road any further. So they, fearing his power, and being forbidden to show the way any more, advanced no further.

3. But amid this delay, Suomarius, king of the Allemanni, arrived unexpectedly with his suite; and he who had formerly been fierce and eager for any injury to the Romans, was now inclined to regard it as an unexpected gain to be permitted to retain his former possessions. And because his looks and his gait showed him to be a suppliant, he was received as a friend, and desired to be of good cheer. But still he submitted himself to Julian's discretion, and implored peace on his bended knees. And peace was granted him, with pardon for the past, on condition of giving up our prisoners and of supplying our soldiers with food, whenever it was required, receiving, like any ordinary purveyor, security for payment of what he provided. But he was at the same time warned, that if he did not furnish the required supplies in time he would be liable to be called in question for his former hostility.

4. And that which had been discreetly planned was carried out without hindrance. Julian desiring to reach a town belonging to another chieftain, named Hortarius, towards which object nothing seemed wanting but guides, gave orders to Nestica, a tribune of the Scutarii, and to Chariettoa, a man of marvellous courage, to take great pains to capture a prisoner and to bring him to him. A youth of the Allemanni was speedily caught and brought before him, who, on condition of obtaining his freedom, promised to show the road. The army, following him as its guide, was soon obstructed by an abattis of

lofty trees, which had been cut down; but by taking long and circuitous paths, they at last came to the desired spot, and the soldiers in their rage laid waste the fields with fire, carried off the cattle and the inhabitants, and slew all who resisted without mercy.

5. The king, bewildered at this disaster, seeing the numerous legions, and the remains of his burnt villages, and looking upon the last calamities of fortune as impending over him, of his own accord implored pardon, promising to do all that should be commanded him, and binding himself on oath to restore all his prisoners. For that was the object about which Julian was the most anxious. But still he restored only a few, and detained the greater part of them.

6. When Julian knew this, he was filled with just indignation, and when the king came to receive the customary presents, the Cæsar refused to release his four companions, on whose support and fidelity the king principally relied, till all the prisoners were restored.

7. But when the king was summoned by the Cæsar to a conference, looking up at him with trembling eyes, he was overcome by the aspect of the conqueror, and overwhelmed by a sense of his own embarrassing condition, and especially by the compulsion under which he was now (since it was reasonable that after so many successes of the Romans that the cities which had been destroyed by the violence of the barbarians should be rebuilt) to supply waggons and materials from his own stores and those of his subjects.

8. And after he had promised to do so, and had bound himself with an oath to consent to die if he were guilty of any treachery, he was permitted to return to his own country. For he could not be compelled to furnish provisions like Suomarius, because his land had been so utterly laid waste that nothing could be found on it for him to give.

9. Thus those kings who were formerly so proud and accustomed to grow rich by the plunder of our citizens, were now brought under the Roman yoke; and as if they had been born and brought up among our tributaries, they submitted to our commands, though with reluctance. And when these events were thus brought to a conclusion, the Cæsar distributed his army among its usual stations, and returned to his winter quarters.

XI.

§ 1. When these transactions presently became known in the court of Constantius — for the knowledge of them could not be concealed, since the Cæsar, as if he had been merely an officer of the emperor's, referred to him on all occasions — those who had the greatest influence in the palace, being skilful professors of flattery, turned all Julian's well-arranged plans and their successful accomplishment into ridicule; continually uttering such malicious sayings as this, "We have had enough of the goat and his victories;" sneering at Julian because of his beard, and calling him a chattering mole, a purple-robed ape, and a Greek pedant. And pouring forth numbers of sneers of the

same kind, acceptable to the emperor, who liked to hear them, they endeavoured with shameless speeches to overwhelm Julian's virtues, slandering him as a lazy, timid, carpet-knight, and one whose chief care was to set off his exploits by fine descriptions; it not being the first time that such a thing had been done.

2. For the greatest glory is always exposed to envy. So we read in respect of the illustrious generals of old, that, though no fault could be found in them, still the malignity which found offence in their greatest actions was constantly inventing false charges and accusations against them.

3. In the same manner Cimon the son of Miltiades, who destroyed a vast host of the Persians on the Eurymedon, a river in Pamphylia, and compelled a nation always insolent and arrogant to beg for peace most humbly, was accused of intemperance; and again Scipio Æmilianus, by whose indomitable vigilance two⁸² most powerful cities, which had made great efforts to injure Rome, were both destroyed, was disparaged as a mere drone.

4. Moreover, wicked detractors, scrutinizing the character of Pompey, when no pretext for finding fault with him could be discovered, remarked two qualities in which they could raise a laugh against him; one that he had a sort of natural trick of scratching his head with one finger: another that for the purpose of concealing an unsightly sore, he used to bind one of his legs with a white bandage. Of which habits, the first they said showed a dissolute man; the second, one eager for a change of government; contending, with a somewhat meagre argument, that it did not signify what part of his body he clothed with a badge of royal dignity; so snarling at that man of whom the most glorious proofs show that no braver and truer patriot ever lived.

5. During these transactions, Artemius, the deputy governor of Rome, succeeded Bassus in the prefecture also; for Bassus, who had lately been promoted to be prefect of the city, had since died. His administration had been marked by turbulent sedition, but by no other events sufficiently memorable to deserve mention.

XII.

§ 1. In the mean time, while the emperor was passing the winter quietly at Sirmium, he received frequent and trustworthy intelligence that the Sarmatians and the Quadi, two tribes contiguous to each other, and similar in manners and mode of warfare, were conjointly overrunning Pannonia and the second province of Mœsia, in straggling detachments.

2. These tribes are more suited to predatory incursions than to regular war; they carry long spears, and wear breastplates made of horn scraped and polished, let into linen jackets, so that the layers of horn are like the feathers of a bird. Their horses are chiefly geldings, lest at the sight of mares they should be excited and run away, or, when held back in reserve, should betray their riders by their fierce neighing.

3. They cover vast spaces in their movements, whether in pursuit or in

retreat, their horses being swift and very manageable; and they lead with them one or sometimes two spare chargers apiece, in order that the change may keep up the strength of their cattle, and that their vigour may be preserved by alternations of rest.

4. Therefore, after the vernal equinox was past, the emperor, having collected a strong body of soldiers, marched forth under the guidance of propitious fortune. Having arrived at a suitable place, he crossed the Danube, which was now flooded from the melting of the snow, by a bridge of boats, and descended on the lands of the barbarians, which he began to lay waste. They, being taken by surprise through the rapidity of his march, and seeing that the battalions of his warlike army were at their throats, when they had not supposed it possible that such a force could be collected for a year, had no courage to make a stand, but, as the only means of escaping unexpected destruction, took to flight.

5. When many had been slain, fear fettering their steps, those whose speed had saved them from death hid themselves among the secret defiles of the mountains, and from thence beheld their country destroyed by the sword, which they might have delivered if they had resisted with as much vigour as they fled.

6. These events took place in that part of Sarmatia which looks towards the second Pannonia. Another military expedition, conducted with equal courage, routed the troops of the barbarians in Valeria, who were plundering and destroying everything within their reach.

7. Terrified at the greatness of this disaster, the Sarmatians, under pretext of imploring peace, planned to divide their force into three bodies, and to attack our army while in a state of fancied security; so that they should neither be able to prepare their weapons, nor avoid wounds, nor (which is the last resource in a desperate case) take to flight.

8. There were with the Sarmatians likewise on this occasion, as partners in their danger, the Quadi,⁸³ who had often before taken part in the injuries inflicted on us; but their prompt boldness did not help them on this occasion, rushing as they did into open danger.

9. For many of them were slain, and the survivors escaped among the hills, with which they were familiar. And as this event raised the spirits and courage of our army, they united in solid columns, and marched with speed into the territories of the Quadi; who, having learnt by the past to dread the evils which impended over them, came boldly into the emperor's presence to implore peace as suppliants, since he was inclined to be merciful in such cases. On the day appointed for settling the conditions, one of their princes named Zizais, a young man of great stature, marshalled the ranks of the Sarmatians to offer their entreaties of peace in the fashion of an army; and as soon as they came within sight, he threw away his arms, and fell like one dead, prostrating himself on his breast before the emperor; his very voice from fear refusing its office, when he ought to have uttered his entreaties, he

awakened the more pity, making many attempts, and being scarcely able from the violence of his sobs to give utterance to his wishes.

10. At last, having recovered himself, and being bidden to rise up, he knelt, and having regained the use of his tongue, he implored pardon for his offences. His followers also, whose mouths had been closed by fear while the fate of their leader was still doubtful, were admitted to offer the same petition, and when he, being commanded to rise, gave them the signal which they had been long expecting, to present their petition, they all threw away their javelins and their shields, and held out their hands in an attitude of supplication, striving to surpass their prince in the humility of their entreaties.

11. Among the other Sarmatians the prince had brought with him three chiefs of tribes, Rumo, Zinafer, and Fragiledus, and many nobles who came to offer the same petition with earnest hope of success. And they, being elated at the promise of safety, undertook to make amends for their former deeds of hostility by performing the conditions now imposed on them; giving up willingly into the power of the Romans themselves, their wives and children, and all their possessions. The kindness of the emperor, united with justice, subdued them; and he bidding them be of good cheer and return to their homes, they restored our prisoners. They also brought the hostages who were demanded of them, and promised prompt obedience to all the emperor's commands.

12. Then, encouraged by this example of our clemency, other chieftains came with all their tribe, by name Araharius and Usafer, men of distinction among the nobles, and at the head of a great force of their countrymen; one of them being chief of a portion of the Quadi who dwelt beyond the mountains, and the other of a division of the Sarmatians: the two being united by the proximity of their territories, and their natural ferocity. But the emperor, fearing the number of their followers, lest, while pretending to make a treaty, they should suddenly rise up in arms, separated them; ordering those who were acting for the Sarmatians to retire for a while, while he was examining into the affairs of Araharius and the Quadi.

13. And when they presented themselves before him, bowing according to their national custom, as they were not able to clear themselves of heavy charges, so, fearing extreme punishment, they gave the hostages which were demanded, though they had never before been compelled to give pledges for their fidelity.

14. These matters being thus equitably and successfully settled, Usafer was admitted to offer his petition, though Araharius loudly protested against this, and maintained that the peace ratified with him ought to comprehend Usafer also, as an ally of his though of inferior rank, and subject to his command.

15. But when the question was discussed, the Sarmatians were pronounced independent of any other power, as having been always vassals of the Roman empire; and they willingly embraced the proposal of giving hostages as a pledge of the maintenance of tranquillity.

16. After this there came a vast number of nations and princes, flocking in crowds, when they heard that Araharius had been allowed to depart in safety, imploring us to withdraw the sword which was at their throats; and they also obtained the peace which they requested on similar terms, and without any delay gave as hostages the sons of their nobles whom they brought from the interior of the country; and they also surrendered, as we insisted, all their prisoners, from whom they parted as unwillingly as from their own relations.

17. When these arrangements were completed, the emperor's anxiety was transferred to the Sarmatians, who were objects of pity rather than of anger. It is incredible how much prosperity our connection with their affairs had brought them, so as to give grounds for really believing, what some persons do imagine, that Fate may be either overcome or created at the will of the emperor.

18. There were formerly many natives of this kingdom, of high birth and great power, but a secret conspiracy armed their slaves against them; and as among barbarians all right consists in might, they, as they were equal to their masters in ferocity, and superior in number, completely overcame them.

19. And these native chiefs, losing all their wisdom in their fear, fled to the Victohali,⁸⁴ whose settlements were at a great distance, thinking it better in the choice of evils to become subject to their protectors than slaves to their own slaves. But afterwards, when they had obtained pardon from us, and had been received as faithful allies, they deplored their hard fate, and invoked our direct protection. Moved by the undeserved hardship of their lot, the emperor, when they were assembled before him, addressed them with kind words in the presence of his army, and commanded them for the future to own no master but himself and the Roman generals.

20. And that the restoration of their liberty might carry with it additional dignity, he made Zizais their king, a man, as the event proved, deserving the rewards of eminent fortune, and faithful. After these glorious transactions, none of the Sarmatians were allowed to depart till all our prisoners had returned, as we had before insisted.

21. When these matters had been concluded in the territories of the barbarians, the camp was moved to Szœni,⁸⁵ that there also the emperor might, by subjugation or slaughter, terminate the war with the Quadi, who were keeping that district in a state of agitation. Their prince Vitrodorus, the son of king Viduarius, and Agilimundus, an inferior chieftain, with the other nobles and judges who governed the different tribes, as soon as they saw the imperial army in the bosom of their kingdom and of their native land, threw themselves at the feet of the soldiers, and having obtained pardon, promised obedience; and gave their children as hostages for the performance of the conditions imposed upon them; and drawing their swords, which they worship as deities, they swore to remain faithful.

§ 1. These matters then, as has been related, having been thus successfully terminated, the public interests required that the army should at once march against the Limigantes, the revolted slaves of the Sarmatians, who had perpetrated many atrocities with impunity. For, as soon as the countrymen of free blood had attacked us, they also, forgetful of their former condition, thinking to take advantage of a favourable opportunity, burst through the Roman frontier, in this wickedness alone agreeing with their masters and enemies.

2. But on deliberation we determined that their offence also should be punished with more moderation than its greatness deserved; and that vengeance should limit itself to removing them to a distance where they could no longer harass our territories. The consciousness of a long series of crimes made them fearful of danger.

3. And therefore, suspecting that the weight of war was about to fall upon them, they were prepared, as exigency might require, to resort to stratagem, arms, or entreaties. But at the first sight of our army they became as it were panic-stricken; and being reduced to despair, they begged their lives, offering a yearly tribute, and a body of their chosen youths for our army, and promising perpetual obedience. But they were prepared to refuse if they were ordered to emigrate (as they showed by their gestures and countenances), trusting to the strength of the place where, after they had expelled their masters, they had fixed their abode.

4. For the Parthiscus⁸⁶ waters this land, proceeding with oblique windings till it falls into the Danube. But while it flows unmixed, it passes through a vast extent of country, which, near its junction with the Danube, it narrows into a very small corner, so that over on the side of the Danube those who live in that district are protected from the attack of the Romans, and on the side of the Parthiscus they are secured from any irruptions of the barbarians. Since along its course the greater part of the ground is frequently under water from the floods, and always swampy and full of osiers, so as to be quite impassable to strangers; and besides the mainland there is an island close to the mouth of the river, which the stream itself seems to have separated into its present state.

5. Accordingly, at the desire of the emperor, they came with native arrogance to our bank of the river, not, as the result showed, with the intention of obeying his commands, but that they might not seem alarmed at the presence of his soldiers. And there they stood, stubbornly showing that they had come bent on resistance.

6. And as the emperor had foreseen that this might happen, he secretly divided his army into several squadrons, and by the rapidity of their movements hemmed in the barbarians between his own lines. And then, standing on a mound, with a few of his officers and a small body-guard, he gently admonished them not to give way to ferocity.

7. But they, wavering and in doubt, were agitated by various feelings, and

mingling craft with their fury, they had recourse to arms and to prayers at the same time. And meditating to make a sudden attack on those of our men who were nearest, they threw their shields some distance before them, with the intent that while they made some steps forward to recover them, they might thus steal a little ground without giving any indication of their purpose.

8. And as it was now nearly evening, and the departing light warned us to avoid further delay, our soldiers raised their standards and fell upon them with a fiery onset. And they, in close order, directed all their force against the mound on which (as has been already said) the emperor himself was standing, fixing their eyes on him, and uttering fierce outcries against him.

9. Our army was indignant at such insane audacity, and forming into a triangle, to which military simplicity has given the name of "the boar's head," with a violent charge they scattered the barbarians now pressing vigorously upon the emperor; on the right our infantry slew their infantry, and on the left our cavalry dashed among their squadrons of light horsemen.

10. The prætorian cohort, carefully guarding the emperor, spared neither the breasts of those who attacked nor the backs of those who fled, and the barbarians, yielding in their stubbornness to death alone, showed by their horrid cries that they grieved not so much at their own death as at the triumph of our army. And, beside the dead, many lay with their legs cut off, and so deprived of the resource of flight, others had lost their hands; some who had received no wound were crushed by the weight of those who fell upon them, and bore their torments in profound silence.

11. Nor, amid all their sufferings, did any one of them ask for mercy, or throw away his sword, or implore a speedy death, but clinging resolutely to their arms, wounded as they were, they thought it a lesser evil to be subdued by the strength of another than by their own consciences, and at times they were heard to grumble that what had happened was the work of fortune, not of their deserts. And so this whole battle was brought to an end in half an hour, in which such numbers of barbarians fell that nothing but the fact of our victory proved that there had been any battle at all.

12. Those in arms had scarcely been routed when the relations of the dead, of every age and sex, were brought forward in crowds, having been dragged from their humble dwellings. And all their former pride being now gone, they descended to the lowest depths of servile obedience, and after a very short time nothing but barrows of the dead and bands of captives were beheld.

13. So, the heat of strife and the excitement of victory stimulating our men, they rose up to destroy all who had escaped the battle, or who were lying hidden in their dwellings. And when, eager for the blood of the barbarians, our soldiers had reached the spot, they tore to pieces the slight straw-thatched huts; nor could even the strongest-built cottages, or the stoutest beams save any one from death.

14. At last, when everything was set on fire, and when no one could be concealed any longer, since every protection for their lives was destroyed,

they either perished obstinately in the flames, or else, if they avoided the fire and sallied out, they only escaped that destruction to fall beneath the sword of their enemies.

15. Some, however, did escape from the weapons of the enemy and from the spreading flames, and committed themselves to the stream, trusting to their skill in swimming to enable them to reach the further bank; but many of them were drowned, and others were transfixed by our javelins, so that the winding stream of the vast river was discoloured with blood, and thus, by the agency of both elements, did the indignation and valour of the conquerors destroy the Sarmatians.

16. After these events it was determined to leave the barbarians no hope nor comfort of life; and after burning their houses and carrying off their families, an order was given to collect boats in order to hunt out those who, being on the opposite bank of the river, had escaped the attack of our men.

17. And immediately, that the alacrity of our warriors might have no time to cool, some light-armed troops were embarked in boats, and led by secret paths to occupy the retreats of the Sarmatians. The barbarians at first were deceived by seeing only the boats of their own country, and crews with whom they were acquainted.

18. But when the weapons glittered in the distance, and they perceived that what they feared was upon them, they sought refuge in their accustomed marshes. And our soldiers pursuing them with great animosity, slew numbers of them, and gained a victory in a place where it had not been supposed that any soldier could find a footing, much less do any bold action.

19. After the Anicenses⁸⁷ had thus been routed and almost destroyed, we proceeded at once to attack the Picenses, who are so called from the regions which they inhabit, which border on one another; and these tribes had fancied themselves the more secure from the disasters of their allies, which they had heard of by frequent rumours. To crush them (for it was an arduous task for those who did not know the country to follow men scattered in many directions as they were) the aid of Taifali⁸⁸ and of the free-born Sarmatians was sought.

20. And as the nature of the ground separated the auxiliary battalions from each other, our own troops took the ground nearest Mœsia, the Taifali that nearest to their own settlements, while the free Sarmatians occupied that in front of their original position.

21. The Limigantes, alarmed at the still fresh examples of nations subdued and crushed by us, for a long time hesitated and wavered whether they should attack us or ask for peace, having arguments of no small weight for either line of conduct. But at last, through the influence of the council of the elders, the idea of surrender prevailed; and the submission also of those who had dared to attack their free-born masters was added to our numerous victories; and the rest of them, who had previously despised their masters, thinking them unwarlike and easily subdued, now finding them stronger than themselves,

submitted to them.

22. Accordingly, having received pledges of their safety, and having quitted the defence of their mountains, the greater portion of them came with speed to the Roman camp, and they spread over a vast extent of ground, bringing with them their parents, their children, their wives, and all the movable treasures which their rapid motions had allowed them to carry off.

23. And those who it had been supposed would rather lose their lives than quit their country, while they mistook their mad licentiousness for liberty, now submitted to obey our orders, and to take up another abode in peace and good faith, so as to be undisturbed for the future by wars or seditions. And having been thus accepted as subjects, in accordance with their own wish as it was believed, they remained quiet for a time; but afterwards they broke out in destructive wickedness, as shall be related at the proper time.

24. While our affairs were thus prospering, Illyricum was put in a state of twofold security, since the emperor, in endeavouring by two means to accomplish this object, succeeded in both. He brought back and established in their ancient homes the people who had been banished, whom, although they were objects of suspicion from their natural fickleness, he believed would go on more moderately than of old. And to crown this kindness, he set over them as a king, not one of low birth, but the very man whom they themselves had formerly chosen, as eminent for all the virtues of mind and body.

25. After such a wise action, Constantius, being now raised above all fear, and having received from the unanimous consent of his soldiers the title of Sarmaticus, from the name of the nation which he had subdued; and being now about to leave the army, summoned all his cohorts and centuries and maniples, and mounting the tribune, surrounded by the standards and eagles, and by a great number of soldiers of all ranks, he addressed the troops in these words, choosing his topics as usual so as to gain the favour of all.

26. "The recollection of our glorious exploits, the dearest of all feelings to brave men, encourages me to repeat, though with great moderation, what, in our heaven-granted victories, and before battle, and in the very heat of the strife, we, the most faithful champions of the Roman state, have conducted to a deservedly prosperous issue. For what can be so honourable or so justly worthy to be handed down to the recollection of posterity as the exultation of the soldier in his brave deeds, and of the general in his wise plans?

27. "The rage of our enemies, in their arrogant pride thinking to profit by our absence, while we were protecting Italy and Gaul, was overrunning Illyricum, and with continual sallies they were ravaging even the districts beyond our frontiers; crossing the rivers, sometimes in boats made of hollow trees, sometimes on foot; not relying on combats, nor on their arms and strength, but being accustomed to secret forays, and having been from the very earliest era of their nation an object of fear to our ancestors, from their cunning and the variety of their manœuvres, which we indeed, being at a great

distance, bore as long as we could, thinking that the vigour of our generals would be able to protect us from even slight injury.

28. "But when their licentiousness led them on to bolder attempts, and to inflict great and frequent injury on our provinces, we, having first fortified the passes of the Tyrol, and having secured the safety of the Gauls by watchful care, leaving no danger behind us, have marched into Pannonia, in order, with the favour of the everlasting deity, to strengthen our tottering interests in that country. And after everything was prepared, we set forth, as you know, at the end of the spring, and undertook a great enterprise; first of all taking care that the countless darts of the enemy should not prevent us from making a bridge. And when, with no great trouble, this had been accomplished, after we had set our foot upon the enemy's territories, we defeated, with very little loss to ourselves, the Sarmatians, who with obstinate courage set themselves to resist us to the death. And we also crushed the Quadi, who were bringing reinforcements to the Sarmatians, and who with similar courage attacked our noble legions.

29. "These tribes, after heavy losses sustained in their attacks, and their stubborn and toilsome resistance, have at length learnt the power of our valour, and throwing away their arms, have allowed their hands, prepared for fighting, to be bound behind their backs; and seeing that their only hope of safety is in prayer, have fallen at the feet of your merciful emperor, whose wars they found are usually successful. Having got rid of these enemies, we with equal courage defeated the Limigantes, and after we had put numbers of them to the sword, the rest found their only means of escaping danger lay in fleeing to their hiding-places in the marshes.

30. "And when these things were successfully terminated, it seemed to be a seasonable opportunity for mercy. So we compelled the Limigantes to remove to very distant lands, that they might not be able any more to move to our injury; and we spared the greatest part of them. And we made Zizais king over the free-born portion of them, sure that he would be faithful to us, and thinking it more honour to create a king for the barbarians than to take one from them, the dignity being increased by this honourable consideration, that the ruler whom we thus gave them had before been elected and accepted by them.

31. "So we and the republic have in one campaign obtained a fourfold reward: first, vengeance on our guilty assailants; next, abundance of captive slaves from the enemy, for valour is entitled to those rewards which it has earned with its toil and prowess.

32. "Thirdly, we have ample resources and great treasures of wealth; our labour and courage having preserved the patrimony of each of us undiminished. This, in the mind of a good sovereign, is the best fruit of prosperity.

33. "Lastly, I myself have the well-won spoil of a surname derived from the enemy — the title of Sarmaticus — which you unanimously have (if I may

say so without arrogance) deservedly conferred on me.”

34. After he had made an end of speaking, the whole assembly, with more alacrity than usual, since its hope of booty and gain was increased, rose up with joyful voices in praise of the emperor; and, as usual, calling God to witness that Constantius was invincible, returned with joy to their tents. And the emperor was conducted back to his palace, and having rested two days, re-entered Sirmium with a triumphal procession; and the troops returned to their appointed stations.

XIV.

§ 1. About this time Prosper and Spectatus and Eustathius, who, as has been mentioned above, had been sent as ambassadors to the Persians, found the Persian king at Ctesiphon, on his return from his campaign, and they delivered the emperor's letters and presents, and requested peace while affairs were still in their existing state. And mindful of what had been enjoined them, they never forgot the interests nor the dignity of the Roman empire, maintaining that the peace ought to be made on the condition that no alteration should be made in the state of Armenia or Mesopotamia.

2. And having remained for some time, when they saw that the king was obstinate, and resolute not to admit of peace unless the absolute dominion of those regions was assigned to him, they returned without having completed their business.

3. After which, Lucillianus, a count, and Procopius, at that time secretary, were sent to obtain the same conditions, with equal powers. Procopius being the same man who afterwards, under the pressure of violent necessity, committed himself to a revolutionary movement.

NOTES.

⁷⁰ Ἐνοίχθω, Σεισίχθων, Ἐννοσίγαιος, from ἐνίθω and σείω, to shake, and χθάν and γαῖα, the earth.

⁷¹ From βράζω, to boil over.

⁷² Strabo gives Ophiusa as one of the names of Rhodes, and Homer mentions the golden shower: —

καί σφιν Θεσπέσιον πλοῦτου κατέχευε κρονιῶν. — II. β. vi. 70.

As also does Pindar, Ol. vii. 63.

⁷³ From κλίνω, to lay down.

⁷⁴ From χάσμα, a chasm, derived from χαίνω, to gape.

⁷⁵ This is a tale told by Plato in the Timæus (which is believed to have no foundation).

⁷⁶ The destruction of Helice is related in Diodorus Sic. xiv. 48; cf. Ov. Met. xv. 290.

⁷⁷ The lake Ciminus was near Centumcellæ, cf. Virg. Æn. vii. 697. The town of Saccumum is not mentioned by any other writer.

⁷⁸ From μυκάω, to roar like a bull.

⁷⁹ Toxandria was in Belgium, on the Scheldt.

⁸⁰ The Chamavi were a tribe at the mouth of the Rhine.

⁸¹ Tages was an Etruscan, the son, it is said, of a genius, Jovialis, and grandson of Jupiter, who rose out of the ground as a man named Tarchon was ploughing near Tarquinii, and instructed the auspices in divination. Cf. Cic. Div. ii. 23.

⁸² Carthage and Numantia.

⁸³ The Quadi occupied a part of Hungary.

⁸⁴ The Victohali were a tribe of Goths.

⁸⁵ Szœni, called by Ammianus Bregetio, is near Cormorn.

⁸⁶ The Theiss.

⁸⁷ The Anicenses and Picenses were Dacian tribes.

⁸⁸ The Taifali were a tribe of the Western Goths.

BOOK XVIII.

ARGUMENT.

I. The Cæsar Julian consults the welfare of the Gauls, and provides for the general observance of justice. — II. He repairs the walls of the castles on the Rhine which he had recovered; crosses the Rhine, and having conquered those of the Alemanni who remained hostile, he compels their kings to sue for peace, and to restore their prisoners. — III. Why Barbatio, the commander of the infantry, and his wife, were beheaded by command of Constantius. — IV. Sapor, king of Persia, prepares to attack the Romans with all his power. — V. Antoninus, the protector, deserts to Sapor, with all his men; and increases his eagerness to engage in war with the Romans. — VI. Ursicinus, the commander of the legions, being summoned from the East, when he had reached Thrace was sent back to Mesopotamia, and having arrived there he hears from Marcellinus of Sapor's approach. — VII. Sapor, with the kings of the Chionitæ and Albani, invades Mesopotamia — The Romans of their own accord lay waste their lands with fire; compelled the countrymen to come into the towns, and fortify the western bank of the Euphrates with castles and garrisons. — VIII. Seven hundred Illyrian cavalry are surprised by the Persians, and put to flight — Ursicinus escapes in one direction, and Marcellinus in another. — IX. A description of Amida; and how many legions and squadrons were there in garrison. — X. Sapor receives the surrender of two Roman fortresses.

I.

A.D. 359.

§ 1. These events took place in the different parts of the world in one and the same year. But while the affairs in Gaul were in a better state; and while titles of consul were ennobling the brothers Eusebius and Hypatius, Julian, illustrious for his uninterrupted successes, now in his winter quarters, being relieved for a while from his warlike anxieties, was devoting equal care to many points connected with the welfare of the provinces. Taking anxious care that no one should be oppressed by the burden of taxation; that the power of the officers should not be stretched into extortion; that those who increase their property by the public distresses, should have no sanction, and that no judge should violate justice with impunity.

2. And he found it easy to correct what was wrong on this head, because he himself decided all causes in which the persons concerned were of any great importance; and showed himself a most impartial discerner of right and wrong.

3. And although there are many acts of his in deciding these disputes worthy of praise, it will be sufficient to mention one, on the model of which all his other words and actions were framed.

4. Numerius, a native of Narbonne, had a little time before been accused before the governor as a thief, and Julian, by an unusual exercise of the censor's power, heard his cause in public; admitting into the court all who sought entrance. And when Numerius denied all that was charged against him, and could not be convicted on any point, Delphidius the orator, who was assailing him with great bitterness, being enraged at the failure of his charges, exclaimed, "But, great Cæsar, will any one ever be found guilty if it be

enough to deny the charge?" To whom Julian, with seasonable wisdom, replied, "Can any one be judged innocent if it be enough to make a charge?" And he did many similar actions in his civil capacity.

II.

§ 1. But when he was about to set out on an important expedition against some tribes of the Allemanni whom he considered hostile, and likely to proceed to acts of atrocious daring if they were not defeated in a way to be an example to the rest, he hesitated in great anxiety, since a report of his intentions had gone before him, what force he could employ, and how he could be quick enough to take them by surprise the first moment that circumstances should afford him an opportunity.

2. But after he had meditated on many different plans, he decided on trying one, which the result proved to be good without any one being aware of it. He had sent Hariobaudes, a tribune who at that time had no particular command, a man of honour, loyalty, and courage, under pretext of an embassy, to Hortarius the king who was now in a state of friendship with us; in order that from his court Hariobaudes might easily proceed to the frontiers of the enemy whom he was proposing to attack; and so ascertain what they were about, being thoroughly skilled in the language of the barbarians.

3. And when he had gone boldly on this commission, Julian himself, as it was now a favourable time of the year, assembled his soldiers from all quarters for the expedition, and set out; thinking it above all things desirable, before the war had got warm, to effect his entrance into the cities which had been destroyed some time before, and having recovered them to put them in a state of defence; and also to establish granaries in the place of those which had been burnt, in which to store the corn usually imported from Britain.

4. Both these objects were accomplished, and that more speedily than could have been looked for. For the store-houses were rapidly built, and abundance of provisions laid up in them; and seven cities were occupied. The camp of Hercules, Quadriburgium,⁸⁹ Kellen, Nuys, Bonn, Andernach, and Bingen. At which last city, by exceedingly good fortune, Florentius the prefect also arrived unexpectedly, bringing with him a division of soldiers, and a supply of provisions sufficient to last a long time.

5. After this, the next measure of urgent necessity was to repair the walls of the recovered cities, while as yet no one raised any hindrance; and it is abundantly plain that at that time the barbarians did out of fear what was commanded them for the public interests, while the Romans did it for love of their ruler.

6. According to the treaty made in the preceding year, the kings sent their own waggons with many articles useful for building. And the auxiliary soldiers who always hold themselves above employments of this kind being won over by Julian's caresses to diligent obedience, now carried beams fifty feet long and more on their shoulders, and gave the greatest aid to the labours

of the architect.

7. And while all this was being done with diligence and speed, Hariobaudes, having learnt all he wanted, returned and related what he had ascertained. And after his arrival the army marched with all speed, and soon reached Mayence, where, though Florentius and Lupicinus, who succeeded Severus, insisted vehemently that they might cross by the bridge laid down at that town, the Cæsar strenuously objected, maintaining that it was not well to trample on the lands of those who were brought into a state of tranquillity and friendship; lest the treaty made with them should be brought to an abrupt end, as had often happened through the discourtesy of the soldiers ravaging everything that came in their way.

8. But all the Allemanni who were the objects of our attack, seeing the danger now on their borders, with many threats urged Surmarius their king, who by a previous treaty was on friendly terms with us, to prevent the Romans from crossing the river. For their villages were on the eastern bank of the Rhine. But when Surmarius affirmed that he by himself was unable to offer effectual resistance, the barbarian host assembled in a body, and came up to Mayence, intending by main force to prevent our army from crossing the river.

9. So that Cæsar's advice now seemed best in two points, both not to ravage the lands of our friends; and also, not in the teeth of the opposition of a most warlike people, to risk the loss of many lives in order to make a bridge, even in a spot the most favourable for such a work.

10. And the enemy, watching his movements with great skill, marched slowly along the opposite bank, and when they saw our men pitching their tents at a distance, they still watched all night, exerting the most sleepless vigilance to prevent the passage of the river from being attempted.

11. But when our men reached the spot intended, they surrounded their camp with a rampart and ditch, and took their rest; and the Cæsar, having taken counsel with Lupicinus, ordered some of the tribunes to get ready three hundred light-armed soldiers with stakes, without letting them know what was to be done, or whither they were going.

12. They being collected, when the night was well advanced, and being all embarked on board of forty light boats, which were all that were at hand, were ordered to go down the stream so silently as not to use even their oars, lest the noise should rouse the barbarians, and then using all activity both of mind and body, to force a landing on the opposite bank, within the frontier of the enemy, while they were still watching the camp-fires of our men.

13. While these orders were being performed with great promptness, King Hortarius, who had been previously bound to us by treaties, and was without any intention of revolting, kept on friendly terms with the bordering tribes, having invited all their kings, princes, and chieftains to a banquet, detained them to the third watch, the banquet being prolonged so late according to the custom of his nation. And as they were departing, our men chanced to come

upon them suddenly, but could neither stay nor capture any of them owing to the darkness of the night and the fleetness of their horses, on which they fled at random in all directions. A number of sutlers and slaves, however, who were following them on foot, our men slew; the few who escaped being likewise protected by the darkness of the hour.

14. When it became known that the Romans had crossed the river (and they then as well as in all former expeditions accounted it a great relief to their labours when they could find the enemy), the kings and their people, who were watching zealously to prevent the bridge from being made, were alarmed, and being panic-stricken fled in all directions, and their violent fury being thus cooled, they hastened to remove their relations and their treasures to a distance. And as all difficulties were now surmounted, the bridge was at once made, and before the barbarians could expect it, the Roman army appeared in their territories, and passed through the dominions of Hortarius without doing any injury.

15. But when they reached the lands of those kings who were still hostile, they went on invincibly through the midst of their rebellious country, laying waste with fire and sword, and plundering everything. And after their frail houses were destroyed by fire, and a vast number of men had been slain, and the army, having nothing to face but corpses and suppliants, had arrived in the region called Capellatum, or Palas, where there are boundary stones marking the frontiers of the Allemanni and the Burgundians; the army pitched its camp, in order that Macrianus and Hariobaudus, brothers, and both kings, might be received by us, and delivered from their fears. Since they, thinking their destruction imminent, were coming with great anxiety to sue for peace.

16. And immediately after them King Vadomarius also came, whose abode was opposite Augst: and having produced some letters of the Emperor Constantius, in which he was strictly recommended to the protection of the Romans, he was courteously received, as became one who had been admitted by the emperor as a client of the Roman empire.

17. And Macrianus and his brother, being admitted among our eagles and standards, marvelled at the imposing appearance of our arms, and various resources which they had never seen before. And they offered up petitions on behalf of their people. But Vadomarius, who had met us before, since he was close to our frontier, admired indeed the appointments of our daring expedition, but remembered that he had often seen such before, ever since his childhood.

18. At last, after long deliberation, with the unanimous consent of all, peace was granted to Macrianus and Hariobaudus; but an answer could not be given to Vadomarius, who had come to secure his own safety, and also as an ambassador to intercede for the kings Urius, Ursicinus, and Vestralpus, imploring peace for them also; lest, as the barbarians are men of wavering faith, they might recover their spirits when our army was withdrawn, and

refuse adherence to conditions procured by the agency of others.

19. But when they also, after their crops and houses had been burnt, and many of their soldiers had been slain or taken prisoners, sent ambassadors of their own, and sued for mercy as if they had been guilty of similar violence to our subjects, they obtained peace on similar terms; of which that most rigorously insisted on was that they should restore all the prisoners which they had taken in their frequent incursions.

III.

§ 1. While the god-like wisdom of the Cæsar was thus successful in Gaul, great disturbances arose in the court of the emperor, which from slight beginnings increased to grief and lamentations. Some bees swarmed on the house of Barbatio, at that time the commander of the infantry. And when he consulted the interpreters of prodigies on this event, he received for an answer, that it was an omen of great danger; the answer being founded on the idea that these animals, after they have fixed their abode, and laid up their stores, are usually expelled by smoke and the noisy din of cymbals.

2. Barbatio's wife was a woman called Assyria, neither silent nor prudent. And when he had gone on an expedition which caused her much alarm, she, because of the predictions which she recollected to have been given her, and being full of female vanity, having summoned a handmaid who was skilful in writing, and of whom she had become possessed by inheritance from her father Silvanus, sent an unseasonable letter to her husband, full of lamentations, and of entreaties that after the approaching death of Constantius, if he himself, as she hoped, was admitted to a share in the empire, he would not despise her, and prefer to marry Eusebia, who was Constantius's empress, and who was of a beauty equalled by few women.

3. She sent this letter as secretly as she could; but the maid, when the troops had returned from their expedition at the beginning of the night, took a copy of the letter which she had written at the dictation of her mistress, to Arbetio, and being eagerly admitted by him, she gave him the paper.

4. He, relying on this evidence, being at all times a man eager to bring forward accusations, conveyed it to the emperor. As was usual, no delay was allowed, and Barbatio, who confessed that he had received the letter, and his wife, who was distinctly proved to have written it, were both beheaded.

5. After this execution, investigations were carried further, and many persons, innocent as well as guilty, were brought into question. Among whom was Valentinus, who having lately been an officer of the protectores, had been promoted to be a tribune; and he with many others was put to the torture as having been privy to the affair, though he was wholly ignorant of it. But he survived his sufferings; and as some compensation for the injury done to him, and for his danger, he received the rank of duke of Illyricum.

6. This same Barbatio was a man of rude and arrogant manners, and very unpopular, because while captain of the protectores of the household, in the

time of Gallus Cæsar, he was a false and treacherous man; and after he had attained the higher rank he became so elated that he invented calumnies against the Cæsar Julian, and, though all good men hated him, whispered many wicked lies into the ever-ready ears of the emperor.

7. Being forsooth ignorant of the wise old saying of Aristotle, who when he sent Callisthenes, his pupil and relation, to the king Alexander, warned him to say as little as he could, and that only of a pleasant kind, before a man who carried the power of life and death on the tip of his tongue.

8. We should not wonder that mankind, whose minds we look upon as akin to those of the gods, can sometimes discern what is likely to be beneficial or hurtful to them, when even animals devoid of reason sometimes secure their own safety by profound silence, of which the following is a notorious instance: —

9. When the wild geese leave the East because of the heat, and seek a western climate, as soon as they reach Mount Taurus, which is full of eagles, fearing those warlike birds, they stop up their own beaks with stones, that not even the hardest necessity may draw a cry from them; they fly more rapidly than usual across that range, and when they have passed it they throw away the stones, and then proceed more securely.

IV.

§ 1. While these investigations were being carried on with great diligence at Sirmium, the fortune of the East sounded the terrible trumpet of danger. For the king of Persia, being strengthened by the aid of the fierce nations whom he had lately subdued, and being above all men ambitious of extending his territories, began to prepare men and arms and supplies, mingling hellish wisdom with his human counsels, and consulting all kinds of soothsayers about futurity. And when he had collected everything, he proposed to invade our territories at the first opening of the spring.

2. And when the emperor learnt this, at first by report, but subsequently by certain intelligence, and while all were in suspense from dread of the impending danger, the dependents of the court, hammering on the same anvil day and night (as the saying is), at the prompting of the eunuchs, held up Ursicinus as a Gorgon's head before the suspicious and timid emperor, continually repeating that, because on the death of Silvanus, in a dearth of better men, he had been sent to defend the eastern districts, he had become ambitious of still greater power.

3. And by this base compliance many tried to purchase the favour of Eusebius, at that time the principal chamberlain, with whom (if we are to say the real truth) Constantius had great influence, and who was now a bitter enemy of the safety of the master of the horse, Ursicinus, on two accounts; first, because he was the only person who did not need his assistance, as others did; and secondly, because he would not give up his house at Antioch, which Eusebius greatly coveted.

4. So this latter, like a snake abounding in poison, and exciting its offspring as soon as they can crawl to do mischief, stirred up the other chamberlains, that they, while performing their more private duties about the prince's person, with their thin and boyish voices, might damage the reputation of a brave man by pouring into the too open ears of the emperor accusations of great odium. And they soon did what they were commanded.

5. Disgust at this and similar events leads one to praise Domitian, who although, by the unalterable detestation he incurred, has ever stained the memory of his father and his brother,⁹⁰ still deserved credit for a most excellent law, by which he forbade with severe threats any one to castrate any boy within the limits of the Roman jurisdiction. For if there were no such edict, who could endure the swarms of such creatures as would exist, when it is so difficult to bear even a few of them?

6. However, they proceeded with caution, lest, as Eusebius suggested, if Ursicinus were again sent for, he should take alarm and throw everything into confusion; but it was proposed that on the first casual opportunity he should be put to death.

7. While they were waiting for this chance, and full of doubt and anxiety; and while we⁹¹ were tarrying a short time at Samosata, the greatest city of what had formerly been the kingdom of Commagene, we suddenly received frequent and consistent reports of some new commotions, which I will now proceed to relate.

V.

§ 1. A certain man named Antoninus, who from having been a wealthy merchant had become superintendent of the accounts of the duke of Mesopotamia, and after that entered the corps of the protectores, a man of experience and wisdom, and very well known in all that country. Being through the avarice of certain persons involved in heavy losses, and perceiving that while defending actions against men of influence he was being sunk lower and lower through injustice, since the judges who had to decide on his affairs sought to gratify people in power, he, not wishing to kick against the pricks, bent himself to obsequious caresses; and confessing that he owed what was claimed of him, the claim, by collusion, was transferred to the treasury. He now, having resolved on a flagitious plan, began secretly to look into the secrets of the whole republic; and being acquainted with both languages, he devoted his attention to the accounts; remarking the amount, quality, and situation of the different divisions of the army, and the employment of them on any expeditions; inquiring also with unwearied diligence into the extent of the supplies of arms and provisions, and other things likely to be needful in war.

2. And when he had made himself acquainted with all the internal circumstances of the East, and had learnt that a great portion of the troops and of the money for their pay was distributed in Illyricum, where the emperor

himself was detained by serious business; as the day was now approaching which had been fixed for the payment of the money for which he had been constrained by fear to give an acknowledgment of his bond; and as he saw that he must be overwhelmed by disasters on all sides, since the chief treasurer was devoted to the interests of his adversary; he conceived the audacious design of crossing over to the Persians with his wife and children, and his whole numerous family of relations.

3. And to elude the observation of the soldiers at their different stations, he bought for a small price a farm in Hiaspis, a district on the banks of the Tigris. And, relying on this pretext, since no one would venture to ask why a landed proprietor should go to the extreme frontier of the Roman territory, as many others did the same, by the agency of some trusty friends who were skilful swimmers, he carried on frequent secret negotiations with Tamsapor, who was at that time governing the country on the other side of the river with the rank of duke, and with whom he was already acquainted. And at last, having received from the Persian camp an escort of well-mounted men, he embarked in some boats, and crossed over at night with all his family, in the same manner as Zopyrus, the betrayer of Babylon, had formerly done, only with an opposite object.

4. While affairs in Mesopotamia were in this state, the hangers-on of the palace, always singing the same song for our destruction, at last found a handle to injure the gallant Ursicinus; the gang of eunuchs being still the contrivers and promoters of the plot; since they are always sour tempered and savage, and having no relations, cling to riches as their dearest kindred.

5. The design now adopted was to send Sabinianus, a withered old man of great wealth, but infirm and timid, and from the lowness of his birth far removed from any office of command, to govern the districts of the East; while Ursicinus should be recalled to court, to command the infantry, as successor to Barbatio. And then he, this greedy promoter of revolution, as they called him, being within their reach, could easily be attacked by his bitter and formidable enemies.

6. While these things were going on in the camp of Constantius, as at a festival or a theatre, and while the dispensers of rank which was bought and sold were distributing the price agreed upon among the influential houses, Antoninus, having reached Sapor's winter quarters, was received with gladness; and being ennobled by the grant of a turban, an honour which gives admission to the royal table, and also that of assisting at and delivering one's opinion in the councils of the Persians, went onwards, not with a punt pole or a tar rope, as the proverb is (that is to say, not by any tedious or circuitous path), but with flowing sails into the conduct of state affairs, and stirring up Sapor, as formerly Maharbal roused the sluggish Hannibal, was always telling him that he knew how to conquer, but not how to use a victory.

7. For having been bred up in active life, and being a thorough man of business, he got possession of the feelings of his hearers, who like what

tickles their ears, and who do not utter their praises aloud, but, like the Phæacians in Homer, admire in silence,⁹² while he recounted the events of the last forty years; urging that, after all these continual wars, and especially the battles of Hileia and Singara,⁹³ where that fierce combat by night took place, in which we lost a vast number of our men, as if some feical had interposed to stop them, the Persians, though victorious, had never advanced as far as Edessa or the bridges over the Euphrates. Though with their warlike power and splendid success, they might have pushed their advances especially at that moment, when in consequence of the protracted troubles of their civil wars the blood of the Romans was being poured out on all sides.

8. By these and similar speeches the deserter, preserving his sobriety at the banquets, where, after the fashion of the ancient Greeks, the Persians deliberate on war and other important affairs, stimulated the fiery monarch, and persuaded him to rely upon the greatness of his fortune, and to take up arms the moment that the winter was over, and he himself boldly promised his assistance in many important matters.

VI.

§ 1. About this time Sabinianus, being elated at the power which he had suddenly acquired, and having arrived in Cilicia, gave his predecessor letters from the emperor, desiring him to hasten to court to be invested with higher dignities. In fact the affairs of Asia were in such a state that, even if Ursicinus had been at Ultima Thule their urgency would have required him to be summoned thence to set them right, since he was a man of the ancient discipline, and from long experience especially skilful in the Persian manner of conducting war.

2. But when the report of this reached the provinces, all ranks of the citizens and agricultural population, by formal edicts and by unanimous outcries, endeavoured to detain him, almost forcibly, as the public defender of their country, remembering that though for ten years he had been left to his own resources with a scanty and unwarlike force, he had yet incurred no loss; and fearing for their safety if at so critical a time he should be removed and a man of utter inactivity assume the rule in his stead.

3. We believe, and indeed there is no doubt of it, that fame flies on wings through the paths of the air; and she it was who now gave information of these events to the Persians while deliberating on the entire aspect of affairs. At last, after many arguments pro and con, they determined, on the advice of Antoninus, that as Ursicinus was removed, and as the new governor was contemptible, they might venture to neglect laying siege to cities, an operation which would cause a mischievous loss of time, and at once cross the Euphrates, and advance further, in order, outstripping all rumour of their march, to occupy those provinces which, throughout all our wars, had always been safe (except in the time of Gallienus), and which, from their long enjoyment of peace, were very wealthy. And in this enterprise, with the

favour of God, Antoninus offered himself as a most desirable guide.

4. His advice, therefore, being unanimously praised and adopted, and the attention of the whole nation being directed to the speedy collection of those things which were required, supplies, soldiers, arms, and equipments, the preparation of everything for the coming campaign was continued the whole winter.

5. In the mean time, we, hastening at the emperor's command towards Italy, after having been detained a short time on the western side of Mount Taurus, reached the river Hebrus, which descends from the mountains of the Odrysæ⁹⁴], and there we received letters from the emperor, ordering us, without the least delay, to return to Mesopotamia, without any officers, and having, indeed, no important duty to discharge, since all the power had been transferred to another.

6. And this had been arranged by those mischievous meddlers in the government, in order that if the Persians failed and returned to their own country, our success might be attributed to the valour of the new governor; while, if our affairs turned out ill, Ursicinus might be impeached as a traitor to the republic.

7. Accordingly we, being tossed about without any reason, after much time had been lost, returned, and found Sabinianus, a man full of pride, of small stature, and of a petty and narrow mind, scarcely able without fear to encounter the slight noise of a beast, much less to face the crash of battle.

8. Nevertheless, since our spies brought positive and consistent intelligence that all kind of preparations were going on among the enemy, and since their report was confirmed by that of the deserters, while this manikin was in a state of perplexity, we hastened to Nisibis to make such preparation as seemed requisite, lest the Persians, while concealing their intention to besiege it, should come upon it by surprise.

9. And while all things necessary were being pressed forward within the walls, continued fires and columns of smoke being seen on the other side of the Tigris, near the town called the Camp of the Moors, and Sisara, and the other districts on the Persian frontier, and spreading up to the city itself, showed that the predatory bands of the enemy had crossed the river, and entered our territories.

10. And therefore we hastened forwards with a forced march, to prevent the roads from being occupied; and when we had advanced two miles, we saw a fine boy of about eight years old, as we guessed, wearing a necklace, of noble appearance, standing on the top of a small hillock, and crying out, stating himself to be the son of a man of noble birth, whom his mother, while fleeing in her alarm at the approach of the enemy, had left in her panic in order to be less encumbered. We pitied him, and at the command of our general, I put him on my horse, in front of me, and took him back to the city, while the predatory bands of the enemy, having blockaded the city, were ravaging all around.

11. And because I was alarmed at the difficulties in which we should be placed by a blockade, I put the child in at a half open postern gate, and hastened back with all speed to my troop. And I was very nearly taken prisoner; for a tribune named Abdigidus, accompanied by a groom, was fleeing, pursued by a squadron of cavalry, and though the master escaped the servant was taken. And as I was passing by rapidly, they, examining the servant, inquired of him who was the chief who had advanced against them; and when they heard that Ursicinus had a little while before entered the city, and was on his way to Mount Izala, they put their informant to death, and then, forming into one body, pursued us with ceaseless speed.

12. But I outstripped them by the speed of my horse, and finding my comrades reposing securely under the walls of a slight fort, called Amudis, with their horses dispersed over the grass, I waved my hand, and raising the hem of my cloak: by this usual signal I gave notice that the enemy was at hand, and then joining them we retreated together, though my horse was greatly fatigued.

13. Our alarm was increased by the brightness of the night, as the moon was full, and by the even level of the plain, which, if our danger should become worse, afforded no possible hiding-place, as having neither trees, nor bushes, nor anything but low herbage.

14. Accordingly we adopted the following plan: we lit a lamp and fastened it tightly on a horse, which we turned loose without a rider, and let go where it pleased to our left, while we marched towards the high ground on our right, in order that the Persians might fancy the light a torch held before the general as he proceeded slowly forwards, and so keep on in that direction. And unless we had adopted this precaution we should have been circumvented, and have fallen as prisoners into the power of the enemy.

15. Being delivered from this danger, when we had come to a woody spot, full of vines and fruit-bearing trees, called Meiacarire, a name derived from the cool springs found there, we found that the inhabitants had all fled, and there was only a single soldier remaining behind, concealed in a remote corner. And when he was brought before our general, and through fear told all kinds of different stories, and so became an object of suspicion; at last, under the compulsion of our threats, he told the real truth, that he was a native of Gaul, and had been born among the Parisii, that he had served in our cavalry, but that fearing punishment for some offence he had deserted to the Persians; that he had since married a wife of excellent character, and had a family, and that having been frequently sent as a spy to our camp, he had always brought the Persians true intelligence. And now he said he had been sent by the nobles Tamsapor and Nohodares, who were in command of the predatory bands, to bring them such intelligence as he could collect. After telling us this, and also that he knew of the operations of the enemy, he was put to death.

16. Afterwards, as our anxiety increased, we proceeded from thence with as much speed as we could make to Amida, a city celebrated at a later period

for the disaster which befel it. And when our scouts had rejoined us there we found in one of their scabbards a scrap of parchment written in cipher, which they had been ordered to convey to us by Procopius, whom I have already spoken of as ambassador to the Persians with the Count Lucillianus; its terms were purposely obscure, lest if the bearers should be taken prisoners, and the sense of the writing understood, materials should be found for fatal mischief.

17. The purport was, "The ambassadors of the Greeks, having been rejected, and being perhaps to be put to death, the aged king, not contented with the Hellespont, will throw bridges over the Granicus and the Rhyndacus, and invade Asia Minor with a numerous host, being by his own natural disposition irritable and fierce; and being now prompted and inflamed by him who was formerly the successor of the Roman emperor Hadrian,⁹⁵ it is all over with the Greeks if they do not take care."

18. The meaning of this was that the Persian king, having crossed the rivers Anzaba and Tigris, at the prompting of Antoninus was aiming at the sovereignty of the entire East. When it had been interpreted with difficulty, from its great obscurity, a wise plan was decided on.

19. The satrap of Corduena, a province under the authority of the Persians, was a man named Jovinianus, who had grown up to manhood in the Roman territories, and was secretly friendly to us, because he had been detained as a hostage in Syria, and being now allured by the love of liberal studies, he was exceedingly desirous to return among us.

20. To this man I, being sent with a faithful centurion, for the purpose of learning with greater certainty what was being done, reached him by travelling over pathless mountains, and dangerous defiles. And when he saw and recognized me, he received me courteously, and I avowed to him alone the reason of my coming; and having received from him a silent guide, well acquainted with the country, I was sent to some lofty rocks at a distance, from which, if one's eyes did not fail, one could see even the most minute object fifty miles off.

21. There we remained two whole days; and on the morning of the third day we saw all the circuit of the earth, which we call the horizon, filled with countless hosts of men, and the king marching before them glittering with the brilliancy of his robes. And next to him on his left hand marched Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, a man of middle age, and wrinkled limbs, but of a grand spirit, and already distinguished for many victories. On his right hand was the king of the Albani, of equal rank and splendour. After them came various generals, renowned for their rank and power, who were followed by a multitude of all classes, picked from the flower of the neighbouring nations, and trained by long hardship to endure any toil or danger.

22. How long, O mendacious Greece, wilt thou tell us of Doriscus,⁹⁶ the Thracian town, and of the army counted there in battalions in a fenced space, when we careful, or to speak more truly, cautious historians, exaggerate nothing, and merely record what is established by evidence neither doubtful

nor uncertain!

VII.

§ 1. After the kings had passed by Nineveh, an important city of the province of Adiabene, they offered a sacrifice in the middle of the bridge over the Anzaba, and as the omens were favourable, they advanced with great joy; while we, calculating that the rest of their host could hardly pass over in three days, returned with speed to the satrap, and rested, refreshing ourselves by his hospitable kindness.

2. And returning from thence through a deserted and solitary country, under the pressure of great necessity, and reaching our army more rapidly than could have been expected, we brought to those who were hesitating the certain intelligence that the kings had crossed over the river by a bridge of boats, and were marching straight towards us.

3. Without delay, therefore, horsemen with horses of picked speed were sent to Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, and to Euphronius, at that time the governor of the province, to compel the residents in the country to retire with their families and all their flocks to a safer place; and to quit at once the town of Carræ, which was defended by very slight walls; and further, to burn all the standing crops, that the enemy might get no supplies from the land.

4. And when these orders had been executed, as they were without delay, and when the fire was kindled, the violence of the raging element so completely destroyed all the corn,⁹⁷ which was just beginning to swell and turn yellow, and all the young herbage, that from the Euphrates to the Tigris nothing green was to be seen. And many wild beasts were burnt, and especially lions, who infest these districts terribly, but who are often destroyed or blinded in this manner.

5. They wander in countless droves among the beds of rushes on the banks of the rivers of Mesopotamia, and in the jungles; and lie quiet all the winter, which is very mild in that country. But when the warm weather returns, as these regions are exposed to great heat, they are forced out by the vapours, and by the size of the gnats, with swarms of which every part of that country is filled. And these winged insects attack the eyes, as being both moist and sparkling, sitting on and biting the eyelids; the lions, unable to bear the torture, are either drowned in the rivers, to which they flee for refuge, or else by frequent scratchings tear their eyes out themselves with their claws, and then become mad. And if this did not happen the whole of the East would be overrun with beasts of this kind.

6. While the plains were thus being laid waste by fire, as I have described, the tribunes, who were sent with a body of protectores, fortified all the western bank of the Euphrates with castles and sharp palisades and every kind of defence, fixing also large engines for hurling missiles on those spots where the more tranquil condition of the river made it likely that the enemy might attempt to cross.

7. While these things were being expeditiously done, Sabinianus, chosen in the hurried moment of general danger as the fittest conductor of an internecine war, was living luxuriously, according to his custom, at the tombs of Edessa,⁹⁸ as if he had established peace with the dead, and had nothing to fear: and he took especial pleasure in breaking the silence of the place with the sounding measures of the martial pythicari, instead of the usual theatrical exhibitions; a fancy, considering the place, pregnant with omens. Since these and similar gloomy scenes foreshow future commotions, as we learn in the progress of time, all good men ought to avoid them.

8. In the mean time, passing by Nisibis as of no importance, while the conflagration increased through the dryness of the crops, the kings, dreading a scarcity of food, marched through the grassy valleys at the foot of the mountains.

9. When they had arrived at a small place called Bebase (from which place to the town of Constantina, which is one hundred miles distant, the whole country is an arid desert, except where a little water is found in some wells), they hesitated for some time, doubting what to do; and at last resolving to proceed in reliance on the endurance of their men, they learnt from a trusty spy that the Euphrates was swollen by the melting of the snow, and was now extensively inundating the adjacent lands, and so could not possibly be forded.

10. Therefore they turned to see what opportunities chance might afford them, being now cut off unexpectedly from the hope which they had conceived. And in the present emergency a council was held, at which Antoninus was requested to give his advice: and he counselled them to direct their march to the right, so that by a longer circuit they might reach the two strong forts of Barzala and Laudias, to which he could guide them through a region fertile in everything, and still undestroyed, since the march of the army was expected to be made in a straight line. And the only river on their road was one small and narrow, to be passed near its source, before it was increased by any other streams, and easily fordable.

11. When they had heard this, they praised their adviser, and bidding him lead the way, the whole army turned from its previously appointed line, and followed his guidance.

VIII.

§ 1. When our generals received intelligence of this from their spies, we settled to march in haste to Samosata, in order to cross the river at that point, and destroying the bridges at Zeugma and Capersana, to check the invasion of the enemy if we could find a favourable chance for attacking them.

2. But we met with a sad disaster, worthy to be buried in profound silence. For two squadrons of cavalry, of about seven hundred men, who had just been sent from Illyricum to Mesopotamia as a reinforcement, and who were guarding the passes, becoming enervated and timid, and fearing a surprise by

night, withdrew from the public causeways in the evening, a time above all others when they most required watching.

3. And when it was remarked that they were all sunk in wine and sleep, about twenty thousand Persians, under the command of Tamsapor and Nohodares, passed without any one perceiving them, and fully armed as they were, concealed themselves behind the high ground in the neighbourhood of Amida.

4. Presently, when (as has been said) we started before daybreak on our march to Samosata, our advanced guard, on reaching a high spot which commanded a more distant view, was suddenly alarmed by the glitter of shining arms; and cried out in a hurried manner that the enemy were at hand. Upon this the signal for battle was given, and we halted in a solid column, never thinking of fleeing, since, indeed, those who would have pursued us were in sight; nor to engage in battle with an enemy superior to us in numbers, and especially in cavalry; but seeing the necessity for caution in the danger of certain death which lay before us.

5. At last, when it seemed clear that a battle could not be avoided, and while we were still hesitating what to do, some of our men rashly advanced as skirmishers, and were slain. And then, as each side pressed onwards, Antoninus, ambitiously marching in front of the enemy, was recognized by Ursicinus, and addressed by him in a tone of reproach, and called a traitor and a scoundrel; till at last, taking off the tiara which he wore on his head as a badge of honour, he dismounted from his horse, and bending down till his face nearly touched the ground, he saluted the Roman general, calling him patron and master; and holding his hands behind his back, which among the Assyrians is a gesture of supplication, he said, "Pardon me, most noble count, who have been driven to this guilt by necessity, not by my own will. My creditors, as you know, drove me headlong into it: men whose avarice even your high authority, which tried to support me in my distress, could not overcome." Having said this, he withdrew without turning his back upon him, but retiring backwards in a respectful manner, with his face towards him.

6. And while this was taking place, which did not occupy above half an hour, our second rank, which occupied the higher ground, cried out that another body of cuirassiers appeared behind, and was coming on with great speed.

7. And then, as is often the case at critical moments, doubting which enemy we ought, or even could resist, and being pressed on all sides by an overwhelming mass, we dispersed in every direction, each fleeing where he could. And while every one was trying to extricate himself from the danger, we were brought, without any order, face to face with the enemy.

8. And so struggling vigorously while giving up all desire of saving our lives, we were driven back to the high banks of the Tigris. Some of our men, driven into the water where it was shallow, locked their arms, and so made a stand; others were carried off by the current and drowned; some, still fighting

with the enemy, met with various fortune, or, panic-stricken at the numbers of the barbarians, sought the nearest defiles of Mount Taurus. Among these was the general himself, who was recognized and surrounded by a vast body of the enemy; but he escaped with the tribune Aiadalthes and one groom, being saved by the swiftness of his horse.

9. I myself was separated from my comrades, and while looking round to see what to do, I met with one of the protectores named Verrinianus, whose thigh was pierced through by an arrow, and while at his entreaty I was trying to pull it out, I found myself surrounded on all sides by Persians, some of whom had passed beyond me. I therefore hastened back with all speed towards the city, which, being placed on high ground, is only accessible by one very narrow path on the side on which we were attacked; and that path is made narrower still by escarpments of the rocks, and barriers built on purpose to make the approach more difficult.

10. Here we became mingled with the Persians, who were hastening with a run, racing with us, to make themselves masters of the higher ground: and till the dawn of the next day we stood without moving, so closely packed, that the bodies of those who were slain were so propped up by the mass that they could not find room to fall to the ground; and a soldier in front of me, whose head was cloven asunder into equal portions by a mighty sword-blow, still stood upright like a log, being pressed upon all sides.

11. And although javelins were incessantly hurled from the battlements by every kind of engine, yet we were protected from that danger by the proximity of the walls. And at last I got in at the postern gate, which I found thronged by a multitude of both sexes flocking in from the neighbouring districts. For it happened by chance on these very days that it was the time of a great annual fair which was held in the suburbs, and which was visited by multitudes of the country people.

12. In the mean time all was in disorder with every kind of noise; some bewailing those whom they had lost; others being mortally wounded; and many calling on their different relations whom the crowd prevented them from discovering.

IX.

§ 1. This city had formerly been a very small one, till Constantius while Cæsar, at the same time that he built another town called Antinopolis, surrounded Amida also with strong towers and stout walls, that the people in the neighbourhood might have a safe place of refuge. And he placed there a store of mural engines, making it formidable to the enemy, as he wished it to be called by his own name.

2. On the southern side it is watered by the Tigris, which passes close to it, making a kind of elbow: on the east it looks towards the plains of Mesopotamia, on the north it is close to the river Nymphæus, and is overshadowed by the chain of Mount Taurus, which separates the nations on

the other side of the Tigris from Armenia. On the west it borders on the province of Gumathena, a fertile and well-cultivated district, in which is a village known as Abarne, celebrated for the healing properties of its hot springs. But in the very centre of Amida, under the citadel, there rises a rich spring of water, drinkable indeed, but often tainted with hot vapours.

3. In the garrison of this town, the fifth or Parthian legion was always located with a considerable squadron of native cavalry. But at that time six legions, by forced marches, had outstripped the Persian host in its advance, and greatly strengthened the garrison: they were the Magnentian and Decentian legions whom, after the end of the civil war, the emperor had sent as mutinous and discontented to the East, since there the only danger was from foreign wars: the tenth, and the thirteenth legion called the Fretensian;⁹⁹ and two legions of light infantry called *præventores* and *superventores*,¹⁰⁰ with Ælian, who was now a count. Of these latter, when only new recruits, we have already¹⁰¹ spoken, as sallying out from Singara at the instigation of this same Ælian, then only one of the guard, and slaying a great number of Persians whom they had surprised in their sleep.

4. There was also the greater part of the force called companion archers, being squadrons of cavalry so named, in which all the free-born barbarians serve, and who are conspicuous among all others for the splendour of their arms and for their prowess.

X.

§ 1. While the first onset of the Persians was by its unexpected vehemence throwing these troops into disorder, the king, with his native and foreign troops, having after leaving Bebase turned his march to the right, according to the advice of Antoninus, passed by Horre and Meiacarire and Charcha, as if he meant also to pass by Amida. And when he had come near the Roman forts, one of which is called Reman, and the other Busan, he learnt from some deserters that many persons had removed their treasures there for protection, trusting to their lofty and strong walls; and it was also added that there was there, with a great many valuables, a woman of exquisite beauty, the wife of a citizen of Nisibis named Craugasius, of great consideration by birth, character, and influence; with her little daughter.

2. Sapor, eager to seize what belonged to another, hastened on, and attacked the castle with force; and the garrison, being seized with a sudden panic at the variety of arms of the assailants, surrendered themselves, and all who had fled to them for protection; and at the first summons gave up the keys of the gates. Possession being taken, all that was stored there was ransacked; women bewildered with fear were dragged forth; and children clinging to their mothers were taught bitter suffering at the very beginning of their infancy.

3. And when Sapor, by asking each whose wife she was, had found that of Craugasius trembling with fear of violence, he allowed her to come in safety

to him, and when he saw her, veiled as she was with a black veil to her lips, he kindly encouraged her with a promise that she should recover her husband, and that her honour should be preserved inviolate. For hearing that her husband was exceedingly devoted to her, he thought that by this bribe he might win him over to betray Nisibis.

4. And he also extended his protection to other virgins who, according to Christian rites, had been formally consecrated to the service of God, ordering that they should be kept uninjured, and be allowed to perform the offices of religion as they had been accustomed. Affecting clemency for a time, in order that those who were alarmed at his former ferocity and cruelty might now discard their fears, and come to him of their own accord, learning from these recent examples that he tempered the greatness of his success with humanity and courtesy.

NOTES.

⁸⁹ It is not known what towns are meant by *Castra Herculis* and *Quadriburgium*.

⁹⁰ *Vespasian* and *Titus*.

⁹¹ *Ammianus* was still in attendance on *Ursicinus*.

⁹² *Homer*, *Od.* xiii. I; translated by *Pope* —

“He ceased, but left, so pleasing on their ear,
His voice, that listening still they seemed to hear.”

And imitated by *Milton*, *Paradise Lost*, ix. 1 —

“The angel ended, and in *Adam*’s ear
So pleasing left his voice that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear.”

⁹³ The battle of *Hileia* took place A.D. 348; that of *Singara* three years earlier.

⁹⁴ The *Maritza*, rising in *Mount Hæmus*, now the *Balkan*.

⁹⁵ *Antoninus* is meant, as *Hadrian* was succeeded by *Antoninus Pius*.

⁹⁶ *Doriscus* was the town where *Xerxes* reviewed and counted his army, as is related by *Herodotus*, vii. 60.

⁹⁷ “*Ammianus* has marked the chronology of this year by three signs which do not perfectly coincide with each other, or with the series of the history: — 1. The corn was ripe when *Sapor* invaded *Mesopotamia*, ‘*cum jura stipulâ flavente turgent*’ — a circumstance which, in the latitude of *Aleppo*, would naturally refer us to the month of *April* or *May*. 2. The progress of *Sapor* was checked by the overflowing of the *Euphrates*, which generally happens in *July* and *August*. 3. When *Sapor* had taken *Amida*, after a siege of seventy-three days, the autumn was far advanced. ‘*Autumno præcipiti hædorumque improbo sidere exorto*.’ To reconcile these apparent contradictions, we must allow for some delay in the *Persian king*, some inaccuracy in the historian, and some disorder in the seasons.” — *Gibbon*, cap. xix.; ed. *Bohn*, vol. ii. 320. “*Clinton*, *F.R.*, i. 442, sees no such difficulty as *Gibbon* has here supposed; he makes *Sapor* to have passed the *Tigris* in *May*, reached the *Euphrates* *July 8th*, arrived before *Amida* *July 27th*, and stormed the place *October 7th*.” — *Editor of Bohn’s ed.*

⁹⁸ That is, in the suburbs of *Edessa*, as cemeteries in ancient times were usually outside the walls of cities.

⁹⁹ It is not known what this name is derived from: some read *Fortensis*, instead of *Fretensis*, and those who prefer this reading derive it either from *Fortis*, brave; or from *Fortia*, a small town of *Asiatic Sarmatia*.

¹⁰⁰ *Præventores*, or “going before;” *superventores*, “coming after,” as a reserve.

¹⁰¹ In one of the earlier books which has been lost.

BOOK XIX.

ARGUMENT.

I. Sapor, while exhorting the citizens of Amida to surrender, is assailed with arrows and javelins by the garrison — And when king Grumbates makes a similar attempt, his son is slain. — II. Amida is blockaded, and within two days is twice assaulted by the Persians. — III. Ursicinus makes a vain proposal to sally out by night, and surprise the besiegers, being resisted by Sabinianus, the commander of the forces. — IV. A pestilence, which breaks out in Amida, is checked within ten days by a little rain — A discussion of the causes, and different kinds of pestilences. — V. Amida, betrayed by a deserter, is assailed both by assaults on the walls and by underground mines. — VI. A sally of the Gallic legions does great harm to the Persians. — VII. Towers and other engines are brought close to the walls of the city, but they are burnt by the Romans. — VIII. Attempts are made to raise lofty mounds close to the walls of Amida, and by these means it is entered — After the fall of the city, Marcellinus escapes by night, and flees to Antioch. — IX. Of the Roman generals at Amida, some are put to death, and others are kept as prisoners — Craugasius of Nisibis deserts to the Persians from love of his wife, who is their prisoner. — X. The people of Rome, fearing a scarcity, become seditious. — XI. The Limigantes of Sarmatia, under pretence of suing for peace, attack Constantius, who is deceived by their trick; but are driven back with heavy loss. — XII. Many are prosecuted for treason, and condemned. — XIII. Lauricius, of the Isaurians checks the hordes of banditti.

I.

§ 1. The king, rejoicing at this our disaster and captivity, and expecting other successes, advanced from this castle, and marching slowly, on the third day came to Amida.

2. And at daybreak, everything, as far as we could see, glittered with shining arms; and an iron cavalry filled the plains and the hills.

3. And he himself, mounted on his charger, and being taller than the rest, led his whole army, wearing instead of a crown a golden figure of a ram's head inlaid with jewels; being also splendid from the retinue of men of high rank and of different nations which followed him. And it was evident that his purpose was merely to try the garrison of the walls with a parley, as, in following out the counsel of Antoninus, he was hastening to another quarter.

4. But the deity of heaven, mercifully limiting the disasters of the empire within the compass of one region, led on this king to such an extravagant degree of elation, that he seemed to believe that the moment he made his appearance the besieged would be suddenly panic-stricken, and have recourse to supplication and entreaty.

5. He rode up to the gates, escorted by the cohort of his royal guard; and while pushing on more boldly, so that his very features might be plainly recognized, his ornaments made him such a mark for arrows and other missiles, that he would have been slain, if the dust had not hindered the sight of those who were shooting at him; so that after a part of his robe had been cut off by a blow of a javelin, he escaped to cause vast slaughter at a future time.

6. After this, raging as if against sacrilegious men who had violated a temple, he cried out that the lord of so many monarchs and nations had been insulted, and resolved to use all his efforts to destroy the city. But at the

entreaty of his choicest generals not to break the example of mercy which he had so gloriously set, by indulging in anger, he was pacified, and the next day ordered the garrison to be summoned to surrender.

7. Therefore, at daybreak, Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, went boldly up to the walls to effect that object, with a brave body of guards; and when a skilful reconnoitrer had noticed him coming within shot, he let fly his balista, and struck down his son in the flower of his youth, who was at his father's side, piercing through his breastplate, breast and all; and he was a prince who in stature and beauty was superior to all his comrades.

8. At his death all his countrymen took to flight, but presently returning in order to prevent his body from being carried off, and having roused with their dissonant clamours various tribes to their aid, a stern conflict arose, the arrows flying on both sides like hail.

9. The deadly struggle having been continued till the close of day, it was nightfall before the corpse of the young prince, which had been so stubbornly defended, was extricated from the heap of dead and streams of blood, amid the thick darkness; as formerly at Troy, the armies fought in furious combat for the comrade of the Thessalian chieftain.^{102]}

10. At his death the count was sad, and all the nobles as well as his father were distressed at his sudden loss; and a cessation of arms having been ordered, the youth, so noble and beloved, was mourned after the fashion of his nation. He was carried out in the arms he was wont to wear, and placed on a spacious and lofty pile; around him ten couches were dressed, bearing effigies of dead men, so carefully laid out, that they resembled corpses already buried; and for seven days all the men in the companies and battalions celebrated a funeral feast, dancing, and singing melancholy kinds of dirges in lamentation for the royal youth.

11. And the women, with pitiable wailing, deplored with their customary weepings the hope of their nation thus cut off in the early bloom of youth; as the worshippers of Venus are often seen to do in the solemn festival of Adonis, which the mystical doctrines of religion show to be some sort of image of the ripened fruits of the earth.

II.

§ 1. When the body was burnt and the bones collected in a silver urn, which his father had ordered to be carried back to his native land, to be there buried beneath the earth, Sapor, after taking counsel, determined to propitiate the shade of the deceased prince by making the destroyed city of Amida his monument. Nor indeed was Grumbates willing to move onward while the shade of his only son remained unavenged.

2. And having given two days to rest, and sent out large bodies of troops to ravage the fertile and well-cultivated fields which were as heavy with crops as in the time of peace, the enemy surrounded the city with a line of heavily-armed soldiers five deep; and at the beginning of the third day the brilliant

squadrons filled every spot as far as the eye could see in every direction, and the ranks marching slowly, took up the positions appointed to each by lot.

3. All the Persians were employed in surrounding the walls; that part which looked eastward, where that youth so fatal to us was slain, fell to the Chionitæ. The Vertæ were appointed to the south; the Albani watched the north; while opposite to the western gate were posted the Segestani, the fiercest warriors of all, with whom were trains of tall elephants, horrid with their wrinkled skins, which marched on slowly, loaded with armed men, terrible beyond the savageness of any other frightful sight, as we have often said.

4. When we saw these countless hosts thus deliberately collected for the conflagration of the Roman world, and directed to our own immediate destruction, we despaired of safety, and sought only how to end our lives gloriously, as we all desired.

5. From the rising of the sun to its setting, the enemy's lines stood immovable, as if rooted to the ground, without changing a step or uttering a sound; nor was even the neigh of a horse heard; and the men having withdrawn in the same order as they had advanced, after refreshing themselves with food and sleep, even before the dawn, returned, led by the clang of brazen trumpets, to surround the city, as if fated to fall with their terrible ring.

6. And scarcely had Grumbates, like a Roman fecial, hurled at us a spear stained with blood, according to his native fashion, than the whole army, rattling their arms, mounted up to the walls, and instantly the tumult of war grew fierce, while all the squadrons hastened with speed and alacrity to the attack, and our men on their side opposed them with equal fierceness and resolution.

7. Soon many of the enemy fell with their heads crushed by vast stones hurled from scorpions, some were pierced with arrows, others were transfixed with javelins, and strewed the ground with their bodies; others, wounded, fled back in haste to their comrades.

8. Nor was there less grief or less slaughter in the city, where the cloud of arrows obscured the air, and the vast engines, of which the Persians had got possession when they took Singara, scattered wounds everywhere.

9. For the garrison, collecting all their forces, returning in constant reliefs to the combat, in their eagerness to defend the city, fell wounded, to the hindrance of their comrades, or, being sadly torn as they fell, threw down those who stood near them, or if still alive, sought the aid of those skilful in extracting darts which had become fixed in their bodies.

10. So slaughter was met by slaughter, and lasted till the close of day, being scarcely stopped by the darkness of evening, so great was the obstinacy with which both sides fought.

11. And the watches of the night were passed under arms, and the hills resounded with the shouts raised on both sides, while our men extolled the

valour of Constantius Cæsar as lord of the empire and of the world, and the Persians styled Sapor Saansas and Pyroses, which appellations mean king of kings, and conqueror in wars.

12. The next morning, before daybreak, the trumpet gave the signal, and countless numbers from all sides flocked like birds to a contest of similar violence; and in every direction, as far as the eye could reach, nothing could be seen in the plains and valleys but the glittering arms of these savage nations.

13. And presently a shout was raised, and as the enemy rushed forward all at once, they were met by a dense shower of missiles from the walls; and as may be conjectured, none were hurled in vain, falling as they did among so dense a crowd. For while so many evils surrounded us, we fought as I have said before, with the hope, not of procuring safety, but of dying bravely; and from dawn to eventide the battle was evenly balanced, both fighting with more ferocity than method, and there arose the shouts of men striking and falling, so that from the eagerness of both parties there was scarcely any one who did not give or receive wounds.

14. At last, night put an end to the slaughter, and the losses on both sides caused a longer truce. For when the time intended for rest was allowed to us, continual sleepless toil still exhausted our little remaining strength, in spite of the dread caused by the bloodshed and the pallid faces of the dying, whom the scantiness of our room did not permit us even the last solace of burying; since within the circuit of a moderate city there were seven legions, and a vast promiscuous multitude of citizens and strangers of both sexes, and other soldiers, so that at least twenty thousand men were shut up within the walls.

15. So each attended to his own wounds as well as he could, availing himself of whatever assistance or remedies came in his way. While some, being severely wounded, died of loss of blood; and some, pierced through by swords, lay on the ground, and breathed their last in the open air; others who were pierced through and through the skilful refused to touch, in order not to pain them further by inflicting useless sufferings; some, seeking the doubtful remedy of extracting the arrows, only incurred agonies worse than death.

III.

§ 1. While the war was going on in this manner around Amida, Ursicinus, vexed at being dependent on the will of another, gave continual warning to Sabinianus, who had superior authority over the soldiers, and who still remained in the quarter of the tombs, to collect all his light-armed troops, and hasten by secret paths along the foot of the mountain chain, with the idea that by the aid of this light force, if chance should aid them, they might surprise some of the enemy's outposts, and attack with success the night watches of the army, which, with its vast circuit, was surrounding the walls, or else by incessant attacks might harass those who clung resolutely to the blockade.

2. But Sabinianus rejected this proposal as mischievous, and produced

some letters from the emperor, expressly enjoining that all that could be done was to be done without exposing the troops to any danger; but his own secret motive he kept in his own bosom, namely, that he had been constantly recommended while at court to refuse his predecessor, who was very eager for glory, every opportunity of acquiring renown, however much it might be for the interest of the republic.

3. Extreme pains were taken, even to the ruin of the provinces, to prevent the gallant Ursicinus from being spoken of as the author of or partner in any memorable exploit. Therefore, bewildered with these misfortunes, Ursicinus, seeing that, though constantly sending spies to us (although from the strict watch that was set it was not easy for any one to enter the city), and proposing many advantageous plans, he did no good, seemed like a lion, terrible for his size and fierceness, but with his claws cut and his teeth drawn, so that he could not dare to save from danger his cubs entangled in the nets of the hunters.

IV.

§ 1. But in the city, where the number of the corpses which lay scattered over the streets was too great for any one to perform the funeral rites over them, a pestilence was soon added to the other calamities of the citizens; the carcases becoming full of worms and corruption, from the evaporation caused by the heat, and the various diseases of the people; and here I will briefly explain whence diseases of this kind arise.

2. Both philosophers and skilful physicians agree that excess of cold, or of heat, or of moisture, or of drought, all cause pestilences; on which account those who dwell in marshy or wet districts are subject to coughs and complaints in the eyes, and other similar maladies: on the other hand, those who dwell in hot climates are liable to fevers and inflammations. But since fire is the most powerful of all elements, so drought is the quickest at killing.

3. On this account it is that when the Greeks were toiling at the ten years' war,¹⁰³ to prevent a foreigner from profiting by his violation of a royal marriage, a pestilence broke out among them, and numbers died by the darts of Apollo, who is the same as the Sun.

4. Again, as Thucydides relates, that pestilence which at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war harassed the Athenians with a most cruel kind of sickness, came by slow steps from the burning plains of Ethiopia to Attica.

5. Others maintain that the air and the water, becoming tainted by the smell of corpses, and similar things, takes away the healthiness of a place, or at all events that the sudden change of temperature brings forth slighter sicknesses.

6. Some again affirm that the air becomes heavier by emanations from the earth, and kills some individuals by checking the perspiration of the body, for which reason we learn from Homer, that, besides men, the other living creatures also died; and we know by many instances, that in such plagues this does occur.

7. Now the first species of pestilence is called pandemic; this causes those who live in dry places to be attacked by frequent heats. The second is called epidemic, which gets gradually more violent, dims the sight of the eyes, and awakens dangerous humours. The third is called *lœmodes*,¹⁰⁴ which is also temporary, but still often kills with great rapidity.

8. We were attacked by this deadly pestilence from the excessive heat, which our numbers aggravated, though but few died: and at last, on the night after the tenth day from the first attack, the heavy and dense air was softened by a little rain, and the health of the garrison was restored and preserved.

V.

§ 1. In the mean time the restless Persians were surrounding the city with a fence of wicker-work, and mounds were commenced; lofty towers also were constructed with iron fronts, in the top of each of which a balista was placed, in order to drive down the garrison from the battlements; but during the whole time the shower of missiles from the archers and slingers never ceased for a moment.

2. We had with us two of the legions which had served under Magnentius, and which, as we have said, had lately been brought from Gaul, composed of brave and active men well adapted for conflicts in the plain; but not only useless for such a kind of war as that by which we were now pressed, but actually in the way. For as they had no skill either in working the engines, or in constructing works, but were continually making foolish sallies, and fighting bravely, they always returned with diminished numbers; doing just as much good, as the saying is, as a bucket of water brought by a single hand to a general conflagration.

3. At last, when the gates were completely blocked, and they were utterly unable to get out, in spite of the entreaties of their tribunes, they became furious as wild beasts. But on subsequent occasions their services became conspicuous, as we shall show.

4. In a remote part of the walls on the southern side, which looks down on the Tigris, there was a high tower, below which yawned an abrupt precipice, which it was impossible to look over without giddiness. From this by a hollow subterranean passage along the foot of the mountain some steps were cut with great skill, which led up to the level of the city, by which water was secretly obtained from the river, as we have seen to be the case in all the fortresses in that district which are situated on any river.

5. This passage was dark, and because of the precipitous character of the rock was neglected by the besiegers, till, under the guidance of a deserter who went over to them, seventy Persian archers of the royal battalion, men of eminent skill and courage, being protected by the remoteness of the spot which prevented their being heard, climbed up by the steps one by one at midnight, and reached the third story of the tower. There they concealed themselves till daybreak, when they held out a scarlet cloak as a signal for

commencing an assault, when they saw that the city was entirely surrounded by the multitude of their comrades; and then they emptied their quivers and threw them down at their feet, and with loud cries shot their arrows among the citizens with prodigious skill.

6. And presently the whole of the mighty host of the enemy assaulted the city with more ferocity than ever. And while we stood hesitating and perplexed to know which danger to oppose first, whether to make head against the foe above us, or against the multitude who were scaling the battlements with ladders, our force was divided; and five of the lighter balistæ were brought round and placed so as to attack our tower. They shot out heavy wooden javelins with great rapidity, sometimes transfixing two of our men at one blow, so that many of them fell to the ground severely wounded, and some jumped down in haste from fear of the creaking engines, and being terribly lacerated by the fall, died.

7. But by measures promptly taken, the walls were again secured on that side, and the engines replaced in their former situation.

8. And since the crime of desertion had increased the labours of our soldiers, they, full of indignation, moved along the battlements as if on level ground, hurling missiles of all kinds, and exerting themselves so strenuously that the Virtæ, who were attacking on the south side, were repulsed covered by wounds, and retired in consternation to their tents, having to lament the fall of many of their number.

VI.

§ 1. Thus fortune showed us a ray of safety, granting us one day in which we suffered but little, while the enemy sustained a heavy loss; the remainder of the day was given to rest in order to recruit our strength; and at the dawn of the next morning we saw from the citadel an innumerable multitude, which, after the capture of the fort called Ziata, was being led to the enemy's camp. For a promiscuous multitude had taken refuge in Ziata on account of its size and strength; it being a place ten furlongs in circumference.

2. In those days many other fortresses also were stormed and burnt, and many thousands of men and women carried off from them into slavery; among whom were many men and women, enfeebled by age, who, fainting from different causes, broke down under the length of the journey, gave up all desire of life, and were hamstrung and left behind.

3. The Gallic soldiers beholding these wretched crowds, demanded by a natural but unseasonable impulse to be led against the forces of the enemy, threatening their tribunes and principal centurions with death if they refused them leave.

4. And as wild beasts kept in cages, being rendered more savage by the smell of blood, dash themselves against their movable bars in the hope of escaping, so these men smote the gates, which we have already spoken of as being blockaded, with their swords; being very anxious not to be involved in

the destruction of the city till they had done some gallant exploit; or, if they ultimately escaped from their dangers, not to be spoken of as having done nothing worth speaking of, or worthy of their Gallic courage. Although when they had sallied out before, as they had often done, and had inflicted some loss on the raisers of the mounds, they had always experienced equal loss themselves.

5. We, at a loss what to do, and not knowing what resistance to oppose to these furious men, at length, having with some difficulty won their consent thereto, decided, since the evil could be endured no longer, to allow them to attack the Persian advanced guard, which was not much beyond bowshot; and then, if they could force their line, they might push their advance further. For it was plain that if they succeeded in this, they would cause a great slaughter of the enemy.

6. And while the preparations for this sally were being made, the walls were still gallantly defended with unmitigated labour and watching, and planting engines for shooting stones and darts in every direction. But two high mounds had been raised by the Persian infantry, and the blockade of the city was still pressed forward by gradual operations; against which our men, exerting themselves still more vigorously, raised also immense structures, topping the highest works of the enemy; and sufficiently strong to support the immense weight of their defenders.

7. In the mean time the Gallic troops, impatient of delay, armed with their axes and swords, went forth from the open postern gate, taking advantage of a dark and moonless night. And imploring the Deity to be propitious, and repressing even their breath when they got near the enemy, they advanced with quick step and in close order, slew some of the watch at the outposts, and the outer sentinels of the camp (who were asleep, fearing no such event), and entertained secret hopes of penetrating even to the king's tent if fortune assisted them.

8. But some noise, though slight, was made by them in their march, and the groans of the slain aroused many from sleep; and while each separately raised the cry "to arms," our soldiers halted and stood firm, not venturing to move any further forward. For it would not have been prudent, now that those whom they sought to surprise were awakened, to hasten into open danger, while the bands of Persians were now heard to be flocking to battle from all quarters.

9. Nevertheless the Gallic troops, with undiminished strength and boldness, continued to hew down their foes with their swords, though some of their own men were also slain, pierced by the arrows which were flying from all quarters; and they still stood firm, when they saw the whole danger collected into one point, and the bands of the enemy coming on with speed; yet no one turned his back: and they withdrew, retiring slowly as if in time to music, and gradually fell behind the pales of the camp, being unable to sustain the weight of the battalions pressing close upon them, and being deafened by the clang of

the Persian trumpets.

10. And while many trumpets in turn poured out their clang from the city, the gates were opened to receive our men, if they should be able to reach them: and the engines for missiles creaked, though no javelins were shot from them, in order that the captains of the advanced guard of the Persians, ignorant of the slaughter of their comrades, might be terrified by the noise into falling back, and so allowing our gallant troops to be admitted in safety.

11. And owing to this manœuvre, the Gauls about daybreak entered the gate although with diminished numbers, many of them severely and others slightly wounded. They lost four hundred men this night, when if they had not been hindered by more formidable obstacles, they would have slain in his very tent not Rhesus nor Thracians sleeping before the walls of Troy, but the king of Persia, surrounded by one hundred thousand armed men.

12. To their leaders, as champions of valiant actions, the emperor, after the fall of the city, ordered statues in armour to be erected at Edessa in a frequented spot. And those statues are preserved up to the present time unhurt.

13. When the next day showed the slaughter which had been made, nobles and satraps were found lying amongst the corpses, and all kinds of dissonant cries and tears indicated the changed posture of the Persian host: everywhere was heard wailing; and great indignation was expressed by the princes, who thought that the Romans had forced their way through the sentries in front of the walls. A truce was made for three days by the common consent of both armies, and we gladly accepted a little respite in which to take breath.105]

VII.

§ 1. Now the nations of the barbarians, being amazed at the novelty of this attempt, and rendered by it more savage than ever, discarding all delay, determined to proceed with their works, since open assaults availed them but little. And with extreme warlike eagerness they all now hastened to die gloriously, or else to propitiate the souls of the dead by the ruin of the city.

2. And now, the necessary preparations having been completed by the universal alacrity, at the rising of the day-star all kinds of structures and iron towers were brought up to the walls; on the lofty summits of which balistæ were fitted, which beat down the garrison who were placed on lower ground.

3. And when day broke the iron coverings of the bodies of the foe darkened the whole heaven, and the dense lines advanced without any skirmishers in front, and not in an irregular manner as before, but to the regular and soft music of trumpets; protected by the roofs of the engines, and holding before them wicker shields.

4. And when they came within reach of our missiles, the Persian infantry, holding their shields in front of them, and even then having difficulty in avoiding the arrows which were shot from the engines on the walls, for scarcely any kind of weapon found an empty space, they broke their line a little; and even the cuirassiers were checked and began to retreat, which raised

the spirits of our men.

5. Still the balistæ of the enemy, placed on their iron towers, and pouring down missiles with great power from their high ground on those in a lower position, spread a great deal of slaughter in our ranks. At last, when evening came on, both sides retired to rest, and the greater part of the night was spent by us in considering what device could be adopted to resist the formidable engines of the enemy.

6. At length, after we had considered many plans, we determined on one which the rapidity with which it could be executed made the safest — to oppose four scorpions to the four balistæ; which were carefully moved (a very difficult operation) from the place in which they were; but before this work was finished, day arrived, bringing us a mournful sight, inasmuch as it showed us the formidable battalions of the Persians, with their trains of elephants, the noise and size of which animals are such that nothing more terrible can be presented to the mind of man.

7. And while we were pressed on all sides with the vast masses of arms, and works, and beasts, still our scorpions were kept at work with their iron slings, hurling huge round stones from the battlements, by which the towers of the enemy were crushed and the balistæ and those who worked them were dashed to the ground, so that many were desperately injured, and many crushed by the weight of the falling structures. And the elephants were driven back with violence, and surrounded by the flames which we poured forth against them, the moment that they were wounded retired, and could not be restrained by their riders. The works were all burnt, but still there was no cessation from the conflict.

8. For the king of the Persians himself, who is never expected to mingle in the fight, being indignant at these disasters, adopting a new and unprecedented mode of action, sprang forth like a common soldier among his own dense columns; and as the very number of his guards made him the more conspicuous to us who looked from afar on the scene, he was assailed by numerous missiles, and was forced to retire after he had lost many of his escort, while his troops fell back by echellons; and at the end of the day, though frightened neither by the sad sight of the slaughter nor of the wounds, he at length allowed a short period to be given to rest.

VIII.

§ 1. Night had put an end to the combat; and when a slight rest had been procured from sleep, the moment that the dawn, looked for as the harbinger of better fortune, appeared, Sapor, full of rage and indignation, and perfectly reckless, called forth his people to attack us. And as his works were all burnt, as we have related, and the attack had to be conducted by means of their lofty mounds raised close to our walls, we also from mounds within the walls, as fast as we could raise them, struggled in spite of all our difficulties, with all our might, and with equal courage, against our assailants.

2. And long did the bloody conflict last, nor was any one of the garrison driven by fear of death from his resolution to defend the city. The conflict was prolonged, till at last, while the fortune of the two sides was still undecided, the structure raised by our men, having been long assailed and shaken, at last fell, as if by an earthquake.

3. And the whole space which was between the wall and the external mound being made level as if by a causeway or a bridge, opened a passage to the enemy, which was no longer embarrassed by any obstacles; and numbers of our men, being crushed or enfeebled by their wounds, gave up the struggle. Still men flocked from all quarters to repel so imminent a danger, but from their eager haste they got in one another's way, while the boldness of the enemy increased with their success.

4. By the command of the king all his troops now hastened into action, and a hand-to-hand engagement ensued. Blood ran down from the vast slaughter on both sides: the ditches were filled with corpses, and thus a wider path was opened for the besiegers. And the city, being now filled with the eager crowd which forced its way in, all hope of defence or of escape was cut off, and armed and unarmed without any distinction of age or sex were slaughtered like sheep.

5. It was full evening, when, though fortune had proved adverse, the bulk of our troops was still fighting in good order; and I, having concealed myself with two companions in an obscure corner of the city, now under cover of darkness, made my escape by a postern gate where there was no guard; and aided by my own knowledge of the country and by the speed of my companions, I at last reached the tenth milestone from the city.

6. Here, having lightly refreshed ourselves, I tried to proceed, but found myself, as a noble unaccustomed to such toil, overcome by fatigue of the march. I happened to fall in, however, with what, though a most unsightly object, was to me, completely tired out, a most seasonable relief.

7. A groom riding a runaway horse, barebacked and without a bridle, in order to prevent his falling had knotted the halter by which he was guiding him tightly to his left hand, and presently, being thrown, and unable to break the knot, he was torn to pieces as he was dragged over the rough ground and through the bushes, till at last the weight of his dead body stopped the tired beast; I caught him, and mounting him, availed myself of his services at a most seasonable moment, and after much suffering arrived with my companions at some sulphurous springs of naturally hot water.

8. On account of the heat we had suffered greatly from thirst, and had been crawling about for some time in search of water; and now when we came to this well it was so deep that we could not descend into it, nor had we any ropes; but, taught by extreme necessity, we tore up the linen clothes which we wore into long rags, which we made into one great rope, and fastened to the end of it a cap which one of us wore beneath his helmet; and letting that down by the rope, and drawing up water in it like a sponge, we easily quenched our

thirst.

9. From hence we proceeded rapidly to the Euphrates, intending to cross to the other side in the boat which long custom had stationed in that quarter, to convey men and cattle across.

10. When lo! we see at a distance a Roman force with cavalry standards, scattered and pursued by a division of Persians, though we did not know from what quarter it had come so suddenly on them in their march.

11. This example showed us that what men call indigenous people are not sprung from the bowels of the earth, but merely appear unexpectedly by reason of the speed of their movements: and because they were seen unexpectedly in various places, they got the name of Sparti,¹⁰⁶ and were believed to have sprung from the ground, antiquity exaggerating their renown in a fabulous manner, as it does that of other things.

12. Roused by this sight, since our only hope of safety lay in our speed, we drew off through the thickets and woods to the high mountains; and from thence we went to Melitina, a town of the Lesser Armenia, where we found our chief just on the point of setting off, in whose company we went on to Antioch.

IX.

§ 1. In the mean time Sapor and the Persians began to think of returning home, because they feared to penetrate more inland with their prisoners and booty, now that the autumn was nearly over, and the unhealthy star of the Kids had arisen.

2. But amid the massacres and plunder of the destroyed city, Ælian the count, and the tribunes by whose vigour the walls of Amida had been defended, and the losses of the Persians multiplied, were wickedly crucified; and Jacobus and Cæsias, the treasurers of the commander of the cavalry, and others of the band of protectores, were led as prisoners, with their hands bound behind their backs; and the people of the district beyond the Tigris, who were diligently sought for, were all slain without distinction of rank or dignity.

3. But the wife of Craugasius, who, preserving her chastity inviolate, was treated with the respect due to a high-born matron, was mourning as if she were to be carried to another world without her husband, although she had indications afforded her that she might hope for a higher future.

4. Therefore, thinking of her own interests, and having a wise forecast of the future, she was torn with a twofold anxiety, loathing both widowhood and the marriage she saw before her. Accordingly, she secretly sent off a friend of sure fidelity, and well acquainted with Mesopotamia, to pass by Mount Izala, between the two forts called Maride and Lorne, and so to effect his entrance into Nisibis, calling upon her husband, with urgent entreaties and the revelation of many secrets of her own private condition, after hearing what the messenger could tell him, to come to Persia and live happily with her there.

5. The messenger, travelling with great speed through jungle roads and thickets, reached Nisibis, pretending that he had never seen his mistress, and that, as in all likelihood she was slain, he had availed himself of an accidental opportunity to make his escape from the enemy's camp. And so, being neglected as one of no importance, he got access to Craugasius, and told him what had happened. And having received from him an assurance that, as soon as he could do so with safety, he would gladly rejoin his wife, he departed, bearing the wished-for intelligence to the lady. She, when she received it, addressed herself, through the medium of Tamsapor, to the king, entreating him that, if the opportunity offered before he quitted the Roman territories, he would order her husband to be restored to her.

6. But the fact of this stranger having departed thus unexpectedly, without any one suspecting it, after his secret return, raised suspicions in the mind of Duke Cassianus and the other nobles who had authority in the city, who addressed severe menaces to Craugasius, insisting that the man could neither have come nor have gone without his privity.

7. And he, fearing the charge of treason, and being very anxious lest the flight of the deserter should cause a suspicion that his wife was still alive and was well treated by the enemy, feigned to court a marriage with another virgin of high rank. And having gone out to a villa which he had eight miles from the city, as if with the object of making the necessary preparations for the wedding feast, he mounted a horse, and fled at full speed to a predatory troop of Persians which he had learnt was in the neighbourhood, and being cordially received, when it was seen from what he said who he was, he was delivered over to Tamsapor on the fifth day, and by him he was introduced to the king, and recovered not only his wife, but his family and all his treasures, though he lost his wife only a few months afterwards. And he was esteemed only second to Antoninus, though as a great poet has said,

“*Longo proximus intervallo.*”107]

8. For Antoninus was eminent both for genius and experience in affairs, and had useful counsels for every enterprise that could be proposed, while Craugasius was of a less subtle nature, though also very celebrated. And all these events took place within a short time after the fall of Amida.

9. But the king, though showing no marks of anxiety on his countenance, and though he appeared full of exultation at the fall of the city, still in the depths of his heart was greatly perplexed, recollecting that in the siege he had frequently sustained severe losses, and that he had lost more men, and those too of more importance than any prisoners whom he had taken from us, or than we had lost in all the battles that had taken place; as indeed had also been the case at Singara, and at Nisibis. In the seventy-three days during which he had been blockading Amida, he had lost thirty thousand soldiers, as was reckoned a few days later by Discenes, a tribune and secretary; the calculation being the more easily made because the corpses of our men very soon shrink and lose their colour, so that their faces can never be recognized after four

days; but the bodies of the Persians dry up like the trunks of trees, so that nothing exudes from them, nor do they suffer from any suffusion of blood, which is caused by their more sparing diet, and by the dryness and heat of their native land.

X.

§ 1. While these events and troubles were proceeding rapidly in the remote districts of the East, the Eternal City was fearing distress from an impending scarcity of corn; and the violence of the common people, infuriated by the expectation of that worst of all evils, was vented upon Tertullus, who at that time was prefect of the city. This was unreasonable, since it did not depend upon him that the provisions were embarked in a stormy season in ships which, through the unusually tempestuous state of the sea, and the violence of contrary winds, were driven into any ports they could make, and were unable to reach the port of Augustus, from the greatness of the dangers which threatened them.

2. Nevertheless, Tertullus was continually troubled by the seditious movements of the people, who worked themselves up to great rage, being excited by the imminent danger of a famine; till, having no hope of preserving his own safety, he wisely brought his little boys out to the people, who, though in a state of tumultuous disorder, were often influenced by sudden accidents, and with tears addressed them thus: —

3. “Behold your fellow-citizens, who (may the gods avert the omen), unless fortune should take a more favourable turn, will be exposed to the same sufferings as yourselves. If then you think that by destroying them you will be saved from all suffering, they are in your power.” The people, of their own nature inclined to mercy, were propitiated by this sad address, and made no answer, but awaited their impending fate with resignation.

4. And soon, by the favour of the deity who has watched over the growth of Rome from its first origin, and who promised that it should last for ever, while Tertullus was at Ostia, sacrificing in the temple of Castor and Pollux, the sea became calm, the wind changed to a gentle south-east breeze, and the ships in full sail entered the port, laden with corn to fill the granaries.

XI.

§ 1. While these perplexing transactions were taking place, intelligence full of importance and danger reached Constantius who was reposing in winter quarters at Sirmium, informing him (as he had already greatly feared) that the Sarmatian Limigantes, who, as we have before related, had expelled their masters from their hereditary homes, had learnt to despise the lands which had been generously allotted to them in the preceding year, in order to prevent so fickle a class from undertaking any mischievous enterprise, and had seized on the districts over the border; that they were straggling, according to their

national custom, with great licence over the whole country, and would throw everything into disorder if they were not put down.

2. The emperor, judging that any delay would increase their insolence, collected from all quarters a strong force of veteran soldiers, and before the spring was much advanced, set forth on an expedition against them, being urged to greater activity by two considerations; first, because the army, having acquired great booty during the last summer, was likely to be encouraged to successful exertion in the hope of similar reward; and secondly, because, as Anatolius was at that time prefect of Illyricum, everything necessary for such an expedition could be readily provided without recourse to any stringent measures.

3. For under no other prefect's government (as is agreed by all), up to the present time, had the northern provinces ever been so flourishing in every point of view; all abuses being corrected with a kind and prudent hand, while the people were relieved from the burden of transporting the public stores (which often caused such losses as to ruin many families), and also from the heavy income tax. So that the natives of those districts would have been free from all damage and cause of complaint, if at a later period some detestable collectors had not come among them, extorting money, and exaggerating accusations, in order to build up wealth and influence for themselves, and to procure their own safety and prosperity by draining the natives; carrying their severities to the proscription and even execution of many of them.

4. To apply a remedy to this insurrection, the emperor set out, as I have said, with a splendid staff, and reached Valeria, which was formerly a part of Pannonia, but which had been established as a separate province, and received its new name in honour of Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian. And having encamped his army on the banks of the Danube, he watched the movements of the barbarians, who, before his arrival, had been proposing, under friendly pretences, to enter Pannonia, meaning to lay it waste during the severity of the winter season, before the snow had been melted by the warmth of spring and the river had become passable, and while our people were unable from the cold to bear bivouacking in the open air.

5. He at once therefore sent two tribunes, each accompanied by an interpreter, to the Limigantes, to inquire mildly why they had quitted the homes which at their own request had been assigned to them after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and why they were now straggling in various directions, and passing their boundaries in contempt of his prohibitions.

6. They made vain and frivolous excuses, fear compelling them to have recourse to lies, and implored the emperor's pardon, beseeching him to discard his displeasure, and to allow them to cross the river and come to him to explain the hardships under which they were labouring; alleging their willingness, if required, to retire to remoter lands, only within the Roman frontier, where, enjoying lasting peace and worshipping tranquillity as their

tutulary deity, they would submit to the name and discharge the duties of tributary subjects.

7. When the tribunes returned and related this, the emperor, exulting that an affair which appeared full of inextricable difficulties was likely to be brought to a conclusion without any trouble, and being eager to add to his acquisitions, admitted them all to his presence. His eagerness for acquiring territory was fanned by a swarm of flatterers, who were incessantly saying that when all distant districts were at peace, and when tranquillity was established everywhere, he would gain many subjects, and would be able to enlist powerful bodies of recruits, thereby relieving the provinces, which would often rather give money than personal service (though this expectation has more than once proved very mischievous to the state).

8. Presently he pitched his camp near Acimincum,¹⁰⁸ where a lofty mound was raised to serve for a tribune; and some boats, loaded with soldiers of the legions, without their baggage, under command of Innocentius, an engineer who had suggested the measure, were sent to watch the channel of the river, keeping close under the bank; so that, if they perceived the barbarians in disorder, they might come upon them and surprise their rear, while their attention was directed elsewhere.

9. The Limigantes became aware of the measures thus promptly taken, but still employed no other means of defence than humility and entreaty; though secretly they cherished designs very different from those indicated by their words and gestures.

10. But when they saw the emperor on his high mound preparing a mild harangue, and about to address them as men who would prove obedient in future, one of them, seized with a sudden fury, hurled his shoe at the tribune, and cried out, "Marha, Marha!" which in their language is a signal of war; and a disorderly mob following him, suddenly raised their barbaric standard, and with fierce howls rushed upon the emperor himself.

11. And when he, looking down from his high position, saw the whole place filled with thousands of men running to and fro, and their drawn swords and rapiers threatening him with immediate destruction, he descended, and mingling both with the barbarians and his own men, without any one perceiving him or knowing whether he was an officer or a common soldier; and since there was no time for delay or inaction, he mounted a speedy horse, and galloped away, and so escaped.

12. But his few guards, while endeavouring to keep back the mutineers, who rushed on with the fierceness of fire, were all killed, either by wounds, or by being crushed beneath the weight of others who fell upon them; and the royal throne, with its golden cushion, was torn to pieces without any one making an effort to save it.

13. But presently, when it became known that the emperor, after having been in the most imminent danger of his life, was still in peril, the army, feeling it to be the most important of all objects to assist him, for they did not

yet think him safe, and confiding in their prowess, though from the suddenness of the attack they were only half formed, threw themselves, with loud and warlike cries upon the bands of the barbarians, fearlessly braving death.

14. And because in their fiery valour our men were resolved to wipe out disgrace by glory, and were full of anger at the treachery of the foe, they slew every one whom they met without mercy, trampling all under foot, living, wounded, and dead alike; so that heaps of dead were piled up before their hands were weary of the slaughter. For the rebels were completely overwhelmed, some being slain, and others fleeing in fear, many of whom implored their lives with various entreaties, but were slaughtered with repeated wounds. And when, after they were all destroyed, the trumpets sounded a retreat, it was found that only a very few of our men were killed, and these had either been trampled down at first, or had perished from the insufficiency of their armour to resist the violence of the enemy.

15. But the most glorious death was that of Cella, the tribune of the Scutarii, who at the beginning of the uproar set the example of plunging first into the middle of the Sarmatian host.

16. After these blood-stained transactions, Constantius took what precautions prudence suggested for the security of his frontiers, and then returned to Sirmium, having avenged himself on the perfidity of his enemies. And having there settled everything which the occasion required, he quitted Sirmium and went to Constantinople, that by being nearer to the East, he might remedy the disasters which had been sustained at Amida, and having reinforced his army with new levies, he might check the attempts of the king of Persia with equal vigour; as it was clear that Sapor, if Providence and some more pressing occupation did not prevent him, would leave Mesopotamia and bring the war over the plains on this side of that country.

XII.

§ 1. But amid these causes of anxiety, as if in accordance with old-established custom, instead of the signal for civil war, the trumpet sounded groundless charges of treason, and a secretary, whom we shall often have to speak of, named Paulus, was sent to inquire into these charges. He was a man skilful in all the contrivances of cruelty, making gain and profit of tortures and executions, as a master of gladiators does of his fatal games.

2. For as he was firm and resolute in his purpose of injuring people, he did not abstain even from theft, and invented all kinds of causes for the destruction of innocent men, while engaged in this miserable campaign.

3. A slight and trivial circumstance afforded infinite material for extending his investigations. There is a town called Abydum in the most remote corner of the Egyptian Thebais, where an oracle of the god, known in that region by the name of Besa, had formerly enjoyed some celebrity for its prophecies, and had sacred rites performed at it with all the ceremonies anciently in use in the

neighbouring districts.

4. Some used to go themselves to consult this oracle, some to send by others documents containing their wishes, and with prayers couched in explicit language inquired the will of the deities; and the paper or parchment on which their wants were written, after the answer had been given, was sometimes left in the temple.

5. Some of these were spitefully sent to the emperor, and he, narrow minded as he was, though often deaf to other matters of serious consequence, had, as the proverb says, a soft place in his ear for this kind of information; and being of a suspicious and petty temper, became full of gall and fury; and immediately ordered Paulus to repair with all speed to the East, giving him authority, as to a chief of great eminence and experience, to try all the causes as he pleased.

6. And Modestus also, at that time count of the East, a man well suited for such a business, was joined with him in this commission. For Hermogenes of Pontus, at that time prefect of the prætorium, was passed over as of too gentle a disposition.

7. Paulus proceeded, as he was ordered, full of deadly eagerness and rage; inviting all kinds of calumnies, so that numbers from every part of the empire were brought before him, noble and low born alike; some of whom were condemned to imprisonment, others to instant death.

8. The city which was chosen to witness these fatal scenes was Scythopolis in Palestine, which for two reasons seemed the most suitable of all places; first, because it was little frequented and secondly, because it was half-way between Antioch and Alexandria, from which city many of those brought before this tribunal came.

9. One of the first persons accused was Simplicius, the son of Philip; a man who, after having been prefect and consul, was now impeached on the ground that he was said to have consulted the oracle how to obtain the empire. He was sentenced to the torture by the express command of the emperor, who in these cases never erred on the side of mercy; but by some special fate he was saved from it, and with uninjured body was condemned to distant banishment.

10. The next victim was Parnasius, who had been prefect of Egypt, a man of simple manners, but now in danger of being condemned to death, and glad to escape with exile; because long ago he had been heard to say that when he left Patræ in Achaia, the place of his birth, with the view of procuring some high office, he had in a dream seen himself conducted on his road by several figures in tragic robes.

11. The next was Andronicus, subsequently celebrated for his liberal accomplishments and his poetry; he was brought before the court without having given any real ground for suspicion of any kind, and defended himself so vigorously that he was acquitted.

12. There was also Demetrius, surnamed Chytras, a philosopher, of great

age, but still firm in mind and body; he, when charged with having frequently offered sacrifices in the temple of his oracle, could not deny it; but affirmed that, for the sake of propitiating the deity, he had constantly done so from his early youth, and not with any idea of aiming at any higher fortune by his questions; nor had he known any one who had aimed at such. And though he was long on the rack he supported it with great constancy, never varying in his statement, till at length he was acquitted and allowed to retire to Alexandria, where he was born.

13. These and a few others, justice, coming to the aid of truth, delivered from their imminent dangers. But as accusations extended more widely, involving numbers without end in their snares, many perished; some with their bodies mangled on the rack; others were condemned to death and confiscation of their goods; while Paulus kept on inventing groundless accusations, as if he had a store of lies on which to draw, and suggesting various pretences for injuring people, so that on his nod, it may be said, the safety of every one in the place depended.

14. For if any one wore on his neck a charm against the quartan ague or any other disease, or if by any information laid by his ill-wishers he was accused of having passed by a sepulchre at nightfall, and therefore of being a sorcerer, and one who dealt in the horrors of tombs and the vain mockeries of the shades which haunt them, he was found guilty and condemned to death.

15. And the affairs went on as if people had been consulting Claros, or the oaks at Dodona, or the Delphic oracles of old fame, with a view to the destruction of the emperor.

16. Meantime, the crowd of courtiers, inventing every kind of deceitful flattery, affirmed that he would be free from all common misfortunes, asserting that his fate had always shone forth with vigour and power in destroying all who attempted anything injurious to him.

17. That indeed strict investigation should be made into such matters, no one in his senses will deny; nor do we question that the safety of our lawful prince, the champion and defender of the good, and on whom the safety of all other people depends, ought to be watched over by the combined zeal of all men; and for the sake of insuring this more completely, when any treasonable enterprise is discovered, the Cornelian laws have provided that no rank shall be exempted even from torture if necessary for the investigation.

18. But it is not decent to exult unrestrainedly in melancholy events, lest the subjects should seem to be governed by tyranny, not by authority. It is better to imitate Cicero, who, when he had it in his power either to spare or to strike, preferred, as he tells us himself, to seek occasions for pardoning rather than for punishing, which is characteristic of a prudent and wise judge.

19. At that time a monster, horrible both to see and to describe, was produced at Daphne, a beautiful and celebrated suburb of Antioch; namely, an infant with two mouths, two sets of teeth, two heads, four eyes, and only two very short ears. And such a mis-shapen offspring was an omen that the

republic would become deformed.

20. Prodigies of this kind are often produced, presaging events of various kinds; but as they are not now publicly expiated, as they were among the ancients, they are unheard of and unknown to people in general.

XIII.

§ 1. During this period the Isaurians, who had been tranquil for some time after the transactions already mentioned, and the attempt to take the city of Seleucia, gradually reviving, as serpents come out of their holes in the warmth of spring, descended from their rocky and pathless jungles, and forming into large troops, harassed their neighbours with predatory incursions; escaping, from their activity as mountaineers, all attempts of the soldiers to take them, and from long use moving easily over rocks and through thickets.

2. So Lauricius was sent among them as governor, with the additional title of count, to reduce them to order by fair means or foul. He was a man of sound civil wisdom, correcting things in general by threats rather than by severity, so that while he governed the province, which he did for some time, nothing happened deserving of particular notice.

NOTES.

¹⁰² Patroclus, the companion of Achilles.

¹⁰³ The Trojan war. See the account of the pestilence, Homer Il. i. 50.

¹⁰⁴ *i.e.*, λοιμώδης, from λοιμός, pestilence. Pandemic means “attacking the whole people.” Epidemic, “spreading from individual to individual.”

¹⁰⁵ Ammian alludes to the expedition of Ulysses and Diomedes related by Homer, Il. viii.

¹⁰⁶ Ammianus is wrong here; it was only the Thebans who were called Σπαρτοῖ, from σπείρω, to sow, because of the fable of the dragon’s teeth sown by Cadmus; the Athenians, who claimed to be earthborn, not called Σπαρτοῖ, but αὐτόχθονες.

¹⁰⁷ A quotation from the description of the foot-race in Virgil, Æn. v. 320.

¹⁰⁸ Salankemen, in Hungary.

BOOK XX.

ARGUMENT.

I. Lupicinus is sent as commander-in-chief into Britain with an army to check the incursions of the Picts and Scots. — II. Ursicinus, commander of the infantry, is attacked by calumnies, and dismissed. — III. An eclipse of the sun — A discussion on the two suns, and on the causes of solar and lunar eclipses, and the various changes and shapes of the moon. — IV. The Cæsar Julian, against his will, is saluted as emperor at Paris, where he was wintering, by his Gallican soldiers, whom Constantius had ordered to be taken from him, and sent to the East to act against the Persians. — V. He harangues his soldiers. — VI. Singara is besieged and taken by Sapor: the citizens, with the auxiliary cavalry and two legions in garrison, are carried off to Persia — The town is razed to the ground. — VII. Sapor storms the town of Bezabde, which is defended by three legions; repairs it, and places in it a garrison and magazines; he also attacks the fortress of Victa, without success. — VIII. Julian writes to Constantius to inform him of what had taken place at Paris. — IX. Constantius desires Julian to be content with the title of Cæsar; but the Gallican legions unanimously refuse to allow him to be so. — X. The Emperor Julian unexpectedly attacks a Frank tribe, known as the Attuarii, on the other side of the Rhine; slays some, takes others prisoners, and grants peace to the rest, on their petition. — XI. Constantius attacks Bezabde with his whole force, but fails — A discussion on the rainbow.

I.

A.D. 360.

§ 1. These were the events which took place in Illyricum and in the East. But the next year, that of Constantius's tenth and Julian's third consulship, the affairs of Britain became troubled, in consequence of the incursions of the savage nations of Picts and Scots, who breaking the peace to which they had agreed, were plundering the districts on their borders, and keeping in constant alarm the provinces exhausted by former disasters, Cæsar, who was wintering at Paris, having his mind divided by various cares, feared to go to the aid of his subjects across the channel (as we have related Constans to have done), lest he should leave the Gauls without a governor, while the Allemanni were still full of fierce and warlike inclinations.

2. Therefore, to tranquillize these districts by reason or by force, it was decided to send Lupicinus, who was at that time commander of the forces; a man of talent in war, and especially skilful in all that related to camps, but very haughty, and smelling, as one may say, of the tragic buskin, while parts of his conduct made it a question which predominated — his avarice or his cruelty.

3. Accordingly, an auxiliary force of light-armed troops, Heruli and Batavi, with two legions from Mœsia, were in the very depth of winter put under the command of this general, with which he marched to Boulogne, and having procured some vessels and embarked his soldiers on them, he sailed with a fair wind, and reached Richborough on the opposite coast, from which place he proceeded to London, that he might there deliberate on the aspect of affairs, and take immediate measures for his campaign.

II.

§ 1. In the mean time, after the fall of Amida, and after Ursicinus had returned as commander of the infantry to the emperor's camp (for we have already mentioned that he had been appointed to succeed Barbatio), he was at once attacked by slanderers, who at first tried to whisper his character away, but presently openly brought forward false charges against him.

2. And the emperor, listening to them, since he commonly formed his opinions on vain conjecture, and was always ready to yield his judgment to crafty persons, appointed Arbetio and Florentius, the chief steward, as judges to inquire how it was that the town was destroyed. They rejected the plain and easily proved causes of the disaster, fearing that Eusebius, at that time high chamberlain, would be offended if they admitted proofs which showed undeniably that what had happened was owing to the obstinate inactivity of Sabinianus; and so distorting the truth, they examined only some points of no consequence, and having no bearing on the transaction.

3. Ursicinus felt the iniquity of this proceeding; and said, "Although the emperor despises me, still the importance of this affair is such that it cannot be judged of and punished by any decision lower than that of the emperor. Nevertheless, let him know what I venture to prophesy, that while he is concerning himself about this disaster at Amida, of which he has received a faithful account; and while he gives himself up to the influence of the eunuchs, he will not in the ensuing spring,¹⁰⁹ even if he himself should come with the entire strength of his army, be able to prevent the dismemberment of Mesopotamia." This speech having been related to the emperor with many additions, and a malignant interpretation, Constantius became enraged beyond measure; and without allowing the affair to be discussed, or those things to be explained to him of which he was ignorant, he believed all the calumnies against Ursicinus, and deposing him from his office, ordered him into retirement; promoting Agilo, by a vast leap, to take his place, he having been before only a tribune of a native troop of Scutarii.

III.

§ 1. At the same time one day the sky in the east was perceived to be covered with a thick darkness, and from daybreak to noon the stars were visible throughout; and, as an addition to these terrors, while the light of heaven was thus withdrawn, and the world almost buried in clouds, men, from the length of the eclipse, began to believe that the sun had wholly disappeared. Presently, however, it was seen again like a new moon, then like a half-moon, and at last it was restored entire.

2. A thing which on other occasions did not happen so visibly except when after several unequal revolutions, the moon returns to exactly the same point at fixed intervals; that is to say, when the moon is found in the same sign of the zodiac, exactly opposite to the rays of the sun, and stops there a few

minutes, which in geometry are called parts of parts.

3. And although the changes and motions of both sun and moon, as the inquiries into intelligible causes have remarked, perpetually return to the same conjunction at the end of each lunar month, still the sun is not always eclipsed on these occasions, but only when the moon, as by a kind of balance, is in the exact centre between the sun and our sight.

4. In short, the sun is eclipsed, and his brilliancy removed from our sight, when he and the moon, which of all the constellations of heaven is the lowest, proceeding with equal pace in their orbits, are placed in conjunction in spite of the height which separates them (as Ptolemy learnedly explains it), and afterwards return to the dimensions which are called ascending or descending points of the ecliptic conjunctions: or, as the Greeks call them, defective conjunctions. And if these great lights find themselves in the neighbourhood of these points or knots, the eclipse is small.

5. But if they are exactly in the knots which form the points of intersection between the ascending and descending path of the moon, then the sky will be covered with denser darkness, and the whole atmosphere becomes so thick that we cannot see what is close to us.

6. Again, the sun is conceived to appear double when a cloud is raised higher than usual, which from its proximity to the eternal fires, shines in such a manner that it forms the brightness of a second orb as from a purer mirror.

7. Now let us come to the moon. The moon sustains a clear and visible eclipse when, being at the full, and exactly opposite to the sun, she is distant from his orb one hundred and eighty degrees, that is, is in the seventh sign; and although this happens at every full moon, still there is not always one eclipse.

8. But since she is always nearest to the earth as it revolves, and the most distant from the rest of the other stars, and sometimes exposes itself to the light which strikes it, and sometimes also is partially obscured by the intervention of the shade of night, which comes over it in the form of a cone; and then she is involved in thick darkness, when the sun, being surrounded by the centre of the lowest sphere, cannot illuminate her with his rays, because the mass of the earth is in the way; for opinions agree that the moon has no light of her own.

9. And when she returns to the same sign of the zodiac which the sun occupies, she is obscured (as has been said), her brightness being wholly dimmed, and this is called a conjunction of the moon.

10. Again the moon is said to be new when she has the sun above her with a slight variation from the perpendicular, and then she appears very thin to mankind, even when leaving the sun she reaches the second sign. Then, when she has advanced further, and shines brilliantly with a sort of horned figure, she is said to be crescent shaped; but when she begins to be a long way distant from the sun, and reaches the fourth sign, she gets a greater light, the sun's

rays being turned upon her, and then she is of the shape of a semicircle.

11. As she goes on still further, and reaches the fifth sign, she assumes a convex shape, a sort of hump appearing from each side. And when she is exactly opposite the sun, she shines with a full light, having arrived at the seventh sign; and even while she is there, having advanced but a very little further, she begins to diminish, which we call waning; and as she gets older, she resumes the same shapes that she had while increasing. But it is established by unanimous consent that she is never seen to be eclipsed except in the middle of her course.

12. But when we said that the sun moves sometimes in the ether, sometimes in the lower-world, it must be understood that the starry bodies, considered in relation to the universe, neither set nor rise; but only appear to do so to our sight on earth, which is suspended by the motion of some interior spirit, and compared with the immensity of things is but a little point, which causes the stars in their eternal order to appear sometimes fixed in heaven, and at others, from the imperfection of human vision, moving from their places. Let us now return to our original subject.

IV.

§ 1. Even while he was hastening to lead succours to the East, which, as the concurrent testimony of both spies and deserters assured him, was on the point of being invaded by the Persians, Constantius was greatly disturbed by the virtues of Julian, which were now becoming renowned among all nations, so highly did fame extol his great labours, achievements, and victories, in having conquered several kingdoms of the Allemanni, and recovered several towns in Gaul which had been plundered and destroyed by the barbarians, and having compelled the barbarians themselves to become subjects and tributaries of the empire.

2. Influenced by these considerations, and fearing lest Julian's influence should become greater, at the instigation, as it is said, of the prefect Florentius, he sent Decentius, the tribune and secretary, to bring away at once the auxiliary troops of the Heruli and Batavi, and the Celtæ, and the legion called *Petulantes*,¹¹⁰ and three hundred picked men from the other forces; enjoining him to make all speed on the plea that their presence was required with the army which it was intended to march at the beginning of spring against the Parthians.

3. Also, Lupicinus was directed to come as commander of these auxiliary troops with the three hundred picked men and to lose no time, as it was not known that he had crossed over to Britain; and Sintula, at that time the superintendent of Julian's stables, was ordered to select the best men of the *Scutarii* and *Gentiles*,¹¹¹ and to bring them also to join the emperor.

4. Julian made no remonstrance, but obeyed these orders, yielding in all respects to the will of the emperor. But on one point he could not conceal his feelings nor keep silence: but entreated that those men might be spared from

this hardship who had left their homes on the other side of the Rhine, and had joined his army on condition of never being moved into any country beyond the Alps, urging that if this were known, it might be feared that other volunteers of the barbarian nations, who had often enlisted in our service on similar conditions, would be prevented from doing so in future. But he argued in vain.

5. For the tribune, disregarding his complaints, carried out the commands of the emperor, and having chosen out a band suited for forced marches, of pre-eminent vigour and activity, set out with them full of hope of promotion.

6. And as Julian, being in doubt what to do about the rest of the troops whom he was ordered to send, and revolving all kinds of plans in his mind, considered that the matter ought to be managed with great care, as there was on one side the fierceness of the barbarians, and on the other the authority of the orders he had received (his perplexity being further increased by the absence of the commander of the cavalry), he urged the prefect, who had gone some time before to Vienne under the pretence of procuring corn, but in reality to escape from military troubles, to return to him.

7. For the prefect bore in mind the substance of a report which he was suspected to have sent some time before, and which recommended the withdrawing from the defence of Gaul those troops so renowned for their valour, and already objects of dread to the barbarians.

8. The prefect, as soon as he had received Julian's letters, informing him of what had happened, and entreating him to come speedily to him to aid the republic with his counsels, positively refused, being alarmed because the letters expressly declared that in any crisis of danger the prefect ought never to be absent from the general. And it was added that if he declined to give his aid, Julian himself would, of his own accord, renounce the emblems of authority, thinking it better to die, if so it was fated, than to have the ruin of the provinces attributed to him. But the obstinacy of the prefect prevailed, and he resolutely refused to comply with the wishes thus reasonably expressed and enforced.

9. But during the delay which arose from the absence of Lupicinus and of any military movement on the part of the alarmed prefect, Julian, deprived of all assistance in the way of advice, and being greatly perplexed, thought it best to hasten the departure of all his troops from the stations in which they were passing the winter, and to let them begin their march.

10. When this was known, some one privily threw down a bitter libel near the standard of the Petulantes legion, which, among other things, contained these words,— "We are being driven to the farthest parts of the earth like condemned criminals, and our relations will become slaves to the Allemanni after we have delivered them from that first captivity by desperate battles."

11. When this writing was taken to head-quarters and read, Julian, considering the reasonableness of the complaint, ordered that their families

should go to the East with them, and allowed them the use of the public wagons for the purpose of moving them. And as it was for some time doubted which road they should take, he decided, at the suggestion of the secretary Decentius, that they should go by Paris, where he himself still was, not having moved.

12. And so it was done. And when they arrived in the suburbs, the prince, according to his custom, met them, praising those whom he recognized, and reminding individuals of their gallant deeds, he congratulated them with courteous words, encouraging them to go cheerfully to join the emperor, as they would reap the most worthy rewards of their exertions where power was the greatest and most extensive.

13. And to do them the more honour, as they were going to a great distance, he invited their chiefs to a supper, when he bade them ask whatever they desired. And they, having been treated with such liberality, departed, anxious and sorrowful on two accounts, because cruel fortune was separating them at once from so kind a ruler and from their native land. And with this sorrowful feeling they retired to their camp.

14. But when night came on they broke out into open discontent, and their minds being excited, as his own griefs pressed upon each individual, they had recourse to force, and took up arms, and with a great outcry thronged to the palace, and surrounding it so as to prevent any one from escaping, they saluted Julian as emperor with loud vociferations, insisting vehemently on his coming forth to them; and though they were compelled to wait till daylight, still, as they would not depart, at last he did come forth. And when he appeared, they saluted him emperor with redoubled and unanimous cheers.

15. But he steadily resisted them individually and collectively, at one time showing himself indignant, at another holding out his hands and entreating and beseeching them not to sully their numerous victories with anything unbecoming, and not to let unseasonable rashness and precipitation awaken materials for discord. At last he appeased them, and having addressed them mildly, he added —

16. “I beseech you let your anger depart for a while: without any dissension or attempt at revolution what you wish will easily be obtained. Since you are so strongly bound by love of your country, and fear strange lands to which you are unaccustomed, return now to your homes, certain that you shall not cross the Alps, since you dislike it. And I will explain the matter to the full satisfaction of the emperor, who is a man of great wisdom, and will listen to reason.”

17. Nevertheless, after his speech was ended, the cries were repeated with as much vigour and unanimity as ever; and so vehement was the uproar and zeal, which did not even spare reproaches and threats, that Julian was compelled to consent. And being lifted up on the shield of an infantry soldier, and raised up in sight of all, he was saluted as Augustus with one universal acclamation, and was ordered to produce a diadem. And when he said that he

had never had one, his wife's coronet or necklace was demanded.

18. And when he protested that it was not fitting for him at his first accession to be adorned with female ornaments, the frontlet of a horse was sought for, so that being crowned therewith, he might have some badge, however obscure, of supreme power. But when he insisted that that also would be unbecoming, a man named Maurus, afterwards a count, the same who was defeated in the defile of the Succi, but who was then only one of the front-rank men of the Petulantes, tore a chain off his own neck, which he wore in his quality of standard-bearer, and placed it boldly on Julian's head, who, being thus brought under extreme compulsion, and seeing that he could not escape the most imminent danger to his life if he persisted in his resistance, consented to their wishes, and promised a largesse of five pieces of gold and a pound of silver to every man.

19. After this Julian felt more anxiety than ever; and, keenly alive to the future consequences, neither wore his diadem or appeared in public, nor would he even transact the serious business which pressed upon his attention, but sought retirement, being full of consternation at the strangeness of the recent events. This continued till one of the decurions of the palace (which is an office of dignity) came in great haste to the standards of the Petulantes and of the Celtic legion, and in a violent manner exclaimed that it was a monstrous thing that he who had the day before been by their will declared emperor should have been privily assassinated.

20. When this was heard, the soldiers, as readily excited by what they did not know as by what they did, began to brandish their javelins, and draw their swords, and (as is usual at times of sudden tumult) to flock from every quarter in haste and disorder to the palace. The sentinels were alarmed at the uproar, as were the tribunes and the captain of the guard, and suspecting some treachery from the fickle soldiery, they fled, fearing sudden death to themselves.

21. When all before them seemed tranquil, the soldiers stood quietly awhile; and on being asked what was the cause of their sudden and precipitate movement, they at first hesitated, and then avowing their alarm for the safety of the emperor, declared they would not retire till they had been admitted into the council-chamber, and had seen him safe in his imperial robes.

V.

§ 1. When the news of these events reached the troops, whom we have spoken of as having already marched under the command of Sintula, they returned with him quietly to Paris. And an order having been issued that the next morning they should all assemble in the open space in front of the camp, Julian advanced among them, and ascended a tribunal more splendid than usual, surrounded with the eagles, standards, and banners, and guarded by a strong band of armed soldiers.

2. And after a moment's quiet, while he looked down from his height on the countenances of those before him, and saw them all full of joy and alacrity, he kindled their loyalty with a few simple words, as with a trumpet.

3. "The difficulty of my situation, O brave and faithful champions of myself and of the republic, who have often with me exposed your lives for the welfare of the provinces, requires that, since you have now by your resolute decision raised me, your Cæsar, to the highest of all dignities, I should briefly set before you the state of affairs, in order that safe and prudent remedies for their new condition may be devised.

4. "While little more than a youth, as you well know, I was for form's sake invested with the purple, and by the decision of the emperor was intrusted to your protection. Since that time I have never forgotten my resolution of a virtuous life: I have been seen with you as the partner of all your labours, when, in consequence of the diminution of the confidence felt in us by the barbarians, terrible disasters fell upon the empire, our cities being stormed, and countless thousands of men being slain, and even the little that was left to us being in a very tottering condition. I think it superfluous to recapitulate how often, in the depth of winter, beneath a frozen sky, at a season when there is usually a cessation from war both by land and sea, we have defeated with heavy loss the Allemanni, previously unconquered.

5. "One circumstance may neither be passed over nor suppressed. On that glorious day which we saw at Strasburg, which brought perpetual liberty to Gaul, we together, I throwing myself among the thickly falling darts, and you being invincible by your vigour and experience, repelled the enemy who poured upon us like a torrent; slaying them as we did with the sword, or driving them to be drowned in the river, with very little loss of our own men, whose funerals we celebrated with glorious panegyrics rather than with mourning.

6. "It is my belief that after such mighty achievements posterity will not be silent respecting your services to the republic, in every country, if you now, in case of any danger or misfortune, vigorously support with your valour and resolution me whom you have raised to the lofty dignity of emperor.

7. "But to maintain things in their due order, so as to preserve to brave men their well-merited rewards and prevent underhand ambition from forestalling your honours, I make this rule in the honourable presence of your counsel. That no civil or military officer shall be promoted from any other consideration than that of his own merits; and he shall be disgraced who solicits promotion for any one on any other ground."

8. The lower class of soldiers, who had long been deprived of rank or reward, were encouraged by this speech to entertain better hopes, and now rising up with a great noise, and beating their shields with their spears, they with unanimous shouts showed their approbation of his language and purpose.

9. And that no opportunity, however brief, might be afforded to disturb so wise an arrangement, the Petulantes and Celtic legion immediately besought

him, on behalf of their commissaries, to give them the government of any provinces he pleased, and when he refused them, they retired without being either offended or out of humour.

10. But the very night before the day on which he was thus proclaimed emperor, Julian had mentioned to his most intimate friends that during his slumbers some one had appeared to him in a dream, in the form and habit of the genius of the empire, who uttered these words in a tone of reproach: "For some time, Julian, have I been secretly watching the door of thy palace, wishing to increase thy dignity, and I have often retired as one rejected; but if I am not now admitted, when the opinion of the many is unanimous, I shall retire discouraged and sorrowful. But lay this up in the depth of thy heart, that I will dwell with thee no longer."

VI.

§ 1. While these transactions were proceeding in Gaul, to the great anxiety of many, the fierce king of Persia (the advice of Antoninus being now seconded by the arrival of Craugasius), burning with eagerness to obtain Mesopotamia, while Constantius with his army was at a distance, crossed the Tigris in due form with a vast army, and laid siege to Singara with a thoroughly equipped force, sufficient for the siege of a town which, in the opinion of the chief commanders of those regions, was abundantly fortified and supplied.

2. The garrison, as soon as they saw the enemy, while still at a distance, at once closed their gates, and with great spirit thronged to the towers and battlements, collecting on them stones and warlike engines. And then, having made all their preparations, they stood prepared to repel the advancing host if they should venture to approach the walls.

3. Therefore the king, when he arrived and found that, though they would admit some of his nobles near enough to confer with them, he could not, by any conciliatory language, bend the garrison to his wishes, he gave one entire day to rest, and then, at daybreak, on a signal made by the raising of a scarlet flag, the whole city was surrounded by men carrying ladders, while others began to raise engines; all being protected by fences and penthouses while seeking a way to assail the foundation of the walls.

4. Against these attempts the citizens, standing on the lofty battlements, drove back with stones and every kind of missile the assailants who were seeking with great ferocity to find an entrance.

5. For many days the struggle continued without any decided result, many being wounded and killed on both sides. At last, the struggle growing fiercer, one day on the approach of evening a very heavy battering-ram was brought forward among other engines, which battered a round tower with repeated blows, at a point where we mentioned that the city had been laid open in a former siege.

6. The citizens at once repaired to this point, and a violent conflict arose in

this small space; torches and firebrands were brought from all quarters to consume this formidable engine, while arrows and bullets were showered down without cessation on the assailants. But the keenness of the ram prevailed over every means of defence, digging through the mortar of the recently cemented stones, which was still moist and unsettled.

7. And while the contest was thus proceeding with fire and sword, the tower fell, and a path was opened into the city, the place being stripped of its defenders, whom the magnitude of the danger had scattered. The Persian bands raised a wild shout, and without hindrance filled every quarter of the city. A very few of the inhabitants were slain, and all the rest, by command of Sapor, were taken alive and transported to the most distant regions of Persia.

8. There had been assigned for the protection of this city two legions, the first Flavian and the first Parthian, and a great body of native troops, as well as a division of auxiliary cavalry which had been shut up in it through the suddenness of the attack made upon it. All of these, as I have said, were taken prisoners, without receiving any assistance from our armies.

9. For the greater part of our army was in tents taking care of Nisibis, which was at a considerable distance. But even if it had not been so, no one even in ancient times could easily bring aid to Singara when in danger, since the whole country around laboured under a scarcity of water. And although a former generation had placed this fort very advisedly, to check sudden movements of hostility, yet it was a great burden to the state, having been several times taken, and always involving the loss of its garrison.

VII.

§ 1. After Singara had fallen, Sapor prudently avoided Nisibis, recollecting the losses which he had several times sustained before it, and turned to the right by a circuitous path, hoping either to subdue by force or to win by bribes the garrison of Bezabde, which its founders also called Phœnice, and to make himself master of that town, which is an exceedingly strong fortress, placed on a hill of moderate height, and close to the banks of the Tigris, having a double wall, as many places have which from their situation are thought to be especially exposed. For its defence three legions had been assigned; the second Flavian, the second Armenian, and the second Parthian, with a large body of archers of the Zabdiceni, a tribe subject to us, in whose territory this town was situated.

2. At the beginning of the siege, the king, with an escort of glittering cuirassiers, himself taller than any of them, rode entirely round the camp, coming up boldly to the very edge of the fosse, where he was at once a mark for the unerring bullets of the balistæ, and arrows; but he was so completely covered with thick scale-armour that he retired unhurt.

3. Then laying aside his anger, he sent some heralds with all due solemnity, courteously inviting the besieged to consult the safety of their lives, and seeing the desperateness of their situation, to put an end to the siege by a

timely surrender; to open their gates and come forth, presenting themselves as suppliants before the conqueror of nations.

4. When these messengers approached the walls, the garrison spared them because they had with them some men of noble birth, who had been made prisoners at Singara, and were well known to the citizens; and out of pity to them no one shot an arrow, though they would give no reply to the proposal of peace.

5. Then a truce being made for a day and night, before dawn on the second day the entire force of the Persians attacked the palisade with ferocious threats and cries, coming up boldly to the walls, where a fierce contest ensued, the citizens resisting with great vigour.

6. So that many of the Parthians¹¹² were wounded, because some of them carrying ladders, and others wicker screens, advanced as it were blindfold, and were not spared by our men. For the clouds of arrows flew thickly, piercing the enemy packed in close order. At last, after sunset the two sides separated, having suffered about equal loss: and the next day before dawn the combat was renewed with greater vehemence than before, the trumpets cheering the men on both sides, and again a terrible slaughter of each took place, both armies struggling with the most determined obstinacy.

7. But on the following day both armies by common consent rested from their terrible exertions, the defenders of the walls and the Persians being equally dismayed. When a Christian priest made sign by gestures that he desired to go forth, and having received a promise that he should be allowed to return in safety, he advanced to the king's tent.

8. When he was permitted to speak, he, with gentle language, urged the Persians to depart to their own country, affirming that after the losses each side had sustained they had reason perhaps to fear even greater disasters in future. But these and other similar arguments were uttered to no purpose. The fierce madness of the king robbing them of their effect, as Sapor swore positively that he would never retire till he had destroyed our camp.

9. Nevertheless a groundless suspicion was whispered against the bishop, wholly false in my opinion, though supported by the assertions of many, that he had secretly informed Sapor what part of the wall to attack, as being internally slight and weak. Though the suspicion derived some corroboration from the fact that afterwards the engines of the enemy were carefully and with great exultation directed against the places which were weakest, or most decayed, as if those who worked them were acquainted with what parts were most easily penetrable.

10. And although the narrowness of the causeway made the approach to the walls hard, and though the battering-rams when equipped were brought forward with great difficulty, from fear of the stones and arrows hurled upon the assailants by the besieged, still neither the balistæ nor the scorpions rested a moment, the first shooting javelins, and the latter hurling showers of stones,

and baskets on fire, smeared with pitch and tar; and as these were perpetually rolled down, the engines halted as if rooted to the ground, and fiery darts and firebrands well-aimed set them on fire.

11. Still while this was going on, and numbers were falling on both sides, the besiegers were the more eager to destroy a town, strong both by its natural situation and its powerful defences, before the arrival of winter, thinking it impossible to appease the fury of their king if they should fail. Therefore neither abundant bloodshed nor the sight of numbers of their comrades pierced with deadly wounds could deter the rest from similar audacity.

12. But for a long time, fighting with absolute desperation, they exposed themselves to imminent danger; while those who worked the battering-rams were prevented from advancing by the vast weight of millstones, and all kinds of fiery missiles hurled against them.

13. One battering-ram was higher than the rest, and was covered with bull's hides wetted, and being therefore safer from any accident of fire, or from lighted javelins, it led the way in the attacks on the wall with mighty blows, and with its terrible point it dug into the joints of the stones till it overthrew the tower. The tower fell with a mighty crash, and those in it were thrown down with a sudden jerk, and breaking their limbs, or being buried beneath the ruins, perished by various and unexpected kinds of death; then, a safer entrance having been thus found, the multitude of the enemy poured in with their arms.

14. While the war-cry of the Persians sounded in the trembling ears of the defeated garrison, a fierce battle within the narrower bounds raged within the walls, while bands of our men and of the enemy fought hand to hand, being jammed together, with swords drawn on both sides, and no quarter given.

15. At last the besieged, after making head with mighty exertion against the destruction which long seemed doubtful, were overwhelmed with the weight of the countless host which pressed upon them. And the swords of the furious foe cut down all they could find; children were torn from their mother's bosom, and the mothers were slain, no one regarding what he did. Among these mournful scenes the Persians, devoted to plunder, loaded with every kind of booty, and driving before them a vast multitude of prisoners, returned in triumph to their tents.

16. But the king, elated with insolence and triumph, having long been desirous to obtain possession of Phœnice, as a most important fortress, did not retire till he had repaired in the strongest manner that portion of the walls which had been shaken, and till he had stocked it with ample magazines of provisions, and placed in it a garrison of men noble by birth and eminent for their skill in war. For he feared (what indeed happened) that the Romans, being indignant at the loss of this their grand camp, would exert themselves with all their might to recover it.

17. Then, being full of exultation, and cherishing greater hopes than ever of gaining whatever he desired, after taking a few forts of small importance, he

prepared to attack Victa, a very ancient fortress, believed to have been founded by Alexander, the Macedonian, situated on the most distant border of Mesopotamia, and surrounded with winding walls full of projecting angles, and so well furnished at all points as to be almost unassailable.

18. And when he had tried every expedient against it, at one time trying to bribe the garrison with promises, at another to terrify them with threats of torture, and employing all kinds of engines such as are used in sieges, after sustaining more injury than he inflicted, he at last retired from his unsuccessful enterprise.

VIII.

§ 1. These were the events of this year between the Tigris and the Euphrates. And when frequent intelligence of them had reached Constantius, who was in continual dread of Parthian expeditions, and was passing the winter at Constantinople, he devoted greater care than ever to strengthening his frontiers with every kind of warlike equipment. He collected veterans, and enlisted recruits, and increased the legions with reinforcements of vigorous youths, who had already repeatedly signalized their valour in the battles of the eastern campaigns: and beside these he collected auxiliary forces from among the Scythians by urgent requests and promises of pay, in order to set out from Thrace in the spring, and at once march to the disturbed provinces.

2. During the same time Julian, who was wintering at Paris, alarmed at the prospect of the ultimate issue of the events in that district, became full of anxiety, feeling sure, after deep consideration, that Constantius would never give his consent to what had been done in his case, since he had always disdained him as a person of no importance.

3. Therefore, after much reflection on the somewhat disturbed beginning which the present novel state of affairs showed, he determined to send envoys to him to relate all that had taken place; and he gave them letters setting forth fully what had been done, and what ought to be done next, supporting his recommendations by proofs.

4. Although in reality he believed that the emperor was already informed of all, from the report of Decentius, who had returned to him some time before; and of the chamberlains who had recently gone back from Gaul, after having brought him some formal orders. And although he was not in reality vexed at his promotion, still he avoided all arrogant language in his letters, that he might not appear to have suddenly shaken off his authority. Now the following was the purport of his letters.

5. "I have at all times been of the same mind, and have adhered to my original intentions, not less by my conduct than by my promises, as far as lay in my power, as has been abundantly plain from repeated actions of mine.

6. "And up to this time, since you created me Cæsar, and exposed me to the din of war, contented with the power you conferred on me, as a faithful officer I have sent you continued intelligence of all your affairs proceeding

according to your wishes; never speaking of my own dangers; though it can easily be proved, that, while the Germans have been routed in every direction, I have always been the first in all toils and the last to allow myself any rest.

7. "But allow me to say, that if any violent change has taken place, as you think, the soldier who has been passing his life in many terrible wars without reward, has only completed what he has long had under consideration, being indignant and impatient at being only under a chief of the second class, as knowing that from a Cæsar no adequate reward for his continued exertions and frequent victories could possibly be procured.

8. "And while angry at the feeling that he could neither expect promotion nor annual pay, he had this sudden aggravation to his discontent, that he, a man used to cold climates, was ordered to march to the most remote districts of the East, to be separated from his wife and children, and to be dragged away in want and nakedness. This made him fiercer than usual; and so the troops one night collected and laid siege to the palace, saluting with loud and incessant outcries Julian as emperor.

9. "I shuddered at their boldness, I confess, and withdrew myself. And retiring while I could, I sought safety in concealment and disguise — and as they would not desist, armed, so to say, with the shield of my own free heart, I came out before them all, thinking that the tumult might be appeased by authority, or by conciliatory language.

10. "They became wonderfully excited, and proceeded to such lengths that, when I endeavoured to overcome their pertinacity with my entreaties, they came close up to me, threatening me with instant death. At last I was overcome, and arguing with myself that if I were murdered by them some one else would willingly accept the dignity of emperor, I consented, hoping thus to pacify their armed violence.

11. "This is the plain account of what has been done; and I entreat you to listen to it with mildness. Do not believe that anything else is the truth; and do not listen to malignant men who deal in mischievous whispers, always eager to seek their own gain by causing ill will between princes. Banish flattery, which is the nurse of vice, and listen to the voice of that most excellent of all virtues, justice. And receive with good faith the equitable condition which I propose, considering in your mind that such things are for the interest of the Roman state, and of us also who are united by affection of blood, and by an equality of superior fortune.

12. "And pardon me. These reasonable requests of mine I am not so anxious to see carried out, as to see them approved by you as expedient and proper; and I shall with eagerness follow all your instructions.

13. "What requires to be done I will briefly explain. I will provide you some Spanish draught horses, and some youths to mingle with the Gentiles and Scutarii of the Letian tribe, a race of barbarians on the side of the Rhine; or else of those people which have come over to our side. And I promise till

the end of my life to do all I can to assist you, not only with gratitude, but with eagerness.

14. "Your clemency will appoint us prefects for our prætorium of known equity and virtue: the appointment of the ordinary judges, and the promotion of the military officers it is fair should be left to me; as also the selection of my guard. For it would be unreasonable, when it is possible to be guarded against, that those persons should be placed about an emperor of whose manners and inclinations he is ignorant.

15. "These things I can further assure you of positively. The Gauls will neither of their own accord, nor by any amount of compulsion, be brought to send recruits to foreign and distant countries, since they have been long harassed by protracted annoyances and heavy disasters, lest the youth of the nation should be destroyed, and the whole people, while recollecting their past sufferings, should abandon themselves to despair for the future.

16. "Nor is it fit to seek from hence assistance against the Parthians, when even now the attempts of the barbarians against this land are not brought to an end, and while, if you will suffer me to tell the truth, these provinces are still exposed to continual dangers on being deprived of all foreign or adequate assistance.

17. "In speaking thus, I do think I have written to you in a manner suited to the interests of the state, both in my demands and my entreaties. For I well know, not to speak in a lofty tone, though such might not misbecome an emperor, what wretched states of affairs, even when utterly desperate and given up, have been before now retrieved and re-established by the agreement of princes, each yielding reciprocally to one another. While it is also plain from the example of our ancestors, that rulers who acknowledge and act upon such principles do somehow ever find the means of living prosperously and happily, and leave behind them to the latest posterity an enviable fame."

18. To these letters he added others of a more secret purport, to be given privily to Constantius, in which he blamed and reproached him; though their exact tenor was not fit to be known, nor if known, fit to be divulged to the public.

19. For the office of delivering these letters, men of great dignity were chosen; namely, Pentadius, the master of the ceremonies, and Eutherius, at that time the principal chamberlain; who were charged, after they had delivered the letters, to relate what they had seen, without suppressing anything; and to take their own measures boldly on all future emergencies which might arise.

20. In the mean time the flight of Florentius, the prefect, aggravated the envy with which these circumstances were regarded. For he, as if he foresaw the commotion likely to arise, as might be gathered from general conversation, from the act of sending for the troops, had departed for Vienne (being also desirous to get out of the way of Julian, whom he had often slandered), pretending to be compelled to this journey for the sake of

providing supplies for the army.

21. Afterwards, when he had heard of Julian's being raised to the dignity of emperor, being greatly alarmed, and giving up almost all hope of saving his life, he availed himself of his distance from Julian to escape from the evils which he suspected; and leaving behind him all his family, he proceeded by slow journeys to Constantius; and to prove his own innocence he brought forward many charges of rebellion against Julian.

22. And after his departure, Julian, adopting wise measures, and wishing it to be known that, even if he had him in his power, he would have spared him, allowed his relations to take with them all their property, and even granted them the use of the public conveyances to retire with safety to the East.

IX.

§ 1. The envoys whom I have mentioned took equal care to discharge their orders; but while eager to pursue their journey they were unjustly detained by some of the superior magistrates on their road; and having been long and vexatiously delayed in Italy and Illyricum, they at last passed the Bosphorus, and advancing by slow journeys, they found Constantius still staying at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, a town formerly known as Mazaca, admirably situated at the foot of Mount Argæus, and of high reputation.

2. Being admitted to the presence, they received permission to present their letters; but when they were read the emperor became immoderately angry, and looking askance at them so as to make them fear for their lives, he ordered them to be gone without asking them any questions or permitting them to speak.

3. But in spite of his anger he was greatly perplexed to decide whether to move those troops whom he could trust against the Persians, or against Julian; and while he was hesitating, and long balancing between the two plans, he yielded to the useful advice of some of his counsellors, and ordered the army to march to the East.

4. Immediately also he dismissed the envoys, and ordered his quæstor Leonas to go with all speed with letters from him to Julian; in which he asserted that he himself would permit no innovators, and recommended Julian, if he had any regard for his own safety or that of his relations, to lay aside his arrogance, and resume the rank of Cæsar.

5. And, in order to alarm him by the magnitude of his preparations, as if he really was possessed of great power, he appointed Nebridius, who was at that time Julian's quæstor, to succeed Florentius as prefect of the prætorium, and made Felix the secretary, master of the ceremonies, with several other appointments. Gumoharius, the commander of the heavy infantry, he had already appointed to succeed Lupicinus, before any of these events were known.

6. Accordingly Leonas reached Paris, and was there received as an honourable and discreet man; and the next day, when Julian had proceeded

into the plain in front of the camp with a great multitude of soldiers and common people, which he had ordered to assemble on purpose, he mounted a tribune, in order from that high position to be more conspicuous, and desired Leonas to present his letters; and when he had opened the edict which had been sent, and began to read it, as soon as he arrived at the passage that Constantius disapproved of all that had been done, and desired Julian to be content with the power of a Cæsar, a terrible shout was raised on all sides,

7. "Julian emperor, as has been decreed by the authority of the province, of the army, and of the republic; which is indeed re-established, but which still dreads the renewed attacks of the barbarians."

8. Leonas heard this, and, after receiving letters from Julian, stating what had occurred, was dismissed in safety: the only one of the emperor's appointments which was allowed to take effect was that of Nebridius, which Julian in his letters had plainly said would be in accordance with his wishes. For he himself had some time before appointed Anatolius to be master of the ceremonies, having been formerly his private secretary; and he had also made such other appointments as seemed useful and safe.

9. And since, while matters were going on in this matter, Lupicinus, as being a proud and arrogant man, was an object of fear, though absent and still in Britain; and since there was a suspicion that if he heard of these occurrences while on the other side of the channel, he might cause disorders in the island, a secretary was sent to Boulogne to take care that no one should be allowed to cross; and as that was contrived, Lupicinus returned without hearing of any of these matters, and so had no opportunity of giving trouble.

X.

§ 1. But Julian, being gratified at his increase of rank, and at the confidence of the soldiers in him, not to let his good fortune cool, or to give any colour for charging him with inactivity or indolence, after he had sent his envoys to Constantius, marched to the frontier of the province of lower Germany; and having with him all the force which the business in hand demanded, he approached the town of Santon.^{113]}

2. Then crossing the Rhine, he suddenly entered the district belonging to a Frank tribe, called the Attuarii, men of a turbulent character, who at that very moment were licentiously plundering the districts of Gaul. He attacked them unexpectedly while they were apprehensive of no hostile measures, but were reposing in fancied security, relying on the ruggedness and difficulty of the roads which led into their country, and which no prince within their recollection had ever penetrated. He, however, easily surmounted all difficulties, and having put many to the sword and taken many prisoners, he granted the survivors peace at their request, thinking such a course best for their neighbours.

3. Then with equal celerity he repassed the river, and examining carefully the state of the garrisons on the frontier, and putting them in a proper state, he

marched towards Basle; and having recovered the places which the barbarians had taken and still retained in their hands, and having carefully strengthened them, he went to Vienne, passing through Besançon, and there took up his winter quarters.

XI.

§ 1. These were the events which took place in Gaul, and while they were thus conducted with prudence and good fortune, Constantius, having summoned Arsaces, king of Armenia, and having received him with great courtesy, advised and exhorted him to continue friendly and faithful to us.

2. For he had heard that the king of Persia had often tried by deceits and threats, and all kinds of stratagems, to induce him to forsake the Roman alliance and join his party.

3. But he, vowing with many oaths that he would rather lose his life than change his opinion, received ample rewards, and returned to his kingdom with the retinue which he brought with him; and never ventured at any subsequent time to break any of his promises, being bound by many ties of gratitude to Constantius. The strongest tie of all being that the emperor had given him for a wife, Olympias, the daughter of Abladius, formerly prefect of the prætorium, who had once been betrothed to his own brother Constans.

4. And when Arsaces had been dismissed, Constantius left Cappadocia, and going by Melitina, a town of the lesser Armenia, and Lacotene, and Samosata, he crossed the Euphrates and arrived at Edessa. Stopping some time in each town, while waiting for divisions of soldiers who were flocking in from all quarters, and for sufficient supplies of provisions. And after the autumnal equinox, he proceeded onwards on his way to Amida.

5. When he approached the walls of that town, and saw everything buried in ashes, he groaned and wept, recollecting what sufferings the wretched city had suffered. And Ursulus, the treasurer, who happened to be present, was moved with indignation, and exclaimed, "Behold the courage with which cities are defended by our soldiers; men for whose pay the whole wealth of the empire is exhausted." This bitter speech the crowd of soldiers afterwards recollected at Chalcedon, when they rose up and destroyed him.

6. Then proceeding onward in close column, he reached Bezabde, and having fixed his camp there, and fortified it with a rampart and a deep fosse, as he took a long ride round the camp, he satisfied himself, by the account which he received from several persons, that those places in the walls which the carelessness of ancient times had allowed to become decayed, had been repaired so as to be stronger than ever.

7. And, not to omit anything which was necessary to do before the heat of the contest was renewed, he sent prudent men to the garrison to offer them two conditions; either to withdraw to their own country, giving up what did not belong to them, without causing bloodshed by resistance, or else to become subjects of the Romans, in which case they should receive rank and

rewards. But when they, with native obstinacy, resisted the demands as became men of noble birth, who had been hardened by dangers and labours, everything was prepared for the siege.

8. Therefore the soldiers with alacrity, in dense order, and cheered by the sound of trumpets, attacked every side of the town; and the legions, being protected by various kinds of defences, advanced in safety, endeavouring by slow degrees to overthrow the walls; and because all kinds of missiles were poured down upon them, which disjoined the union of their shields, they fell back, the signal for a retreat being given.

9. Then a truce was agreed upon for one day; but the day after, having protected themselves more skilfully, they again raised their war-cry, and tried on every side to scale the walls. And although the garrison, having stretched cloths before them not to be distinguished, lay concealed within the walls; still, as often as necessity required, they boldly put out their arms and hurled down stones and javelins on their assailants below.

10. And while the wicker penthouses were advanced boldly and brought close to the walls, the besieged dropped upon them heavy casks and millstones, and fragments of pillars, by the overpowering weight of which the assailants were crushed, their defences torn to pieces, and wide openings made in them, so that they incurred terrible dangers, and were again forced to retreat.

11. Therefore, on the tenth day from the beginning of the siege, when the confidence of our men began to fill the town with alarm, we determined on bringing up a vast battering-ram, which, after having destroyed Antioch with it sometime before, the Persians had left at Carrhæ; and as soon as that appeared, and was begun to be skilfully set up, it cowed the spirits of the besieged, so that they were almost on the point of surrendering, when they again plucked up courage and prepared means for resisting this engine.

12. From this time neither their courage nor their ingenuity failed; for as the ram was old, and it had been taken to pieces for the facility of transporting it, so while it was being put together again, it was attacked with great exertions and vigour by the garrison, and defended with equal valour and firmness by the besiegers; and engines hurling showers of stones, and slings, and missiles of all sorts, slew numbers on each side. Meantime, high mounds rose up with speedy growth; and the siege grew fiercer and sterner daily; many of our men being slain because, fighting as they were under the eye of the emperor, and eager for reward, they took off their helmets in order to be the more easily recognized, and so with bare heads, were an easy mark for the skilful archers of the enemy.

13. The days and nights being alike spent in watching, made each side the more careful; and the Persians, being alarmed at the vast height to which the mounds were now carried, and at the enormous ram, which was accompanied by others of smaller size, made great exertions to burn them, and kept

continually shooting firebrands and incendiary missiles at them; but their labour was vain, because the chief part of them was covered with wet skins and cloths, and some parts also had been steeped in alum, so that the fire might fall harmless upon them.

14. But the Romans, driving these rams on with great courage, although they had difficulty in defending themselves, disregarded danger, however imminent, in the hope of making themselves masters of the town.

15. And on the other hand, when the enormous ram was brought against the tower to which it was applied, as if it could at once throw it down, the garrison, by a clever contrivance, entangled its projecting iron head, which in shape was like that of a ram, with long cords on both sides, to prevent its being drawn back and then driven forward with great force, and to hinder it from making any serious impression on the walls by repeated blows; and meanwhile they poured on it burning pitch, and for a long time these engines were fixed at the point to which they had been advanced, and exposed to all the stones and javelins which were hurled from the walls.

16. By this time the mounds were raised to a considerable height, and the garrison, thinking that unless they used extraordinary vigilance their destruction must be at hand, resorted to extreme audacity; and making an unexpected sally from the gates, they attacked our front rank, and with all their might hurled firebrands and iron braziers loaded with fire against the rams.

17. But after a fierce but undecided conflict, the bulk of them were driven within the walls, without having succeeded in their attempt; and presently the battlements were attacked from the mounds which the Romans had raised, with arrows and slings and lighted javelins, which flew over the roofs of the towers, but did no harm, means having been prepared to extinguish any flames.

18. And as the ranks on both sides became thinner, and the Persians were now reduced to extremities unless some aid could be found, they prepared with redoubled energy a fresh sally from the camp: accordingly, they made a sudden sally, supported by increased numbers, and among the armed men were many bearing torches, and iron baskets full of fire, and faggots; and all kinds of things best adapted for setting fire to the works of the besiegers were hurled against them.

19. And because the dense clouds of smoke obscured the sight, when the trumpet gave the signal for battle, the legions came up with quick step; and as the eagerness of the conflict grew hotter, after they had engaged, suddenly all the engines, except the great ram, caught fire from the flames which were hurled at them; but the ropes which held the chief ram were broken asunder, and that the vigorous efforts of some gallant men saved, when it was half burnt.

20. When the darkness of night terminated the combat, only a short time was allowed to the soldiers for rest; but when they had been refreshed by a

little food and sleep, they were awakened by their captains, and ordered to remove their works away from the walls of the town, and prepare to fight at closer quarters from the lofty mounds which were untouched by the flames, and now commanded the walls. And to drive the defenders from the walls, on the summit of the mounds they stationed two balistæ, in fear of which they thought that none of the enemy would venture even to look out.

21. After having taken these efficacious measures, a triple line of our men, having a more threatening aspect than usual from the nodding cones of their helmets (many of them also bearing ladders), attempted about twilight to scale the walls. Arms clashed and trumpets sounded, and both sides fought with equal boldness and ardour. The Romans, extending their lines more widely, when they saw the Persians hiding from fear of the engines which had been stationed on the mounds, battered the wall with their ram, and with spades, and axes, and levers, and ladders, pressed fiercely on, while missiles from each side flew without ceasing.

22. But the Persians were especially pressed by the various missiles shot from the balistæ, which, from the artificial mounds, came down upon them in torrents; and having become desperate, they rushed on, fearless of death, and distributing their force as if at the last extremity, they left some to guard the walls, while the rest, secretly opening a postern gate, rushed forth valiantly with drawn swords, followed by others who carried concealed fire.

23. And while the Romans at one moment were pressing on those who retreated, at another receiving the assault of those who attacked them, those who carried the fire crept round by a circuitous path, and pushed the burning coals in among the interstices of one of the mounds, which was made up of branches of trees, and rushes, and bundles of reeds. This soon caught fire and was utterly destroyed, the soldiers themselves having great difficulty in escaping and saving their engines.

24. But when the approach of evening broke off the conflict, and the two sides separated to snatch a brief repose, the emperor, after due reflection, resolved to change his plans. Although many reasons of great urgency pressed him to force on the destruction of Phœnice, as of a fortress which would prove an impregnable barrier to the inroads of the enemy, yet the lateness of the season was an objection to persevering any longer. He determined, therefore, while he preserved his position, to carry on the siege for the future by slight skirmishes, thinking that the Persians would be forced to surrender from want of provisions, which, however, turned out very different.

25. For while the conflict was proceeding sharply, the heavens became moist, and watery clouds appeared with threatening darkness; and presently the ground got so wet from continual rain, that the whole country was changed into an adhesive mud (for the soil is naturally rich), and every plan was thrown into confusion; meantime, thunder with incessant crashes and ceaseless lightning filled men's minds with fear.

26. To these portents were added continual rainbows. A short explanation

will serve to show how these appearances are formed. The vapours of the earth becoming warmer, and the watery particles gathering in clouds, and thence being dispersed in spray, and made brilliant by the fusion of rays, turn upwards towards the fiery orb of the sun and form a rainbow, which sweeps round with a large curve because it is spread over our world, which physical investigations place on the moiety of a sphere.

27. Its appearance, as far as mortal sight can discern, is, in the first line yellow, in the second tawny, in the third scarlet, in the fourth purple, and in the last a mixture of blue and green.

28. And it is so tempered with this mixed beauty, as mankind believe, because its first portion is discerned in a thin diluted state, of the same colour as the air which surrounds it; the next line is tawny, that is a somewhat richer colour than yellow; the third is scarlet, because it is opposite to the bright rays of the sun, and so pumps up and appropriates, if one may so say, the most subtle portion of its beams; the fourth is purple, because the density of the spray by which the splendour of the sun's rays is quenched shines between, and so it assumes a colour near that of flame; and as that colour is the more diffused, it shades off into blue and green.

29. Others think that the rainbow is caused by the rays of the sun becoming infused into some dense cloud, and pouring into it a liquid light, which, as it can find no exit, falls back upon itself, and shines the more brilliantly because of a kind of attrition; and receives those hues which are most akin to white from the sun above; its green hues from the cloud under which it lies, as often happens in the sea, where the waters which beat upon the shore are white, and those farther from the land, which, as being so, are more free from any admixture, are blue.

30. And since it is an indication of a change in the atmosphere (as we have already said), when in a clear sky sudden masses of clouds appear, or on the other hand, when the sky changed from a gloomy look to a joyful serenity, therefore we often read in the poets that Iris is sent from heaven when a change is required in the condition of any present affairs. There are various other opinions which it would be superfluous now to enumerate, since my narration must hasten back to the point from which it digressed.

31. By these and similar events the emperor was kept wavering between hope and fear, as the severity of winter was increasing, and he suspected ambuscades in the country, which was destitute of roads; fearing also, among other things, the discontent of the exasperated soldiers. And it further goaded his unquiet spirit to return balked of his purpose, after, as it were, the door of the rich mansion was opened to him.

32. However, giving up his enterprise as fruitless, he returned into the unwelcome Syria, to winter at Antioch, after having suffered a succession of melancholy disasters. For, as if some unfriendly constellation so governed events, Constantius himself, while warring with the Persians, was always

attended by adverse fortune; on which account he hoped at least to gain victories by means of his generals; and this, as we remember, usually happened.

NOTES.

¹⁰⁹ “The minute interval which may be interposed between the *hyeme adultâ* and the *primo vere* of Ammianus, instead of allowing a sufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust; the troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect.” — Gibbon, c. xxii.

¹¹⁰ According to Erdfurt, this legion was so named from its contumacious and mutinous disposition.

¹¹¹ The Gentiles were body-guards of the emperor, or of the Cæsar, of barbarian extraction, whether Scythians, Goths, Franks, Germans, &c.

¹¹² It may be remarked that Ammianus continually uses the words Persian and Parthian as synonymous.

¹¹³ Santon is near Cleves.

BOOK XXI.

ARGUMENT.

I. The Emperor Julian at Vienne learns that Constantius is about to die — How he knew it — An essay on the different arts of learning the future. — II. Julian at Vienne feigns to be a Christian in order to conciliate the multitude, and on a day of festival worships God among the Christians. — III. Vadomarius, king of the Allemanni, breaking his treaty, lays waste our frontier, and slays Count Libino, with a few of his men. — IV. Julian having intercepted letters of Vadomarius to the Emperor Constantius, contrives to have him seized at a banquet; and having slain some of the Allemanni, and compelled others to surrender, grants the rest peace at their entreaty. — Julian harangues his soldiers, and makes them all promise obedience to him, intending to make war upon the Emperor Constantius. — VI. Constantius marries Faustina — Increases his army by fresh levies; gains over the kings of Armenia and Hiberia by gifts. — VII. Constantius, at that time at Antioch, retains Africa in his power by means of his secretary Gaudentius; crosses the Euphrates, and moves with his army upon Edessa. — VIII. After settling the affairs of Gaul, Julian marches to the Danube, sending on before a part of his army through Italy and the Tyrol. — IX. Taurus and Florentius, consuls, and prefects of the prætorium, fly at the approach of Julian, the one through Illyricum, the other through Italy — Lucillianus, the commander of the cavalry, who was preparing to resist Julian, is crushed by him. — X. Julian receives the allegiance of Sirmium, the capital of Western Illyricum, and of its garrison — Occupies the country of the Sacci, and writes to the senate letters of complaint against Constantius. — XI. Two of the legions of Constantius which at Sirmium had passed over to Julian are sent by him into Gaul, and occupy Aquileia, with the consent of the citizens, who, however, shut their gates against the troops of Julian. — XII. Aquileia takes the part of Constantius, and is besieged, but presently, when news of his death arrives, surrenders to Julian. — XIII. Sapor leads back his army home, because the auspices forbid war — Constantius, intending to march against Julian, harangues his soldiers. — XIV. Omens of the death of Constantius. — XV. Constantius dies at Mopsucrenæ in Cilicia. — XVI. His virtues and vices.

I.

A.D. 360.

§ 1. While Constantius was detained by this perplexing war beyond the Euphrates, Julian at Vienne devoted his days and nights to forming plans for the future, as far as his limited resources would allow; being in great suspense, and continually doubting whether to try every expedient to win Constantius over to friendship, or to anticipate his attack, with the view of alarming him.

2. And while anxiously considering these points he feared him, as likely to be in the one case a cruel friend, while in the other case he recollected that he had always been successful in civil disturbances. Above all things his anxiety was increased by the example of his brother Gallus, who had been betrayed by his own want of caution and the perjured deceit of certain individuals.

3. Nevertheless he often raised himself to ideas of energetic action, thinking it safest to show himself as an avowed enemy to him whose movements he could, as a prudent man, judge of only from his past actions, in order not to be entrapped by secret snares founded on pretended friendship.

4. Therefore, paying little attention to the letters which Constantius had sent by Leonas, and admitting none of his appointments with the exception of that of Nebridius, he now celebrated the Quinquennalia¹¹⁴ as emperor, and

wore a splendid diadem inlaid with precious stones, though when first entering on that power he had worn but a paltry-looking crown like that of a president of the public games.

5. At this time also he sent the body of his wife Helen, recently deceased, to Rome, to be buried in the suburb on the road to Nomentum, where also Constantina, his sister-in-law, the wife of Gallus, had been buried.

6. His desire to march against Constantius, now that Gaul was tranquillized, was inflamed by the belief which he had adopted from many omens (in the interpretation of which he had great skill), and from dreams that the emperor would soon die.

7. And since malignant people have attributed to this prince, so erudite and so eager to acquire all knowledge, wicked practices for the purpose of learning future events, we may here briefly point out how this important branch of learning may be acquired by a wise man.

8. The spirit which directs all the elements, and which at all times and throughout all places exercises its activity by the movement of these eternal bodies, can communicate to us the capacity of foreseeing the future by the sciences which we attain through various kinds of discipline. And the ruling powers, when properly propitiated, as from everlasting springs, supply mankind with words of prophecy, over which the deity of Themis is said to preside, and which, because she teaches men to know what has been settled for the future by the law of Fate, has received that name from the Greek word *τεθειμένα* ("fixed"), and has been placed by ancient theologians in the bed and on the throne of Jupiter, who gives life to all the world.

9. Auguries and auspices are not collected from the will of birds who are themselves ignorant of the future (for there is no one so silly as to say they understand it); but God directs the flight of birds, so that the sound of their beaks, or the motion of their feathers, whether quiet or disturbed, indicates the character of the future. For the kindness of the deity, whether it be that men deserve it, or that he is touched by affection for them, likes by these acts to give information of what is impending.

10. Again, those who attend to the prophetic entrails of cattle, which often take all kinds of shapes, learn from them what happens. Of this practice a man called Tages was the inventor, who, as is reported, was certainly seen to rise up out of the earth in the district of Etruria.

11. Men too, when their hearts are in a state of excitement, foretell the future, but then they are speaking under divine inspiration. For the sun, which is, as natural philosophers say, the mind of the world, and which scatters our minds among us as sparks proceeding from itself, when it has inflamed them with more than usual vehemence, renders them conscious of the future. From which the Sibyls often say they are burning and fired by a vast power of flames; and with reference to these cases the sound of voices, various signs, thunder, lightning, thunderbolts, and falling stars, have a great significance.

12. But the belief in dreams would be strong and undoubted if the

interpreters of them were never deceived; and sometimes, as Aristotle asserts, they are fixed and stable when the eye of the person, being soundly asleep, turns neither way, but looks straight forward.

13. And because the ignorance of the vulgar often talks loudly, though ignorantly, against these ideas, asking why, if there were any faculty of foreseeing the future, one man should be ignorant that he would be killed in battle, or another that he would meet with some misfortune, and so on; it will be enough to reply that sometimes a grammarian has spoken incorrectly, or a musician has sung out of tune, or a physician been ignorant of the proper remedy for a disease; but these facts do not disprove the existence of the sciences of grammar, music, or medicine.

14. So that Tully is right in this as well as other sayings of his, when he says, "Signs of future events are shown by the gods; if any one mistakes them he errs, not because of the nature of the gods, but because of the conjectures of men." But lest this discussion, running on this point beyond the goal, as the proverb is, should disgust the reader, we will now return to relate what follows.

II.

§ 1. While Julian, still with the rank of Cæsar only, was at Paris one day, exercising himself in the camp-field, and moving his shield in various directions, the joints by which it was fastened gave way, and the handle alone remained in his hand, which he still held firmly, and when those present were alarmed, thinking it a bad omen, he said, "Let no one be alarmed, I still hold firmly what I had before."

2. And again, when one day after a slight dinner, he was sleeping at Vienne, in the middle of the darkness of the night a figure of unusual splendour appeared to him, and when he was all but awake, repeated to him the following heroic verses, reciting them over and over again; which he believed, so that he felt sure that no ill fortune remained for him: —

"When Jove has passed the water-carrier's sign,
And Saturn's light, for five-and-twenty days
Has lightened up the maid; the king divine
Of Asia's land shall enter on the ways
That painful lead to death and Styx's gloomy maze."

3. Therefore in the mean time he made no change in the existing condition of affairs, but arranged everything that occurred with a quiet and easy mind, gradually strengthening himself, in order to make the increase of his power correspond with the increase of his dignity.

4. And in order, without any hindrance, to conciliate the good-will of all men, he pretended to adhere to the Christian religion, which in fact he had long since secretly abandoned, though very few were aware of his private

opinions, giving up his whole attention to soothsaying and divination, and the other arts which have always been practised by the worshippers of the gods.

5. But to conceal this for a while, on the day of the festival at the beginning of January, which the Christians call Epiphany, he went into their church, and offered solemn public prayer to their God.

III.

§ 1. While these events were proceeding, and spring was coming on, Julian was suddenly smitten with grief and sorrow by unexpected intelligence. For he learnt that the Allemanni had poured forth from the district of Vadamarius, in which quarter, after the treaty which had been made with him, no troubles had been anticipated, and were laying waste the borders of the Tyrol, pouring their predatory hands over the whole frontier, and leaving nothing unravaged.

2. He feared that if this were passed over it might rekindle the flames of war; and so at once sent a count named Libino, with the Celtic and Petulantes legions, who were in winter quarters with him, to put a decided and immediate end to this affair.

3. Libino marched with speed, and arrived at Seckingen; but was seen while at a distance by the barbarians, who had already hidden themselves in the valleys with the intention of giving him battle. His soldiers were inferior in number, but very eager for battle; and he, after haranguing them, rashly attacked the Germans, and at the very beginning of the fight was slain among the first. At his death the confidence of the barbarians increased, while the Romans were excited to avenge their general; and so the conflict proceeded with great obstinacy, but our men were overpowered by numbers, though their loss in killed and wounded was but small.

4. Constantius, as has been related, had made peace with this Vadamarius, and his brother Gundomadus, who was also a king. And when afterwards Gundomadus died, thinking that Vadamarius would be faithful to him, and a silent and vigorous executor of his secret orders (if one may believe what is only report), he gave him directions by letter to harass the countries on his borders, as if he had broken off the treaty of peace, in order to keep Julian, through his fears of him, from ever abandoning the protection of Gaul.

5. In obedience to these directions, it is fair to believe that Vadamarius committed this and other similar actions; being a man from his earliest youth marvellously skilled in artifice and deceit, as he afterwards showed when he enjoyed the dukedom of Phœnice.^{115]}

6. But now, being discovered, he desisted from his hostilities. For one of his secretaries, whom he had sent to Constantius, was taken prisoner by Julian's outposts, and when he was searched to see if he was the bearer of anything, a letter was found on him, which contained these words among others, "Your Cæsar is not submissive." But when he wrote to Julian he always addressed him as lord, and emperor, and god.

§ 1. These affairs were full of danger and doubt; and Julian considering them likely to lead to absolute destruction, bent all his mind to the one object of seizing Vadomarius unawares, through the rapidity of his movements, in order to secure his own safety and that of the provinces. And the plan which he decided on was this.

2. He sent to those districts Philagrius, one of his secretaries, afterwards count of the East, in whose proved prudence and fidelity he could thoroughly rely; and besides a general authority to act as he could upon emergencies, he gave him also a paper signed by himself, which he bade him not to open nor read unless Vadomarius appeared on the western side of the Rhine.

3. Philagrius went as he was ordered, and while he was in that district busying himself with various arrangements, Vadomarius crossed the river, as if he had nothing to fear, in a time of profound peace, and pretending to know of nothing having been done contrary to treaty, when he saw the commander of the troops who were stationed there, made him a short customary speech, and to remove all suspicion, of his own accord promised to come to a banquet to which Philagrius also had been invited.

4. As soon as Philagrius arrived, when he saw the king, he recollected Julian's words, and pretending some serious and urgent business, returned to his lodging, where having read the paper intrusted to him, and learnt what he was to do, he immediately returned and took his seat among the rest.

5. But when the banquet was over he boldly arrested Vadomarius, and gave him to the commander of the forces, to be kept in strict custody in the camp, reading to him the commands he had received; but as nothing was mentioned about Vadomarius's retinue, he ordered them to return to their own country.

6. But the king was afterwards conducted to Julian's camp, and despaired of pardon when he heard that his secretary had been taken, and the letters which he had written to Constantius read; he was however not even reproached by Julian, but merely sent off to Spain, as it was an object of great importance that, while Julian was absent from Gaul, this ferocious man should not be able to throw into confusion the provinces which had been tranquillized with such great difficulty.

7. Julian, being much elated at this occurrence, since the king, whom he feared to leave behind him while at a distance, had been caught more quickly than he expected, without delay prepared to attack the barbarians who, as we have just related, had slain Count Libino and some of his soldiers in battle.

8. And to prevent any rumour of his approach giving them warning to retire to remoter districts, he passed the Rhine by night with great silence, with some of the most rapid of his auxiliary bands; and so came upon them while fearing nothing of the sort. And he at once attacked them the moment they were first roused by the sound of enemies, and while still examining their

swords and javelins; some he slew, some he took prisoners, who sued for mercy and offered to surrender their booty; to the rest who remained and implored peace, and promised to be quiet for the future, he granted peace.

V.

§ 1. While these transactions were carried on in this spirited manner, Julian, considering to what great internal divisions his conduct had given rise, and that nothing is so advantageous for the success of sudden enterprise as celerity of action, saw with his usual sagacity that if he openly avowed his revolt from the emperor, he should be safer; and feeling uncertain of the fidelity of the soldiers, having offered secret propitiatory sacrifices to Bellona, he summoned the army by sound of trumpet to an assembly, and standing on a tribune built of stone, with every appearance of confidence in his manner, he spoke thus with a voice unusually loud: —

2. “I imagine that you, my gallant comrades, exalted by the greatness of your own achievements, have long been silently expecting this meeting, in order to form a previous judgment of, and to take wise measures against the events which may be expected. For soldiers united by glorious actions ought to hear rather than speak; nor ought a commander of proved justice to think anything but what is worthy of praise and approbation. That therefore I may explain to you what I propose, I entreat you to listen favourably to what I will briefly set before you.

3. “From my earliest year, by the will of God, I have been placed among you, with whom I have crushed the incessant inroads of the Franks and Allemanni, and checked the endless licentiousness of their ravages; by our united vigour we have opened the Rhine to the Roman armies, whenever they choose to cross it; standing immovable against reports, as well as against the violent attacks of powerful nations, because I trusted to the invincibility of your valour.

4. “Gaul, which has beheld our labours, and which, after much slaughter and many periods of protracted and severe disasters, is at last replaced in a healthy state, will for ever bear witness to posterity of our achievements.

5. “But now since, constrained both by the authority of your judgment, and also by the necessity of the case, I have been raised to the rank of emperor, under the favour of God and of you, I aim at still greater things, if fortune should smile on my undertakings. Boasting at least that I have secured to the army, whose equity and mighty exploits are so renowned, a moderate and merciful chief in time of peace, and in war a prudent and wary leader against the combined forces of the barbarians.

6. “In order therefore that by the cordial unanimity of our opinions we may prevent ill fortune by anticipating it, I beg you to follow my counsel, salutary, as I think it, since the state of our affairs corresponds to the purity of my intentions and wishes. And while the legions of Illyricum are occupied by no greater force than usual, let us occupy the further frontier of Dacia; and then

take counsel from our success what is to be done next.

7. "But as brave generals, I entreat you to promise with an oath that you will adhere to me with unanimity and fidelity; while I will give my customary careful attention to prevent anything from being done rashly or carelessly; and if any one requires it, will pledge my own unsullied honour that I will never attempt nor think of anything but what is for the common good.

8 "This especially I request and beseech you to observe, that none of you let any impulse of sudden ardour lead you to inflict injury on any private individual; recollecting that our greatest renown is not derived so much from the numberless defeats of the enemy as from the safety of the provinces, and their freedom from injury, which is celebrated as an eminent example of our virtue."

9. The emperor's speech was approved as though it had been the voice of an oracle, and the whole assembly was greatly excited, and being eager for a change, they all with one consent raised a tremendous shout, and beat their shields with a violent crash, calling him a great and noble general, and, as had been proved, a fortunate conqueror and king.

10. And being all ordered solemnly to swear fidelity to him, they put their swords to their throats with terrible curses, and took the oath in the prescribed form, that for him they would undergo every kind of suffering, and even death itself, if necessity should require it; and their officers and all the friends of the prince gave a similar pledge with the same forms.

11. Nebridius the prefect alone, boldly and unshakenly refused, declaring that he could not possibly bind himself by an oath hostile to Constantius, from whom he had received many and great obligations.

12. When these words of his were heard, the soldiers who were nearest to him were greatly enraged, and wished to kill him; but he threw himself at the feet of Julian, who shielded him with his cloak. Presently, when he returned to the palace, Nebridius appeared before him, threw himself at his feet as a suppliant, and entreated him to relieve his fears by giving him his right hand. Julian replied, "Will there be any conspicuous favour reserved for my own friends if you are allowed to touch my hand? However, depart in peace as you will." On receiving this answer, Nebridius retired in safety to his own house in Tuscany.

13. By these preliminary measures, Julian having learnt, as the importance of the affair required, what great influence promptness and being beforehand has in a tumultuous state of affairs, gave the signal to march towards Pannonia, and advancing his standard and his camp, boldly committed himself to fickle fortune.

VI.

A.D. 361.

§ 1. It is fitting now to retrace our steps and to relate briefly what (while these events just related were taking place in Gaul) Constantius, who passed

the winter at Antioch, did, whether in peace or war.

2. Besides many others of high rank, some of the most distinguished tribunes generally come to salute an emperor on his arrival from distant lands. And accordingly, when Constantius, on his return from Mesopotamia, received this compliment, a Paphlagonian named Amphilochius, who had been a tribune, and whom suspicion, not very far removed from the truth, hinted at as having, while serving formerly under Constans, sown the seeds of discord between him and his brother, now ventured, with no little audacity, to come forward as if he were to be admitted to pay his duty in this way, but was recognized and refused admittance. Many also raised an outcry against him, crying out that he, as a stubborn rebel, ought not to be permitted to see another day. But Constantius, on this occasion more merciful than usual, said, "Cease to press upon a man who, indeed, as I believe, is guilty, but who has not been convicted. And remember that if he has done anything of the kind, he, as long as he is in my sight, will be punished by the judgment of his own conscience, which he will not be able to escape." And so he departed.

3. The next day, at the Circensian games, the same man was present as a spectator, just opposite the usual seat of the emperor, when a sudden shout was raised at the moment of the commencement of the expected contest; the barriers, on which he with many others was leaning, were broken, and the whole crowd as well as he were thrown forward into the empty space; and though a few were slightly hurt, he alone was found to be killed, having received some internal injury. At which Constantius rejoiced, prognosticating from this omen protection from his other enemies.

4. About the same time (his wife Eusebia having died some time before) he took another wife, named Faustina. Eusebia's brothers were two men of consular rank, Hypatius and Eusebius. She had been a woman of pre-eminent beauty both of person and character, and for one of her high rank most courteous and humane. And to her favour and justice it was owing, as we have already mentioned, that Julian was saved from danger and declared Cæsar.

5. About the same time Florentius also was rewarded, who had quitted Gaul from fear of a revolution. He was now appointed to succeed Anatolius, the prefect of the prætorium in Illyricum, who had lately died. And in conjunction with Taurus, who was appointed to the same office in Italy, he received the ensigns of this most honourable dignity.

6. Nevertheless, the preparations for both foreign and civil wars went on, the number of the squadrons of cavalry was augmented, and reinforcements for the legions were enlisted with equal zeal, recruits being collected all over the provinces. Also every class and profession was exposed to annoyances, being called upon to furnish arms, clothes, military engines, and even gold and silver and abundant stores of provisions, and various kinds of animals.

7. And because, as the king of Persia had been compelled unwillingly to fall back on account of the difficulties of the winter, it was feared that as soon

as the weather became open he would return with greater impetuosity than ever, ambassadors were sent to the kings and satraps across the Tigris, with splendid presents, to advise and entreat them all to join us, and abstain from all designs or plots against us.

8. But the most important object of all was to win over Arsaces and Meribanes, the kings of Armenia and Hiberia, who were conciliated by the gift of magnificent and honourable robes and by presents of all kinds, and who could have done great harm to the Roman interests if at such a crisis they had gone over to the Persians.

9. At this important time, Hermogenes died, and was succeeded in his prefecture by Helpidius, a native of Paphlagonia, a man of mean appearance and no eloquence, but of a frank and truthful disposition, humane and merciful. So much so that once when Constantius ordered an innocent man to be put to the torture before him, he calmly requested to be deprived of his office, and that such commissions might be given to others who would discharge them in a manner more in accordance with the emperor's sentence.

VII.

§ 1. Constantius was perplexed at the danger of the crisis before him, and doubted what to do, being for some time in deep anxiety whether to march against Julian, who was still at a distance, or to drive back the Persians, who were already threatening to cross the Euphrates. And while he was hesitating, and often taking counsel with his generals, he at last decided that he would first finish, or at all events take the edge off, the war which was nearest, so as to leave nothing formidable behind him, and then penetrate through Illyricum and Italy, thinking to catch Julian at the very outset of his enterprise, as he might catch a deer with hounds. For so he used to boast, to appease the fears of those about him.

2. But that his purpose might not appear to cool, and that he might not seem to have neglected any side of the war, he spread formidable rumours of his approach in every direction. And fearing that Africa, which on all occasions seemed to invite usurpers, might be invaded during his absence, as if he had already quitted the eastern frontier, he sent by sea to that country his secretary Gaudentius, whom we have already mentioned as a spy upon the actions of Julian in Gaul.

3. He had two reasons for thinking that this man would be able with prompt obedience to do all that he desired, both because he feared the other side, which he had offended, and also because he was anxious to take this opportunity to gain the favour of Constantius, whom he expected beyond a doubt to see victorious. Indeed no one at that time had any other opinion.

4. When Gaudentius arrived in Africa, recollecting the emperor's orders, he sent letters to Count Cretio, and to the other officers, to instruct them what his object was; and having collected a formidable force from all quarters, and having brought over a light division of skirmishers from the two Mauritanias,

he watched the coasts opposite to Italy and Gaul with great strictness.

5. Nor was Constantius deceived in the wisdom of this measure. For as long as Gaudentius lived none of the adverse party ever reached that country, although a vast multitude in arms was watching the Sicilian coast between Cape Boeo and Cape Passaro, and ready to cross in a moment if they could find an opportunity.

6. Having made these arrangements as well as the case admitted, in such a way as he thought most for his advantage and having settled other things also of smaller importance, Constantius was warned by messengers and letters from his generals that the Persian army, in one solid body, and led by its haughty king, was now marching close to the banks of the Tigris, though it was as yet uncertain at what point they meant to cross the frontier.

7. And he, feeling the importance of this intelligence, in order, by being near them, to anticipate their intended enterprises, quitted his winter quarters in haste, having called in the infantry and cavalry on which he could rely from all quarters, crossed the Euphrates by a bridge of boats at Capessana, and marched towards Edessa, which was well provisioned and strongly fortified, intending to wait there a short time till he could receive from spies or deserters certain information of the enemy's motions.

VIII.

§ 1. In the mean time, Julian leaving the district of Basle, and having taken all the steps which we have already mentioned, sent Sallustius, whom he had promoted to be a prefect, into Gaul, and appointed Germanianus to succeed Nebrius. At the same time he gave Nevitta the command of the heavy cavalry, being afraid of the old traitor Gumoharius, who, when he was commander of the Scutarii, he heard had secretly betrayed his chief officer, Vetrano. The quæstorship he gave to Jovius, of whom we have spoken when relating the acts of Magnentius, and the treasury he allotted to Mamertinus. Dagalaiphus also was made captain of the household guard, and many others, with whose merits and fidelity he was acquainted, received different commands at his discretion.

2. Being now about to march through the Black Forest, and the country lying on the banks of the Danube, he on a sudden conceived great doubt and fear whether the smallness of his force might not breed contempt, and encourage the numerous population of the district to resist his advance.

3. To prevent this, he took prudent precautions, and distributing his army into divisions, he sent some under Jovenius and Jovius to advance with all speed by the well-trodden roads of Italy; others under the command of Nevitta, the commander of the cavalry, were to take the inland road of the Tyrol. So that his army, by being scattered over various countries, might cause a belief that its numbers were immense, and might fill all nations with fear. Alexander the Great, and many other skilful generals, had done the same

thing when their affairs required it.

4. But he charged them, when they set forth, to march with all speed, as if likely to meet at any moment with an enemy, and carefully to post watches and sentries and outposts at night, so as to be free from the danger of any sudden attack.

IX.

§ 1. These things having been arranged according to the best of his judgment, Julian adhering to the maxim by which he had often forced his way through the countries of the barbarians, and trusting in his continued successes, proceeded in his advance.

2. And when he had reached the spot at which he had been informed that the river was navigable, he embarked on board some boats which good fortune had brought thither in numbers, and passed as secretly as he could down the stream, escaping notice the more because his habits of endurance and fortitude had made him indifferent to delicate food; so that, being contented with meagre and poor fare, he did not care to approach their towns or camps, forming his conduct in this respect according to the celebrated saying of the ancient Cyrus, who, when he was introduced to a host who asked him what he wished to have got ready for supper, answered, "Nothing beyond bread, for that he hoped he should sup by the side of a river."

3. But Fame, which, as they say, having a thousand tongues, always exaggerates the truth, at this time spread abroad a report among all the tribes of Illyricum that Julian, having overthrown a number of kings and nations in Gaul, was coming on flushed with success and with a numerous army.

4. Jovinus, the prefect of the prætorium, being alarmed at this rumour, fled in haste, as if from a foreign enemy; and going by the public conveyances with frequent relays, he crossed the Julian Alps, taking with him also Florentius the prefect.

5. But Count Lucillianus, who at that time had the command of the army in these districts, being at Sirmium, and having received some slight intelligence of Julian's movements, collected the soldiers whom the emergency gave time for being quickly called from their several stations, and proposed to resist his advance.

6. Julian, however, like a firebrand or torch once kindled, hastened quickly to his object; and when, at the waning of the moon, he had reached Bonmunster, which is about nineteen miles from Sirmium,¹¹⁶ and when, therefore, the main part of the night was dark, he unexpectedly quitted his boats, and at once sent forward Dagalaiphus with his light troops to summon Lucillianus to his presence, and to drag him before him if he resisted.

7. He was asleep, and when he was awakened by the violence of this uproar, and saw himself surrounded by a crowd of strangers, perceiving the state of the case, and being filled with awe at the name of the emperor, he

obeyed his orders, though sadly against his will. And though commander of the cavalry, a little while before proud and fierce, he now obeyed the will of another, and mounting a horse which was brought him on a sudden, he was led before Julian, as an ignoble prisoner, and from fear was hardly able to collect his senses.

8. But as soon as he saw the emperor, and was relieved by receiving permission to offer his salutations to his purple robe, he recovered his courage, and feeling safe said, "You have been incautious and rash, O emperor, to trust yourself with but a few troops in the country of another." But Julian, with a sarcastic smile, replied, "Keep these prudent speeches for Constantius. I offered you the ensign of my royal rank to ease you of your fears, and not to take you for my counsellor."

X.

§ 1. So after he had got rid of Lucillianus, thinking no further delay or hesitation admissible, being bold and confident in all emergencies, and on the way, as he presumed, to a city inclined to surrender, he marched on with great speed. When he came near the suburbs, which are very large and much extended, a vast crowd of soldiers and of every class of the population came forth to meet him with lights and flowers and auspicious prayers, and after saluting him as emperor and lord, conducted him to the palace.

2. He, pleased at these favourable omens, and conceiving therefrom a sanguine hope of future success, concluded that the example of so populous and illustrious a metropolis would be followed as a guiding-star by other cities also, and therefore on the very next day exhibited a chariot race, to the great joy of the people. On the third day, unable to brook any delay, he proceeded by the public roads, and without any resistance seized upon Succì, and appointed Nevitta governor of the place, as one whom he could trust. It is fitting that I should now explain the situation of this place Succì.

3. The summits of the mountain chains of Hæmus¹¹⁷ and Rhodope, the first of which rises up from the very banks of the Danube, and the other from the southern bank of the river Axius, ending with swelling ridges at one narrow point, separate the Illyrians and the Thracians, being on the one side near the inland Dacians and Serdica, on the other looking towards Thrace and the rich and noble city of Philippopolis. And, as if Nature had provided for bringing the surrounding nations under the dominion of the Romans, they are of such a form as to lead to this end. Affording at first only a single exit through narrow defiles, but at a later period they were opened out with roads of such size and beauty as to be passable even for waggons. Though still, when the passes have been blocked up, they have often repelled the attacks of great generals and mighty armies.

4. The part which looks to Illyricum is of a more gentle ascent, so as to be climbed almost imperceptibly; but the side opposite to Thrace is very steep and precipitous, in some places absolutely impassable, and in others hard to

climb even where no one seeks to prevent it. Beneath this lofty chain a spacious level plain extends in every direction, the upper portion of it reaching even to the Julian Alps, while the lower portion of it is so open and level as to present no obstacles all the way to the straits and sea of Marmora.

5. Having arranged these matters as well as the occasion permitted, and having left there the commander of the cavalry, the emperor returned to Nissa, a considerable town, in order, without any hindrance, to settle everything in the way most suited to his interests.

6. While there he appointed Victor, an historical writer, whom he had seen at Sirmium, and whom he ordered to follow him from that city, to be consular governor of the second Pannonia; and he erected in his honour a brazen statue, as a man to be imitated for his temperance; and some time after he was appointed prefect of Rome.

7. And now, giving the rein to loftier ideas, and believing it to be impossible to bring Constantius to terms, he wrote a speech full of bitter invectives to the senate, setting forth many charges of disgrace and vice against him. And when this harangue, Tertullus still being prefect of the city, was read in the senate, the gratitude of the nobles, as well as their splendid boldness, was very conspicuous; for they all cried out with one unanimous feeling, "We expect that you should show reverence to the author of your own greatness."

8. Then he assailed the memory of Constantine also as an innovator and a disturber of established laws and of customs received from ancient times, accusing him of having been the first to promote barbarians to the fasces and robe of the consul. But in this respect he spoke with folly and levity, since, in the face of what he so bitterly reproved, he a very short time afterwards added to Mamertinus, as his colleague in the consulship, Nevitta, a man neither in rank, experience, or reputation at all equal to those on whom Constantine had conferred that illustrious magistracy, but who, on the contrary, was destitute of accomplishments and somewhat rude; and what was less easy to be endured, made a cruel use of his high power.

XI.

§ 1. While Julian was occupied with these and similar thoughts, and was anxious about great and important affairs, a messenger came with terrible and unexpected news of the monstrous attempts of some persons which were likely to hinder his fiery progress, unless by prompt vigilance he could crush them, before they came to a head. I will briefly relate what they were.

2. Under pretence of urgent necessity, but in reality because he still suspected their fidelity to him, he had sent into Gaul two legions belonging to the army of Constantius, with a troop of archers which he had found at Sirmium. They, moving slowly, and dreading the length of the journey and the fierce and continual attacks of the hostile Germans, planned a mutiny, being prompted and encouraged by Nigrinus, a tribune of a squadron of

cavalry, a native of Mesopotamia. And having arranged the matter in secret conferences, and kept it close in profound silence, when they arrived at Aquileia, a city important from its situation and wealth, and fortified with strong walls, they suddenly closed the gates in a hostile manner, the native population, by whom the name of Constantius was still beloved, increasing the confusion and the terror. And having blockaded all the approaches, and armed the towers and battlements, they prepared measures to encounter the impending struggle, being in the mean time free and unrestrained. By this daring conduct they roused the Italian natives of the district to espouse the side of Constantius, who was still alive.

XII.

§ 1. When Julian heard of this transaction, being then at Nissa, as he feared nothing unfriendly in his rear, and had read and heard that this city, though often besieged, had never been destroyed or taken, hastened the more eagerly to gain it, either by stratagem, or by some kind of flattery or other, before any more formidable event should arise.

2. Therefore he ordered Jovinus, the captain of his cavalry, who was marching over the Alps, and had entered Noricum, to return with all speed, to remedy by some means or other, the evil which had burst out. And, that nothing might be wanting, he bade him retain all the soldiers who were marching after his court or his standards and passing through that town, and to avail himself of their help to the utmost.

3. When he had made these arrangements, having soon afterwards heard of the death of Constantius, he crossed through Thrace, and entered Constantinople: and having been often assured that the siege would be protracted rather than formidable, he sent Immo with some other counts to conduct it; and removed Jovinus to employ him in other matters of greater importance.

4. Therefore, having surrounded Aquileia with a double line of heavy infantry, the generals all agreed upon trying to induce the garrison to surrender, using alternately threats and caresses; but after many proposals and replies had been interchanged, their obstinacy only increased, and the conferences were abandoned, having proved wholly ineffectual.

5. And because there was now no prospect but that of a battle, both sides refreshed themselves with sleep and food; and at daybreak the trumpets sounded, and the two armies, arrayed for reciprocal slaughter, attacked one another with loud shouts, but with more ferocity than skill.

6. Therefore the besiegers, bearing wooden penthouses over them, and closely woven wicker defences, marched on slowly and cautiously, and attempted to undermine the walls with iron tools: many also bore ladders which had been made of the height of the walls, and came up close to them: when some were dashed down by stones hurled on their heads, others were transfixed by whizzing javelins, and falling back, dragged with them those

who were in their rear; and others, from fear of similar mischances, shrank from the attack.

7. The besieged being encouraged by the issue of this first conflict, and hoping for still better success, disregarded the rest of the attacks made on them; and with resolute minds they stationed engines in suitable positions, and with unwearied toil discharged the duties of watching and of whatever else could tend to their safety.

8. On the other hand, the besiegers, though fearing another combat, and full of anxiety, still out of shame would not appear lazy or cowardly, and as they could make no way by open attacks, they also applied themselves to the various manœuvres employed in sieges. And because there was no ground favourable for working battering-rams or other engines, nor for making mines, since the river Natiso passed under the walls of the city, they contrived a plan worthy to be compared with any effort of ancient skill.

9. With great rapidity they built some wooden towers, higher than the battlements of the enemy, and then fastening their boats together, they placed these towers on them. In them they stationed soldiers, who, with undaunted resolution, laboured to drive down the garrison from the walls; while under them were bodies of light infantry wholly unencumbered, who going forth from the hollow parts of the towers below, threw drawbridges across, which they had put together beforehand, and so tried to cross over to the bottom of the wall while the attention of the garrison was diverted from them; so that while those above them were attacking one another with darts and stones, those who crossed over on the drawbridges might be able without interruption to break down a portion of the wall and so effect an entrance.

10. But once more a clever design failed in its result. For when the towers came close to the walls, they were assailed with brands steeped in pitch, and reeds, and faggots, and every kind of food for flames, all kindled. The towers quickly caught fire, and yielding under the weight of the men who were mounted on them, fell into the river, while some of the soldiers on their summits, even before they fell, had been pierced with javelins hurled from the engines on the walls, and so died.

11. Meanwhile the soldiers at the foot of the wall, being cut off by the destruction of their comrades in the boats, were crushed with huge stones, with the exception of a few, who, in spite of the difficult ground over which their flight lay, escaped by their swiftness of foot. At last, when the contest had been protracted till evening, the usual signal for retreat was given, and the combatants parted to pass the night with very different feelings.

12. The losses of the besiegers, who had suffered greatly, encouraged the defenders of the town with hopes of victory, though they also had to mourn the deaths of some few of their number. Nevertheless, the preparations went on rapidly. Rest and food refreshed their bodies during the night; and at dawn of day the conflict was renewed at the trumpet's signal.

13. Some, holding their shields over their heads, in order to fight with more activity; others, in front, bore ladders on their shoulders, and rushed on with eager vehemence, exposing their breasts to wounds from every kind of weapon. Some endeavoured to break down the iron bars of the gates; but were attacked with fire, or crushed under stones hurled from the walls. Some boldly strove to cross the fosses, but fell beneath the sudden sallies of soldiers rushing out from postern gates, or were driven back with severe wounds. For those who sallied forth had an easy retreat within the walls, and the rampart in front of the walls, strengthened with turf, saved those who lay in wait behind it from all danger.

14. Although the garrison excelled in endurance and in the arts of war, without any other aid than that of their walls, still our soldiers, being attacked as they were from a more numerous force, became impatient of the long delay, and moved round and round the suburbs, seeking diligently to discover by what force or what engines they could make their way out of the city.

15. But as, through the greatness of the difficulties in their way, they could not accomplish this, they began to slacken their exertions as to the siege itself, and leaving a few watches and outposts, ravaged the adjacent country, and thus obtained all kinds of supplies, dividing their booty with their comrades. The consequence was, that excessive eating and drinking proved injurious to their health.

16. When, however, Immo and his colleagues reported this to Julian, who was passing the winter at Constantinople, he applied a wise remedy to such a disorder, and sent thither Agilo, the commander of his infantry, an officer in great esteem, that when a man of his rank and reputation appeared there and took the intelligence of the death of Constantius to the army, the siege might be terminated in that way.

17. In the mean while, not to abandon the siege of Aquileia, as all other attempts had proved futile, the generals endeavoured to compel the citizens to surrender by want of water. So they cut the aqueducts; but as the garrison still resisted with undiminished courage, they, with vast valour, diverted the stream of the river. But this again was done in vain; for they reduced the allowance of water to each man; and contented themselves with the scanty supply they could procure from wells.

18. While these affairs were proceeding thus, Agilo arrived, as he had been commanded; and, being protected by a strong body of heavy infantry, came up boldly close to the walls; and in a long and veracious speech, told the citizens of the death of Constantius, and the confirmation of Julian's power; but was reviled and treated as a liar. Nor would any one believe his statement of what had occurred, till on promise of safety he was admitted by himself to the edge of the defences; where, with a solemn oath, he repeated what he had before related.

19. When his story was heard, they all, eager to be released from their

protracted sufferings, threw open the gates and rushed out, admitting him in the joy as a captain who brought them peace; and excusing themselves, they gave up Nigrinus as the author of their mad resistance, and a few others; demanding that their punishment should be taken as an atonement for the treason and sufferings of the city.

20. Accordingly, a few days later, the affair was rigorously investigated; Mamertinus, the prefect of the prætorium, sitting as judge; and Nigrinus, as the cause of the war, was burnt alive. After him, Romulus and Sabostius, men who had held high office, being convicted of having sown discord in the empire without any regard to the consequences, were beheaded; and all the rest escaped unpunished, as men who had been driven to hostilities by necessity, and not by their own inclination; this being the decision of the merciful and clement emperor, after a full consideration of justice. These things, however, happened some time afterwards.

21. But Julian, who was still at Nissa, was occupied in the graver cases, being full of fears on both sides. For he was apprehensive lest the defiles of the Julian Alps might be seized and barred against him by some sudden onset of the troops who had been shut up in Aquileia; by which he might lose the provinces beyond, and the supplies which he was daily expecting from that quarter.

22. And he also greatly feared the power of the East; hearing that the soldiers who were scattered over Thrace had been suddenly collected together to act against him, and were advancing towards the frontiers of the Succia, under command of Count Marcianus. But, devising measures suitable to this mass of pressing anxieties, he quickly assembled his Illyrian army, long inured to war, and eager to renew its martial labours under a warlike chief.

23. Nor even at this critical moment did he forget the interests of individuals; but devoted some time to hearing contested causes, especially those concerning municipal bodies, in whose favour he was too partial, so that he raised several persons who did not deserve such honour to public offices.

24. It was here that he found Symmachus and Maximus, two eminent senators, who had been sent by the nobles as envoys to Constantius, and had returned again. He promoted them with great honour; so that, preferring them to others more deserving, he made Maximus prefect of the eternal city, in order to gratify Rufinus Vulcatius, whose nephew he was. Under his administration the city enjoyed great plenty, and there was an end to the complaints of the common people, which had been so frequent.

25. Afterwards, in order to add security to those of his affairs which were still unsettled, and encourage the confidence of the loyal, he raised Mamertinus, the prefect of the prætorium in Illyricum, and Nevitta to the consulship; though he had so lately assailed the memory of Constantine as the person who had set the example of thus promoting low-born barbarians.

§ 1. While Julian was thus carrying out new projects, and alternating between hope and fear, Constantius at Edessa, being made anxious by the various accounts brought him by his spies, was full of perplexity. At one time collecting his army for battle; at another, wishing to lay siege to Bezabde on two sides, if he could find an opportunity; taking at the same time prudent precautions not to leave Mesopotamia unprotected, while about to march into the districts of Armenia.

2. But while still undecided, he was detained by various causes. Sapor also remained on the other side of the Tigris till the sacrifices should become propitious to his moving. For if after crossing the river he found no resistance, he might without difficulty penetrate to the Euphrates. On the other hand, if he wished to keep his soldiers for the civil war, he feared to expose them to the dangers of a siege; having already experienced the strength of the walls and the vigour of the garrison.

3. However, not to lose time, and to avoid inactivity, he sent Arbetio and Agilo, the captains of his infantry and cavalry, with very large forces, to march with all speed; not to provoke the Persians to battle, but to establish forts on the nearest bank of the Tigris, which might be able to reconnoitre, and see in what direction the furious monarch broke forth; and with many counsels given both verbally and in writing, he charged them to retreat with celerity the moment the enemy's army began to cross the river.

4. While these generals were watching the frontier as they were ordered, and spying out the secret designs of their most crafty enemy, he himself, with the main body of his army, made head against his most pressing foes, as if prepared for battle; and defended the adjacent towns by rapid movements. Meantime spies and deserters continually coming in, related to him opposite stories; being in fact ignorant of what was intended, because among the Persians no one knows what is decided on except a few taciturn and trusty nobles, by whom the god Silence is worshipped.

5. But the emperor was continually sent for by the generals whom I have mentioned, who implored him to send them aid. For they protested that unless the whole strength of the army was collected together, it would be impossible to withstand the onset of the furious Sapor.

6. And while things in this quarter were thus full of anxiety, other messengers arrived in numbers, by whose accurate statements he learnt that Julian had traversed Italy and Illyricum with great rapidity, had occupied the defiles of the Succi, and called in auxiliaries from all quarters, and was now marching through Thrace with a very large force.

7. Constantius, learning this, was overwhelmed with grief, but supported by one comfort, that he had always triumphed over internal commotions. Nevertheless, though the affair made it very difficult for him to decide on a line of action, he chose the best; and sent a body of troops on by public conveyances, in order as quickly as possible to make head against the impending danger.

8. And as that plan was universally approved, the troops went as they were commanded, in the lightest marching order. But the next day, while he was finally arranging these matters, he received intelligence that Sapor, with his whole army, had returned to his own country, because the auspices were unfavourable. So, his fears being removed, he called in all the troops except those who as usual were assigned for the protection of Mesopotamia, and returned to Hierapolis.

9. And still doubting what would be the final result of all his difficulties, when he had collected his army together he convened all the centuries and companies and squadrons by sound of trumpet; and the whole plain being filled with the host, he, standing on a lofty tribune, in order to encourage them the more readily to execute what he should direct, and being surrounded by a numerous retinue, spoke thus with great appearance of calmness and a studied look of confidence.

10. "Being always anxious never to do or say anything inconsistent with incorruptible honour, like a cautious pilot, who turns his helm this way or that way according to the movement of the waves, I am now constrained, my most affectionate subjects, to confess my errors to you, or rather, if I were to say the plain truth, my humanity, which I did think would be beneficial to our common interests. So now that you may the better understand what is the object of convoking this assembly, listen, I pray you, with impartiality and kindness.

11. "At the time when Magnentius, whom your bravery overcome, was obstinately labouring to throw all things into confusion, I sent Gallus my cousin, who had been lately raised to the rank of Caesar, to guard the East. But he, having by many wicked and shameful arts departed from justice, was punished by a legal sentence.

12. "Would that Envy had then been contented, that most bitter exciter of troubles! And that we had nothing to grieve us but the single recollection of past sorrows, unaccompanied by any idea of present danger! But now a new circumstance, more grievous than any former one I will venture to say, has taken place, which the gods who aid us will put an end to by means of your innate valour.

13. "Julian, whom, while you were combating the nations which threaten Illyricum on all sides, I appointed to protect Gaul, presuming on the issue of some trifling battles which he has fought against the half-armed Germans, and full of silly elation, has taken a few auxiliary battalions into his noble alliance, men from their natural ferocity and the desperateness of their situation ready for acts of the most mischievous audacity, and has conspired against the public safety, trampling down justice, the parent and nurse of the Roman world. That power I believe, both because I myself have experienced it, and because all antiquity assures me of its might, will, as an avenger of wickedness, soon trample down their pride like so many ashes.

14. "What then remains, except to hasten to encounter the whirlwind thus

raised against us? so as by promptitude to crush the fury of this rising war before it comes to maturity and strength? Nor can it be questioned that, with the favour of the supreme deity, by whose everlasting sentence ungrateful men are condemned, the sword which they have wickedly drawn will be turned to their own destruction. Since never having received any provocation, but rather after having been loaded with benefits, they have risen up to threaten innocent men with danger.

15. "For as my mind augurs, and as justice, which will aid upright counsels, promises, I feel sure that when once we come to close quarters, they will be so benumbed with fear as neither to be able to stand the fire of your glancing eyes nor the sound of your battle cry." This speech harmonized well with the feelings of the soldiers. In their rage they brandished their shields, and after answering him in terms of eager good-will, demanded to be led at once against the rebels. Their cordiality changed the emperor's fear into joy; and having dismissed the assembly, as he knew by past experience that Arbetio was most eminently successful in putting an end to intestine wars, he ordered him to advance first by the road which he himself designed to take, with the spearmen and the legion of Mattium,¹¹⁸ and several battalions of light troops; he also ordered Gomoarius to take with him the Leti, to check the enemy on their arrival among the defiles of the Succi; he was selected for this service because he was unfriendly to Julian on account of some slight he had received from him in Gaul.

XIV.

§ 1. While the fortune of Constantius was now wavering and tottering in this tumult of adverse circumstances, it showed plainly by signs which almost spoke that a very critical moment of his life was at hand. For he was terrified by nocturnal visions, and before he was thoroughly asleep he had seen the shade of his father bringing him a beautiful child; and when he received it and placed it in his bosom, it struck a globe which he had in his right hand to a distance. Now this indicated a change of circumstances, although those who interpreted it gave favourable answers when consulted.

2. After this he confessed to his most intimate friends that, as if he were wholly forsaken, he had ceased to see a secret vision which sometimes he had fancied appeared to him in mournful guise; and he believed that the genius who had been appointed to watch over his safety had abandoned him, as one who was soon to leave the world.

3. For the opinion of theologians is, that all men when they are born (without prejudice to the power of destiny) are connected with a superior power of this kind, who, as it were, guides their actions; but who is seen by very few, and only by those who are endued with great and various virtues.

4. This may be collected both from oracles and from eminent writers.

Among whom is the comic poet Menander, in whose works these two verses are found: —

“A spirit is assigned to every man
When born to guide him in the path of life.”

5. It may also be gathered from the immortal poetry of Homer, that they were not really the gods of heaven who conversed with his heroes, or stood by them and aided them in their combats; but the familiar genii who belonged to them; to whom also, as their principal support, Pythagoras owes his eminence, and Socrates and Numa Pompilius and the elder Scipio. And, as some fancy, Marius, and Octavianus the first, who took the name of Augustus. And Hermes Trismegistus, and Apollonius of Tyana, and Plotinus, who ventured upon some very mystical discussions of this point; and endeavoured to show by profound reasoning what is the original cause why these genii, being thus connected with the souls of mortals, protect them as if they had been nursed in their own bosoms, as far as they are permitted; and, if they find them pure, preserving the body untainted by any connection with vice, and free from all taint of sin, instruct them in loftier mysteries.

XV.

§ 1. Constantius therefore, having hastened to Antioch, according to his wont, at the first movement of a civil war which he was eager to encounter, as soon as he had made all his preparations, was in amazing haste to march, though many of his court were so unwilling as even to proceed to murmurs. For no one dare openly to remonstrate or object to his plan.

2. He set forth towards the end of autumn; and when he reached the suburb called Hippocephalus, which is about three miles from the town, as soon as it was daylight he saw on his right the corpse of a man who had been murdered, lying with his head torn off from the body, stretched out towards the west — and though alarmed at the omen, which seemed as if the Fates were preparing his end, he went on more resolutely, and came to Tarsus, where he caught a slight fever; and thinking that the motion of his journey would remove the distemper, he went on by bad roads; directing his course by Mopsucrenæ, the farthest station in Cilicia for those who travel from hence, at the foot of Mount Taurus.

3. But when he attempted to proceed the next day he was prevented by the increasing violence of his disorder, and the fever began gradually to inflame his veins, so that his body felt like a little fire, and could scarcely be touched; and as all remedies failed, he began in the last extremity to bewail his death; and while his mental faculties were still entire, he is said to have indicated Julian as the successor to his power. Presently the last struggle of death came on, and he lost the power of speech. And after long and painful agony he died on the fifth of October, having lived and reigned forty years and a few

months.

4. After bewailing his death with groans, lamentations, and mourning, those of the highest rank in the royal palace deliberated what to do or to attempt; and having secretly consulted a few persons about the election of an emperor, at the instigation, as it is said, of Eusebius, who was stimulated by his consciousness of guilt (since Julian was approaching who was prepared to oppose his attempts at innovation), they sent Theolaiphus and Aligildus, who at that time were counts, to him, to announce the death of his kinsman; and to entreat him to lay aside all delay and hasten to take possession of the East, which was prepared to obey him.

5. But fame and an uncertain report whispered that Constantius had left a will, in which, as we have already mentioned, he had named Julian as his heir; and had given commissions and legacies to his friends. But he left his wife in the family way, who subsequently had a daughter, who received the same name, and was afterwards married to Gratianus.

XVI.

§ 1. In accurately distinguishing the virtues and vices of Constantius, it will be well to take the virtues first. Always preserving the dignity of the imperial authority, he proudly and magnanimously disdained popularity. In conferring the higher dignities he was very sparing, and allowed very few changes to be made in the administration of the finances. Nor did he ever encourage the arrogance of the soldiers.

2. Nor under him was any general promoted to the title of most illustrious.¹¹⁹ For there was also, as we have already mentioned, the title of most perfect.¹²⁰ Nor had the governor of a province occasion to court a commander of cavalry; as Constantius never allowed those officers to meddle with civil affairs. But all officers, both military and civil, were according to the respectful usages of old, inferior to that of the prefect of the prætorium, which was the most honourable of all.

3. In taking care of the soldiers he was very cautious: an examiner into their merits, sometimes over-scrupulous, giving dignities about the palace as if with scales. Under him no one who was not well known to him, or who was favoured merely by some sudden impulse, ever received any high appointment in the palace. But only such as had served ten years in some capacity or other could look for such appointments as master of the ceremonies or treasurer. The successful candidates could always be known beforehand; and it very seldom happened that any military officer was transferred to a civil office; while on the other hand none but veteran soldiers were appointed to command troops.

4. He was a diligent cultivator of learning, but, as his blunted talent was not suited to rhetoric, he devoted himself to versification; in which, however, he did nothing worth speaking of.

5. In his way of life he was economical and temperate, and by moderation in eating and drinking he preserved such robust health that he was rarely ill, though when ill dangerously so. For repeated experience and proof has shown that this is the case with persons who avoid licentiousness and luxury.

6. He was contented with very little sleep, which he took when time and season allowed; and throughout his long life he was so extremely chaste that no suspicion was ever cast on him in this respect, though it is a charge which, even when it can find no ground, malignity is apt to fasten on princes.

7. In riding and throwing the javelin, in shooting with the bow, and in all the accomplishments of military exercises, he was admirably skilful. That he never blew his nose in public, never spat, never was seen to change countenance, and that he never in all his life ate any fruit I pass over, as what has been often related before.

8. Having now briefly enumerated his good qualities with which we have been able to become acquainted, let us now proceed to speak of his vices. In other respects he was equal to average princes, but if he had the slightest reason (even if founded on wholly false information) for suspecting any one of aiming at supreme power, he would at once institute the most rigorous inquiry, trampling down right and wrong alike, and outdo the cruelty of Caligula, Domitian, or Commodus, whose barbarity he rivalled at the very beginning of his reign, when he shamefully put to death his own connections and relations.

9. And his cruelty and morose suspicions, which were directed against everything of the kind, were a cruel addition to the sufferings of the unhappy persons who were accused of sedition or treason.

10. And if anything of the kind got wind, he instituted investigations of a more terrible nature than the law sanctioned, appointing men of known cruelty as judges in such cases; and in punishing offenders he endeavoured to protract their deaths as long as nature would allow, being in such cases more savage than even Gallienus. For he, though assailed by incessant and real plots of rebels, such as Aureolus, Posthumus, Ingenuus, and Valens who was surnamed the Thessalonian, and many others, often mitigated the penalty of crimes liable to sentence of death; while Constantius caused facts which were really unquestionable to be looked upon as doubtful by the excessive inhumanity of his tortures.

11. In such cases he had a mortal hatred of justice, even though his great object was to be accounted just and merciful: and as sparks flying from a dry wood, by a mere breath of wind are sometimes carried on with unrestrained course to the danger of the country villages around, so he also from the most trivial causes kindled heaps of evils, being very unlike that wise emperor Marcus Aurelius, who, when Cassius in Syria aspired to the supreme power, and when a bundle of letters which he had written to his accomplices, was taken with their bearer, and brought to him, ordered them at once to be burned, while he was still in Illyricum, in order that he might not know who

had plotted against him, and so against his will be obliged to consider some persons as his enemies.

12. And, as some right-thinking people are of opinion, it was rather an indication of great virtue in Constantius to have quelled the empire without shedding more blood, than to have revenged himself with such cruelty.

13. As Cicero also teaches us, when in one of his letters to Nepos he accuses Cæsar of cruelty, “For,” says he, “felicity is nothing else but success in what is honourable;” or to define it in another way, “Felicity is fortune assisting good counsels, and he who is not guided by such cannot be happy. Therefore in wicked and impious designs such as those of Cæsar there could be no felicity; and in my judgment Camillus when in exile was happier than Manlius at the same time, even if Manlius had been able to make himself king, as he wished.”

14. The same is the language of Heraclitus of Ephesus, when he remarks that men of eminent capacity and virtue, through the caprice of fortune, have often been overcome by men destitute of either talent or energy. But that that glory is the best when power, existing with high rank, forces, as it were, its inclinations to be angry and cruel, and oppressive under the yoke, and so erects a glorious trophy in the citadel of its victorious mind.

15. But as in his foreign wars this emperor was unsuccessful and unfortunate, on the other hand in his civil contests he was successful; and in all those domestic calamities he covered himself with the horrid blood of the enemies of the republic and of himself; and yielding to his elation at these triumphs in a way neither right nor usual, he erected at a vast expense triumphal arches in Gaul and the two Pannonias, to record his triumphs over his own provinces; engraving on them the titles of his exploits ... as long as they should last, to those who read the inscriptions.

16. He was preposterously addicted to listening to his wives, and to the thin voices of his eunuchs, and some of his courtiers, who applauded all his words, and watched everything he said, whether in approval or disapproval, in order to agree with it.

17. The misery of these times was further increased by the insatiable covetousness of his tax-collectors, who brought him more odium than money; and to many persons this seemed the more intolerable, because he never listened to any excuse, never took any measures for relief of the provinces when oppressed by the multiplicity of taxes and imposts; and in addition to all this he was very apt to take back any exemptions which he had granted.

18. He confused the Christian religion, which is plain and simple, with old women’s superstitions; in investigating which he preferred perplexing himself to settling its questions with dignity, so that he excited much dissension; which he further encouraged by diffuse wordy explanations: he ruined the establishment of public conveyances by devoting them to the service of crowds of priests, who went to and fro to different synods, as they call the meetings at which they endeavour to settle everything according to their own

fancy.

19. As to his personal appearance and stature, he was of a dark complexion with prominent eyes; of keen sight, soft hair, with his cheeks carefully shaved, and bright looking. From his waist to his neck he was rather long, his legs were very short and crooked, which made him a good leaper and runner.

20. When the body of the deceased emperor had been laid out, and placed in a coffin, Jovianus, at that time the chief officer of the guard, was ordered to attend it with royal pomp to Constantinople, to be buried among his relations.

21. While he was proceeding on the vehicle which bore the remains, samples of the military provisions were brought to him as an offering, as is usual in the case of princes; and the public animals were paraded before him; and a concourse of people came out to meet him as was usual; which, with other similar demonstrations, seemed to portend to Jovianus, as the superintendent of his funeral, the attainment of the empire, but an authority only curtailed and shadowy.

NOTES.

¹¹⁴ The Quinquennalia (games under which title had been previously instituted in honour of Julius Cæsar and Augustus) were revived by Nero, A.D. 60, again fell into disuse, and were again revived by Domitian. — Cf. Tacit. An. xiv. 20.

¹¹⁵ V. *infra*, Leo xxvi. c. 8.

¹¹⁶ Sirmium was very near the existing town of Peterwaradin.

¹¹⁷ Now the Balkan.

¹¹⁸ It is believed that Mattium is the same as Marburg; it is not quite certain.

¹¹⁹ These and other titles, such as “respectable” (*spectabiles*), “illustrious” (*egregie, illustres*), were invented by the emperors of this century. They none of them appear to have conferred any substantive power.

¹²⁰ This office had been first established by Augustus, who created two prefects of the prætorian cohorts, under whose command also all the soldiers in Italy were placed. Commodus raised the number to three, and Constantine to four, whom (when he abolished the prætorian cohort), he made, in fact, governors of provinces. There was one præfectus prætorio for Gaul, one for Italy, one for Illyricum, and one for the East.

BOOK XXII.

ARGUMENT.

I. From fear of Constantius Julian halts in Dacia, and secretly consults the augurs and soothsayers. — II. When he hears of Constantius's death he passes through Thrace, and enters Constantinople, which he finds quiet; and without a battle becomes sole master of the Roman empire. — III. Some of the adherents of Constantius are condemned, some deservedly, some wrongfully. — IV. Julian expels from the palace all the eunuchs, barbers, and cooks — A statement of the vices of the eunuchs about the palace, and the corrupt state of military discipline. — V. Julian openly professes his adherence to the pagan worship, which he had hitherto concealed; and lets the Christian bishops dispute with one another. — VI. How he compelled some Egyptian litigants, who modestly sought his intervention, to return home. — VII. At Constantinople he often administers justice in the senate-house; he arranges the affairs of Thrace, and receives anxious embassies from foreign nations. — VIII. A description of Thrace, and of the Sea of Marmora, and of the regions and nations contiguous to the Black Sea. — IX. Having enlarged and beautified Constantinople, Julian goes to Antioch; on his road he joins the citizens of Nicomedia moving to restore their city; and at Ancyra presides in the court of justice. — X. He winters at Antioch, and presides in the court of justice; and oppresses no one on account of his religion. — XI. George, bishop of Alexandria, with two others, is dragged through the streets by the Gentiles of Alexandria, and torn to pieces and burnt, without any one being punished for this action. — XII. Julian prepares an expedition against the Persians, and, in order to know beforehand the result of the war, he consults the oracles; and sacrifices innumerable victims, devoting himself wholly to soothsaying and augury. — XIII. He unjustly attributes the burning of the temple of Apollo at Daphne to the Christians, and orders the great church at Antioch to be shut up. — XIV. He sacrifices to Jupiter on Mount Casius — Why he writes the Misopogon in his anger against the citizens of Antioch. — XV. A description of Egypt; mention of the Nile, the crocodile, the ibis, and the pyramids. — XVI. Description of the five provinces of Egypt, and of their famous cities.

I.

A.D. 361.

§ 1. While the variable events of fortune were bringing to pass these events in different parts of the world, Julian, amid the many plans which he was revolving while in Illyricum, was continually consulting the entrails of victims and watching the flight of birds in his eagerness to know the result of what was about to happen.

2. Aprunculus Gallus, an orator and a man of skill as a soothsayer, who was afterwards promoted to be governor of Narbonne, announced these results to him, being taught beforehand by the inspection of a liver, as he affirmed, which he had seen covered with a double skin. And while Julian was fearing that he was inventing stories to correspond with his desires, and was on that account out of humour, he himself beheld a far more favourable omen, which clearly predicted the death of Constantius. For at the same moment that that prince died in Cilicia, the soldier who, as he was going to mount his horse, had supported him with his right hand, fell down, on which Julian at once exclaimed, in the hearing of many persons, that he who had raised him to the summit had fallen.

3. But he did not change his plans, but remained within the border of Dacia, still being harassed with many fears. Nor did he think it prudent to trust

to conjectures, which might perhaps turn out contrary to his expectations.

II.

§ 1. But while he was thus in suspense, the ambassadors, Theolaiphus and Aligildus, who had been despatched to him to announce the death of Constantius, suddenly arrived, adding that that prince with his last words had named him as his successor in his dignity.

2. As soon as he learnt this, being delighted at his deliverance from the turmoils of war and its consequent disorders, and fully relying on the prophecies he had received, having besides often experienced the advantages of celerity of action, he issued orders to march to Thrace. Therefore speedily advancing his standards, he passed over the high ground occupied by the Succi, and marched towards the ancient city of Eumolpias, now called Philippopolis, all his army following him with alacrity.

3. For they now saw that the imperial power which they were on their way to seize, in the face of imminent danger, was in a measure beyond their hopes put into their hands by the course of nature. And as report is wont marvellously to exaggerate events, a rumour got abroad that Julian, formidable both by sea and land, had entered Heraclea, called also Perinthus, borne over its unresisting walls on the chariot of Triptolemus, which from its rapid movements the ancients, who loved fables, had stated to be drawn by flying serpents and dragons.

4. When he arrived at Constantinople, people of every age and sex poured forth to meet him, as though he were some one dropped from heaven. On the eleventh of December he was received with respectful duty by the senate, and by the unanimous applause of the citizens, and was escorted into the city by vast troops of soldiers and civilians, marshalled like an army, while all eyes were turned on him, not only with the gaze of curiosity, but with great admiration.

5. For it seemed to them like a dream, that a youth in the flower of his age, of slight body, but renowned for great exploits, after many victories over barbarian kings and nations, having passed from city to city with unparalleled speed, should now, by an accession of wealth and power as rapid as the spread of fire, have become the unresisted master of the world; and the will of God itself having given him the empire, should thus have obtained it without any injury to the state.

III.

§ 1. His first step was to give to Secundus Sallustius, whom he promoted to be prefect of the prætorium, being well assured of his loyalty, a commission to conduct some important investigations, joining with him as colleagues Mamertinus, Arbetio, Agilo, and Nevitta, and also Jovinus, whom he had recently promoted to the command of the cavalry in Illyricum.

2. They all went to Chalcedon, and in the presence of the chiefs and tribunes, the Jovian and Herculian legions, they tried several causes with too much rigour, though there were some in which it was undeniable that the accused were really guilty.

3. They banished Palladius, the master of the ceremonies, to Britain, though there was but a suspicion that he had prejudiced Constantius against Gallus, while he was master of the ceremonies under that prince as Cæsar.

4. They banished Taurus, who had been prefect of the prætorium, to Vercelli, who, to all persons capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, will appear very excusable in respect to the act for which he was condemned. For his offence was only that, fearing a violent disturbance which had arisen, he fled to the protection of his prince. And the treatment inflicted on him could not be read without great horror, when the preamble of the public accusation began thus:— “In the consulship of Taurus and Florentius, Taurus being brought before the criers ...”

5. Pentadius also was destined for a similar sentence; the charge against him being that, having been sent on a mission by Constantius, he had made notes of the replies given by Gallus when he was examined on several subjects before he was put to death. But as he defended himself with justice, he was at last discharged.

6. With similar iniquity, Florentius, at that time master of the ceremonies, the son of Nigridianus, was banished to Boæ, an island on the coast of Dalmatia. The other Florentius, who had been prefect of the prætorium, and was then consul, being alarmed at the sudden change in the aspect of affairs, in order to save himself from danger, hid himself and his wife for some time, and never returned during Julian’s life; still he was, though absent, condemned to death.

7. In the same way, Evagrius, the comptroller of the private demesnes of the emperor, and Saturninus, late superintendent of the palace, and Cyrinus, late secretary, were all banished. But Justice herself seems to have mourned over the death of Ursulus, the treasurer, and to accuse Julian of ingratitude to him. For when, as Cæsar, he was sent to the west, with the intent that he was to be kept in great poverty, and without any power of making presents to any of his soldiers, in order to make them less inclined to favour any enterprise which he might conceive, this same Ursulus gave him letters to the superintendent of the Gallic treasury, desiring him to give the Cæsar whatever he might require.

8. After his death, Julian, feeling that he was exposed to general reproach and execration, thinking that an unpardonable crime could be excused, affirmed that the man had been put to death without his being aware of it, pretending that he had been massacred by the fury of the soldiers, who recollected what he had said (as we mentioned before) when he saw the destruction of Amida.

9. And therefore it seemed to be through fear, or else from a want of

understanding what was proper, that he appointed Arbetio, a man always vacillating and arrogant, to preside over these investigations, with others of the chief officers of the legions present for the look of the thing, when he knew that he had been one of the chief enemies to his safety, as was natural in one who had borne, a distinguished share in the successes of the civil war.

10. And though these transactions which I have mentioned vexed those who wished him well, those which came afterwards were carried out with a proper vigour and severity.

11. It was only a deserved destiny which befel Apodemius, who had been the chief steward, and whose cruel machinations with respect to the deaths of Silvanus and Gallus we have already mentioned, and Paulus, the secretary, surnamed "The Chain," men who are never spoken of without general horror, and who were now sentenced to be burnt alive.

12. They also sentenced to death Eusebius, the chief chamberlain of Constantius, a man equally full of ambition and cruelty, who from the lowest rank had been raised so high as even almost to lord it over the emperor, and who had thus become wholly intolerable; and whom Nemesis, who beholds all human affairs, having often, as the saying is, plucked him by the ear, and warned to conduct himself with more moderation, now, in spite of his struggles, hurled headlong from his high position.

IV.

§ 1. After this Julian directed his whole favour and affection to people of every description about the palace; not acting in this like a philosopher anxious for the discovery of truth.

2. For he might have been praised if he had retained a few who were moderate in their disposition, and of proved honesty and respectability. We must, indeed, confess that the greater part of them had nourished as it were such a seed-bed of all vices, which they spread abroad so as to infect the whole republic with evil desires, and did even more injury by their example than by the impunity which they granted to crimes.

3. Some of them had been fed on the spoils of temples, had smelt out gain on every occasion, and having raised themselves from the lowest poverty to vast riches, had set no bounds to their bribery, their plunder, or their extravagance, being at all times accustomed to seize what belonged to others.

4. From which habit the beginnings of licentious life sprang up, with perjuries, contempt of public opinion, and an insane arrogance, sacrificing good faith to infamous gains.

5. Among which vices, debauchery and unrestrained gluttony grew to a head, and costly banquets superseded triumphs for victories. The common use of silken robes prevailed, the textile arts were encouraged, and above all was the anxious care about the kitchen. Vast spaces were sought out for ostentatious houses, so vast that if the consul Cincinnatus had possessed as

much land, he would have lost the glory of poverty after his dictatorship.

6. To these shameful vices was added the loss of military discipline; the soldier practised songs instead of his battle-cry, and a stone would no longer serve him for a bed, as formerly, but he wanted feathers and yielding mattresses, and goblets heavier than his sword, for he was now ashamed to drink out of earthenware; and he required marble houses, though it is recorded in ancient histories that a Spartan soldier was severely punished for venturing to appear under a roof at all during a campaign.

7. But now the soldier was fierce and rapacious towards his own countrymen, but towards the enemy he was inactive and timid, by courting different parties, and in times of peace he had acquired riches, and was now a judge of gold and precious stones, in a manner wholly contrary to the recollection of very recent times.

8. For it is well known that when, in the time of the Cæsar Maximian, the camp of the king of Persia was plundered; a common soldier, after finding a Persian bag full of pearls, threw the gems away in ignorance of their value, and went away contented with the mere beauty of his bit of dressed leather.

9. In those days it also happened that a barber who had been sent for to cut the emperor's hair, came handsomely dressed; and when Julian saw him, he was amazed, and said, "I did not send for a superintendent, but for a barber." And when he was asked what he made by his business, he answered that he every day made enough to keep twenty persons, and as many horses, and also a large annual income, besides many sources of accidental gain.

10. And Julian, angry at this, expelled all the men of this trade, and the cooks, and all who made similar profits, as of no use to him, telling them, however, to go where they pleased.

V.

§ 1. And although from his earliest childhood he was inclined to the worship of the gods,¹²¹ and gradually, as he grew up, became more attached to it, yet he was influenced by many apprehensions which made him act in things relating to that subject as secretly as he could.

2. But when his fears were terminated, and he found himself at liberty to do what he pleased, he then showed his secret inclinations, and by plain and positive decrees ordered the temples to be opened, and victims to be brought to the altars for the worship of the gods.

3. And in order to give more effect to his intentions, he ordered the priests of the different Christian sects, with the adherents of each sect, to be admitted into the palace, and in a constitutional spirit expressed his wish that their dissensions being appeased, each without any hindrance might fearlessly follow the religion he preferred.

4. He did this the more resolutely because, as long licence increased their

dissensions, he thought he should never have to fear the unanimity of the common people, having found by experience that no wild beasts are so hostile to men as Christian sects in general are to one another. And he often used to say, "Listen to me, to whom the Allemanni and Franks have listened;" imitating in this an expression of the ancient emperor Marcus Aurelius. But he omitted to notice that there was a great difference between himself and his predecessor.

5. For when Marcus was passing through Palestine, on his road to Egypt, he is said, when wearied by the dirt and rebellious spirit of the Jews, to have often exclaimed with sorrow, "O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, I have at last found others worse than you!"

VI.

§ 1. About the same time many Egyptians, excited by various rumours, arrived at Constantinople; a race given to controversy, and extremely addicted to habits of litigation, covetous, and apt to ask payment of debts due to them over and over again; and also, by way of escaping from making the payments due to them, to accuse the rich of embezzlement, and the tax-gatherers of extortion.

2. These men, collecting into one body, came screeching like so many jackdaws, claiming in a rude manner the attention of the emperor himself, and of the prefects of the prætorium, and demanding the restoration of the contributions which they had been compelled to furnish, justly or unjustly, for the last seventy years.

3. And as they hindered the transaction of any other business, Julian issued an edict in which he ordered them all to go to Chalcedon, promising that he himself also would soon come there, and settle all their business.

4. And when they had gone, an order was given to all the captains of ships which go to and fro, that none of them should venture to take an Egyptian for a passenger. And as this command was carefully observed, their obstinacy in bringing false accusations came to an end, and they all, being disappointed in their object, returned home.

5. After which, as if at the dictation of justice herself, a law was published forbidding any one to exact from any officer the restitution of things which that officer had legally received.

VII.

A.D. 362.

§ 1. At the beginning of the new year, when the consular records had received the names of Mamertinus and Nevitta, the prince humbled himself by walking in their train with other men of high rank; an act which some praised, while others blame it as full of affectation, and mean.

2. Afterwards, when Mamertinus was celebrating the Circensian games, Julian, following an ancient fashion, manumitted some slaves, who were introduced by the consul's officer; but afterwards, being informed that on that day the supreme jurisdiction belonged to another, he fined himself ten pounds of gold as an offender.

3. At the same time he was a continual attendant in the court of justice, settling many actions which were brought in all kinds of cases. One day while he was sitting as judge, the arrival of a certain philosopher from Asia named Maximus, was announced, on which he leapt down from the judgment seat in an unseemly manner, and forgetting himself so far as to run at full speed from the hall, he kissed him, and received him with great reverence, and led him into the palace, appearing by this unseasonable ostentation a seeker of empty glory, and forgetful of those admirable words of Cicero, which describe people like him.

4. "Those very philosophers inscribe their names on the identical books which they write about the contempt of glory, in order that they may be named and extolled in that very thing in which they proclaim their contempt for mention and for praise."122]

5. Not long afterwards, two of the secretaries who had been banished came to him, boldly promising to point out the hiding-place of Florentius if he would restore them to their rank in the army; but he abused them, and called them informers; adding that it did not become an emperor to be led by underhand information to bring back a man who had concealed himself out of fear of death, and who perhaps would not long be left in his retreat unpardoned.

6. On all these occasions Prætextatus was present, a senator of a noble disposition and of old-fashioned dignity; who at that time had come to Constantinople on his own private affairs, and whom Julian by his own choice selected as governor of Achaia with the rank of proconsul.

7. Still, while thus diligent in correcting civil evils, Julian did not omit the affairs of the army: continually appointing over the soldiers officers of long-tried worth; repairing the exterior defences of all the cities throughout Thrace, and taking great care that the soldiers on the banks of the Danube, who were exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, and who, as he heard were doing their duty with vigilance and courage, should never be in want of arms, clothes, pay, or provisions.

8. And while superintending these matters he allowed nothing to be done carelessly: and when those about him advised him to attack the Gauls as neighbours who were always deceitful and perfidious, he said he wished for more formidable foes; for that the Gallic merchants were enough for them, who sold them at all times without any distinction of rank.

9. While he gave his attention to these and similar matters, his fame was spreading among foreign nations for courage, temperance, skill in war, and eminent endowments of every kind of virtue, so that he gradually became

renowned throughout the whole world.

10. And as the fear of his approach pervaded both neighbouring and distant countries, embassies hastened to him with unusual speed from all quarters at one time; the people beyond the Tigris and the Armenians sued for peace. At another the Indian tribes vied with each other, sending nobles loaded with gifts even from the Maldiv Islands and Ceylon; from the south the Moors offered themselves as subjects of the Roman empire; from the north, and also from those hot climates through which the Phasis passes on its way to the sea, and from the people of the Bosphorus, and from other unknown tribes came ambassadors entreating that on the payment of annual duties they might be allowed to live in peace within their native countries.

VIII.

§ 1. The time is now appropriate, in my opinion, since in treating of this mighty prince we are come to speak of these districts, to explain perspicuously what we have learnt by our own eyesight or by reading, about the frontiers of Thrace and the situation of the Black Sea.

2. The lofty mountains of Athos in Macedonia, once made passable for ships by the Persians, and the Eubœan rocky promontory of Caphareus, where Nauplius the father of Palamedes wrecked the Grecian fleet, though far distant from one another, separate the Ægean from the Thessalian Sea, which, extending as it proceeds, on the right, where it is widest, is full of the Sporades and Cyclades islands, which latter are so called because they lie round Delos, an island celebrated as the birthplace of the gods; on the left it washes Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, and Thasos; and when agitated by any gale it beats violently on Lesbos.

3. From thence, with a receding current, it flows past the temple of Apollo Sminthius, and Troas, and Troy, renowned for the adventures of heroes; and on the west it forms the Gulf of Melas, near the head of which is seen Abdera, the abode of Protagoras and Democritus; and the blood-stained seat of the Thracian Diomedes; and the valleys through which the Maritza flows on its way to its waves; and Maronea, and Ænus, founded under sad auspices and soon deserted by Æneas, when under the guidance of the gods he hastened onwards to ancient Italy.

4. After this it narrows gradually, and, as if by a kind of natural wish to mingle with its waters, it rushes towards the Black Sea; and taking a portion of it forms a figure like the Greek φ. Then separating the Hellespont from Mount Rhodope, it passes by Cynossema,¹²³ where Hecuba is supposed to be buried, and Cæla, and Sestos, and Callipolis, and passing by the tombs of Ajax and Achilles, it touches Dardanus and Abydos (where Xerxes, throwing a bridge across, passed over the waters on foot), and Lampsacus, given to Themistocles by the king of Persia; and Parion, founded by Parius the son of Jason.

5. Then curving round in a semicircle and separating the opposite lands

more widely in the round gulf of the sea of Marmora, it washes on the east Cyzicus, and Dindyma, the holy seat of the mighty mother Cybele, and Apamia, and Cius, and Astacus afterwards called Nicomedia from the King Nicomedes.

6. On the west it beats against the Chersonese, Ægospotami where Anaxagoras predicted that stones would fall from heaven, and Lysimachia, and the city which Hercules founded and consecrated to the memory of his comrade Perinthus. And in order to preserve the full and complete figure of the letter ϕ , in the very centre of the circular gulf lies the oblong island of Proconnesus, and also Besbicus.

7. Beyond the upper end of this island the sea again becomes very narrow where it separates Bithynia from Europe, passing by Chalcedon and Chrysopolis, and some other places of no importance.

8. Its left shore is looked down upon by Port Athyras and Selymbria, and Constantinople, formerly called Byzantium, a colony of the Athenians, and Cape Ceras, having at its extremity a lofty tower to serve as a lighthouse to ships — from which cape also a very cold wind which often arises from that point is called Ceratas.

9. The sea thus broken, and terminated by mingling with the seas at each end, and now becoming very calm, spreads out into wider waters, as far as the eye can reach both in length and breadth. Its entire circuit, if one should measure it as one would measure an island, sailing along its shores, is 23,000 furlongs according to Eratosthenes, Hecataeus, and Ptolemy, and other accurate investigators of subjects of this kind, resembling, by the consent of all geographers, a Scythian bow, held at both ends by its string.

10. When the sun rises from the eastern ocean, it is shut in by the marshes of the Sea of Azov. On the west it is bounded by the Roman provinces. On the north lie many tribes differing in language and manners; its southern side describes a gentle curve.

11. Over this extended space are dispersed many Greek cities, which have for the most part been founded by the people of Miletus, an Athenian colony, long since established in Asia among the other Ionians by Nileus, the son of the famous Codrus, who is said to have devoted himself to his country in the Doric war.

12. The thin extremities of the bow at each end are commanded by the two Bospori, the Thracian and Cimmerian, placed opposite to one another; and they are called Bospori because through them the daughter of Inachus,¹²⁴ who was changed (as the poets relate) into a cow, passed into the Ionian sea.

13. The right curve of the Thracian Bosphorus is covered by a side of Bithynia, formerly called Mygdonia, of which province Thynia and Mariandena are districts; as also is Bebrycia, the inhabitants of which were delivered from the cruelty of Amycus by the valour of Pollux; and also the remote spot in which the soothsayer Phineus was terrified by the threatening flight of the Harpies.

14. The shores are curved into several long bays, into which fall the rivers Sangarius, and Phyllis, and Bizes, and Rebas; and opposite to them at the lower end are the Symplegades, two rocks which rise into abrupt peaks, and which in former times were accustomed to dash against one another with a fearful crash, and then rebounding with a sharp spring, to recoil once more against the object already struck. Even a bird could by no speed of its wings pass between these rocks as they pass and meet again without being crushed to death.

15. These rocks, when the Argo, the first of all ships, hastening to Colchis to carry off the golden fleece, had passed unhurt by them, stood immovable for the future, the power of the whirlwind which used to agitate them being broken; and are now so firmly united that no one who saw them now would believe that they had ever been separated; if all the poems of the ancients did not agree on the point.

16. After this portion of Bithynia, the next provinces are Pontus and Paphlagonia, in which are the noble cities of Heraclea, and Sinope, and Polemonium, and Amisus, and Tios, and Amastris, all originally founded by the energy of the Greeks; and Cerasus, from which Lucullus brought the cherry, and two lofty islands which contain the famous cities of Trapezus and Pityus.

17. Beyond these places is the Acherusian cave, which the natives call Μυχοπόντιον; and the harbour of Acone, and several rivers, the Acheron, the Arcadius, the Iris, the Tiberis, and near to that the Parthenius, all of which proceed with a rapid stream into the sea. Close to them is the Thermodon, which rises in Mount Armonius, and flows through the forest of Themiscyra, to which necessity formerly compelled the Amazons to migrate.

18. The Amazons, as may be here explained, after having ravaged their neighbours by bloody inroads, and overpowered them by repeated defeats, began to entertain greater projects; and perceiving their own strength to be superior to their neighbours', and being continually covetous of their possessions, they forced their way through many nations, and attacked the Athenians. But they were routed in a fierce battle, and their flanks being uncovered by cavalry, they all perished.

19. When their destruction became known, the rest, who had been left at home as unwarlike, were reduced to the last extremities; and fearing the attacks of their neighbours, who would now retaliate on them, they removed to the more quiet district of the Thermodon. And after a long time, their posterity again becoming numerous, returned in great force to their native regions, and became in later ages formidable to the people of many nations.

20. Not far from hence is the gentle hill Carambis, on the north, opposite to which, at a distance of 2,500 furlongs, is the Criu-Metopon, a promontory of Taurica. From this spot the whole of the sea-coast, beginning at the river Halys, is like the chord of an arc fastened at both ends.

21. On the frontiers of this district are the Dahæ,¹²⁵ the fiercest of all warriors; and the Chalybes, the first people who dug up iron, and wrought it to the use of man. Next to them lies a large plain occupied by the Byzares, the Saqires, the Tibareni, the Mosynæci, the Macrones and the Philyres, tribes with which we have no intercourse.

22. And at a small distance from them are some monuments of heroes, where Sthenelus, Idmon, and Tiphys are buried, the first being that one of Hercules's comrades who was mortally wounded in the war with the Amazons; the second the soothsayer of the Argonauts; the third the skilful pilot of the crew.

23. After passing by the aforesaid districts, we come to the cave Aulon, and the river of Callichorus, which derives its name from the fact that when Bacchus, having subdued the nations of India in a three years' war, came into those countries, he chose the green and shady banks of this river for the re-establishment of his ancient orgies and dances; and some think that such festivals as these were those called Trieterica.^{126]}

24. Next to these frontiers come the famous cantons of the Camaritæ, and the Phasis, which with its roaring streams reaches the Colchi, a race descended from the Egyptians; among whom, besides other cities, is one called Phasis from the name of the river; and Dioscurias,¹²⁷ still famous, which is said to have been founded by the Spartans Amphitus and Cercius, the charioteers of Castor and Pollux; from whom the nation of Heniochi¹²⁸ derives its origin.

25. At a little distance from these are the Achæi, who after some earlier Trojan war, and not that which began about Helen, as some authors have affirmed, were driven into Pontus by foul winds, and, as all around was hostile, so that they could nowhere find a settled abode, they always stationed themselves on the tops of snowy mountains; and, under the pressure of an unfavourable climate they contracted a habit of living on plunder in contempt of all danger; and thus became the most ferocious of all nations. Of the Cercetæ, who lie next to them, nothing is known worth speaking of.

26. Behind them lie the inhabitants of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, living in cities founded by the Milesiani, the chief of which is Panticapæum, which is on the Bog a river of great size, both from its natural waters and the streams which fall into it.

27. Then for a great distance the Amazons stretch as far as the Caspian sea; occupying the banks of the Don, which rises in Mount Caucasus, and proceeds in a winding course, separating Asia from Europe, and falls into the swampy sea of Azov.

28. Near to this is the Rha, on the banks of which grows a vegetable of the same name, which is useful as a remedy for many diseases.

29. Beyond the Don, taking the plain in its width, lie the Sauromatæ, whose land is watered by the never-failing rivers Maræcus, Rhombites, Theophanes, and Totordanes. And there is at a vast distance another nation

also known as Sauromatæ, touching the shore at the point where the river Corax falls into the sea.

30. Near to this is the sea of Azov, of great extent, from the abundant sources of which a great body of water pours through the straits of Patares, near the Black Sea; on the right are the islands Phanagorus and Hermonassa, which have been settled by the industry of the Greeks.

31. Round the furthest extremity of this gulf dwell many tribes differing from one another in language and habits; the Jaxamatæ, the Mæotæ, the Jazyges, the Roxolani, the Alani, the Melanchlænæ, the Geloni, and the Agathyrsi, whose land abounds in adamant.

32. And there are others beyond, who are the most remote people of the whole world. On the left side of this gulf lies the Crimea, full of Greek colonies; the people of which are quiet and steady: they practise agriculture, and live on the produce of the land.

33. From them the Tauri, though at no great distance, are separated by several kingdoms, among which are the Arinchi, a most savage tribe, the Sinchi, and the Napæi, whose cruelty, being aggravated by continual licence, is the reason why the sea is called the Inhospitable,¹²⁹ from which by the rule of contrary it gets the name of the Euxine, just as the Greeks call a fool εὐήθης, and night εὐθρόνη, and the furies, the Εὐμενίδες.

34. For they propitiated the gods with human victims, sacrificing strangers to Diana, whom they call Oreiloche, and fix the heads of the slain on the walls of their temples, as perpetual monuments of their deeds.

35. In this kingdom of the Tauri lies the uninhabited island of Leuce, which is consecrated to Achilles; and if any ever visit it, as soon as they have examined the traces of antiquity, and the temple and offerings dedicated to the hero, they return the same evening to their ships, as it is said that no one can pass the night there without danger to his life.

36. There is water there, and white birds like kingfishers, the origin of which, and the battles of the Hellespont, we will discuss at a proper time. And there are some cities in this region of which the most eminent are Eupatoria, Dandaca, and Theodosia, and several others which are free from the wickedness of human sacrifices.

37. Up to this we reckon that one of the extremities of the arc extends. We will now follow, as order suggests, the rest of the curve which extends towards the north, along the left side of the Thracian Bosphorus, just reminding the reader that while the bows of all other nations bend along the whole of their material, those of the Scythians and Parthians have a straight rounded line in the centre, from which they curve their spreading horns so as to present the figure of the waning moon.

38. At the very beginning then of this district, where the Rhipæan mountains end, lie the Arimphæi, a just people known for their quiet character, whose land is watered by the rivers Chronius and Bisula; and next to them are the Massagetæ, the Alani, and the Sargetæ, and several other

tribes of little note, of whom we know neither the names nor the customs.

39. Then, a long way off, is the bay Carcinites, and a river of the same name, and a grove of Diana, frequented by many votaries in those countries.

40. After that we come to the Dnieper (Borysthenes), which rises in the mountains of the Neuri; a river very large at its first beginning, and which increases by the influx of many other streams, till it falls into the sea with great violence; on its woody banks is the town of Borysthenes, and Cephalonesus, and some altars consecrated to Alexander the Great and Augustus Cæsar.

41. Next, at a great distance, is an island inhabited by the Sindi, a tribe of low-born persons, who upon the overthrow of their lords and masters in Asia, took possession of their wives and properties. Below them is a narrow strip of coast called by the natives the Course of Achilles, having been made memorable in olden time by the exercises of the Thessalian chief, and next to that is the city of Tyros, a colony of the Phœnicians, watered by the river Dniester.

42. But in the middle of the arc which we have described as being of an extended roundness, and which takes an active traveller fifteen days to traverse, are the Europæan Alani, the Costoboci, and the countless tribes of the Scythians, who extend over territories which have no ascertained limit; a small part of whom live on grain. But the rest wander over vast deserts, knowing neither ploughtime nor seedtime; but living in cold and frost, and feeding like great beasts. They place their relations, their homes, and their wretched furniture on waggons covered with bark, and, whenever they choose, they migrate without hindrance, driving off these waggons wherever they like.

43. When one arrives at another point of the circuit where there is a harbour, which bounds the figure of the arc at that extremity, the island Peuce is conspicuous, inhabited by the Troglodytæ, and Peuci, and other inferior tribes, and we come also to Histros, formerly a city of great power, and to Tomi, Apollonia, Anchialos, Odissos, and many others on the Thracian coast.

44. But the Danube, rising near Basle on the borders of the Tyrol, extending over a wider space, and receiving on his way nearly sixty navigable rivers, pours through the Scythian territory by seven mouths into the Black Sea.

45. The first mouth (according to the Greek interpretation of the names) is at the island of Peuce, which we have mentioned; the second is at Naracustoma, the third at Calonstoma, the fourth at Pseudostoma. The Boreonstoma and the Sthenostoma, are much smaller, and the seventh is large and black-looking like a bog.

46. But the whole sea, all around, is full of mists and shoals, and is sweeter than seas in general, because by the evaporation of moisture the air is often thick and dense, and its waters are tempered by the immensity of the rivers

which fall into it; and it is full of shifting shallows, because the number of the streams which surround it pour in mud and lumps of soil.

47. And it is well known that fish flock in large shoals to its most remote extremities that they may spawn and rear their young more healthfully, in consequence of the salubrity of the water; while the hollow caverns, which are very numerous there, protect them from voracious monsters. For nothing of the kind is ever seen in this sea, except some small dolphins, and they do no harm.

48. Now the portions of the Black Sea which are exposed to the north wind are so thoroughly frozen that, while the rivers, as it is believed, cannot continue their course beneath the ice, yet neither can the foot of beast or man proceed firmly over the treacherous and shifting ground; a fault which is never found in a pure sea, but only in one of which the waters are mingled with those of rivers. We have digressed more than we had intended, so now let us turn back to what remains to be told.

49. Another circumstance came to raise Julian's present joy, one which indeed had been long expected, but which had been deferred by all manner of delays. For intelligence was brought by Agilo and Jovius, who was afterwards quæstor, that the garrison of Aquileia, weary of the length of the siege, and having heard of the death of Constantius, had opened their gates and come forth, delivering up the authors of the revolt; and that, after they had been burnt alive, as has been related, the rest had obtained pardon for their offences.

IX.

§ 1. But Julian, elated at his prosperity, began to aspire to greatness beyond what is granted to man: amid continual dangers he had learnt by experience that propitious fortune held out to him, thus peacefully governing the Roman world, a cornucopia as it were of human blessings and all kinds of glory and success: adding this also to his former titles of victory, that while he alone held the reins of empire he was neither disturbed by intestine commotions, nor did any barbarians venture to cross his frontiers; but all nations, eager at all times to find fault with what is past, as mischievous and unjust, were with marvellous unanimity agreed in his praises.

2. Having therefore arranged with profound deliberation all the matters which were required either by the circumstances of the state or by the time, and, having encouraged the soldiers by repeated harangues and by adequate pay to be active in accomplishing all that was to be done, Julian, being in great favour with all men, set out for Antioch, leaving Constantinople, which he had greatly strengthened and enriched; for he had been born there, and loved and protected it as his native city.

3. Then crossing the straits, and passing by Chalcedon and Libyssa, where Hannibal the Carthaginian is buried, he came to Nicomedia; a city of ancient renown, and so adorned at the great expense of former emperors, that from the

multitude of its public and private buildings good judges look on it as a quarter, as it were, of the eternal city.

4. When Julian beheld its walls buried in miserable ashes, he showed the anguish of his mind by silent tears, and went slowly on towards the palace; especially lamenting its misfortunes, because the senators who came out to meet him were in poor-looking condition, as well as the people who had formerly been most prosperous; some of them he recognized having been brought up there by the bishop Eusebius, of whom he was a distant relation.

5. Having here made many arrangements for repairing the damage done by an earthquake, he passed through Nisæa to the frontier of Gallo-Græcia, and then turning to the right, he went to Pessinus, to see the ancient temple of Cybele; from which town in the second Punic war, in accordance with the warning of the Sibylline verses, the image of the goddess was removed to Rome by Scipio Nasica.

6. Of its arrival in Italy, with many other matters connected with it, we made mention in recording the acts of the emperor Commodus; but as to what the reason was for the town receiving this name writers differ.

7. For some have declared that the city was so called ἄπὸ τοῦ πεσῖν, from falling; inventing a tale that the statue fell from heaven; others affirm that Ilus, the son of Tros, king of Dardania, gave the place this name, which Theopompus says it received not from this, but from Midas, formerly a most powerful king of Phrygia.

8. Accordingly, having paid his worship to the goddess, and propitiated her with sacrifices and prayers, he returned to Ancyra; and as he was proceeding on this way from thence he was disturbed by a multitude; some violently demanding the restoration of what had been taken from them, others complaining that they had been unjustly attached to different courts; some, regardless of the risk they ran, tried to enrage him against their adversaries, by charging them with treason.

9. But he, a sterner judge than Cassius or Lycurgus, weighed the charges with justice, and gave each his due; never being swayed from the truth, but very severe to calumniators, whom he hated, because he himself, while still a private individual and of low estate, had often experienced the petulant frenzy of many in a way which placed him in great danger.

10. And though there are many other examples of his patience in such matters, it will suffice to relate one here. A certain man laid an information against his enemy, with whom he had a most bitter quarrel, affirming that he had been guilty of outrage and sedition; and when the emperor concealed his own opinion, he renewed the charge for several days, and when at last he was asked who the man was whom he was accusing, he replied, a rich citizen. When the emperor heard this he smiled and said, "What proof led you to the discovery of this conduct of his?" He replied, "The man has had made for himself a purple silk robe."

11. And on this, being ordered to depart in silence, and though unpunished as a low fellow who was accusing one of his own class of too difficult an enterprise to be believed, he nevertheless insisted on the truth of the accusation, till Julian, being wearied by his pertinacity, said to the treasurer, whom he saw near him, "Bid them give this dangerous chatterer some purple shoes to take to his enemy, who, as he gives me to understood, has made himself a robe of that colour; that so he may know how little a worthless piece of cloth can help a man, without the greatest strength."

12. But as such conduct as this is praiseworthy and deserving the imitation of virtuous rulers, so it was a sad thing and deserving of censure, that in his time it was very hard for any one who was accused by any magistrate to obtain justice, however fortified he might be by privileges, or the number of his campaigns, or by a host of friends. So that many persons being alarmed bought off all such annoyances by secret bribes.

13. Therefore, when after a long journey he had reached Pylæ, a place on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Cilicia, he received the ruler of the province, Celsus, already known to him by his Attic studies, with a kiss, and taking him up into his chariot conducted him with him into Tarsus.

14. From hence, desiring to see Antioch, the splendid metropolis of the East, he went thither by the usual stages, and when he came near the city he was received as if he had been a god, with public prayers, so that he marvelled at the voices of the vast multitude, who cried out that he had come to shine like a star on the Eastern regions.

15. It happened that just at that time, the annual period for the celebration of the festival of Adonis, according to the old fashion, came round; the story being, as the poets relate, that Adonis had been loved by Venus, and slain by a boar's tusk, which is an emblem of the fruits of the earth being cut down in their prime. And it appeared a sad thing that when the emperor was now for the first time making his entrance into a splendid city, the abode of princes, wailing lamentations and sounds of mourning should be heard in every direction.

16. And here was seen a proof of his gentle disposition, shown indeed in a trifling, but very remarkable instance. He had long hated a man named Thalassius, an officer in one of the law courts, as having been concerned in plots against his brother Gallus. He prohibited him from paying his salutations to him and presenting himself among the men of rank; which encouraged his enemies against whom he had actions in the courts of law, the next day, when a great crowd was collected in the presence of the emperor, to cry out, "Thalassius, the enemy of your clemency, has violently deprived us of our rights;" and Julian, thinking that this was an opportunity for crushing him, replied, "I acknowledge that I am justly offended with the man whom you mention, and so you ought to keep silence till he has made satisfaction to me who am his principal enemy." And he commanded the prefect who was sitting by him not to hear their business till he himself was recognized by Thalassius,

which happened soon afterwards.

X.

§ 1. While wintering at Antioch, according to his wish, he yielded to none of the allurements of pleasure in which all Syria abounds; but under pretence of repose, he devoted himself to judicial affairs, which are not less difficult than those of war, and in which he expended exceeding care, showing exquisite willingness to receive information, and carefully balancing how to assign to every one his due. And by his just sentence the wicked were chastised with moderate punishments, and the innocent were maintained in the undiminished possession of their fortunes.

2. And although in the discussion of causes he was often unreasonable, asking at unsuitable times to what religion each of the litigants adhered, yet none of his decisions were found inconsistent with equity, nor could he ever be accused, either from considerations of religion or of anything else, of having deviated from the strict path of justice.

3. For that is a desirable and right judgment which proceeds from repeated examinations of what is just and unjust. Julian feared anything which might lead him away from such, as a sailor fears dangerous rocks; and he was the better able to attain to correctness, because, knowing the levity of his own impetuous disposition, he used to permit the prefects and his chosen counsellors to check, by timely admonition, his own impulses when they were inclined to stray; and he continually showed that he was vexed if he committed errors, and was desirous of being corrected.

4. And when the advocates in some actions were once applauding him greatly as one who had attained to perfect wisdom, he is said to have exclaimed with much emotion, "I was glad and made it my pride to be praised by those whom I knew to be competent to find fault with me, if I had said or done anything wrong."

5. But it will be sufficient out of the many instances of his clemency which he afforded in judging causes to mention this one, which is not irrelevant to our subject or insignificant. A certain woman being brought before the court, saw that her adversary, formerly one of the officers of the palace, but who had been displaced, was now, contrary to her expectation, re-established and girt in his official dress, complained in a violent manner of this circumstance; and the emperor replied, "Proceed, O woman, if you think that you have been injured in any respect; he is girt as you see in order to go more quickly through the mire; your cause will not suffer from it."

6. And these and similar actions led to the belief, as he was constantly saying, that that ancient justice which Aratus states to have fled to heaven in disgust at the vices of mankind, had returned to earth; only that sometimes he acted according to his own will rather than according to law, making mistakes which somewhat darkened the glorious course of his renown.

7. After many trials he corrected numerous abuses in the laws, cutting

away circuitous proceedings, and making the enactments show more plainly what they commanded or forbade. But his forbidding masters of rhetoric and grammar to instruct Christians was a cruel action, and one deserving to be buried in everlasting silence.

XI.

§ 1. At this time, Gaudentius the secretary, whom I have mentioned above as having been sent by Constantius to oppose Julian in Africa, and a man of the name of Julian, who had been a deputy governor, and who was an intemperate partisan of the late emperor, were brought back as prisoners, and put to death.

2. And at the same time, Artemius, who had been Duke of Egypt, and against whom the citizens of Alexandria brought a great mass of heavy accusations, was also put to death, and the son of Marcellus too, who had been commander both of the infantry and of the cavalry, was publicly executed as one who had aspired to the empire by force of arms. Romanus, too, and Vincentius, the tribunes of the first and second battalion of the Scutarii, being convicted of aiming at things beyond their due, were banished.

3. And after a short time, when the death of Artemius was known, the citizens of Alexandria who had feared his return, lest, as he threatened, he should come back among them with power, and avenge himself on many of them for the offences which he had received, now turned all their anger against George, the bishop, by whom they had, so to say, been often attacked with poisonous bites.

4. George having been born in a fuller's shop, as was reported, in Epiphania, a town of Cilicia, and having caused the ruin of many individuals, was, contrary both to his own interest and to that of the commonwealth, ordained bishop of Alexandria, a city which from its own impulses, and without any special cause, is continually agitated by seditious tumults, as the oracles also show.

5. Men of this irritable disposition were readily incensed by George, who accused numbers to the willing ears of Constantius, as being opposed to his authority; and, forgetting his profession, which ought to give no counsel but what is just and merciful, he adopted all the wicked acts of informers.

6. And among other things he was reported to have maliciously informed Constantius that in that city all the edifices which had been built by Alexander, its founder, at vast public expense, ought properly to be a source of emolument to the treasury.

7. To these wicked suggestions he added this also, which soon afterwards led to his destruction. As he was returning from court, and passing by the superb temple of the Genius, escorted by a large train, as was his custom, he turned his eyes towards the temple, and said, "How long shall this sepulchre stand?" And the multitude, hearing this, was thunderstruck, and fearing that he would seek to destroy this also, laboured to the utmost of their power to

effect his ruin by secret plots.

8. When suddenly there came the joyful news that Artemius was dead; on which all the populace, triumphing with unexpected joy, gnashed their teeth, and with horrid outcries set upon George, trampling upon him and kicking him, and tearing him to pieces with every kind of mutilation.

9. With him also, Dracontius, the master of the mint, and a count named Diodorus, were put to death, and dragged with ropes tied to their legs through the street; the one because he had overthrown the altar lately set up in the mint, of which he was governor; the other because while superintending the building of a church, he insolently cut off the curls of the boys, thinking thus to affect the worship of the gods.

10. But the savage populace were not content with this; but having mutilated their bodies, put them on camels and conveyed them to the shore, where they burnt them and threw the ashes into the sea; fearing, as they exclaimed, lest their remains should be collected and a temple raised over them, as the relics of men who, being urged to forsake their religion, had preferred to endure torturing punishments even to a glorious death, and so, by keeping their faith inviolate, earning the appellation of martyrs. In truth the wretched men who underwent such cruel punishment might have been protected by the aid of the Christians, if both parties had not been equally exasperated by hatred of George.

11. When this event reached the emperor's ears, he roused himself to avenge the impious deed; but when about to inflict the extremity of punishment on the guilty, he was appeased by the intercession of those about him, and contented himself with issuing an edict in which he condemned the crime which had been committed in stern language, and threatening all with the severest vengeance if anything should be attempted for the future contrary to the principles of justice and law.

XII.

§ 1. In the mean time, while preparing the expedition against the Persians, which he had long been meditating with all the vigour of his mind, he resolved firmly to avenge their past victories; hearing from others, and knowing by his own experience, that for nearly sixty years that most ferocious people had stamped upon the East bloody records of massacre and ravage, many of our armies having often been entirely destroyed by them.

2. And he was inflamed with a desire for the war on two grounds: first, because he was weary of peace, and dreaming always of trumpets and battles; and secondly, because, having been in his youth exposed to the attacks of savage nations, the wishes of whose kings and princes were already turning against us, and whom, as was believed, it would be easier to conquer than to reduce to the condition of suppliants, he was eager to add to his other glories the surname of Parthieus.

3. But when his inactive and malicious detractors saw that these

preparations were being pressed forward with great speed and energy, they cried out that it was an unworthy and shameful thing for such unseasonable troubles to be caused by the change of a single prince, and laboured with all their zeal to postpone the campaign; and they were in the habit of saying, in the presence of those whom they thought likely to report their words to the emperor, that, unless he conducted himself with moderation during his excess of prosperity, he, like an over-luxuriant crop, would soon be destroyed by his own fertility.

4. And they were continually propagating sayings of this kind, barking in vain at the inflexible prince with secret attacks, as the Pygmies or the clown Thiodamas of Lindus assailed Hercules.

5. But he, as more magnanimous, allowed no delay to take place, nor any diminution in the magnitude of his expedition, but devoted the most energetic care to prepare everything suitable for such an enterprise.

6. He offered repeated victims on the altars of the gods; sometimes sacrificing one hundred bulls, and countless flocks of animals of all kinds, and white birds, which he sought for everywhere by land, and sea; so that every day individual soldiers who had stuffed themselves like boors with too much meat, or who were senseless from the eagerness with which they had drunk, were placed on the shoulders of passers-by, and carried to their homes through the streets from the public temples where they had indulged in feasts which deserved punishment rather than indulgence. Especially the Petulantes and the Celtic legion, whose audacity at this time had increased to a marvellous degree.

7. And rites and ceremonies were marvellously multiplied with a vastness of expense hitherto unprecedented; and, as it was now allowed without hindrance, every one professed himself skilful in divination, and all, whether illiterate or learned, without any limit or any prescribed order, were permitted to consult the oracles, and to inspect the entrails of victims; and omens from the voice of birds, and every kind of sign of the future, was sought for with an ostentatious variety of proceeding.

8. And while this was going on, as if it were a time of profound peace, Julian, being curious in all such branches of learning, entered on a new path of divination. He proposed to reopen the prophetic springs of the fountain of Castalia, which Hadrian was said to have blocked up with a huge mass of stones, fearing lest, as he himself had attained the sovereignty through obedience to the predictions of these waters, others might learn a similar lesson; and Julian immediately ordered the bodies which had been buried around it to be removed with the same ceremonies as those with which the Athenians had purified the island of Delos.

XII.

§ 1. About the same time, on the 22nd of October, the splendid temple of Apollo, at Daphne, which that furious and cruel king Antiochus Epiphanes

had built with the statue of the god, equal in size to that of Olympian Jupiter, was suddenly burnt down.

2. This terrible accident inflamed the emperor with such anger, that he instantly ordered investigations of unprecedented severity to be instituted, and the chief church of Antioch to be shut up. For he suspected that the Christians had done it out of envy, not being able to bear the sight of the magnificent colonnade which surrounded the temple.

3. But it was reported, though the rumour was most vague, that the temple had been burnt by means of Asclepiades the philosopher, of whom we have made mention while relating the actions of Magnentius. He is said to have come to the suburb in which the temple stood to pay a visit to Julian, and being accustomed to carry with him wherever he went a small silver statue of the Heavenly Venus, he placed it at the feet of the image of Apollo, and then, according to his custom, having lighted wax tapers in front of it, he went away. At midnight, when no one was there to give any assistance, some sparks flying about stuck to the aged timbers; and from that dry fuel a fire was kindled which burnt everything it could reach, however separated from it by the height of the building.

4. The same year also, just as winter was approaching, there was a fearful scarcity of water, so that some rivers were dried up, and fountains too, which had hitherto abounded with copious springs. But afterwards they all were fully restored.

5. And on the second of December, as evening was coming on, all that remained of Nicomedia was destroyed by an earthquake, and no small portion of Nicæa.

XIV.

§ 1. These events caused great concern to the emperor; but still he did not neglect other affairs of urgency, till the time of entering on his intended campaign should arrive. But in the midst of his important and serious concerns, it appeared superfluous that, without any plausible reason, and out of a mere thirst for popularity, he took measures for producing cheapness; a thing which often proves contrary to expectation and produces scarcity and famine.

2. And when the magistrates of Antioch plainly proved to him that his orders could not be executed, he would not depart from his purpose, being as obstinate as his brother Gallus, but not bloodthirsty. On which account, becoming furious against them, as slanderous and obstinate, he composed a volume of invectives which he called "The Antiochean," or "Misopogon," enumerating in a bitter spirit all the vices of the city, and adding others beyond the truth; and when on this he found that many witticisms were uttered at his expense, he felt compelled to conceal his feelings for a time; but was full of internal rage.

3. For he was ridiculed as a Cercops;¹³⁰ again, as a dwarf spreading out his narrow shoulders, wearing a beard like that of a goat, and taking huge strides, as if he had been the brother of Otus and Ephialtes,¹³¹ whose height Horace speaks of as enormous. At another time he was “the victim-killer,” instead of the worshipper, in allusion to the numbers of his victims; and this piece of ridicule was seasonable and deserved, as once out of ostentation he was fond of carrying the sacred vessels before the priests, attended by a train of girls. And although these and similar jests made him very indignant, he nevertheless kept silence, and concealed his emotions, and continued to celebrate the solemn festivals.

4. At last, on the day appointed for the holiday, he ascended Mount Casius, a mountain covered with trees, very lofty, and of a round form; from which at the second crowing of the cock¹³² we can see the sun rise. And while he was sacrificing to Jupiter, on a sudden he perceived some one lying on the ground, who, with the voice of a suppliant, implored pardon and his life; and when Julian asked him who he was, he replied, that he was Theodotus, formerly the chief magistrate of Hierapolis, who, when Constantius quitted that city, had escorted him with other men of rank on his way; basely flattering him as sure to be victorious; and he had entreated him with feigned tears and lamentations to send them the head of Julian as that of an ungrateful rebel, in the same way as he recollected the head of Magnentius had been exhibited.

5. When Julian heard this, he said, “I have heard of this before, from the relation of several persons. But go thou home in security, being relieved of all fear by the mercy of the emperor, who, like a wise man, has resolved to diminish the number of his enemies, and is eager to increase that of his friends.”

6. When he departed, having fully accomplished the sacrifices, letters were brought to him from the governor of Egypt, who informed him that after a long time he had succeeded in finding a bull Apis, which he had been seeking with great labour, a circumstance which, in the opinion of the inhabitants of those regions, indicates prosperity, abundant crops, and several other kinds of good fortune.

7. On this subject it seems desirable to say a few words. Among the animals which have been consecrated by the reverence of the ancients, Mnevis and Apis are the most eminent. Mnevis, concerning whom there is nothing remarkable related, is consecrated to the sun, Apis to the moon. But the bull Apis is distinguished by several natural marks; and especially by a crescent-shaped figure, like that of a new moon, on his right side. After living his appointed time, he is drowned in the sacred fountain (for he is not allowed to live beyond the time fixed by the sacred authority of their mystical books; nor is a cow brought to him more than once a year, who also must be distinguished with particular marks); then another is sought amid great public mourning; and if one can be found distinguished by all the required marks, he is led to Memphis, a city of great renown, and especially celebrated for the

patronage of the god Æsculapius.

8. And after he has been led into the city by one hundred priests, and conducted into a chamber, he is looked upon as consecrated, and is said to point out by evident means the signs of future events. Some also of those who come to him he repels by unfavourable signs; as it is reported he formally rejected Cæsar Germanicus when he offered him food; thus portending what shortly happened.

XV.

§ 1. Let us then, since the occasion seems to require it, touch briefly on the affairs of Egypt, of which we have already made some mention in our account of the emperors Hadrian and Severus, where we related several things which we had seen.^{133]}

2. The Egyptian is the most ancient of all nations, except indeed that its superior antiquity is contested by the Scythians: their country is bounded on the south¹³⁴ by the greater Syrtes, Cape Ras, and Cape Borion, the Garamantes, and other nations; on the east, by Elephantine, and Meroe, cities of the Ethiopians, the Catadupi, the Red Sea, and the Scenite Arabs, whom we now call Saracens. On the north it joins a vast track of land, where Asia and the Syrian provinces begin; on the west it is bounded by the Sea of Issus, which some call the Parthenian Sea.

3. We will also say a few words concerning that most useful of all rivers, the Nile, which Homer calls the Ægyptus; and after that we will enumerate other things worthy of admiration in these regions.

4. The sources of the Nile, in my opinion, will be as unknown to posterity as they are now. But since poets, who relate fully, and geographers who differ from one another, give various accounts of this hidden matter, I will in a few words set forth such of their opinions as seem to me to border on the truth.

5. Some natural philosophers affirm that in the districts beneath the North Pole, when the severe winters bind up everything, the vast masses of snow congeal; and afterwards, melted by the warmth of the summer, they make the clouds heavy with liquid moisture, which, being driven to the south by the Etesian winds, and dissolved into rain by the heat of the sun, furnish abundant increase to the Nile.

6. Some, again, assert that the inundations of the river at fixed times are caused by the rains in Ethiopia, which fall in great abundance in that country during the hot season; but both these theories seem inconsistent with the truth — for rain never falls in Ethiopia, or at least only at rare intervals.

7. A more common opinion is, that during the continuance of the wind from the north, called the Precursor, and of the Etesian gales, which last forty-five days without interruption, they drive back the stream and check its speed, so that it becomes swollen with its waves thus dammed back; then, when the wind changes, the force of the breeze drives the waters to and fro, and the river growing rapidly greater, its perennial sources driving it forward, it rises

as it advances, and covers everything, spreading over the level plains till it resembles the sea.

8. But King Juba, relying on the text of the Carthaginian books, affirms that the river rises in a mountain situated in Mauritania, which looks on the Atlantic Ocean, and he says, too, that this is proved by the fact that fishes, and herbs, and animals resembling those of the Nile are found in the marshes where the river rises.

9. But the Nile, passing through the districts of Ethiopia, and many different countries which give it their own names, swells its fertilizing stream till it comes to the cataracts. These are abrupt rocks, from which in its precipitous course it falls with such a crash, that the Ati, who used to live in that district, having lost their hearing from the incessant roar, were compelled to migrate to a more quiet region.

10. Then proceeding more gently, and receiving no accession of waters in Egypt, it falls into the sea through seven mouths, each of which is as serviceable as, and resembles, a separate river. And besides the several streams which are derived from its channel, and which fall with others like themselves, there are seven navigable with large waves; named by the ancients the Heracleotic, the Sebennitic, the Bolbitic, the Phatnitic, the Mendesian, the Tanitic, and the Pelusian mouths.

11. This river, rising as I have said, is driven on from the marshes to the cataracts, and forms several islands; some of which are said to be of such extent that the stream is three days in passing them.

12. Among these are two of especial celebrity, Meroe and Delta. The latter derives its name from its triangular form like the Greek letter; but when the sun begins to pass through the sign of Cancer, the river keeps increasing till it passes into Libra; and then, after flowing at a great height for one hundred days, it falls again, and its waters being diminished it exhibits, in a state fit for riding on, fields which just before could only be passed over in boats.

13. If the inundation be too abundant it is mischievous, just as it is unproductive if it be too sparing; for if the flood be excessive, it keeps the ground wet too long; and so delays cultivation; while if it be deficient, it threatens the land with barrenness. No landowner wishes it to rise more than sixteen cubits. If the flood be moderate, then the seed sown in favourable ground sometimes returns seventy fold. The Nile, too, is the only river which does not cause a breeze.

14. Egypt also produces many animals both terrestrial and aquatic, and some which live both on the earth and in the water, and are therefore called amphibious. In the dry districts antelopes and buffaloes are found, and sphinxes, animals of an absurd-looking deformity, and other monsters which it is not worth while to enumerate.

15. Of the terrestrial animals, the crocodile is abundant in every part of the country. This is a most destructive quadruped, accustomed to both elements, having no tongue, and moving only the upper jaw, with teeth like a comb,

which obstinately fasten into everything he can reach. He propagates his species by eggs like those of a goose.

16. And as he is armed with claws, if he had only thumbs his enormous strength would suffice to upset large vessels, for he is sometimes ten cubits long. At night he sleeps under water; in the day he feeds in the fields, trusting to the stoutness of his skin, which is so thick that missiles from military engines will scarcely pierce the mail of his back.

17. Savage as these monsters are at all other times, yet as if they had concluded an armistice, they are always quiet, laying aside all their ferocity, during the seven days of festival on which the priests at Memphis celebrate the birthday of Apis.

18. Besides those which die accidentally, some are killed by wounds which they receive in their bellies from the dorsal fins of some fish resembling dolphins, which this river also produces.

19. Some also are killed by means of a little bird called the trochilus, which, while seeking for some picking of small food, and flying gently about the beast while asleep, tickles its cheeks till it comes to the neighbourhood of its throat. And when the hydrus, which is a kind of ichneumon, perceives this, it penetrates into its mouth, which the bird has caused to open, and descends into its stomach, where it devours its entrails, and then comes forth again.

20. But the crocodile, though a bold beast towards those who flee, is very timid when it finds a brave enemy. It has a most acute sight, and for the four months of winter is said to do without food.

21. The hippopotamus, also, is produced in this country; the most sagacious of all animals destitute of reason. He is like a horse, with cloven hoofs, and a short tail. Of his sagacity it will be sufficient to produce two instances.

22. The animal makes his lair among dense beds of reeds of great height, and while keeping quiet watches vigilantly for every opportunity of sallying out to feed on the crops. And when he has gorged himself, and is ready to return, he walks backwards, and makes many tracks, to prevent any enemies from following the straight road and so finding and easily killing him.

23. Again, when he feels lazy from having his stomach swollen by excessive eating, it rolls its thighs and legs on freshly-cut reeds, in order that the blood which is discharged through the wounds thus made may relieve his fat. And then he smears his wounded flesh with clay till the wounds get scarred over.

24. This monster was very rare till it was first exhibited to the Roman people in the ædileship of Scaurus, the father of that Scaurus whom Cicero defended, when he charged the Sardinians to cherish the same opinion as the rest of the world of the authority of that noble family. Since that time, at different periods, many specimens have been brought to Rome, and now they are not to be found in Egypt, having been driven, according to the conjecture of the inhabitants, up to the Blemmyæ¹³⁵ by being incessantly pursued by the

people.

25. Among the birds of Egypt, the variety of which is countless, is the ibis, a sacred and amiable bird, also valuable, because by heaping up the eggs of serpents in its nest for food it causes these fatal pests to diminish.

26. They also sometimes encounter flocks of winged snakes, which come laden with poison from the marshes of Arabia. These, before they can quit their own region, they overcome in the air, and then devour them. This bird, we are told, produces its young through its mouth.

27. Egypt also produces innumerable quantities of serpents, destructive beyond all other creatures. Basilisks, amphisbænas,¹³⁶ scytalæ, acontia, dipsades, vipers, and many others. The asp is the largest and most beautiful of all; but that never, of its own accord, quits the Nile.

28. There are also in this country many things exceedingly worthy of observation, of which it is a good time now to mention a few. Everywhere there are temples of great size. There are seven marvellous pyramids, the difficulty of building which, and the length of time consumed in the work, are recorded by Herodotus. They exceed in height anything ever constructed by human labour, being towers of vast width at the bottom and ending in sharp points.

29. And their shape received this name from the geometricians because they rise in a cone like fire (πῦρ). And huge as they are, as they taper off gradually, they throw no shadow, in accordance with a principle of mechanics.

30. There are also subterranean passages, and winding retreats, which, it is said, men skilful in the ancient mysteries, by means of which they divined the coming of a flood, constructed in different places lest the memory of all their sacred ceremonies should be lost. On the walls, as they cut them out, they have sculptured several kinds of birds and beasts, and countless other figures of animals, which they call hieroglyphics.

31. There is also Syene, where at the time of the summer solstice the rays surrounding upright objects do not allow the shadows to extend beyond the bodies. And if any one fixes a post upright in the ground, or sees a man or a tree standing erect, he will perceive that their shadow is consumed at the extremities of their outlines. This also happens at Meroe, which is the spot in Ethiopia nearest to the equinoctial circle, and where for ninety days the shadows fall in a way just opposite to ours, on account of which the natives of that district are called Antiscii.^{137]}

32. But as there are many other wonders which would go beyond the plan of our little work, we must leave these to men of lofty genius, and content ourselves with relating a few things about the provinces.

XVI.

§ 1. In former times Egypt is said to have been divided into three provinces: Egypt proper, the Thebais, and Libya, to which in later times two

more have been added, Augustamnica, which has been cut off from Egypt proper, and Pentapolis, which has been detached from Libya.

2. Thebais, among many other cities, can boast especially of Hermopolis, Coptos, and Antinous, which Hadrian built in honour of his friend Antinous. As to Thebes, with, its hundred gates, there is no one ignorant of its renown.

3. In Augustamnica, among others, there is the noble city of Pelusium, which is said to have been founded by Peleus, the father of Achilles, who by command of the gods was ordered to purify himself in the lake adjacent to the walls of the city, when, after having slain his brother Phocus, he was driven about by horrid images of the Furies; and Cassium, where the tomb of the great Pompey is, and Ostracine, and Rhinocolura.

4. In Libya Pentapolis is Cyrene, a city of great antiquity, but now deserted, founded by Battus the Spartan, and Ptolemais, and Arsinoë, known also as Teuchira, and Darnis, and Berenice, called also Hesperides.

5. And in the dry Libya, besides a few other insignificant towns, there are Parætonium, Chærecla, and Neapolis.

6. Egypt proper, which ever since it has been united to the Roman empire has been under the government of a prefect, besides some other towns of smaller importance, is distinguished by Athribis, and Oxyrynchus, and Thmuis, and Memphis.

7. But the greatest of all the cities is Alexandria, ennobled by many circumstances, and especially by the grandeur of its great founder, and the skill of its architect Dinocrates, who, when he was laying the foundation of its extensive and beautiful walls, for want of mortar, which could not be procured at the moment, is said to have marked out its outline with flour; an incident which foreshowed that the city should hereafter abound in supplies of provisions.

8. At Inibis the air is wholesome, the sky pure and undisturbed; and, as the experience of a long series of ages proves, there is scarcely ever a day on which the inhabitants of this city do not see the sun.

9. The shore is shift and dangerous; and as in former times it exposed sailors to many dangers, Cleopatra erected a lofty tower in the harbour, which was named Pharos, from the spot on which it was built, and which afforded light to vessels by night when coming from the Levant or the Libyan sea along the plain and level coast, without any signs of mountains or towns or eminences to direct them, they were previously often wrecked by striking into the soft and adhesive sand.

10. The same queen, for a well-known and necessary reason, made a causeway seven furlongs in extent, admirable for its size and for the almost incredible rapidity with which it was made. The island of Pharos, where Homer in sublime language relates that Proteus used to amuse himself with his herds of seals, is almost a thousand yards from the shore on which the city stands, and was liable to pay tribute to the Rhodians.

11. And when on one occasion the farmers of this revenue came to make exorbitant demands, she, being a wily woman, on a pretext of it being the season of solemn holidays, led them into the suburbs, and ordered the work to be carried on without ceasing. And so seven furlongs were completed in seven days, being raised with the soil of the adjacent shore. Then the queen, driving over it in her chariot, said that the Rhodians were making a blunder in demanding port dues for what was not an island but part of the mainland.

12. Besides this there are many lofty temples, and especially one to Serapis, which, although no words can adequately describe it, we may yet say, from its splendid halls supported by pillars, and its beautiful statues and other embellishments, is so superbly decorated, that next to the Capitol, of which the ever-venerable Rome boasts, the whole world has nothing worthier of admiration.

13. In it were libraries of inestimable value; and the concurrent testimony of ancient records affirm that 70,000 volumes, which had been collected by the anxious care of the Ptolemies, were burnt in the Alexandrian war when the city was sacked in the time of Cæsar the Dictator.

14. Twelve miles from this city is Canopus, which, according to ancient tradition, received its name from the prophet of Menelaus, who was buried there. It is a place exceedingly well supplied with good inns, of a most wholesome climate, with refreshing breezes; so that any one who resides in that district might think himself out of our world while he hears the breezes murmuring through the sunny atmosphere.

15. Alexandria itself was not, like other cities, gradually embellished, but at its very outset it was adorned with spacious roads. But after having been long torn by violent seditions, at last, when Aurelian was emperor, and when the intestine quarrels of its citizens had proceeded to deadly strife, its walls were destroyed, and it lost the largest half of its territory, which was called Bruchion, and had long been the abode of eminent men.

16. There had lived Aristarchus, that illustrious grammarian; and Herodianus, that accurate inquirer into the fine arts; and Saccas Ammonius, the master of Plotinus, and many other writers in various useful branches of literature, among whom Didymus, surnamed Chalcenterus, a man celebrated for his writings on many subjects of science, deserves especial mention; who, in the six books in which he, sometimes incorrectly, attacks Cicero, imitating those malignant farce writers, is justly blamed by the learned as a puppy barking from a distance with puny voice against the mighty roar of the lion.

17. And although, besides those I have mentioned, there were many other men of eminence in ancient times, yet even now there is much learning in the same city; for teachers of various sects flourish, and many kinds of secret knowledge are explained by geometrical science. Nor is music dead among them, nor harmony. And by a few, observations of the motion of the world and of the stars are still cultivated; while of learned arithmeticians the number is considerable; and besides them there are many skilled in divination.

18. Again, of medicine, the aid of which in our present extravagant and luxurious way of life is incessantly required, the study is carried on with daily increasing eagerness; so that while the employment be of itself creditable, it is sufficient as a recommendation for any medical man to be able to say that he was educated at Alexandria. And this is enough to say on this subject.

19. But if any one in the earnestness of his intellect wishes to apply himself to the various branches of divine knowledge, or to the examination of metaphysics, he will find that the whole world owes this kind of learning to Egypt.

20. Here first, far earlier than in any other country, men arrived at the various cradles (if I may so say) of different religions. Here they still carefully preserve the elements of sacred rites as handed down in their secret volumes.

21. It was in learning derived from Egypt that Pythagoras was educated, which taught him to worship the gods in secret, to establish the principle that in whatever he said or ordered his authority was final, to exhibit his golden thigh at Olympia, and to be continually seen in conversation with an eagle.

22. Here it was that Anaxagoras derived the knowledge which enabled him to predict that stones would fall from heaven, and from the feeling of the mud in a well to foretell impending earthquakes. Solon too derived aid from the apophthegms of the priests of Egypt in the enactment of his just and moderate laws, by which he gave great confirmation to the Roman jurisprudence. From this source too Plato, soaring amid sublime ideas, rivalling Jupiter himself in the magnificence of his voice, acquired his glorious wisdom by a visit to Egypt.

23. The inhabitants of Egypt are generally swarthy and dark complexioned, and of a rather melancholy cast of countenance, thin and dry looking, quick in every motion, fond of controversy, and bitter exactors of their rights. Among them a man is ashamed who has not resisted the payment of tribute, and who does not carry about him wheals which he has received before he could be compelled to pay it. Nor have any tortures been found sufficiently powerful to make the hardened robbers of this country disclose their names unless they do so voluntarily.

24. It is well known, as the ancient annals prove, that all Egypt was formerly under kings who were friendly to us. But after Antony and Cleopatra were defeated in the naval battle at Actium, it became a province under the dominion of Octavianus Augustus. We became masters of the dry Libya by the last will of king Apion. Cyrene and the other cities of Libya Pentapolis we owe to the liberality of Ptolemy. After this long digression, I will now return to my original subject.

NOTES.

¹²¹ Ammianus uses the phrase “worship of *the gods*,” in opposition to Christianity.

¹²² Pro Archias Poeta, cap. xxii.

¹²³ The fable was that Hecuba was turned into a bitch, from which this place was called κοβοῦς σῆμα, a dog’s tomb.

¹²⁴ To — the name Βόσπορος is derived from βοῦς πόρος, the passage of the Cow.

¹²⁵ So Virgil calls them Indomitique Dahæ. In the Georgics, also, he speaks of the Chalybes as producers of iron. At Chalybes nudi ferrum.

¹²⁶ Or triennial, from τρεῖς, three; and ἔτος, a year.

¹²⁷ From Διόσκουροι, the sons of Jupiter, *i.e.*, Castor and Pollux.

¹²⁸ From ἡνίοχος, a charioteer.

¹²⁹ The old name was Ἀξεινος, inhospitable; turned into εὖξεινος, friendly to strangers — εὐήθης, according to etymology, would mean “of a good disposition:” εὐφρόνη, “the time when people have happy thoughts;” Εὐμενίδες, “deities of propitious might.”

¹³⁰ A people living in one of the islands near Sicily, and changed by Jupiter as related, Ov. Met. xiv., into monkeys.

¹³¹ Two of the chief giants, Hom. Od. xi.

¹³² A time spoken of by Pliny as before the fourth watch.

¹³³ These books are lost.

¹³⁴ We must remark here Ammianus’s complete ignorance of comparative geography and the bearings of the different countries of which he speaks. The Syrtes and Cape Ras are due *west*, not south of Egypt, The Ethiopians and Catadupi are on the north; while the Arabs, whom he places in the same line, are on the south-east. The Sea of Issus, on the Levant, which he places on the west, is on the north.

¹³⁵ The Blemmyæ were an Ethiopian tribe to the south of Egypt.

¹³⁶ These names seem derived from the real or fancied shape of the snakes mentioned: the amphispæna, from ἀμφι and βαίνω, to go both ways, as it was believed to have a head at each end. The scytalas was like “a staff;” the acontias, like “a javelin;” the dipsas was a thirsty snake.

¹³⁷ From ἀντὶ, opposite; and σκιά, shadow.

BOOK XXIII.

ARGUMENT.

I. Julian in vain attempts to restore the temple at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed long before. — II. He orders Arsaces, king of Armenia, to prepare for the war with Persia, and with an army and auxiliary troops of the Scythians crosses the Euphrates. — III. As he marches through Mesopotamia, the princes of the Saracenic tribes of their own accord offer him a golden crown and auxiliary troops — A Roman fleet of eleven hundred ships arrives, and bridges over the Euphrates. — IV. A description of several engines, balistæ, scorpions, or wild-asses, battering-rams, helepoles, and fire-machines. — V. Julian, with all his army, crosses the river Aboras by a bridge of boats at Circesium — He harangues his soldiers. — VI. A description of the eighteen principal provinces of Persia, their cities, and the customs of their inhabitants.

I.

A.D. 363.

§ 1. To pass over minute details, these were the principal events of the year. But Julian, who in his third consulship had taken as his colleague Sallustius, the prefect of Gaul now entered on his fourth year, and by a novel arrangement took as his colleague a private individual; an act of which no one recollected an instance since that of Diocletian and Aristobulus.

2. And although, foreseeing in his anxious mind the various accidents that might happen, he urged on with great diligence all the endless preparations necessary for his expedition, yet distributing his diligence everywhere; and being eager to extend the recollection of his reign by the greatness of his exploits, he proposed to rebuild at a vast expense the once magnificent temple of Jerusalem, which after many deadly contests was with difficulty taken by Vespasian and Titus, who succeeded his father in the conduct of the siege. And he assigned the task to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been proprefect of Britain.

3. But though Alypius applied himself vigorously to the work, and though the governor of the province co-operated with him, fearful balls of fire burst forth with continual eruptions close to the foundations, burning several of the workmen and making the spot altogether inaccessible. And thus the very elements, as if by some fate, repelling the attempt, it was laid aside.

4. About the same time the emperor conferred various honours on the ambassadors who were sent to him from the Eternal City, being men of high rank and established excellence of character. He appointed Apronianus to be prefect of Rome, Octavianus to be proconsul of Africa, Venustus to be viceroy of Spain, and promoted Rufinus Aradius to be count of the East in the room of his uncle Julian, lately deceased.

5. When all this had been carried out as he arranged, he was alarmed by an omen which, as the result showed, indicated an event immediately at hand. Felix, the principal treasurer, having died suddenly of a hemorrhage, and Count Julian having followed him, the populace, looking on their public titles,

hailed Julian as Felix and Augustus.

6. Another bad omen had preceded this, for, on the very first day of the year, as the emperor was mounting the steps of the temple of the Genius, one of the priests, the eldest of all, fell without any one striking him and suddenly expired; an event which the bystanders, either out of ignorance or a desire to flatter, affirmed was an omen affecting Sallustius, as the elder consul; but it was soon seen that the death it portended was not to the elder man, but to the higher authority.

7. Besides these several other lesser signs from time to time indicated what was about to happen; for, at the very beginning of the arrangements for the Parthian campaign, news came that there had been an earthquake at Constantinople, which those skilful in divination declared to be an unfavourable omen to a ruler about to invade a foreign country; and therefore advised Julian to abandon his unreasonable enterprise, affirming that these and similar signs can only be disregarded with propriety when one's country is invaded by foreign armies, as then there is one everlasting and invariable law, to defend its safety by every possible means, allowing no relaxation nor delay. News also came by letter that at Rome the Sibylline volumes had been consulted on the subject of the war by Julian's order, and that they had in plain terms warned him not to quit his own territories that year.

II.

§ 1. But in the mean time embassies arrived from several nations promising aid, and they were liberally received and dismissed; the emperor with plausible confidence replying that it by no means became the power of Rome to rely on foreign aid to avenge itself, as it was rather fitting that Rome should give support to its friends and allies if necessity drove them to ask it.

2. He only warned Arsaces, king of Armenia, to collect a strong force, and wait for his orders, as he should soon know which way to march, and what to do. Then, as soon as prudence afforded him an opportunity, hastening to anticipate every rumour of his approach by the occupation of the enemy's country, before spring had well set in, he sent the signal for the advance to all his troops, commanding them to cross the Euphrates.

3. As soon as the order reached them, they hastened to quit their winter quarters; and having crossed the river, according to their orders, they dispersed into their various stations, and awaited the arrival of the emperor. But he, being about to quit Antioch, appointed a citizen of Heliopolis, named Alexander, a man of turbulent and ferocious character, to govern Syria, saying that he indeed had not deserved such a post, but that the Antiochians, being covetous and insolent, required a judge of that kind.

4. When he was about to set forth, escorted by a promiscuous multitude who wished him a fortunate march and a glorious return, praying that he would be merciful and kinder than he had been, he (for the anger which their addresses and reproaches had excited in his breast was not yet appeased)

spoke with severity to them, and declared that he would never see them again.

5. For he said that he had determined, after his campaign was over, to return by a shorter road to Tarsus in Cilicia, to winter there: and that he had written to Memorius, the governor of the city, to prepare everything that he might require in that city. This happened not long afterwards; for his body was brought back thither and buried in the suburbs with a very plain funeral, as he himself had commanded.

6. As the weather was now getting warm he set out on the fifth of March, and by the usual stages arrived at Hieropolis; and as he entered the gates of that large city a portico on the left suddenly fell down, and as fifty soldiers were passing under it at that moment it wounded many, crushing them beneath the vast weight of the beams and tiles.

7. Having collected all his troops from thence, he marched with such speed towards Mesopotamia, that before any intelligence of his march could arrive (an object about which he was especially solicitous) he came upon the Assyrians quite unexpectedly. Then having led his whole army and the Scythian auxiliaries across the Euphrates by a bridge of boats, he arrived at Batnæ, a town of Osdroene, and there again a sad omen met him.

8. For when a great crowd of grooms was standing near an enormously high haystack, in order to receive their forage (for in this way those supplies used to be stored in that country), the mass was shaken by the numbers who sought to strip it, and falling down, overwhelmed fifty men.

III.

§ 1. Leaving this place with a heavy heart, he marched with great speed, and arrived at Carrhæ, an ancient town notorious for the disasters of Crassus and the Roman army. From this town two royal roads branch off, both leading into Persia; that on the left hand through Adiabene and along the Tigris, that on the right through the Assyrians and along the Euphrates.

2. There he stayed some days, preparing necessary supplies; and according to the custom of the district he offered sacrifices to the moon, which is religiously worshipped in that region; and it is said that while before the altar, no witness to the action being admitted, he secretly gave his own purple robe to Procopius, and bade him boldly assume the sovereignty if he should hear that he had died among the Parthians.

3. Here while asleep his mind was agitated with dreams, and foresaw some sad event about to happen; on which account he and the interpreters of dreams considering the omens which presented themselves, pronounced that the next day, which was the nineteenth of March, ought to be solemnly observed. But, as was ascertained subsequently, that very same night, while Apronianus was prefect of Rome, the temple of the Palatine Apollo was burnt in the Eternal City; and if aid from all quarters had not come to the rescue the violence of the conflagration would have destroyed even the prophetic volumes of the

Sibyl.

4. After these things had happened in this manner, and while Julian was settling his line of march, and making arrangements for supplies of all kinds, his scouts come panting in, and bring him word that some squadrons of the enemy's cavalry have suddenly passed the frontier in the neighbourhood of the camp, and have driven off a large booty.

5. Indignant at such atrocity and at such an insult, he immediately (as indeed he had previously contemplated) put thirty thousand chosen men under the orders of Procopius, who has been already mentioned, uniting with him in this command Count Sebastian, formerly Duke of Egypt; and he ordered them to act on this side of the Tigris, observing everything vigilantly, so that no danger might arise on any side where it was not expected, for such things had frequently happened. He charged them further, if it could be done, to join King Arsaces; and march with him suddenly through Corduena and Moxoëne, ravaging Chiliocomus, a very fertile district of Media, and other places; and then to rejoin him while still in Assyria, in order to assist him as he might require.

6. Having taken these measures, Julian himself, pretending to march by the line of the Tigris, on which road he had purposely commanded magazines of provisions to be prepared, turned towards the right, and after a quiet night, asked in the morning for the horse which he was accustomed to ride: his name was Babylonius. And when he was brought, being suddenly griped and starting at the pain, he fell down, and rolling about scattered the gold and jewels with which his trappings were decked. Julian, in joy at this omen, cried out, amid the applause of those around, that "Babylon had fallen, and was stripped of all her ornaments."

7. Having delayed a little that he might confirm the omen by the sacrifice of some victims, he advanced to Davana, where he had a garrison-fortress, and where the river Belias rises which falls into the Euphrates. Here he refreshed his men with food and sleep, and the next day reached Callinicus, a strong fortress, and also a great commercial mart, where, on the 27th of March (the day on which at Rome the annual festival in honour of Cybele is celebrated, and the car in which her image is borne is, as it is said, washed in the waters of the Almo), he kept the same feast according to the manner of the ancients, and then, retiring to rest, passed a triumphant, and joyful night.

8. The next day he proceeded along the bank of the river, which other streams began to augment, marching with an armed escort; and at night he rested in a tent where some princes of the Saracenic tribes came as suppliants, bringing him a golden crown, and adoring him as the master of the world and of their own nations: he received them graciously, as people well adapted for surprises in war.

9. And while addressing them a fleet arrived equal to that of the mighty sovereign Xerxes, under the command of the tribune Constantianus, and Count Lucillianus; they threw a bridge over the broadest part of the

Euphrates: the fleet consisted of one thousand transports, of various sorts and sizes, bringing large supplies of provisions, and arms, and engines for sieges, and fifty ships of war, and as many more suitable for the construction of bridges.

IV.

§ 1. I am reminded by the circumstances to explain instruments of this kind briefly, as far as my moderate talent may enable me to do, and first I will set forth the figure of the balista.

2. Between two axletrees a strong large iron bar is fastened, like a great rule, round, smooth, and polished; from its centre a square pin projects for some distance, hollowed out into a narrow channel down its middle. This is bound by many ligatures of twisted cords: to it two wooden nuts are accurately fitted, by one of which stands a skilful man who works it, and who fits neatly into the hollow of the pin or pole a wooden arrow with a large point; and as soon as this is done, some strong young men rapidly turn a wheel.

3. When the tip of the arrow's point has reached the extremity of the cords, the arrow is struck by a blow from the balista, and flies out of sight; sometimes even giving forth sparks by its great velocity, and it often happens that before the arrow is seen, it has given a fatal wound.

4. The scorpion, which they now call the wild-ass, is in the following form. Two axletrees of oak or box are cut out and slightly curved, so as to project in small humps, and they are fastened together like a sawing machine, being perforated with large holes on each side; and between them, through the holes, strong ropes are fastened to hold the two parts together, and prevent them from starting asunder.

5. From these ropes thus placed a wooden pin rises in an oblique direction, like the pole of a chariot, and it is so fastened by knotted cords as to be raised or depressed at pleasure. To its top, iron hooks are fastened, from which a sling hangs, made of either cord or iron. Below the pin is a large sack filled with shreds of cloth, fastened by strong ties, and resting on heaped-up turves or mounds of brick. For an engine of this kind, if placed on a stone wall would destroy whatever was beneath it, not by its weight, but by the violence of its concussion.

6. Then when a conflict begins, a round stone is placed on the sling, and four youths on each side, loosening the bar to which the cords are attached, bend the pin back till it points almost upright into the air; then the worker of the engine, standing by on high ground, frees by a blow with the heavy hammer the bolt which keeps down the whole engine; and the pin being set free by the stroke, and striking against the mass of cloth shreds, hurls forth the stone with such force as to crush whatever it strikes.

7. This engine is called a *tormentum*, because all its parts are twisted (*torquetur*); or a scorpion, because it has an erect sting; but modern times

have given it the name of the wild-ass, because when wild asses are hunted, they throw the stones behind them by their kicks so as to pierce the chests of those who pursue them, or to fracture their skulls.

8. Now let us come to the battering ram. A lofty pine or ash is chosen, the top of which is armed with a long and hard head of iron, resembling a ram, which form has given the name to the engine. It is suspended from iron beams running across on each side, like the top of a pair of scales, and is kept in its place by ropes hanging from a third beam. A number of men draw it back as far as there is room, and then again drive it forward to break down whatever opposes it by mighty blows, like a ram which rises up and butts.

9. By the frequent blows of this rebounding thunderbolt, buildings are torn asunder and walls are loosened and thrown down. By this kind of engine, if worked with proper vigour, garrisons are deprived of their defences, and the strongest cities are laid open and sieges rapidly brought to a conclusion.

10. Instead of these rams, which from their common use came to be despised, a machine was framed called in Greek the *helepolis*, by the frequent use of which Demetrius, the son of king Antigonos, took Rhodes and other cities, and earned the surname of Poliorcetes.

11. It is constructed in this manner. A vast testudo is put together, strengthened with long beams and fastened with iron nails; it is covered with bullocks' hides and wicker-work made of freshly cut twigs, and its top is smeared over with clay to keep off missiles and fiery darts.

12. Along its front very sharp spears with three points are fastened, heavy with iron, like the thunderbolts represented by painters or sculptors, and strong enough with the projecting points to tear to pieces whatever it strikes.

13. A number of soldiers within guide this vast mast with wheels and ropes, urging with vehement impulse against the weaker parts of the wall, so that, unless repelled by the strength of the garrison above, it breaks down the wall and lays open a great breach.

14. The firebolts, which are a kind of missile, are made thus. They take an arrow of cane, joined together between the point and the reed with jagged iron, and made in the shape of a woman's spindle, with which linen threads are spun; this is cunningly hollowed out in the belly and made with several openings, and in the cavity fire and fuel of some kind is placed.

15. Then if it be shot slowly from a slack bow (for if it be shot with too much speed the fire is extinguished), so as to stick anywhere, it burns obstinately, and if sprinkled with water it creates a still fiercer fire, nor will anything but throwing dust upon it quench it. This is enough to say of mural engines; let us now return to our original subject.

V.

§ 1. Having received the reinforcements of the Saracens which they so cheerfully offered, the emperor advanced with speed, and at the beginning of April entered Circesium, a very secure fortress, and skilfully built, it is

surrounded by the two rivers Aboras (or Chaboras) and Euphrates, which make it as it were an island.

2. It had formerly been small and insecure, till Diocletian surrounded it with lofty towers and walls when he was strengthening his inner frontier within the very territories of the barbarians, in order to prevent the Persians from overrunning Syria, as had happened a few years before to the great injury of the province.

3. For it happened one day at Antioch, when the city was in perfect tranquillity, a comic actor being on the stage with his wife, acting some common play, while the people were delighted with his acting, the wife suddenly exclaimed, "Unless I am dreaming, here are the Persians;" and immediately the populace turning round, were put to flight, and driven about in every direction while seeking to escape the darts which were showered upon them; and so the city being burnt and numbers of the citizens slain, who, as is usual in time of peace, were strolling about carelessly, and all the places in the neighbourhood being burnt and laid waste, the enemy loaded with booty returned in safety to their own country after having burnt Mareades alive, who had wickedly guided them to the destruction of his fellow-citizens. This event took place in the time of Gallienus.

4. But Julian, while remaining at Circesium to give time for his army and all its followers to cross the bridge of boats over the Aboras, received letters with bad news from Sallust, the prefect of Gaul, entreating him to suspend his expedition against the Parthians, and imploring him not in such an unseasonable manner to rush on irrevocable destruction before propitiating the gods.

5. But Julian disregarded his prudent adviser, and advanced boldly; since no human power or virtue can ever avail to prevent events prescribed by the order of the Fates. And immediately, having crossed the river, he ordered the bridge to be taken to pieces, that the soldiers might have no hope of safety by quitting their ranks and returning.

6. Here also a bad omen was seen; the corpse of an officer who had been put to death by the executioner, whom Sallust, the prefect, while in this country had condemned to death, because, after having promised to deliver an additional supply of provisions by an appointed day, he disappointed him through some hindrance. But after the unhappy man had been executed, the very next day there arrived, as he had promised, another fleet heavily laden with corn.

7. Leaving Circesium, we came to Zaitha, the name of the place meaning an olive-tree. Here we saw the tomb of the emperor Gordian, which is visible a long way off, whose actions from his earliest youth, and whose most fortunate campaigns and treacherous murder we related at the proper time,¹³⁸ and when, in accordance with his innate piety he had offered due honours to this deified emperor and was on his way to Dura, a town now deserted, he

stood without moving on beholding a large body of soldiers.

8. And as he was doubting what their object was, they brought him an enormous lion which had attacked their ranks and had been slain by their javelins. He, elated at this circumstance, which he looked on as an omen of success in his enterprise, advanced with increased exultation; but so uncertain is fortune, the event was quite contrary to his expectation. The death of a king was certainly foreshown, but who was the king was uncertain.

9. For we often read of ambiguous oracles, never understood till the results interpreted them; as, for instance, the Delphic prophecy, which foretold that after crossing the Halys, Cræsus would overthrow a mighty kingdom; and another, which by hints pointed out the sea to the Athenians as the field of combat against the Medes; and another; later than these, but not less ambiguous: —

“O son of Æacus,
I say that you the Romans can subdue.”

10. The Etrurian soothsayers who accompanied him, being men skilful in portents, had often warned him against this campaign, but got no credit; so now they produced their books of such signs, and showed that this was an omen of a forbidding character, and unfavourable to a prince who should invade the country of another sovereign however justly.

11. But he spurned the opposition of philosophers, whose authority he ought to have revered, though at times they were mistaken, and though they were sometimes obstinate in cases which they did not thoroughly understand. In truth, they brought forward as a plausible argument to secure credit to their knowledge, that in time past, when Cæsar Maximianus was about to fight Narses, king of the Persians, a lion and a huge boar which had been slain were at the same time brought to him, and after subduing that nation he returned in safety; forgetting that the destruction which was now portended was to him who invaded the dominions of another, and that Narses had given the offence by being the first to make an inroad into Armenia, a country under the Roman jurisdiction.

12. On the next day, which was the 7th of April, as the sun was setting, suddenly the air became darkened, and all light wholly disappeared, and after repeated claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, a soldier named Jovianus was struck by the lightning and killed, with two horses which he was leading back from the river to which he had taken them to drink.

13. When this was seen, the interpreters of such things were sent for and questioned, and they with increased boldness affirmed that this event forbade the campaign, demonstrating it to be a monitory lightning (for this term is applied to signs which advise or discourage any line of action). And this, as they said, was to be the more guarded against, because it had killed a soldier of rank, with war-horses; and the books which explain lightnings pronounce that places struck in this manner should not be trodden on, nor even looked

upon.

14. On the other hand, the philosophers declared that the brilliancy of this sacred fire thus suddenly presented to the eye had no special meaning, but was merely the course of a fiercer breath descending by some singular power from the sky to the lower parts of the world; and that if any foreknowledge were to be derived from such a circumstance, it was rather an increase of renown which was portended to the emperor now engaged in a glorious enterprise; since it is notorious that flame, if it meet with no obstacle, does of its own nature fly upwards.

15. The bridge then, as has been narrated, having been finished, and all the troops having crossed it, the emperor thought it the most important of all things to address his soldiers who were advancing resolutely, in full reliance on their leader and on themselves. Accordingly, a signal having been given by the trumpets, the centurions, cohorts, and maniples assembled, and he, standing on a mound of earth, and surrounded by a ring of officers of high rank, spoke thus with a cheerful face, being favourably heard with the unanimous good will of all present.

16. "Seeing, my brave soldiers, that you are full of great vigour and alacrity, I have determined to address you, to prove to you by several arguments that the Romans are not, as spiteful grumblers assert, now for the first time invading the kingdom of Persia. For, to say nothing of Lucullus or of Pompey, who, having forced his way through the Albani and Massagetæ, whom we call Alani, penetrated through this nation also so as to reach the Caspian lake; we know that Ventidius, the lieutenant of Antony, gained many victories in these regions.

17. "But to leave those ancient times, I will enumerate other exploits of more recent memory. Trajan, and Verus, and Severus have all gained victories and trophies in this country; and the younger Gordian, whose monument we have just been honouring, would have reaped similar glory, having conquered and routed the king of Persia at Resaina, if he had not been wickedly murdered in this very place by the faction of Philip, the prefect of the prætorium, with the assistance of a few other impious men.

18. "But his shade was not long left to wander unavenged, since, as if Justice herself had laboured in the cause, all those who conspired against him have been put to death with torture. Those men, indeed, ambition prompted to the atrocious deed; but we are exhorted by the miserable fate of cities recently taken, by the unavenged shades of our slaughtered armies, by the heaviness of our losses, and the loss of many camps and fortresses, to the enterprise which we have undertaken. All men uniting in their wishes that we may remedy past evils, and having secured the honour and safety of the republic on this side, may leave posterity reason to speak nobly of us.

19. "By the assistance of the eternal deity, I, your emperor, will be always among you as a leader and a comrade, relying, as I well believe, on favourable omens. But if variable fortune shall defeat me in battle, it will still be

sufficient for me to have devoted myself for the welfare of the Roman world, like ancient Curtii and Mucii, and the illustrious family of the Decii. We have to abolish a most pernicious nation, on whose swords the blood of our kindred is not yet dry.

20. "Our ancestors have before now devoted ages to cause the destruction of enemies who harassed them. Carthage was overthrown after a long and distressing war; and its great conqueror feared to let it survive his victory. After a long and often disastrous siege, Scipio utterly destroyed Numantia. Rome destroyed Fidenæ, that it might not grow up as a rival to the empire; and so entirely laid waste Falisci and Veii, that it is not easy to attach so much faith to ancient records as to believe that those cities ever were powerful.

21. "These transactions I have related to you as one acquainted with ancient history. It follows that all should lay aside, as unworthy of him, the love of plunder, which has often been the insidious bane of the Roman soldier, and that every one should keep steadily to his own troop and his own standard, when the necessity for fighting arises, knowing that should he loiter anywhere he will be hamstrung and left to his fate. I fear nothing of our over-crafty enemies but their tricks and perfidy.

22. "Finally, I promise you all, that when our affairs have met with success, without entrenching myself behind my imperial prerogative, so as to consider all my own decisions and opinions irrefragably just and reasonable because of my authority, I will give, if required, a full explanation of all that I have done, that you may be able to judge whether it has been wise or not.

23. "Therefore, I entreat you, now summon all your courage, in full reliance on your good fortune, sure at all events that I will share all dangers equally with you, and believing that victory ever accompanies justice."

24. When he had ended his harangue with this pleasant peroration, the soldiers, exulting in the glory of their chief, and elated with the hopes of success, lifted up their shields on high, and cried out that they should think nothing dangerous nor difficult under an emperor who imposed more toil on himself than on his common soldiers.

25. And above all the rest his Gallic troops showed this feeling with triumphant shouts, remembering how often while he as their leader was marshalling their ranks, they had seen some nations defeated and others compelled to sue for mercy and peace.

VI.

§ 1. Our history here leads us to a digression explanatory of the situation of Persia. It has been already dilated upon by those who describe different nations, though but few of them have given a correct account; if my story should be a little longer, it will contribute to a better knowledge of the country. For whoever affects excessive conciseness while speaking of things but little known, does not so much consider how to explain matters

intelligibly, as how much he may omit.

2. This kingdom, formerly but small, and one which had been known by several names, from causes which we have often mentioned, after the death of Alexander at Babylon received the name of Parthia from Arsaces, a youth of obscure birth, who in his early youth was a leader of banditti, but who gradually improved his condition, and rose to high renown from his illustrious actions.

3. After many splendid and gallant exploits he defeated Nicator Seleucus, the successor of the above-named Alexander, who had received the surname of Nicator¹³⁹ from his repeated victories; and having expelled the Macedonian garrisons, he lived for the remainder of his life in peace, like a merciful ruler of willing subjects.

4. At last, after all the neighbouring districts had been brought under his power, either by force or by fear, or by his reputation for justice, he died a peaceful death in middle age, after he had filled all Persia with flourishing cities and well-fortified camps and fortresses, and had made it an object of terror to its neighbours whom previously it used to fear. And he was the first of these kings who had by the unanimous consent of all his countrymen of all ranks, in accordance with the tenets of their religion, had his memory consecrated as one now placed among the stars.

5. And it is from his era that the arrogant sovereigns of that nation have allowed themselves to be entitled brothers of the sun and moon. And, as the title of Augustus is sought for and desired by our emperors, so now the additional dignities first earned by the fortunate auspices of Arsaces are claimed by all the Parthian kings, who were formerly abject and inconsiderable.

6. So that they still worship and honour Arsaces as a god, and down to our day have given him so much honour that, in conferring the royal power, one of his race has been always preferred to any one else. And also in intestine quarrels, such as are common in that nation, every one avoids as sacrilege wounding any descendant of Arsaces, whether in arms or living as a private individual.

7. It is well known that this nation, after subduing many others by force, extended its dominions as far as the Propontis and Thrace; but that it subsequently became diminished and suffered great disasters, owing to the arrogance of its ambitious monarchs, who carried their licentious inroads into distant countries. First, in consequence of the conduct of Cyrus, who crossed the Bosphorus with a fabulous host, but was wholly destroyed by Tomyris, queen of the Scythians, who thus terribly avenged her sons.

8. After him, when Darius, and subsequently Xerxes, changed the use¹⁴⁰ of the elements and invaded Greece, they had nearly all their forces destroyed by land and sea, and could scarcely escape in safety themselves. I say nothing of the wars of Alexander, and of his leaving the sovereignty over the whole nation by will to his successor.

9. Then, a long time after these events, while our republic was under consuls, and was afterwards brought under the power of the Cæsars, that nation was constantly warring with us, sometimes with equal fortune; being at one time defeated, and at another victorious.

10. Now I will in a few words describe the situation and position of the country as well as I can. It is a region of great extent both in length and breadth, entirely surrounding on all sides the famous Persian gulf with its many islands. The mouth of this gulf is so narrow that from Harmozon, the promontory of Carmania, the opposite headland, which the natives call Maces, is easily seen.

11. When the strait between these capes is passed, and the water becomes wider, they are navigable up to the city Teredon, where, after having suffered a great diminution of its waters, the Euphrates falls into the sea. The entire gulf, if measured round the shore, is 20,000 furlongs, being of a circular form as if turned in a lathe. And all round its coasts are towns and villages in great numbers; and the vessels which navigate its waters are likewise very numerous.

12. Having then passed through this strait we come to the gulf of Armenia on the east, the gulf of Cantichus on the south, and on the west to a third, which they call Chalites.¹⁴¹ These gulfs, after washing many islands, of which but few are known, join the great Indian Ocean, which is the first to receive the glowing rising of the sun, and is itself of an excessive heat.

13. As the pens of geographers delineate it, the whole of the region which we have been speaking of is thus divided. From the north to the Caspian gates it borders on the Cadusii, and on many Scythian tribes, and on the Arimaspi, a fierce one-eyed people. On the west it is bounded by the Armenians, and Mount Niphates, the Asiatic Albani, the Red Sea, and the Scenite Arabs, whom later times have called the Saracens. To the south it looks towards Mesopotamia, on the east it reaches to the Ganges, which falls into the Southern Ocean after intersecting the countries of the Indians.

14. The principal districts of Persia, under command of the Vitaxæ, that is to say of the generals of the cavalry, and of the king's Satraps, for the many inferior provinces it would be difficult and superfluous to enumerate, are Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persia, Parthia, the greater Carmania, Hyrcania, Margiana, the Bactrians, the Sogdians, the Sacæ, Scythia beyond Mount Emodes, Serica, Aria, the Paropanisadæ, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Gedrosia.

15. Superior to all the rest is that which is the nearest to us, Assyria, both in renown, and extent, and its varied riches and fertility. It was formerly divided among several peoples and tribes, but is now known under one common name as Assyria. It is in that country that amid its abundance of fruits and ordinary crops, there is a lake named Sosingites, near which bitumen is found. In this lake the Tigris is for a while absorbed, flowing beneath its bed, till, at a great distance, it emerges again.

16. Here also is produced naphtha, an article of a pitchy and glutinous character, resembling bitumen: on which if ever so small a bird perches, it finds its flight impeded and speedily dies. It is a species of liquid, and when once it has taken fire, human ingenuity can find no means of extinguishing it except that of heaping dust on it.

17. In the same district is seen an opening in the earth from which a deadly vapour arises, which by its foul odour destroys any animal which comes near it. The evil arises from a deep well, and if that odour spread beyond its wide mouth before it rose higher, it would make all the country around uninhabitable by its fetid effect.

18. There used, as some affirm, to be a similar chasm near Hierapolis in Phrygia; from which a noxious vapour rose in like manner with a fetid smell which never ceased, and destroyed everything within the reach of its influence, except eunuchs; to what this was owing we leave natural philosophers to determine.

19. Also near the temple of the Asbamæan Jupiter, in Cappadocia (in which district that eminent philosopher Apollonius is said to have been born near the town of Tyana), a spring rises from a marsh, which, however swollen with its rising floods, never overflows its banks.

20. Within this circuit is Adiabene, which was formerly called Assyria, but by long custom has received its present name from the circumstance, that being placed between the two navigable rivers the Ona and the Tigris, it can never be approached by fording; for in Greek we use διαβαίνειν for to “cross:” this was the belief of the ancients.

21. But we say that in this country there are two rivers which never fail, which we ourselves have crossed, the Diabas, and the Adiabas: both having bridges of boats over them; and that Adiabene has received its name from this last, as Homer tells us Egypt received its name from its great river, and India also, and Commagena which was formerly called Euphratensis, as did the country now called Spain, which was formerly called Iberia from the Iberus.¹⁴² And the great Spanish province of Bætica from the river Bætis.¹⁴³

22. In this district of Adiabene is the city of Nineveh, named after Ninus, a most mighty sovereign of former times, and the husband of Semiramis, who was formerly queen of Persia, and also the cities of Ecbatana, Arbela, and Gaugamela, where Alexander, after several other battles, gave the crowning defeat to Darius.

23. In Assyria there are many cities, among which one of the most eminent is Apamia, surnamed Mesene, and Teredon, and Apollonia, and Vologesia, and many others of equal importance. But the most splendid and celebrated are these three, Babylon, the walls of which Semiramis cemented with pitch; for its citadel indeed was founded by that most eminent monarch Belus. And Ctesiphon which Vardanes built long ago, and which subsequently King Pacorus enlarged by an immigration of many citizens, fortifying it also with walls, and giving it a name, made it the most splendid place in Persia — next

to it Seleucia, the splendid work of Seleucus Nicator.

24. This, however, as we have already related, was stormed by the generals of Verus Cæsar, who carried the image of the Cumæan Apollo to Rome, and placed it in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, where it was formally dedicated to that god by his priests. But it is said that after this statue was carried off, and the city was burnt, the soldiers, searching the temple, found a narrow hole, and when this was opened in the hope of finding something of value in it, from some deep gulf which the secret science of the Chaldæans had closed up, issued a pestilence, loaded with the force of incurable disease, which in the time of Verus and Marcus Antoninus polluted the whole world from the borders of Persia to the Rhine and Gaul with contagion and death.

25. Near to this is the region of the Chaldæans, the nurse of the ancient philosophy, as the Chaldæans themselves affirm; and where the art of true divination has most especially been conspicuous. This district is watered by the noble rivers already mentioned, by the Marses, by the Royal river, and by that best of all, the Euphrates, which divides into three branches, and is navigable in them all, having many islands, and irrigating the fields around in a manner superior to any industry of cultivators, making them fit both for the plough and for the production of trees.

26. Next to these come the Susians, in whose province there are not many towns; though Susa itself is celebrated as a city which has often been the home of kings, and Arsiana, and Sele, and Aracha. The other towns in this district are unimportant and obscure. Many rivers flow through this region, the chief of which are the Oroates, the Harax, and the Meseus, passing through the narrow sandy plain which separates the Caspian from the Red Sea, and then fall into the sea.

27. On the left, Media is bounded by the Hyrcanian Sea;¹⁴⁴ a country which, before the reign of the elder Cyrus and the rise of Persia, we read was the supreme mistress of all Asia after the Assyrians had been conquered; the greater part of whose cantons had their name changed into one general appellation of Acrapatena, and fell by right of war under the power of the Medes.

28. They are a warlike nation, and the most formidable of all the eastern tribes, next to the Parthians, by whom alone they are conquered. The region which they inhabit is in the form of a square. All the inhabitants of these districts extend over great breadth of country, reaching to the foot of a lofty chain of mountains known by the names of Zagrus, Orontes, and Jasonium.

29. There is another very lofty mountain called Coronus; and those who dwell on its western side abound in corn land and vineyards, being blessed with a most fertile soil, and one enriched by rivers and fountains.

30. They have also green meadows, and breeds of noble horses, on which (as ancient writers relate, and as we ourselves have witnessed) their men when going to battle mount with great exultation. They call them Nesæi.^{145]}

31. They have also as many cities as Media, and villages as strongly built as towns in other countries, inhabited by large bodies of citizens. In short, it is the richest quarter of the kingdom.

32. In these districts the lands of the Magi are fertile; and it may be as well to give a short account of that sect and their studies, since we have occasion to mention their name. Plato, that most learned deliverer of wise opinions, teaches us that Magiæ is by a mystic name Machagistia,¹⁴⁶ that is to say, the purest worship of divine beings; of which knowledge in olden times the Bactrian Zoroaster derived much from the secret rites of the Chaldæans; and after him Hystaspes, a very wise monarch, the father of Darius.

33. Who while boldly penetrating into the remoter districts of upper India, came to a certain woody retreat, of which with its tranquil silence the Brahmans, men of sublime genius, were the possessors. From their teaching he learnt the principles of the motion of the world and of the stars, and the pure rites of sacrifice, as far as he could; and of what he learnt he infused some portion into the minds of the Magi, which they have handed down by tradition to later ages, each instructing his own children, and adding to it their own system of divination.

34. From his time, through many ages to the present era, a number of priests of one and the same race has arisen, dedicated to the worship of the gods. And they say, if it can be believed, that they even keep alive in everlasting fires a flame which descended from heaven among them; a small portion of which, as a favourable omen, used to be borne before the kings of Asia.

35. Of this class the number among the ancients was small, and the Persian sovereigns employed their ministry in the solemn performance of divine sacrifices, and it was profanation to approach the altars, or to touch a victim before a Magus with solemn prayers had poured over it a preliminary libation. But becoming gradually more numerous they arrived at the dignity and reputation of a substantial race; inhabiting towns protected by no fortifications, allowed to live by their own laws, and honoured from the regard borne to their religion.

36. It was of this race of Magi that the ancient volumes relate that after the death of Cambyzes, seven men seized on the kingdom of Persia, who were put down by Darius, after he obtained the kingdom through the neighing of his horse.

37. In this district a medical oil is prepared with which if an arrow be smeared, and it be shot gently from a loose bow (for it loses its effect in a rapid flight), wherever it sticks it burns steadily, and if any one attempts to quench it with water it only burns more fiercely, nor can it be put out by any means except by throwing dust on it.

38. It is made in this manner. Those skilful in such arts mix common oil with a certain herb, keep it a long time and when the mixture is completed they thicken it with a material derived from some natural source, like a thicker

oil. The material being a liquor produced in Persia, and called, as I have already said, naphtha in their native language.

39. In this district there are many cities, the most celebrated of which are Zombis, Patigran, and Gazaca; but the richest and most strongly fortified are Heraclia, Arsacia, Europos, Cyropolis, and Ecbatana, all of which are situated in the Syromedian region at the foot of Mount Jasonius.

40. There are many rivers in this country, the principal of which are the Choaspes, the Gyndes, the Amardus, the Charinda, the Cambyses, and the Cyrus, to which, on account of its size and beauty, the elder Cyrus, that amiable king, gave its present name, abolishing that which it used to bear, when he was proceeding on his expedition against Scythia; his reason being that it was strong, as he accounted himself to be, and that making its way with great violence, as he proposed to do, it falls into the Caspian Sea.

41. Beyond this frontier ancient Persia, stretching towards the south, extends as far as the sea, and is very thickly peopled, being also rich in grain and date-trees, and well supplied with excellent water. Many of its rivers fall into the gulf already mentioned, the chief of which are the Vatrachites, the Rogomanis, the Brisoana, and the Bagrada.

42. Its inland towns are very considerable; it is uncertain why they built nothing remarkable on the sea-coast. Those of most note are Persepolis, Ardea, Obroatis, and Tragonice. The only islands visible from that coast are these: — Tabiana, Fara, and Alexandria.

43. On the borders of this ancient Persia towards the north is Parthia, a country subject to snow and frost; the principal river which intersects that region is the Choatres; the chief towns are Genonia, Mœsia, Charax, Apamia, Artacana, and Hecatompylos; from its frontier along the shores of the Caspian Sea to the Caspian gates is a distance of 1040 furlongs.

44. The inhabitants of all the countries in that district are fierce and warlike, and they are so fond of war and battle that he who is slain in battle is accounted the happiest of men, while those who die a natural death are reproached as degenerate and cowardly.

45. These tribes are bounded on the east and the south by Arabia Felix, so called because it abounds equally in corn, cattle, vines, and every kind of spice: a great portion of that country reaches on the right down to the Red Sea, and on its left extends to the Persian Gulf; so that the inhabitants reap the benefits of both.

46. There are in that country many havens and secure harbours, and well-frequented marts; many spacious and splendid abodes for their kings, and wholesome springs of water naturally warm, and a great number of rivers and streams; the climate is temperate and healthy, so that if one considers the matter rightly, the natives seem to want nothing to perfect their happiness.

47. There are in it very many cities both on the coast and inland; many fertile hills and valleys. The chief cities are Geapolis, Nascon, Baraba,

Nagara, Mephra, Taphra, and Dioscurias. And in both seas it possesses several islands lying off the coast, which it is not worth while to enumerate. But the most important of them is Turgana, in which there is said to be a magnificent temple of Serapis.

48. Beyond the frontier of this nation is the greater Carmania, lying on high ground, and stretching to the Indian Sea; fertile in fruit and timber trees, but neither so productive nor so extensive as Arabia. With rivers it is as well supplied, and in grass and herbage scarcely inferior.

49. The most important rivers are the Sagareus, the Saganis, and the Hydriacus. The cities are not numerous, but admirably supplied with all the necessities and luxuries of life; the most celebrated of them all are Carmania the metropolis, Portospana, Alexandria, and Hermopolis.

50. Proceeding inland, we next come to the Hyrcanians, who live on the coast of the sea of that name. Here the land is so poor that it kills the seed crops, so that agriculture is not much attended to; but they live by hunting, taking wonderful pleasure in every kind of sport. Thousands of tigers are found among them, and all kinds of wild beasts; we have already mentioned the various devices by which they are caught.

51. Not indeed that they are ignorant of the art of ploughing, and some districts where the soil is fertile are regularly sown; nor are trees wanting to plant in suitable spots: many of the people too support themselves by commerce.

52. In this province are two rivers of universal celebrity the Oxus and the Maxera, which tigers sometimes, when urged by hunger, cross by swimming, and unexpectedly ravage the neighbouring districts. It has also besides other smaller towns some strong cities, two on the sea-shore named Socunda and Saramanna; and some inland, such as Azmorna and Sole, and Hyrcana, of higher reputation than either.

53. Opposite to this tribe, towards the north, live the Abii, a very devout nation, accustomed to trample under foot all worldly things, and whom, as Homer somewhat fabulously says, Jupiter keeps in view from Mount Ida.

54. The regions next to the Hyrcaneans are possessed by the Margiani, whose district is almost wholly surrounded by high hills, by which they are separated from the sea; and although the greater part of this province is deserted from want of water, still there are some towns in it; the best known of which are Jasonium, Antiochia, and Nisæa.

55. Next to them are the Bactrians, a nation formerly very warlike and powerful, and always hostile to the Persians, till they drew all the nations around under their dominion, and united them under their own name; and in old time the Bactrian kings were formidable even to Arsaces.

56. The greater part of their country, like that of the Margiani, is situated far from the sea-shore, but its soil is fertile, and the cattle which feed both on the plains and on the mountains in that district are very large and powerful; of this the camels which Mithridates brought from thence, and which were first

seen by the Romans at the siege of Cyzicus, are a proof.

57. Many tribes are subject to the Bactrians, the most considerable of which are the Tochari: their country is like Italy in the number of its rivers, some of which are the Artemis and the Zariaspes, which were formerly joined, and the Ochus and Orchomanes, which also unite and afterwards fall into the Oxus, and increase that large river with their streams.

58. There are also cities in that country, many of them on the border of different rivers, the best of which are Chatra, Charte, Alicodra, Astacea, Menapila, and Bactra itself, which has given its name both to the region and to the people.

59. At the foot of the mountains lie a people called the Sogdians, in whose country are two rivers navigable for large vessels, the Araxates and the Dymas, which, flowing among the hills and through the valleys into the open plain, form the extensive Oxian marsh. In this district the most celebrated towns are Alexandria, Cyreschata, and Drepsa the metropolis.

60. Bordering on these are the Sacæ, a fierce nation dwelling in a gloomy-looking district, only fit for cattle, and on that account destitute of cities. They are at the foot of Mount Ascanimia and Mount Comedus, along the bottom of which, and by a town called the Stone Tower, is the long road much frequented by merchants which leads to China.

61. Around the glens at the bottom of the Imanian and Tapurian mountains, and within the Persian frontier, is a tribe of Scythians, bordering on the Asiatic Sarmatians, and touching the furthest side of the Allemanni, who, like dwellers in a secluded spot, and made for solitude, are scattered over the regions at long distances from one another, and live on hard and poor food.

62. And various tribes inhabit these districts, which, as I am hastening to other topics, I think superfluous to enumerate. But this is worth knowing, that among these tribes, which are almost unapproachable on account of their excessive ferocity, there are some races of gentle and devout men, as the Jaxartæ and the Galactophagi, whom Homer mentions in his verses: —

Γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίωντε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.147]

63. Among the many rivers which flow through this land, either uniting at last with larger streams, or proceeding straight to the sea, the most celebrated are the Rœmnus, the Jaxartes, and the Talicus. There are but three cities there of any note, Aspabota, Chauriana, and Saga.

64. Beyond the districts of the two Scythias, on the eastern side, is a ring of mountains which surround Serica, a country considerable both for its extent and the fertility of its soil. This tribe on their western side border on the Scythians, on the north and the east they look towards snowy deserts; towards the south they extend as far as India and the Ganges. The best known of its mountains are Annib, Nazavicium, Asmira, Emodon, and Opurocarra.

65. The plain, which descends very suddenly from the hills, and is of considerable extent, is watered by two famous rivers, the Œchardes and the

Bautis, which is less rapid than the other. The character too of the different districts is very varied. One is extensive and level, the other is on a gentle slope, and therefore very fertile in corn, and cattle, and trees.

66. The most fertile part of the country is inhabited by various tribes, of which the Alitrophagi, the Annibi, the Sisyges, and the Chardi lie to the north, exposed to the frost; towards the east are the Rabannæ, the Asmiræ, and the Essedones, the most powerful of all, who are joined on the west by the Athagoræ, and the Aspacaræ; and on the south by the Betæ, who live on the highest slopes of the mountains. Though they have not many cities they have some of great size and wealth; the most beautiful and renowned of which are Asmira, Essedon, Asparata, and Sera.

67. The Seres themselves live quietly, always avoiding arms and battles; and as ease is pleasant to moderate and quiet men, they give trouble to none of their neighbours. Their climate is agreeable and healthy; the sky serene, the breezes gentle and delicious. They have numbers of shining groves, the trees of which through continued watering produce a crop like the fleece of a sheep, which the natives make into a delicate wool, and spin into a kind of fine cloth, formerly confined to the use of the nobles, but now procurable by the lowest of the people without distinction.

68. The natives themselves are the most frugal of men, cultivating a peaceful life, and shunning the society of other men. And when strangers cross their river to buy their cloth, or any other of their merchandise, they interchange no conversation, but settle the price of the articles wanted by nods and signs; and they are so moderate that, while selling their own produce, they never buy any foreign wares.

69. Beyond the Seres, towards the north, live the Ariani; their land is intersected by a navigable river called the Arias, which forms a huge lake known by the same name. This district of Asia is full of towns, the most illustrious of which are Bitaxa, Sarmatina, Sotera, Nisibis, and Alexandria, from which last down the river to the Caspian Sea is a distance of fifteen hundred furlongs.

70. Close to their border, living on the slopes of the mountains, are the Paropanisatæ, looking on the east towards India, and on the west towards Mount Caucasus. Their principal river is Ortogordomaris, which rises in Bactria. They have some cities, the principal being Agazaca, Naulibus, and Ortopana, from which if you coast along the shore to the borders of Media which are nearest to the Caspian gates, the distance is two thousand two hundred furlongs.

71. Next to them, among the hills, are the Drangiani, whose chief river is the Arabis, so called because it rises in Arabia; and their two principal towns are Prophthasia and Aniaspe, both wealthy and well known.

72. Next to them is Arachosia, which on the right extends as far as India. It is abundantly watered by a river much smaller than the Indus, that greatest of rivers, which gives its name to the surrounding regions; in fact their river

flows out of the Indus, and passes on till it forms the marsh known as Arachotoscrene. Its leading cities are Alexandria, Arbaca, and Choaspa.

73. In the most inland districts of Persia is Gedrosia; which on its right touches the frontier of India, and is fertilized by several rivers, of which the greatest is the Artabius. There the Barbitani mountains end, and from their lowest parts rise several rivers which fall into the Indus, losing their own names in the greatness of that superior stream. They have several islands, and their principal cities are Sedratyra and Gynæcon.

74. We need not detail minutely every portion of the sea-coast on the extremity of Persia, as it would lead us into too long a digression. It will suffice to say that the sea which stretches from the Caspian mountains along the northern side to the straits above mentioned, is nine thousand furlongs in extent; the southern frontier, from the mouth of the Nile to the beginning of Carmania, is fourteen thousand furlongs.

75. In these varied districts of different languages, the races of men are as different as the places. But to describe their persons and customs in general terms, they are nearly all slight in figure, swarthy or rather of a pale livid complexion; fierce-looking, with goat-like eyes, and eyebrows arched in a semicircle and joined, with handsome beards, and long hair. They at all times, even at banquets and festivals, wear swords; a custom which that excellent author Thucydides tells us the Athenians were the first of the Greeks to lay aside.

76. They are generally amazingly addicted to amatory pleasures; each man scarcely contenting himself with a multitude of concubines: from unnatural vices they are free. Each man marries many or few wives, as he can afford them, so that natural affection is lost among them because of the numerous objects of their licence. They are frugal in their banquets, avoiding immoderate indulgence and especially hard drinking, as they would the plague.

77. Nor, except at the king's table, have they any settled time for dining, but each man's stomach serves as his sun-dial; nor does any one eat after he is satisfied.

78. They are marvellously temperate and cautious, so that when sometimes marching among the gardens and vineyards of enemies, they neither desire nor touch anything, from fear of poison or witchcraft.

79. They perform all the secret functions of nature with the most scrupulous secrecy and modesty.

80. But they are so loose in their gait, and move with such correct ease and freedom, that you would think them effeminate, though they are most vigorous warriors; still they are rather crafty than bold, and are most formidable at a distance. They abound in empty words, and speak wildly and fiercely; they talk big, are proud, unmanageable, and threatening alike in prosperity and adversity; they are cunning, arrogant, and cruel, exercising the power of life and death over their slaves, and all low-born plebeians. They

flay men alive, both piecemeal, and by stripping off the whole skin. No servant while waiting on them, or standing at their table, may gape, speak, or spit, so that their mouths are completely shut.

81. Their laws are remarkably severe: the most stringent are against ingratitude and against deserters; some too are abominable, inasmuch as for the crime of one man they condemn all his relations.

82. But as those only are appointed judges who are men of proved experience and uprightness, and of such wisdom as to stand in no need of advice, they laugh at our custom of sometimes appointing men of eloquence and skill in public jurisprudence as guides to ignorant judges. The story that one judge was compelled to sit on the skin of another, who had been condemned for his injustice, is either an ancient fable, or else, if ever there was such a custom, it has become obsolete.

83. In military system and discipline, by continual exercises in the business of the camp, and the adoption of the various manœuvres which they have learnt from us, they have become formidable even to the greatest armies; they trust chiefly to the valour of their cavalry, in which all their nobles and rich men serve. Their infantry are armed like mirmillos,¹⁴⁸ and are as obedient as grooms; and they always follow the cavalry like a band condemned to everlasting slavery, never receiving either pay or gratuity. This nation, besides those whom it has permanently subdued, has also compelled many others to go under the yoke; so brave is it and so skilful in all warlike exercises, that it would be invincible were it not continually weakened by civil and by foreign wars.

84. Most of them wear garments brilliant with various colours, so completely enveloping the body that even though they leave the bosoms and sides of their robes open so as to flutter in the wind, still from their shoes to their head no part of their person is exposed. After conquering Croesus and subduing Lydia, they learnt also to wear golden armlets and necklaces, and jewels, especially pearls, of which they had great quantities.

85. It only remains for me to say a few words about the origin of this stone. Among the Indians and Persians pearls are found in strong white sea-shells, being created at a regular time by the admixture of dew. For the shells, desiring as it were a kind of copulation, open so as to receive moisture from the nocturnal aspersion. Then becoming big they produce little pearls in triplets, or pairs, or unions, which are so called because the shells when scaled often produce only single pearls, which then are larger.

86. And a proof that this produce arises from and is nourished by some aërial derivation rather than by any fattening power in the sea, is that the drops of morning dew when infused into them make the stones bright and round; while the evening dew makes them crooked and red, and sometimes spotted. They become either small or large in proportion to the quality of the moisture which they imbibe, and other circumstances. When they are shaken, as is often the case by thunder, the shells either become empty, or produce

only weak pearls, or such as never come to maturity.

87. Fishing for them is difficult and dangerous, and this circumstance increases their value; because, on account of the snares of the fishermen they are said to avoid the shores most frequented by them, and hide around rocks which are difficult of access and the hiding places of sharks.

88. We are not ignorant that the same species of jewel is also produced and collected in the remote parts of the British sea; though of an inferior value.

NOTES.

¹³⁸ The book containing this account is lost.

¹³⁹ From νικάω, to conquer.

¹⁴⁰ As the Greek epigram has it —

Τὸν γαίης καὶ πόντου ἀμειφθεῖσαισι κελευθοῖς
Ναύτην ἠπεύρου, πῆζόπορον πελάγους.

Thus translated in Bohn's 'Greek Anthology,' : —

Him, who reversed the laws great Nature gave,
Sail'd o'er the continent and walk'd the wave,
Three hundred spears from Sparta's iron plain
Have stopp'd. Oh blush, ye mountains and thou main!

¹⁴¹ The probability is that all these names are corrupt. Ammianus's ignorance of the relative bearings of countries makes it difficult to decide what they ought to be. If the proper reading of the last name be, as Valesius thinks, Sarbaletes, that is the name given by Ptolemy to a part of the Red Sea. A French translator of the last century considers the Gulf of Armenia a portion of the Caspian Sea.

¹⁴² The Ebro.

¹⁴³ The Guadalquivir.

¹⁴⁴ Ammianus seems to distinguish between the Hyrcanian and Caspian Sea, which are only different names for the same sea or inland lake.

¹⁴⁵ A name not very unlike Nejd, to this day the most celebrated Arab breed.

¹⁴⁶ There is evidently some corruption here; there is no such Greek word as Machagistia.

¹⁴⁷ Il. xiii. 10.

¹⁴⁸ A kind of gladiator.

BOOK XXIV.

ARGUMENT.

I. Julian invades Assyria with his army; receives the surrender of Anatha, a fort on the Euphrates, and burns it. — II. Having made attempts on other fortresses and towns, he burns some which were deserted, and receives the surrender of Pirisabora, and burns it. — III. On account of his successes, he promises his soldiers one hundred denarii a man; and as they disdain so small a donation, he in a modest oration recalls them to a proper feeling. — IV. The town of Maogamalcha is stormed by the Romans, and rased to the ground. — V. The Romans storm a fort of great strength, both in its situation and fortifications, and burn it. — VI. Julian defeats the Persians, slays two thousand five hundred of them, with the loss of hardly seventy of his own men; and in a public assembly presents many of his soldiers with crowns. — VII. Being deterred from laying siege to Ctesiphon, he rashly orders all his boats to be burnt, and retreats from the river. — VIII. As he was neither able to make bridges, nor to be joined by a portion of his forces, he determines to return by Corduena.

I.

A.D. 363.

§ 1. After having ascertained the alacrity of his army, which with ardour and unanimity declared with their customary shout that their fortunate emperor was invincible, Julian thinking it well to put an early end to his enterprise, after a quiet night ordered the trumpets to sound a march; and everything being prepared which the arduous difficulties of the war required, he at daybreak entered the Assyrian territory in high spirits, riding in front of his ranks, and exciting all to discharge the duties of brave men in emulation of his own courage.

2. And as a leader of experience and skill, fearing lest his ignorance of the country might lead to his being surprised by secret ambuscades, he began his march in line of battle. He ordered fifteen hundred skirmishers to precede him a short distance, who were to march slowly looking out on each side and also in front, to prevent any sudden attack. The infantry in the centre were under his own command, they being the flower and chief strength of the whole army, while on the right were some legions under Nevitta, who was ordered to march along the banks of the Euphrates. The left wing with the cavalry he gave to Arinthæus and Hormisdas, with orders to lead them in close order through the level and easy country of the plain. The rear was brought up by Dagalaiphus and Victor, and the last of all was Secundinus, Duke of Osdruena.

3. Then in order to alarm the enemy by the idea of his superior numbers, should they attack him anywhere, or perceive him from a distance, he opened his ranks so as to spread both horses and men over a larger space, in such a way that the rear was distant from the van nearly ten miles; a manœuvre of great skill which Pyrrhus of Epirus is said to have often put in practice, extending his camp, or his lines, and sometimes on the other hand compressing them all, so as to present an appearance of greater or lesser

numbers than the reality, according to the circumstances of the moment.

4. The baggage, the sutlers, all the camp-followers, and every kind of equipment, he placed between the two flanks of troops as they marched, so as not to leave them unprotected and liable to be carried off by any sudden attack, as has often happened. The fleet, although the river was exceedingly winding, was not allowed either to fall behind or to advance before the army.

5. After two days' march we came near a deserted town called Dura, on the bank of the river, where many herds of deer were found, some of which were slain by arrows, and others knocked down with the heavy oars, so that soldiers and sailors all had plenty of food; though the greater part of the animals, being used to swimming, plunged into the rapid stream and could not be stopped till they had reached their well known haunts.

6. Then after an easy march of four days, as evening came on, he embarked a thousand light-armed troops on board his boats, and sent the Count Lucillianus to storm the fortress of Anatha, which, like many other forts in that country, is surrounded by the waters of the Euphrates; Lucillianus having, as he was ordered, placed his ships in suitable places, besieged the island, a cloudy night favouring a secret assault.

7. But as soon as it became light, one of the garrison going out to get water, saw the enemy, and immediately raised an outcry, which roused the awakened garrison to arm in their defence. And presently, from a high watch-tower, the emperor examined the situation of the fort, and came up with all speed escorted by two vessels, and followed by a considerable squadron laden with engines for the siege.

8. And as he approached the walls, and considered that the contest could not be carried on without great risk, he tried both by conciliatory and threatening language to induce the garrison to surrender; and they, having invited Hormisdas to a conference, were won over by his promises and oaths to rely on the mercy of the Romans.

9. At last, driving before them a crowned ox, which among them is a sign of peace, they descended from the fort as suppliants; the fort was burnt, and Pusæus, its commander, who was afterwards Duke of Egypt, was appointed to the rank of tribune. The rest of the garrison with their families and property were conducted with all kindness to the Syrian city of Chalcis.

10. Among them was found a certain soldier, who formerly, when Maximian invaded Persia, had been left in this district as an invalid, though a very young man, but who was now bent with age, and according to his own account had several wives, as is the custom of that country, and a numerous offspring. He now full of joy, professing to have been a principal cause of the surrender, was led to our camp, calling many of his comrades to witness that he had long foreseen and often foretold that, though nearly a hundred years' old, he should be buried in Roman ground. After this event, the Saracens brought in some skirmishers of the enemy whom they had taken; these were

received with joy by the emperor, the Saracens rewarded, and sent back to achieve similar exploits.

11. The next day another disaster took place; a whirlwind arose, and made havoc in many places, throwing down many buildings, tearing in pieces the tents, and throwing the soldiers on their backs or on their faces, the violence of the wind overpowering their steadiness of foot. And the same day another equally perilous occurrence took place. For the river suddenly overflowed its banks, and some of the ships laden with provisions were wrecked, the piers and dams which had been constructed of stone to check and repress the waters being swept away; and whether that was done by treachery or through the weight of the waters could not be known.

12. After having stormed and burnt the chief city, and sent away the prisoners, the army with increased confidence raised triumphant shouts in honour of the emperor, thinking that the gods were evidently making him the object of their peculiar care.

13. And because in these unknown districts they were forced to be on unusual guard against hidden dangers, the troops especially feared the craft and exceeding deceitfulness of the enemy; and therefore the emperor was everywhere, sometimes in front, sometimes with his light-armed battalions protecting the rear, in order to see that no concealed danger threatened it, reconnoitring the dense jungles and valleys, and restraining the distant sallies of his soldiers, sometimes with his natural gentleness, and sometimes with threats.

14. But he allowed the fields of the enemy which were loaded with every kind of produce to be burnt with their crops and cottages, after his men had collected all that they could themselves make use of. And in this way the enemy were terribly injured before they were aware of it; for the soldiers freely used what they had acquired with their own hands, thinking that they had found a fresh field for their valour; and joyful at the abundance of their supplies, they saved what they had in their own boats.

15. But one rash soldier, being intoxicated, and having crossed over to the opposite bank of the river, was taken prisoner before our eyes by the enemy, and was put to death.

II.

§ 1. After this we arrived at a fort called Thilutha, situated in the middle of the river on a very high piece of ground, and fortified by nature as if by the art of man. The inhabitants were invited gently, as was best, to surrender, since the height of their fort made it impregnable; but they refused all terms as yet, though they answered that when the Romans had advanced further so as to occupy the interior of the country, they also as an appendage would come over to the conqueror.

2. Having made this reply they quietly looked down upon our boats as they passed under the very walls without attempting to molest them. When that fort

was passed we came to another called Achaiacala, also defended by the river flowing round it, and difficult to scale, where we received a similar answer, and so passed on. The next day we came to another fort which had been deserted because its walls were weak; and we burnt it and proceeded.

3. In the two next days we marched two hundred furlongs, and arrived at a place called Paraxmalcha. We then crossed the river, and seven miles further on we entered the city of Diacira, which we found empty of inhabitants but full of corn and excellent salt, and here we saw a temple placed on the summit of a lofty height. We burnt the city and put a few women to death whom we found there, and having passed a bituminous spring; we entered the town of Ozogardana, which its inhabitants had deserted for fear of our approaching army; in that town is shown a tribunal of the emperor Trajan.

4. This town also we burnt after we had rested there two days to refresh our bodies. On the second day just at nightfall, the Surena (who is the officer next in rank to the king among the Persians), and a man named Malechus Podosaces, the chief of the Assanite Saracens, who had long ravaged our frontiers with great ferocity, laid a snare for Hormisdas, whom by some means or other they had learnt was about to go forth on a reconnoitring expedition, and only failed because the river being very narrow at that point, was so deep as to be unfordable.

5. And so at daybreak, when the enemy were now in sight, the moment that they were discovered by their glittering helmets and bristling armour, our men sprang up vigorously to the conflict, and dashed at them with great courage; and although the enemy wielded their huge bows with great strength, and the glistening of their weapons increased the alarm of our soldiers, yet their rage, and the compactness of their ranks, kept alive and added fuel to their courage.

6. Animated by their first success, our army advanced to the village of Macepracta, where were seen vestiges of walls half destroyed, which had once been of great extent, and had served to protect Assyria from foreign invasion.

7. At this point a portion of the river is drawn off in large canals which convey it to the interior districts of Babylonia, for the service of the surrounding country and cities. Another branch of the river known as the Nahamalca, which means "the river of kings," passes by Ctesiphon; at the beginning of this stream there is a lofty tower like a lighthouse, by which our infantry passed on a carefully constructed bridge.

8. The cavalry and cattle then took the stream where it was less violent, and swam across obliquely; another body was suddenly attacked by the enemy with a storm of arrows and javelins, but our light-armed auxiliaries as soon as they reached the other side, supported them, and put the enemy to flight, cutting them to pieces as they fled.

9. After having successfully accomplished this exploit, we arrived at the city of Pirisabora, of great size and populousness, and also surrounded with water. But the emperor having ridden all round the walls and reconnoitred its

position, began to lay siege to it with great caution, as if he would make the townsmen abandon its defence from mere terror. But after several negotiations and conferences with them, as they would yield neither to promises nor to threats, he set about the siege in earnest, and surrounded the walls with three lines of soldiers. The whole of the first day the combat was carried on with missiles till nightfall.

10. But the garrison, full of courage and vigour, spreading cloths loose everywhere over the battlements to weaken the attacks of our weapons, and protected by shields strongly woven of osier, made a brave resistance, looking like figures of iron, since they had plates of iron closely fitting over every limb, which covered their whole person with a safe defence.

11. Sometimes also they earnestly invited Hormisdas as a countryman and a prince of royal blood to a conference; but when he came they reviled him with abuse and reproaches as a traitor and deserter; and after a great part of the day had been consumed in this slow disputing, at the beginning of night many kinds of engines were brought against the walls, and we began to fill up the ditches.

12. But before it was quite dawn, the garrison perceived what was being done, with the addition that a violent stroke of a battering-ram had broken down a tower at one corner; so they abandoned the double city wall, and occupied a citadel close to the wall, erected on the level summit of a ragged hill, of which the centre, rising up to a great height in its round circle, resembled an Argive shield, except that in the north it was not quite round, but at that point it was protected by a precipice which ran sheer down into the Euphrates; the walls were built of baked bricks and bitumen, a combination which is well known to be the strongest of all materials.

13. And now the savage soldiery, having traversed the city, which they found empty, were fighting fiercely with the defenders who poured all kinds of missiles on them from the citadel. Being hard pressed by the catapults and balistæ of our men, they also raised on the height huge bows of great power, the extremities of which, rising high on each side, could only be bent slowly; but the string, when loosed by violent exertion of the fingers, sent forth iron-tipped arrows with such force as to inflict fatal wounds on any one whom they struck.

14. Nevertheless, the fight was maintained on both sides with showers of stones thrown by the hand, and as neither gained any ground a fierce contest was protracted from daybreak to nightfall with great obstinacy; and at last they parted without any advantage to either side. The next day the fight was renewed with great violence, and numbers were slain on each side, and still the result was even; when the emperor, being eager amid this reciprocal slaughter to try every chance, being guarded by a solid column, and defended from the arrows of the enemy by their closely packed shields, rushed forward with a rapid charge up to the enemy's gates, which were faced with stout iron.

15. And although he was still in some danger, being hard pressed with

stones and bullets and other weapons, still he cheered on his men with frequent war-cries while they were preparing to force in the gates in order to effect an entrance, and did not retreat till he found himself on the point of being entirely overwhelmed by the mass of missiles which were poured down on him.

16. However, he came off safe with only a few of his men slightly wounded; not without feeling some modest shame at being repulsed. For he had read that Scipio Æmilianus, with the historian Polybius, a citizen of Megalopolis in Arcadia, and thirty thousand soldiers, had, by a similar attack, forced the gate of Carthage.

17. But the account given by the old writers may serve to defend this modern attempt; for Æmilianus approached a gate protected by a stone-covered testudo, under which he safely forced his way into the city while the garrison was occupied in demolishing this stone roof. But Julian attacked a place completely exposed, while the whole face of heaven was darkened by the fragments of rock and weapons which were showered upon him, and was even then with great difficulty repulsed and forced to retire.

18. After this hasty and tumultuous assault, as the vast preparations of sheds and mounds which were carried on were attended with much difficulty, through the hindrances offered by the garrison, Julian ordered an engine called helepolis to be constructed with all speed; which, as we have already mentioned, King Demetrius used, and earned the title of Poliorcetes by the number of cities which he took.

19. The garrison, anxiously viewing this engine, which was to exceed the height of their lofty towers, and considering at the same time the determination of the besiegers, suddenly betook themselves to supplications, and spreading over the towers and walls, imploring the pardon and protection of the Romans with outstretched hands.

20. And when they saw that the works of the Romans were suspended, and that those who were constructing them were doing nothing, which seemed a sure token of peace, they requested an opportunity of conferring with Hormisdas.

21. And when this was granted, Mamersides, the commander of the garrison, was let down by a rope, and conducted to the emperor as he desired; and having received a promise of his own life, and of impunity to all his comrades he was allowed to return to the city. And when he related what had been done, the citizens unanimously agreed to follow his advice and accept the terms; and peace was solemnly made with all the sanctions of religion, the gates were thrown open, and the whole population went forth proclaiming that a protecting genius had shone upon them in the person of the great and merciful Cæsar.

22. The number of those who surrendered was two thousand five hundred, for the rest of the citizens, expecting the siege beforehand, had crossed the river in small boats and abandoned the city. In the citadel a great store of arms

and provisions was found; and after they had taken what they required, the conquerors burnt the rest as well as the place itself.

III.

§ 1. The day after these transactions, serious news reached the emperor as he was quietly taking his dinner, that the Surena, the Persian general, had surprised three squadrons of our advanced guard, and slain a few, among whom was one tribune; and had also taken a standard.

2. Immediately Julian became violently exasperated, and flew to the spot with an armed band, placing much hope of success in the rapidity of his movements: he routed the assailants disgracefully, cashiered the other two tribunes as blunderers and cowards, and in imitation of the ancient laws of Rome disbanded ten of the soldiers who had fled, and then condemned them to death.

3. Then, having burnt the city as I have already mentioned, he mounted a tribunal which he had caused to be erected, and having convoked his army, he thanked them, and counted upon their achieving other similar exploits. He also promised them each a hundred pieces of silver; but seeing that they were inclined to murmur, as being disappointed at the smallness of the sum, he became most indignant and said: —

4. “Behold the Persians who abound in wealth of every kind; their riches may enrich you if we only behave gallantly with one unanimous spirit of resolution. But after having been very rich, I assure you that the republic is at this moment in great want, through the conduct of those men who, to increase their own wealth, taught former emperors to return home after buying peace of the barbarians with gold.

5. “The treasury is empty, the cities are exhausted, the finances are stripped bare. I myself have neither treasures, nor, noble as I am by birth, do I inherit anything from my family but a heart free from all fear. Nor shall I be ashamed to place all my happiness in the cultivation of my mind, while preferring an honourable poverty. For the Fabricii also conducted great wars while poor in estate and rich only in glory.

6. “Of all these things you may have plenty, if, discarding all fear, you act with moderation, obeying the cautious guidance of God and myself, as far as human reason can lead you safely; but if you disobey, and choose to return to your former shameful mutinies, proceed.

7. “As an emperor should do, I by myself, having performed the important duties which belong to me, will die standing, despising a life which any fever may take from me: or else I will abdicate my power, for I have not lived so as to be unable to descend to a private station. I rejoice in, and feel proud of the fact that there are with me many leaders of proved skill and courage, perfect in every kind of military knowledge.”

8. By this modest speech of their emperor, thus unmoved alike by prosperity and adversity, the soldiers were for a time appeased, regaining

confidence with an expectation of better success; and unanimously promised to be docile and obedient, at the same time extolling Julian's authority and magnanimity to the skies; and, as is their wont when their feelings are genuine and cordial, they showed them by a gentle rattling of their arms.

9. Then they returned to their tents, and refreshed themselves with food, for which they had abundant means, and with sleep during the night. But Julian encouraged his army not by the idea of their families, but by the thoughts of the greatness of the enterprises in which they were embarked: continually making vows— "So might he be able to make the Persians pass under the yoke." "So might he restore the Roman power which had been shaken in those regions," — in imitation of Trajan, who was accustomed frequently to confirm anything he had said by the imprecations— "So may I see Dacia reduced to the condition of a province; so may I bridge over the Danube and Euphrates," — using many similar forms of attestation.

10. Then after proceeding fourteen miles further we came to a certain spot where the soil is fertilized by the abundance of water. But as the Persians had learnt that we should advance by this road, they removed the dams and allowed the waters to flood the country.

11. The ground being thereby, for a great distance, reduced to the state of a marsh, the emperor gave the soldiers the next day for rest, and advancing in front himself, constructed a number of little bridges of bladders, and coracles¹⁴⁹ made of skins, and rafts of palm-tree timber, and thus led his army across, though not without difficulty.

12. In this region many of the fields are planted with vineyards and various kinds of fruit trees; and palm-trees grow there over a great extent of country, reaching as far as Mesene and the ocean, forming great groves. And wherever any one goes he sees continual stocks and suckers of palms, from the fruit of which abundance of honey and wine is made, and the palms themselves are said to be divided into male and female, and it is added that the two sexes can be easily distinguished.

13. They say further that the female trees produce fruit when impregnated by the seeds of the male trees, and even that they feel delight in their mutual love: and that this is clearly shown by the fact that they lean towards one another, and cannot be bent back even by strong winds — and if by any unusual accident a female tree is not impregnated by the male seed, it produces nothing but imperfect fruit, and if they cannot find out with what male tree any female tree is in love, they smear the trunk of some tree with the oil which proceeds from her, and then some other tree naturally conceives a fondness for the odour; and these proofs create some belief in the story of their copulation.

14. The army then, having sated itself with these fruits, passed by several islands, and instead of the scarcity which they apprehended, the fear arose that they would become too fat. At last, after having been attacked by an

ambuscade of the enemy's archers, but having avenged themselves well, they came to a spot where the larger portion of the Euphrates is divided into a number of small streams.

IV.

§ 1. In this district a city, which on account of the lowness of its walls, had been deserted by its Jewish inhabitants, was burnt by our angry soldiers. And afterwards the emperor proceeded further on, being elated at the manifest protection, as he deemed it, of the Deity.

2. And when he had reached Maogamalcha, a city of great size and surrounded with strong walls, he pitched his tent, and took anxious care that his camp should not be surprised by any sudden attack of the Persian cavalry; whose courage in the open plains is marvellously dreaded by the surrounding nations.

3. And when he had made his arrangements, he himself, with an escort of a few light troops, went forth on foot to reconnoitre the position of a city by a close personal examination; but he fell into a dangerous snare from which he with difficulty escaped with his life.

4. For ten armed Persians stole out by a gate of the town of which he was not aware, and crawled on their hands and knees along the bottom of the hill, till they got within reach so as to fall silently upon our men, and two of them distinguishing the emperor by his superior appearance, made at him with drawn swords; but he encountered them with his shield raised, and protecting himself with that, and fighting with great and noble courage, he ran one of them through the body, while his guards killed the other with repeated blows. The rest, of whom some were wounded, were put to flight, and the two who were slain were stripped of their arms, and the emperor led back his comrades in safety, laden with their spoils, into the camp, where he was received with universal joy.

5. Torquatus took a golden necklace from one of the enemy whom he had slain. Valerius by the aid of a crow defeated a haughty Gaul and earned the surname of Corvinus, and by this glory these heroes were recommended to posterity. We do not envy them, but let this gallant exploit be added to those ancient memorials.

6. The next day a bridge was laid across the river, and the army passed over it, and pitched their camp in a fresh and more healthy place, fortifying it with a double rampart, since, as we have said, the open plains were regarded with apprehension. And then he undertook the siege of the town, thinking it too dangerous to march forward while leaving formidable enemies in his rear.

7. While he was making great exertions to complete his preparations, the Surena, the enemy's general, fell upon the cattle which were feeding in the palm groves, but was repulsed by those of our squadrons who were appointed to that service, and, having lost a few men, he retired.

8. And the inhabitants of two cities which are made islands by the rivers

which surround them, fearing to trust in their means of defence, fled for refuge to Ctesiphon, some fleeing through the thick woods, others crossing the neighbouring marshes on canoes formed out of hollowed trees, and thus made a long journey to the principal or indeed the only shelter which existed for them, intending to proceed to still more distant regions.

9. Some of them were overtaken, and on their resistance were put to death by our soldiers, who, traversing various districts in barks and small boats, brought in from time to time many prisoners. For it had been cleverly arranged that, while the infantry was besieging the town, the squadrons of cavalry should scour the country in small bands in order to bring in booty. And by this system, without doing any injury to the inhabitants of the provinces, the soldiers fed on the bowels of the enemy.

10. And by this time the emperor was besieging with all his might and with a triple line of heavily armed soldiers this town which was fortified with a double wall; and he had great hope of succeeding in his enterprise. But if the attempt was indispensable, the execution was very difficult. For the approach to the town lay everywhere over rocks of great height and abruptness; across which there was no straight road; and dangers of two kinds seemed to render the place inaccessible. In the first place there were towers formidable both for their height and for the number of their garrison; equalling in height the natural mountain on which the citadel was built; and secondly, a sloping plain reached down to the river, which again was protected by stout ramparts.

11. There was a third difficulty not less formidable that the numerous garrison of picked men which defended the place could not be won over by any caresses to surrender, but resisted the enemy as if resolved either to conquer or to perish amid the ashes of their country. The soldiers, who desired to attack at once, and also insisted upon a pitched battle in a fair field, could hardly be restrained, and when the retreat was sounded they burnt with indignation, being eager to make courageous onsets on the enemy.

12. But the wisdom of our leaders overcame the eagerness of mere courage; and the work being distributed, every one set about his allotted task with great alacrity. For on one side high mounds were raised; on another other parties were raising the deep ditches to the level of the ground; in other quarters hollow pitfalls were covered over with long planks; artisans also were placing mural engines soon intended to burst forth with fatal roars.

13. Nevitta and Dagalaiphus superintended the miners and the erection of the vineæ, or penthouses; but the beginning of the actual conflict, and the defence of the machines from fire or from sallies of the garrison, the emperor took to himself. And when all the preparations for taking the city had been completed by this variety of labour, and the soldiers demanded to be led to the assault, a captain named Victor returned, who had explored all the roads as far as Ctesiphon, and now brought word that he had met with no obstacles.

14. At this news all the soldiers became wild with joy, and being more elated and eager for the contest than ever, they waited under arms for the

signal.

15. And now on both sides the trumpets sounded with martial clang, and the Roman vanguard, with incessant attacks and threatening cries, assailed the enemy, who were covered from head to foot with thin plates of iron like the feathers of a bird, and who had full confidence that any weapons that fell on this hard iron would recoil; while our close-packed shields with which our men covered themselves as with a testudo, opened loosely so as to adapt themselves to their continual motion. On the other hand the Persians, obstinately clinging to their walls, laboured with all their might to avoid and frustrate our deadly attacks.

16. But when the assailants, pushing the osier fences before them, passed up to the walls, the archers, slingers and others, rolling down huge stones, with firebrands and fire-pots, repelled them to a distance. Then the balistæ, armed with wooden arrows, were bent and loosened with a horrid creak, and poured forth incessant storms of darts. And the scorpions hurled forth round stones under the guidance of the skilful hands of their workers.

17. The combat was repeated and redoubled in violence till the heat increasing up to midday, and the sun burning up everything with its evaporation, recalled from the battle the combatants on both sides, equally intent as they were on the works and on the fray, but thoroughly exhausted by fatigue and dripping with sweat.

18. The same plan was followed the next day, the two parties contending resolutely in various modes of fighting, and again they parted with equal valour, and equal fortune. But in every danger the emperor was foremost among the armed combatants, urging on the destruction of the city lest, by being detained too long before its walls, he should be forced to abandon other objects which he had at heart.

19. But in times of emergency nothing is so unimportant as not occasionally to influence great affairs, even contrary to all expectation. For when, as had often happened, the two sides were fighting slackly, and on the point of giving over, a battering-ram which had just been brought up, being pushed forward awkwardly, struck down a tower which was higher than any of the others, and was very strongly built of baked brick, and its fall brought down all the adjacent portion of the wall with a mighty crash.

20. Then in the variety of incidents which arose, the exertions of the besiegers and the gallantry of the besieged were equally conspicuous with noble exploits. For to our soldiers, inflamed with anger and indignation, nothing appeared difficult. To the garrison, fighting for their safety, nothing seemed dangerous or formidable. At last, when the fierce contest had raged a long time and was still undecided, great slaughter having been made on both sides, the close of day broke it off, and both armies yielded to fatigue.

21. While these matters were thus going on in broad daylight, news was

brought to the emperor, who was full of watchful care, that the legionary soldiers to whom the digging of the mines had been intrusted, having hollowed out their subterranean paths and supported them with stout stakes, had now reached the bottom of the foundations of the walls, and were ready to issue forth if he thought fit.

22. When therefore a great part of the night was passed, the brazen trumpets sounded the signal for advancing to battle, and the troops ran to arms; and as had been planned, the wall was attacked on both its faces, in order that while the garrison were running to and fro to repel the danger, and while the noise of the iron tools of the miners digging at the foundations was overpowered by the din of battle, the miners should come forth on a sudden without any one being at the mouth of the mine to resist them.

23. When these plans had all been arranged, and the garrison was fully occupied, the mine was opened, and Exsuperius, a soldier of the Victorian legion, sprung out, followed by a tribune named Magnus, and Jovianus, a secretary, and an intrepid body of common soldiers, who, after slaughtering all the men found in the temple into which the mine opened, went cautiously forward and slew the sentinels, who were occupying themselves after the fashion of their country in singing the praises, the justice, and good fortune of their king.

24. It was believed that Mars himself (if indeed the gods are permitted to mingle with men) aided Luscinius when he forced the camp of the Lucanians. And it was the more believed because in the height of the conflict there was seen an armed figure of enormous size carrying ladders, who the next day, when the roll was called over, though sought for very carefully, could not be found anywhere; when if he had really been a soldier he would have come forward of his own accord from a consciousness of his gallant action. But though on that occasion it was never known who performed that splendid achievement, yet those who now behaved bravely were not unknown, but received obsidional crowns, and were publicly praised according to the ancient fashion.

25. At last the fated city, its numerous entrances being laid open, was entered by the Romans, and the furious troops destroyed all whom they found, without regard to age or sex. Some of the citizens, from dread of impending destruction, threatened on one side with fire, on the other with the sword, weeping threw themselves headlong over the walls, and being crippled in all their limbs, led for a few hours or days a life more miserable than any death till they were finally killed.

26. But Nabdates, the captain of the garrison, was taken alive with eighty of his guards; and when he was brought before the emperor, that magnanimous and merciful prince ordered him to be kept in safety. The booty was divided according to a fair estimate of the merits and labours of the troops. The emperor, who was contented with very little, took for his own

share of the victory he had thus gained three pieces of gold and a dumb child who was brought to him, and who by elegant signs and gesticulations explained all he knew, and considered that an acceptable and sufficient prize.

27. But of the virgins who were taken prisoners, and who, as was likely in Persia, where female beauty is remarkable, were exceedingly beautiful, he would neither touch nor even see one; imitating Alexander and Scipio, who refused similar opportunities, in order, after having proved themselves unconquered by toil, not to show themselves the victims of desire.

28. While the battle was going on, an engineer on our side, whose name I do not know, who happened to be standing just behind a scorpion, was knocked down and killed by the recoil of a stone, which the worker of the engine had fitted to the sling carelessly, his whole body being so dislocated and battered that he could not even be recognized.

29. After the town was taken intelligence was brought to the emperor that a troop was lying in ambuscade in some concealed pits around the walls of the town just taken (of which pits there are many in those districts), with the intention of surprising the rear of our army by a sudden attack.

30. A body of picked infantry of tried courage was therefore sent to take the troop prisoners. But as they could neither force their way into the pits, nor induce those concealed in them to come forth to fight, they collected some straw and faggots, and piled them up before the mouths of the caves, and then set them on fire, from which the smoke penetrated into the caverns through the narrow crevice, being the more dense because of the small space through which it was forced, and so suffocated some of them; others the fire compelled to come forth to instant destruction; and in this manner they were destroyed by sword or by fire, and our men returned with speed to their camp. Thus was this large and populous city, with its powerful garrison, stormed by the Romans, and the city itself reduced to ruins.

31. After this glorious exploit the bridges which led over several rivers were crossed in succession, and we reached two forts, constructed with great strength and skill, where the son of the king endeavoured to prevent Count Victor, who was marching in the van of the army, from crossing the river, having advanced for that purpose from Ctesiphon with a large body of nobles and a considerable armed force; but when he saw the numbers which were following Victor, he retreated.

V.

§ 1. So we advanced and came to some groves, and also to some fields fertile with a great variety of crops, where we found a palace built in the Roman fashion, which, so pleased were we with the circumstance, we left unhurt.

2. There was also in this same place a large round space, enclosed, containing wild beasts, intended for the king's amusement; lions with shaggy manes, tusked boars, and bears of amazing ferocity (as the Persian bears are),

and other chosen beasts of vast size. Our cavalry, however, forced the gates of this enclosure, and killed all the beasts with hunting-spears and clouds of arrows.

3. This district is rich and well cultivated: not far off is Coche, which is also called Seleucia; where we fortified a camp with great celerity, and rested there two days to refresh the army with timely supplies of water and provisions. The emperor himself in the meanwhile proceeded with his advanced guard and reconnoitred a deserted city which had been formerly destroyed by the Emperor Verus, where an everlasting spring forms a large tube which communicates with the Tigris. Here we saw, hanging on gallows, many bodies of the relations of the man whom we have spoken of above as having betrayed Pirisabora.

4. Here also Nabdates was burnt alive, he whom I have mentioned above as having been taken with eighty of his garrison while hiding among the ruins of the city which we had taken; because at the beginning of the siege he had secretly promised to betray it, but afterwards had resisted us vigorously, and after having been unexpectedly pardoned had risen to such a pitch of violence as to launch all kinds of abuse against Hormisdas.

5. Then after advancing some distance we heard of a sad disaster: for while three cohorts of the advanced guard, who were in light marching order, were fighting with a Persian division which had made a sally out of the city gates, another body of the enemy cut off and slew our cattle, which were following us on the other side of the river, with a few of our foragers who were straggling about in no great order.

6. The emperor was enraged and indignant at this; he was now near the district of Ctesiphon, and had just reached a lofty and well-fortified castle. He went himself to reconnoitre it, being, as he fancied, concealed, as he rode with a small escort close to the walls; but as from too much eagerness he got within bowshot, he was soon noticed, and was immediately assailed by every kind of missile, and would have been killed by an arrow shot from an engine on the walls, if it had not struck his armour-bearer, who kept close by his side, and he himself, being protected by the closely-packed shields of his guards, fell back, after having been exposed to great danger.

7. At this he was greatly enraged, and determined to lay siege to the fort; but the garrison was very resolute to defend it, believing the place to be nearly inaccessible, and that the king, who was advancing with great speed at the head of a large army, would soon arrive to their assistance.

8. And now, the vineæ and everything else required for the siege being prepared, at the second watch, when the night, which happened to be one of very bright moonlight, made everything visible to the defenders on the battlements, suddenly the whole multitude of the garrison formed into one body, threw open the gates and sallied out, and attacking a division of our men who were not expecting them, slew numbers, among whom one tribune was killed as he was endeavouring to repel the attack.

9. And while this was going on, the Persians, having attacked a portion of our men in the same manner as before from the opposite side of the river, slew some and took others prisoners. And our men, in alarm, and because they believed the enemy had come into the field in very superior numbers, behaved at first with but little spirit; but presently, when they recovered their courage, they flew again to arms, and being roused by the sound of the trumpets, they hastened to the charge with threatening cries, upon which the Persians retired to the garrison without further contest.

10. And the emperor, being terribly angry, reduced those of the cavalry who had shown a want of courage when attacked to serve in the infantry, which is a severer service and one of less honour.

11. Then, being very eager to take a castle where he had incurred so much danger, he devoted all his own labour and care to that end, never himself retiring from the front ranks of his men, in order that by fighting in the van he might be an example of gallantry to his soldiers, and might be also sure to see, and therefore able to reward, every gallant action. And when he had exposed himself a long time to imminent danger, the castle, having been assailed by every kind of manœuvre, weapon, and engine, and by great valour on the part of the besiegers, was at length taken and burnt.

12. After this, in consideration of the great labour of the exploits which they had performed, and which were before them, he granted rest to his army, exhausted with its excessive toil, and distributed among them provisions in abundance. Then a rampart was raised round the camp, with dense rows of palisades, and a deep fosse, as sudden sallies and various formidable manœuvres were dreaded, since they were very near Ctesiphon.

VI.

§ 1. From this place they advanced to a canal known as Naharmalcha, a name which means "The River of Kings." It was then dry. Long ago Trajan, and after him Severus, had caused the soil to be dug out, and had given great attention to constructing this as a canal of great size, so that, being filled with water from the Euphrates, it might enable vessels to pass into the Tigris.

2. And for every object in view it appeared best that this should now be cleaned out, as the Persians, fearing such an operation, had blocked it up with a mass of stones. After it had been cleared and the dams removed, a large body of water was let in, so that our fleet, after a safe voyage of thirty furlongs, passed into the Tigris. There the army at once threw bridges across the river, and passing over to the other side, marched upon Coche.

3. And that after our fatigue we might enjoy seasonable rest, we encamped in an open plain, rich with trees, vines, and cypresses, in the middle of which was a shady and delicious pavilion, having all over it, according to the fashion of the country, pictures of the king slaying wild beasts in the chase; for they never paint or in any way represent anything except different kinds of slaughter and war.

4. Having now finished everything according to his wish, the emperor, rising higher in spirit as his difficulties increased, and building such hopes on Fortune, which had not yet proved unfavourable to him, that he often pushed his boldness to the verge of temerity, unloaded some of the strongest of the vessels which were carrying provisions and warlike engines, and put on board of them eight hundred armed men; and keeping the main part of the fleet with him, which he divided into three squadrons, he settled that one under the command of Count Victor should start at nightfall, in order to cross the river with speed, and so seize on the bank in possession of the enemy.

5. The generals were greatly alarmed at this plan, and unanimously entreated him to forego it; but as they could not prevail, the signal for sailing was raised, as he commanded, and at once five ships hastened onwards out of sight; and when they drew near to the bank they were attacked with an incessant storm of fire-pots and every kind of contrivance to handle flames, and they would have been burnt soldiers and all if the emperor, being roused, had not with great energy hastened to the spot, shouting out that our men, as they were ordered, had made him a signal that they were now masters of the bank of the river, and ordering the whole fleet to hasten forward with all speed.

6. In consequence of which vigour the ships were saved, and the soldiers, though harassed by the enemy from their commanding ground with stones and every kind of missile, nevertheless after a fierce conflict made good their footing on the high bank of the river, and established themselves immovably.

7. History marvels that Sertorius swam across the Rhone with his arms and his breastplate; but on this occasion, some soldiers, though disordered, fearing to remain behind after the signal for battle was raised, clinging firmly to their shields, which are broad and concave, and guiding them, though without much skill, kept pace with the speed of the vessels through a river full of currents.

8. The Persians resisted this attack with squadrons of cuirassier cavalry in such close order that their bodies dazzled the eye, fitting together, as it seemed, with their brilliant armour; while their horses were all protected with a covering of stout leather. As a reserve to support them several maniples of infantry were stationed, protected by crooked, oblong shields, made of wicker-work and raw hides, behind which they moved in compact order. Behind them were elephants, like so many walking hills, which by every motion of their huge bodies threatened destruction to all who came near them, and our men had been taught to fear them by past experience.

9. On this the emperor, according to the arrangement of the Greek army as mentioned by Homer,¹⁵⁰ allotted the centre space between his two lines to his weakest infantry, lest if they were placed in the front rank, and should then misbehave, they should disorder the whole of his line; or lest, on the other hand, if posted in the rear, behind all the other centuries, they should flee without shame, since there would be no one to check them: he with his light-

armed auxiliaries moving as might be required between the lines.

10. Therefore when the two armies beheld each other, the Romans glittering with their crested helmets, and brandishing their shields, proceeded slowly, their bands playing an anapæstic measure; and after a preliminary skirmish, carried on by the missiles of the front rank, they rushed to battle with such vehemence that the earth trembled beneath them.

11. The battle-shout was raised on all sides, as was usual, the braying trumpets encouraged the eagerness of the men: all fought in close combat with spears and drawn swords, so that the soldiers were free from all danger of arrows the more rapidly they pressed onwards. Meanwhile, Julian, like a gallant comrade, at the same time that he was a skilful general, hasten to support his hardly-pressed battalions with reserves, and to cheer on the laggards.

12. So the front line of the Persians wavered, having been never very fierce; and at last, no longer able to support the heat of their armour, they retreated in haste to their city, which was near: they were pursued by our soldiers, weary as they were with having fought in those torrid plains from daybreak to sunset; and we, pressing close on their heels, drove them, with their choicest generals, Pigranes, the Surena, and Narses, right up to the walls of Ctesiphon, inflicting many wounds on their legs and backs.

13. And we should have forced our entrance into the city if a general named Victor had not, by lifting up his hands and his voice, checked us, being himself pierced through the shoulder with an arrow, and fearing lest if the soldiers allowed themselves to be hurried within the walls without any order, and could then find no means of returning, they might be overwhelmed by the mass of their enemies.

14. Let the poets celebrate the ancient battles of Hector, or extol the valour of the Thessalian Achilles; let past ages tell the praises of Sophanes, and Aminias, and Callimachus, and Cynægirus, those thunderbolts of war in the struggles of the Greeks against Persia; but it is evident by the confession of all men that the gallantry displayed by some of our troops on that day was equal to any of their exploits.

15. After having laid aside their fears, and trampled on the carcases of their enemies, the soldiers, still stained with the blood so justly shed, collected round the tent of the emperor, loading him with praises and thanks, because, while behaving with such bravery that it was hard to say whether he had been more a general or a soldier, he had conducted the affair with such success that not above seventy of our men had fallen, while nearly two thousand five hundred of the Persians had been slain. And he in his turn addressed by name most of those whose steady courage and gallant actions he had witnessed, presenting them with naval, civic, and military crowns.

16. Thinking that this achievement would surely be followed by other similar successes, he prepared a large sacrifice to Mars the Avenger. Ten most beautiful bulls were brought for the purpose, nine of which, even before they

reached the altars, lay down of their own accord with mournful countenances, but the tenth broke his bonds and escaped, and was with difficulty brought back at all; and when sacrificed displayed very unfavourable omens; but when he saw this, Julian became very indignant, and exclaimed, calling Jupiter to witness, that henceforth he would offer no sacrifices to Mars. Nor did he recall his vow, being cut off by a speedy death.

VII.

§ 1. Julian, having discussed with his chief officers the plan for the siege of Ctesiphon, it appeared to some of them that it would be an act of unseasonable temerity to attack that city, both because its situation made it almost impregnable, and also because King Sapor was believed to be hastening to its protection with a formidable army.

2. The better opinion prevailed; and the sagacious emperor being convinced of its wisdom, sent Arinthæus with a division of light infantry, to lay waste the surrounding districts, which were rich both in herds and in crops, with orders also to pursue the enemy with equal energy, for many of them were wandering about, concealed amid overgrown by-ways, and lurking-places known only to themselves. The booty was abundant.

3. But Julian himself, being always eager to extend his conquests, disregarded the advice of those who remonstrated against his advance; and reproaching his chiefs, as men who out of mere laziness and a love of ease advised him to let go the kingdom of Persia when he had almost made himself master of it, left the river on his left hand, and led by unlucky guides, determined to proceed towards the inland parts of the country by forced marches.

4. And he ordered all his ships to be burnt, as if with the fatal torch of Bellona herself, except twelve of the smaller vessels, which he arranged should be carried on waggons, as likely to be of use for building bridges. And he thought this a most excellently conceived plan, to prevent his fleet if left behind from being of any use to the enemy, or on the other hand to prevent what happened at the outset of the expedition, nearly twenty thousand men being occupied in moving and managing the vessels.

5. Then, as the men began in their alarm to grumble to themselves (as indeed manifest truth pointed out), that the soldiers if hindered from advancing by the height of the mountains or the dryness of the country, would have no means of returning to get water, and when the deserters, on being put to the torture openly confessed that they had made a false report, he ordered all hands to labour to extinguish the flames. But the fire, having got to a great head, had consumed most of them, so that only the twelve could be preserved unhurt, which were set apart to be taken care of.

6. In this way the fleet being unseasonably destroyed, Julian, relying on his army which was now all united, having none of its divisions diverted to other occupations, and so being strong in numbers, advanced inland, the rich district

through which he marched supplying him with an abundance of provisions.

7. When this was known, the enemy, with a view to distressing us by want of supplies, burnt up all the grass and the nearly ripe crops; and we, being unable to advance by reason of the conflagration, remained stationary in our camp till the fire was exhausted. And the Persians, insulting us from a distance, sometimes spread themselves widely on purpose, sometimes offered us resistance in a compact body; so that to us who beheld them from a distance it might seem that the reinforcements of the king had come up, and we might imagine that it was on that account that they had ventured on their audacious sallies and unwonted enterprises.

8. Both the emperor and the troops were greatly vexed at this, because they had no means of constructing a bridge, since the ships had been inconsiderately destroyed, nor could any check be offered to the movements of the strange enemy, whom the glistening brilliancy of their arms showed to be close at hand; this armour of theirs being singularly adapted to all the inflections of their body. There was another evil of no small weight, that the reinforcements which we were expecting to arrive under the command of Arsaces and some of our own generals, did not make their appearance, being detained by the causes already mentioned.

VIII.

§ 1. The emperor, to comfort his soldiers who were made anxious by these events, ordered the prisoners who were of slender make, as the Persians usually are, and who were now more than usually emaciated, to be brought before the army; and looking at our men he said, "Behold what those warlike spirits consider men, little ugly dirty goats; and creatures who, as many events have shown, throw away their arms and take to flight before they can come to blows."

2. And when he had said this, and had ordered the prisoners to be removed, he held a consultation on what was to be done; and after many opinions of different kinds had been delivered, the common soldiers inconsiderately crying out that it was best to return by the same way they had advanced, the emperor steadily opposed this idea, and was joined by several officers who contended that this could not be done, since all the forage and crops had been destroyed throughout the plain, and the remains of the villages which had been burnt were all in complete destitution, and could afford no supplies; because also the whole soil was soaked everywhere from the snows of winter, and the rivers had overflowed their banks and were now formidable torrents.

3. There was this further difficulty, that in those districts where the heat and evaporation are great, every place is infested with swarms of flies and gnats, and in such numbers that the light of the sun and of the stars is completely hidden by them.

4. And as human sagacity was of no avail in such a state of affairs, we were long in doubt and perplexity; and raising altars and sacrificing victims we

consulted the will of the gods; inquiring whether it was their will that we should return through Assyria, or advancing slowly along the foot of the mountain chain, should surprise and plunder Chiliocomum near Corduena; but neither of these plans was conformable to the omens presented by an inspection of the sacrifices.

5. However it was decided, that since there was no better prospect before us, to seize on Corduena; and on the 16th June we struck our camp, and at daybreak the emperor set forth, when suddenly was seen either smoke or a great cloud of dust; so that many thought it was caused by herds of wild asses, of which there are countless numbers in those regions, and who were now moving in a troop, in order by their compactness to ward off the ferocious attacks of lions.

6. Some, however, fancied that it was caused by the approach of the Saracen chieftains, our allies, who had heard that the emperor was besieging Ctesiphon in great force: some again affirmed that the Persians were lying in wait for us on our march.

7. Therefore amid all these doubtful opinions, the trumpets sounded a halt, in order to guard against any reverse, and we halted in a grassy valley near a stream, where, packing our shields in close order and in a circular figure, we pitched our camp and rested in safety. Nor, so dark did it continue till evening, could we distinguish what it was that had so long obscured the view.

NOTES.

¹⁴⁹ Small boats made of wicker and covered with hide; still used in Wales, where they are also called thorricle, truckle, or cobble.

¹⁵⁰ See II. iv. 297: —

Ἴππηϊας μὲν πρῶπα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχέσφιν
πεζοῦς δ' ἐξόπιθεν στῆσεν πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοῦς
ἔρκος ἔμεν πολέμοιο, κακοῦς δ' εἰς μέσσον ἔλασεν.

Thus translated by Pope: —

“The horse and chariots to the front assigned,
The foot (the strength of war) he placed behind;
The middle space suspected troops supply,
Enclosed by both, nor left the power to fly.”

BOOK XXV.

ARGUMENT.

I. The Persians attack the Romans on their march, but are gallantly repelled. — II. The army is distressed by want of corn and forage; Julian is alarmed by prodigies. — III. The emperor, while, in order to repulse the Persians, who pressed him on all quarters, he rashly rushes into battle without his breastplate, is wounded by a spear, and is borne back to his tent, where he addresses those around him, and, after drinking some cold water, dies. — IV. His virtues and vices; his personal appearance. — V. Jovian, the captain¹⁵¹ of the imperial guards, is tumultuously elected emperor. — VI. The Romans hasten to retreat from Persia, and on their march are continually attacked by the Persians and Saracens, whom, however, they repulse with great loss. — VII. The emperor Jovian, being influenced by the scarcity and distress with which his army is oppressed, makes a necessary but disgraceful peace with Sapor; abandoning five provinces, with the cities of Nisibis and Singara. — VIII. The Romans having crossed the Tigris, after a very long and terrible scarcity of provisions, which they endured with great courage, at length reach Mesopotamia — Jovian arranges the affairs of Illyricum and Gaul to the best of his power. — IX. Bineses, a noble Persian, acting for Sapor, receives from Jovian the impregnable city of Nisibis; the citizens are unwilling to quit their country, but are compelled to migrate to Amida — Five provinces, with the city of Singara, and sixteen fortresses, are, according to the terms of the treaty, handed over to the Persian nobles. — X. Jovian, fearing a revolution, marches with great speed through Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, and at Ancyra enters on the consulship, with his infant son Varronianus, and soon afterwards dies suddenly at Dadastana.

I.

A.D. 363.

§ 1. The night was dark and starless, and passed by us as nights are passed in times of difficulty and perplexity; no one out of fear daring to sit down, or to close his eyes. But as soon as day broke, brilliant breastplates surrounded with steel fringes, and glittering cuirasses, were seen at a distance, and showed that the king's army was at hand.

2. The soldiers were roused at this sight, and hastened to engage, since only a small stream separated them from the Persians, but were checked by the emperor; a sharp skirmish did indeed take place between our outposts and the Persians, close to the rampart of our camp, in which Machamæus, the captain of one of our squadrons was stricken down: his brother Maurus, afterwards Duke of Phœnicia, flew to his support, and slew the man who had killed Machamæus, and crushed all who came in his way, till he himself was wounded in the shoulder by a javelin; but he still was able by great exertions to bring off his brother, who was now pale with approaching death.

3. Both sides were nearly exhausted with the intolerable violence of the heat and the repeated conflicts, but at last the hostile battalions were driven back in great disorder. Then while we fell back to a greater distance, the Saracens were also compelled to retreat from fear of our infantry, but presently afterwards joining themselves to the Persian host, they attacked us again, with more safety to themselves for the purpose of carrying off the Roman baggage. But when they saw the emperor they again retreated upon

their reserve.

4. After leaving this district we reached a village called Hucumbra, where we rested two days, procuring all kinds of provisions and abundance of corn, so that we moved on again after being refreshed beyond our hopes; all that the time would not allow us to take away we burnt.

5. The next day the army was advancing more quietly, when the Persians unexpectedly fell upon our last division, to whom that day the duty fell of bringing up the rear, and would easily have slain all the men, had not our cavalry, which happened to be at hand, the moment that they heard what was going on, hastened up, though scattered over the wide valley, and repulsed this dangerous attack, wounding all who had thus surprised them.

6. In this skirmish fell Adaces, a noble satrap, who had formerly been sent as ambassador to the emperor Constantius, and had been kindly received by him. The soldier who slew him brought his arms to Julian, and received the reward he deserved.

7. The same day one of our corps of cavalry, known as the third legion, was accused of having gradually given way, so that when the legions were on the point of breaking the enemy's line, they nearly broke the spirit of the whole army.

8. And Julian, being justly indignant at this, deprived them of their standards, broke their spears, and condemned all those who were convicted of having misbehaved of marching among the baggage and prisoners; while their captain, the only one of their number who had behaved well, was appointed to the command of another squadron, the tribune of which was convicted of having shamefully left the field.

9. And four other tribunes of companies were also cashiered for similar misconduct; for the emperor was contented with this moderate degree of punishment out of consideration for his impending difficulties.

10. Accordingly, having advanced seventy furlongs with very scanty supplies, the herbage and the corn being all burnt, each man saved for himself just as much of the grain or forage as he could snatch from the flames and carry.

11. And having left this spot, when the army had arrived at the district called Maranx, near daybreak an immense multitude of Persians appeared, with Merenes, the captain of their cavalry, and two sons of the king, and many nobles.

12. All the troops were clothed in steel, in such a way that their bodies were covered with strong plates, so that the hard joints of the armour fitted every limb of their bodies; and on their heads were effigies of human faces so accurately fitted, that their whole persons being covered with metal, the only place where any missiles which fell upon them could stick, was either where there were minute openings to allow of the sight of the eyes penetrating, or where holes for breathing were left at the extremities of the nostrils.

13. Part of them who were prepared to fight with pikes stood immovable,

so that you might have fancied they were held in their places by fastenings of brass; and next to them the archers (in which art that nation has always been most skilful from the cradle) bent their supple bows with widely extended arms, so that the strings touched their right breasts, while the arrows lay just upon their left hands; and the whistling arrows flew, let loose with great skill of finger, bearing deadly wounds.

14. Behind them stood the glittering elephants in formidable array, whose grim looks our terrified men could hardly endure; while the horses were still more alarmed at their growl, odour, and unwonted aspect.

15. Their drivers rode on them, and bore knives with handles fastened to their right hands, remembering the disaster which they had experienced at Nisibis; and if the ferocious animal overpowered his overseer, they pierced the spine where the head is joined to the neck with a vigorous blow, that the beast might not recoil upon their own ranks, as had happened on that occasion, and trample down their own people; for it was found out by Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, that in this way these animals might be very easily deprived of life.

16. The sight of these beasts caused great alarm; and so this most intrepid emperor, attended with a strong body of his armed cohorts and many of his chief officers, as the crisis and the superior numbers of the enemy required, marshalled his troops in the form of a crescent with the wings bending inwards to encounter the enemy.

17. And to hinder the onset of the archers from disordering our columns, by advancing with great speed he baffled the aim of their arrows; and after he had given the formal signal for fighting, the Roman infantry, in close order, beat back the front of the enemy with a vigorous effort.

18. The struggle was fierce, and the clashing of the shields, the din of the men, and the doleful whistle of the javelins, which continued without intermission, covered the plains with blood and corpses, the Persians falling in every direction; and though they were often slack in fighting, being accustomed chiefly to combat at a distance by means of missiles, still now foot to foot they made a stout resistance; and when they found any of their divisions giving way, they retreated like rain before the wind, still with showers of arrows seeking to deter their foes from pursuing them. So the Parthians were defeated by prodigious efforts, till our soldiers, exhausted by the heat of the day, on the signal for retreat being sounded, returned to their camp, encouraged for the future to greater deeds of daring.

19. In this battle, as I have said, the loss of the Persians was very great — ours was very slight. But the most important death in our ranks was that of Vetricio, a gallant soldier who commanded the legion of Zianni.152]

II.

§ 1. After this there was an armistice for three days, while the men attended to their own wounds or those of their friends, during which we were

destitute of supplies, and distressed by intolerable hunger; and since, as all the corn and forage was burnt, both men and cattle were in extreme danger of starvation, a portion of the food which the horses of the tribunes and superior officers were carrying was distributed among the lower classes of the soldiers, who were in extreme want.

2. And the emperor, who had no royal dainties prepared for himself, but who was intending to sup under the props of a small tent on a scanty portion of pulse, such as would often have been despised by a prosperous common soldier, indifferent to his own comfort, distributed what was prepared for him among the poorest of his comrades.

3. He gave a short time to anxious and troubled sleep; and when he awoke, and, as was his custom, began to write something in his tent, in imitation of Julius Cæsar, while the night was still dark, being occupied with the consideration of the writings of some philosophers, he saw, as he told his friends, in mournful guise, the vision of the Genius of the Empire, whom, when he first became emperor, he had seen in Gaul, sorrowfully departing through the curtains of his tent with the cornucopia, which he bore in his hand veiled, as well as his head.

4. And although for a moment he stood stupefied, yet being above all fear, he commended the future to the will of heaven; and leaving his bed, which was made on the ground, he rose, while it was still but little past midnight, and supplicating the deities with sacred rites to avert misfortune, he thought he saw a bright torch, falling, cut a passage through the air and vanish from his sight; and then he was horror-stricken, fearing that the star of Mars had appeared openly threatening him.

5. For this brightness was of the kind which we call διαίττισοντα, not falling down or reaching the ground. Indeed, he who thinks that solid substances can fall from heaven is rightly accounted profane and mad. But these occurrences take place in many ways, of which it will be enough to enumerate a few.

6. Some think that sparks falling off from the ethereal fire, as they are able to proceed but a short distance, soon become extinguished; or, perhaps, that rays of fire coming against the dense clouds, sparkle from the suddenness of the contact; or that some light attaches itself to a cloud, and taking the form of a star, runs on as long as it is supported by the power of the fire; but being presently exhausted by the magnitude of the space which it traverses, it becomes dissolved into air, passing into that substance from the excessive attrition of which it originally derived its heat.

7. Therefore, without loss of time, before daybreak, he sent for the Etruscan soothsayers, and consulted them what this new kind of star portended; who replied, that he must cautiously avoid attempting any new enterprise at present, showing that it was laid down in the works of Tarquiti^{us},¹⁵³ "on divine affairs," that when a light of this kind is seen in heaven, no battle ought to be engaged in, or any similar measure be undertaken.

8. But as he despised this and many other similar warnings, the diviners at least entreated him to delay his march for some hours; but they could not prevail even to this extent, as the emperor was always opposed to the whole science of divination. So at break of day the camp was struck.

III.

§ 1. When we set forward, the Persians, who had learnt by their frequent defeats to shun pitched battles, laid secret ambuscades on our road, and, occupying the hills on each side, continually reconnoitred our battalions as they marched, so that our soldiers, being kept all day on the watch, could neither find time to erect ramparts round their camp, or to fortify themselves with palisades.

2. And while our flanks were strongly guarded, and the army proceeded onward in as good order as the nature of the ground would allow, being formed in squares, though not quite closed up, suddenly news was brought to the emperor, who had gone on unarmed to reconnoitre the ground in front, that our rear was attacked.

3. He, roused to anger by this mishap, without stopping to put on his breastplate, snatched up his shield in a hurry, and while hastening to support his rear, was recalled by fresh news that the van which he had quitted was now exposed to a similar attack.

4. Without a thought of personal danger, he now hastened to strengthen this division, and then, on another side, a troop of Persian cuirassiers attacked his centre, and pouring down with vehemence on his left wing, which began to give way, as our men could hardly bear up against the foul smell and horrid cries of the elephants, they pressed us hard with spears and clouds of arrows.

5. The emperor flew to every part of the field where the danger was hottest; and our light-armed troops dashing out wounded the backs of the Persians, and the hocks of the animals, which were turned the other way.

6. Julian, disregarding all care for his own safety, made signs by waving his hands, and shouted out that the enemy were fleeing in consternation; and cheering on his men to the pursuit, threw himself eagerly into the conflict. His guards called out to him from all sides to beware of the mass of fugitives who were scattered in consternation, as he would beware of the fall of an ill-built roof, when suddenly a cavalry spear, grazing the skin of his arm, pierced his side, and fixed itself in the bottom of his liver.

7. He tried to pull it out with his right hand, and cut the sinews of his fingers with the double-edged point of the weapon; and, falling from his horse, he was borne with speed by the men around him to his tent; and the physician tried to relieve him.

8. Presently, when his pain was somewhat mitigated, so that his apprehensions were relieved, contending against death with great energy, he asked for arms and a horse in order that, by revisiting his troops, who were still engaged, he might restore their confidence, and appear so secure of his

own recovery as to have room for anxiety for the safety of others; with the same energy though with a different object, with which the celebrated leader, Epaminondas, when he was mortally wounded at Mantinea, and had been borne out of the battle, asked anxiously for his shield; and when he saw it he died of his wound cheerfully, having been in fear for the loss of his shield, while quite fearless about the loss of his life.

9. But as Julian's strength was inferior to his firmness, and as he was weakened by the loss of blood, he remained without moving: and presently he gave up all hope of life; because, on inquiry, he found that the place where he had fallen was called Phrygia; for he had been assured by an oracle that he was destined to die in Phrygia.

10. When he was brought back to his tent, it was marvellous with what eagerness the soldiers flew to avenge him, agitated with anger and sorrow; and striking their spears against their shields, determined to die if Fate so willed it. And although vast clouds of dust obscured their sight, and the burning heat hindered the activity of their movements, still, as if they were released from all military discipline by the loss of their chief, they rushed unshrinkingly on the enemy's swords.

11. On the other hand the Persians, fighting with increased spirit, shot forth such clouds of arrows, that we could hardly see the shooters through them; while the elephants, slowly marching in front, by the vast size of their bodies, and the formidable appearance of their crests, terrified alike our horses and our men.

12. And far off was heard the clashing of armed men, the groans of the dying, the snorting of the horses, and the clang of swords, till both sides were weary of inflicting wounds, and the darkness of night put an end to the contest.

13. Fifty nobles and satraps of the Persians, with a vast number of the common soldiers, were slain; and among them, two of their principal generals, Merena and Nohodares. Let the grandiloquence of antiquity marvel at the twenty battles fought by Marcellus in different places; let it add Sicinius Dentatus, adorned with his mass of military crowns; let it further extol Sergius, who is said to have received twenty-three wounds in his different battles, among whose posterity was that last Catiline, who tarnished the glories of his distinguished family by everlasting infamy.

14. But sorrow now overpowered the joy at this success. While the conflict was thus carried on after the withdrawal of the emperor, the right wing of the army was exhausted by its exertions; and Anatolius, at that time the master of the offices, was killed; Sallust the prefect was in imminent danger, and was saved only by the exertions of his attendant, so that at last he escaped, while Sophorius his counsellor was killed; and certain soldiers, who, after great danger, had thrown themselves into a neighbouring fort, were unable to rejoin the main army till three days afterwards.

15. And while these events were taking place, Julian, lying in his tent, thus

addressed those who stood around him sorrowing and mourning: "The seasonable moment for my surrendering this life, O comrades, has now arrived, and, like an honest debtor, I exult in preparing to restore what nature reclaims; not in affliction and sorrow, since I have learnt, from the general teaching of philosophers, how much more capable of happiness the mind is than the body; and considering that when the better part is separated from the worse, it is a subject of joy rather than of mourning. Reflecting, also, that there have been instances in which even the gods have given to some persons of extreme piety, death as the best of all rewards.

16. "And I well know that it is intended as a gift of kindness to me, to save me from yielding to arduous difficulties, and from forgetting or losing myself; knowing by experience that all sorrows, while they triumph over the weak, flee before those who endure them manfully.

17. "Nor have I to repent of any actions; nor am I oppressed by the recollection of any grave crime, either when I was kept in the shade, and, as it were, in a corner, or after I arrived at the empire, which, as an honour conferred on me by the gods, I have preserved, as I believe, unstained. In civil affairs I have ruled with moderation and, whether carrying on offensive or defensive war, have always been under the influence of deliberate reason; prosperity, however, does not always correspond to the wisdom of man's counsels, since the powers above reserve to themselves the regulation of results.

18. "But always keeping in mind that the aim of a just sovereign is the advantage and safety of his subjects, I have been always, as you know, inclined to peace, eradicating all licentiousness — that great corruptress of things and manners — by every part of my own conduct; and I am glad to feel that in whatever instances the republic, like an imperious mother, has exposed me deliberately to danger, I have stood firm, inured to brave all fortuitous disturbing events.

19. "Nor am I ashamed to confess that I have long known, from prophecy, that I should fall by the sword. And therefore do I venerate the everlasting God that I now die, not by any secret treachery, nor by a long or severe disease, or like a condemned criminal, but I quit the world with honour, fairly earned, in the midst of a career of nourishing glory. For, to any impartial judge, that man is base and cowardly who seeks to die when he ought not, or who avoids death when it is seasonable for him.

20. "This is enough for me to say, since my strength is failing me; but I designedly forbear to speak of creating a new emperor, lest I should unintentionally pass over some worthy man; or, on the other hand, if I should name one whom I think proper, I should expose him to danger in the event of some one else being preferred. But, as an honest child of the republic, I hope that a good sovereign will be found to succeed me."

21. After having spoken quietly to this effect, he, as it were with the last effort of his pen, distributed his private property among his dearest friends,

asking for Anatolius, the master of the offices. And when the prefect Sallust replied that he was now happy, he understood that he was slain, and bitterly bewailed the death of his friend, though he had so proudly disregarded his own.

22. And as all around were weeping, he reproved them with still undiminished authority, saying that it was a humiliating thing to mourn for an emperor who was just united to heaven and the stars.

23. And as they then became silent, he entered into an intricate discussion with the philosophers Maximus and Priscus on the sublime nature of the soul, while the wound of his pierced side was gaping wide. At last the swelling of his veins began to choke his breath, and having drank some cold water, which he had asked for, he expired quietly about midnight, in the thirty-first year of his age. He was born at Constantinople, and in his childhood lost his father, Constantius, who, after the death of his brother Constantine, perished amid the crowd of competitors for the vacant crown. And at the same early age he lost his mother, Basilina, a woman descended from a long line of noble ancestors.

IV.

§ 1. Julian was a man to be classed with heroic characters, and conspicuous for the brilliancy of his exploits and his innate majesty. For since, as wise men lay it down, there are four cardinal virtues, — temperance, prudence, justice, and fortitude, — with corresponding external accessaries, such as military skill, authority, prosperity, and liberality, he eagerly cultivated them all as if they had been but one.

2. And in the first place, he was of a chastity so inviolate that, after the loss of his wife he never indulged in any sexual pleasures, recollecting what is told in Plato of Sophocles the tragedian, that being asked when he was a very old man whether he still had any commerce with women, he said “No,” with this further addition, that “he was glad to say that he had at all times avoided such indulgence as a tyrannous and cruel master.”

3. And to strengthen this resolution he often called to mind the words of the lyric poet Bacchylides, whom he used to read with pleasure, and who said that as a fine painter makes a handsome face, so chastity adorns a life that aims at greatness. And even when in the prime of life he so carefully avoided this taint that there was never the least suspicion of his becoming enamoured even of any of his household, as has often happened.

4. And this kind of temperance increased in him, being strengthened by a sparing indulgence in eating and sleeping, to which he rigidly adhered whether abroad or at home. For in time of peace his frugal allowance of food was a marvel to all who knew him, as resembling that of a man always wishing to resume the philosopher’s cloak. And in his various campaigns he used commonly only to take a little plain food while standing, as is the custom of soldiers.

5. And when after being fatigued by labour he had refreshed his body with

a short rest, as soon as he awoke he would go by himself round all the sentries and outposts; after which he retired to his serious studies.

6. And if any voice could bear witness to his use of the nocturnal lamp, by which he pursued his lucubrations, it would show that there was a vast difference between some emperors and him, who did not even indulge himself in those pleasures permitted by the necessities of human nature.

7. Of his prudence there were also many proofs, of which it will be sufficient to recount a few. He was profoundly skilled in war, and also in the arts of peace. He was very attentive to courtesy, claiming just so much respect as he considered sufficient to mark the difference between contempt and insolence. He was older in virtue than in years, being eager to acquire all kinds of knowledge. He was a most incorruptible judge, a rigid censor of morals and manners, mild, a despiser of riches, and indeed of all mortal things. Lastly, it was a common saying of his, "That it was beneath a wise man, since he had a soul, to aim at acquiring praise by his body."

8. Of his justice there are many conspicuous proofs: first, because, with all proper regard to circumstances and persons, he inspired awe without being cruel; secondly, because he repressed vice by making examples of a few, and also because he threatened severe punishment more frequently than he employed it.

9. Lastly, to pass over many circumstances, it is certain that he treated with extreme moderation some who were openly convicted of plotting against him, and mitigated the rigour of the punishment to which they were sentenced with genuine humanity.

10. His many battles and constant wars displayed his fortitude, as did his endurance of extreme cold and heat. From a common soldier we require the services of the body, from an emperor those of the mind. But having boldly thrown himself into battle, he would slay a ferocious foe at a single blow; and more than once he by himself checked the retreat of our men at his own personal risk. And when he was putting down the rule of the furious Germans, and also in the scorching sands of Persia, he encouraged his men by fighting in the front ranks of his army.

11. Many well-known facts attest his skill in all that concerns a camp; his storming of cities and castles amid the most formidable dangers; the variety of his tactics for battles, the skill he showed in choosing healthy spots for his camps, the safe principles on which his lines of defence and outposts were managed.

12. So great was his authority, that while he was feared he was also greatly loved as his men's comrade in their perils and dangers. And in the hottest struggles he took notice of cowards for punishment. And while he was yet only Cæsar, he kept his soldiers in order while confronting the barbarians, and destitute of pay as I have mentioned before. And haranguing his discontented troops, the threat which he used was that he would retire into private life if they continued mutinous.

13. Lastly, this single instance will do as well as many, by haranguing the Gallic legions, who were accustomed to the frozen Rhine, in a simple address, he persuaded them to traverse vast regions and to march through the warm plains of Assyria to the borders of Media.

14. His good fortune was so conspicuous that, riding as it were on the shoulders of Fortune, who was long his faithful guide, he overcame enormous difficulties in his victorious career. And after he quitted the regions of the west, they all remained quiet during his life-time, as if under the influence of a wand powerful enough to tranquillize the world.

15. Of his liberality there are many and undoubted proofs. Among which are his light exactions of tribute, his remission of the tribute of crowns, and of debts long due, his putting the rights of individuals on an equal footing with those of the treasury, his restoration of their revenues and their lands to different cities, with the exception of such as had been lawfully sold by former princes; and also the fact that he was never covetous of money, which he thought was better kept by its owners, often quoting the saying, "that Alexander the Great, when he was asked where he kept his treasures, kindly answered 'Among my friends.'"

16. Having discussed those of his good qualities which have come within our knowledge, let us now proceed to unfold his faults, though they have been already slightly noticed. He was of an unsteady disposition; but this fault he corrected by an excellent plan, allowing people to set him right when guilty of indiscretion.

17. He was a frequent talker, rarely silent. Too much devoted to divination, so much so as in this particular to equal the emperor Adrian. He was rather a superstitious than a legitimate observer of sacred rites, sacrificing countless numbers of victims; so that it was reckoned that if he had returned from the Parthians there would have been a scarcity of cattle. Like the celebrated case of Marcus Cæsar,¹⁵⁴ about whom it was written, as it is said, "The white cattle to Marcus Cæsar, greeting. If you conquer there is an end of us."

18. He was very fond of the applause of the common people, and an immoderate seeker after praise even in the most trifling matters; often, from a desire of popularity, indulging in conversation with unworthy persons.

19. But in spite of all this he deserved, as he used to say himself, to have it thought that that ancient Justice, whom Aratus says fled to heaven from disgust with the vices of men, had in his reign returned again to the earth; only that sometimes he acted arbitrarily and inconsistently.

20. For he made some laws which, with but few exceptions, were not offensive, though they very positively enforced or forbade certain actions. Among the exceptions was that cruel one which forbade Christian masters of rhetoric and grammar to teach unless they came over to the worship of the heathen gods.

21. And this other ordinance was equally intolerable, namely one which allowed some persons to be unjustly enrolled in the companies of the

municipal guilds, though they were foreigners, or by privilege or birth wholly unconnected with such companies.

22. As to his personal appearance it was this. He was of moderate stature, with soft hair, as if he had carefully dressed it, with a rough beard ending in a point, with beautiful brilliant eyes, which displayed the subtlety of his mind, with handsome eyebrows and a straight nose, a rather large mouth, with a drooping lower lip, a thick and stooping neck, large and broad shoulders. From head to foot he was straight and well proportioned, which made him strong and a good runner.

23. And since his detractors have accused him of provoking new wars, to the injury of the commonwealth, let them know the unquestionable truth, that it was not Julian but Constantius who occasioned the hostility of the Parthians by greedily acquiescing in the falsehoods of Metrodorus, as we have already set forth.

24. In consequence of this conduct our armies were slain, numbers of our soldiers were taken prisoners, cities were rased, fortresses were stormed and destroyed, provinces were exhausted by heavy expenses, and in short the Persians, putting their threats into effect, were led to seek to become masters of everything up to Bithynia and the shores of the Propontis.

25. While the Gallic wars grew more and more violent, the Germans overrunning our territories, and being on the point of forcing the passes of the Alps in order to invade Italy, there was nothing to be seen but tears and consternation, the recollection of the past being bitter, the expectation of the future still more woeful. All these miseries, this youth, being sent into the West with the rank of Cæsar, put an end to with marvellous celerity, treating the kings of those countries as base-born slaves.

26. Then in order to re-establish the prosperity of the east, with similar energy he attacked the Persians, and would have gained in that country both a triumph and a surname, if the will of heaven had been in accordance with his glorious plans and actions.

27. And as we know by experience that some men are so rash and hasty that if conquered they return to battle, if shipwrecked, to the sea, in short, each to the difficulties by which he has been frequently overcome, so some find fault with this emperor for returning to similar exploits after having been repeatedly victorious.

V.

§ 1. After these events there was no time for lamentation or weeping. For after he had been laid out as well as the circumstances and time permitted, that he might be buried where he himself had formerly proposed, at daybreak the next morning, which was on the 27th of June, while the enemy surrounded us on every side, the generals of the army assembled, and having convened the chief officers of the cavalry and of the legions, deliberated about the

election of an emperor.

2. There were great and noisy divisions. Arinthæus and Victor, and the rest of those who had been attached to the court of Constantius, sought for a fit man of their own party. On the other hand, Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, and the nobles of the Gauls, sought for a man among their own ranks.

3. While the matter was thus in dispute, they all unanimously agreed upon Sallustius. And when he pleaded ill health and old age, one of the soldiers of rank observing his real and fixed reluctance said, "And what would you do if the emperor while absent himself, as has often happened, had intrusted you with the conduct of this war? Would you not have postponed all other considerations and applied yourself to extricating the soldiers at once from the difficulties which press on them? Do so now: and then, if we are allowed to reach Mesopotamia, it will be time enough for the united suffrages of both armies to declare a lawful emperor."

4. Amid these little delays in so important a matter, before opinions were justly weighed, a few made an uproar, as often happens in critical circumstances, and Jovian was elected emperor, being the chief officer of the guards, and a man of fair reputation in respect of his father's services. For he was the son of Varronianus, a distinguished count,¹⁵⁵ who had not long since retired from military service to lead a private life.

5. And immediately he was clothed in the imperial robes, and was suddenly led forth out of the tent and passed at a quick pace through the army as it was preparing to march.

6. And as the line extended four miles, those in the van hearing some persons salute Jovian as Augustus, raised the same cry still more loudly, for they were caught by the relationship, so to say, of the name, which differed only by one letter from that of Julian, and so they thought that Julian was recovered and was being led forth with great acclamations as had often been the case. But when the new emperor, who was both taller and less upright, was seen, they suspected what had happened, and gave vent to tears and lamentations.

7. And if any lover of justice should find fault with what was done at this extreme crisis as imprudent, he might still more justly blame sailors who, having lost a skilful pilot when both winds and waves are agitated by a storm, commit the helm of their vessel to some one of their comrades.

8. This affair having been thus settled by a blind sort of decision of Fortune, the standard-bearer of the Jovian legion, which Varronianus had formerly commanded, having had a quarrel with the new emperor while he was a private individual, because he had been a violent disparager of his father, now fearing danger at his hand, since he had risen to a height exceeding any ordinary fortune, fled to the Persians. And having been allowed to tell what he knew, he informed Sapor, who was at hand, that the prince whom he dreaded was dead, and that Jovian, who had hitherto been only an officer of the guards, a man of neither energy nor courage, had been raised by

a mob of camp drudges to a kind of shadow of the imperial authority.

9. Sapor hearing this news, which he had always anxiously prayed for, and being elated by this unexpected good fortune, having reinforced the troops who had fought against us with a strong body of the royal cavalry, sent them forward with speed to attack the rear of our army.

VI.

§ 1. And while these arrangements were being made, the victims and entrails were inspected on behalf of Jovian, and it was pronounced that he would ruin everything if he remained in the camp, as he proposed, but that if he quitted it he would have the advantage.

2. And just as we were beginning our march, the Persians attacked us, preceded by their elephants. Both our horses and men were at first disordered by their roaring and formidable onset; but the Jovian and Herculean legions slew a few of the monsters, and made a gallant resistance to the mounted cuirassiers.

3. Then the legions of the Jovii and Victores coming up to aid their comrades, who were in distress, also slew two elephants and a great number of the enemy's troops. And on our left wing three most gallant men were slain, Julian, Macrobius, and Maximus, all tribunes of the legions which were then the chief of the whole army.

4. When they were buried as well as circumstances permitted, as night was drawing on, and as we were pressing forward with all speed towards a fort called Sumere, the dead body of Anatolius was recognized and buried with a hurried funeral. Here also we were rejoined by sixty soldiers and a party of the guards of the palace, whom we have mentioned as having taken refuge in a fort called Vaccatum.

5. Then on the following day we pitched our camp in a valley in as favourable a spot as the nature of the ground permitted, surrounding it with a rampart like a wall, with sharp stakes fixed all round like so many swords, with the exception of one wide entrance.

6. And when the enemy saw this they attacked us with all kinds of missiles from their thickets, reproaching us also as traitors and murderers of an excellent prince. For they had heard by the vague report of some deserters that Julian had fallen by the weapon of a Roman.

7. And presently, while this was going on, a body of cavalry ventured to force their way in by the Prætorian gate, and to advance almost up to the emperor's tent. But they were vigorously repulsed with the loss of many of their men killed and wounded.

8. Quitting this camp, the next night we reached a place called Charcha, where we were safe, because the artificial mounds of the river had been broken to prevent the Saracens from overrunning Armenia, so that no one was able to harass our lines as they had done before.

9. Then on the 1st of July we marched thirty furlongs more, and came to a city called Dura, where our baggage-horses were so jaded, that their drivers, being mostly recruits, marched on foot till they were hemmed in by a troop of Saracens; and they would all have been killed if some squadrons of our light cavalry had not gone to their assistance in their distress.

10. We were exposed to the hostility of these Saracens because Julian had forbidden that the presents and gratuities, to which they had been accustomed, should be given to them; and when they complained to him, they were only told that a warlike and vigilant emperor had iron, not gold.

11. Here, owing to the obstinate hostility of the Persians, we lost four days. For when we advanced they followed us, compelling us to retrace our steps by their incessant attacks. When we halted gradually to fight, they retired, tormenting us by their long delay. And now (for when men are in great fear even falsehoods please them) a report being spread that we were at no great distance from our own frontier, the army raised an impatient shout, and demanded to be at once led across the Tigris.

12. But the emperor and his officers opposed this demand, and showed them that the river, now just at the time of the rising of the Dogstar, was much flooded, entreated them not to trust themselves to its dangerous currents, reminding them that most of them could not swim, and adding likewise that the enemy had occupied the banks of the river, swollen as it was at many parts.

13. But when the demand was repeated over and over again in the camp, and the soldiers with shouts and great eagerness began to threaten violence, the order was given very unwillingly that the Gauls, mingled with the northern Germans, should lead the way into the river, in order that if they were carried away by the violence of the stream the obstinacy of the rest might be shaken; or on the other hand, if they accomplished the passage in safety the rest might attempt it with more confidence.

14. And men were selected suited to such an enterprise, who from their childhood had been accustomed in their native land to cross the greatest rivers. And when the darkness of night presented an opportunity for making the attempt unperceived, as if they had just escaped from a prison, they reached the opposite bank sooner than could have been expected; and having beaten down and slain numbers of the Persians whom, though they had been placed there to guard the passage, their fancied security had lulled into a gentle slumber, they held up their hands, and shook their cloaks so as to give the concerted signal that their bold attempt had succeeded.

15. And when the signal was seen, the soldiers became eager to cross, and could only be restrained by the promise of the engineers to make them bridges by means of bladders and the hides of slaughtered animals.

VII.

§ 1. While these vain attempts were going on, king Sapor, both while at a distance, and also when he approached, received from his scouts and from our

deserters a true account of the gallant exploits of our men, of the disgraceful slaughter of his own troops, and also of his elephants in greater numbers than he ever remembered to have lost before. And he heard also that the Roman army, being hardened by its continual labours since the death of its glorious chief, did not now think so much, as they said, of safety as of revenge; and were resolved to extricate themselves from their difficulties either by a complete victory or by a glorious death.

2. He looked on this news as formidable, being aware by experience that our troops who were scattered over these provinces could easily be assembled, and knowing also that his own troops after their heavy losses were in a state of the greatest alarm; he also heard that we had in Mesopotamia an army little inferior in numbers to that before him.

3. And besides all this, his courage was damped by the fact of five hundred men having crossed that swollen river by swimming in perfect safety, and having slain his guards, and so emboldening the rest of their comrades to similar hardihood.

4. In the mean time, as the violence of the stream prevented any bridges from being constructed, and as everything which could be eaten was consumed, we passed two days in great misery, and the starving soldiers began to be furious with rage, thinking it better to perish by the sword than by hunger, that most degrading death.

5. But the eternal providence of God was on our side, and beyond our hopes the Persians made the first overtures, sending the Surena and another noble as ambassadors to treat for peace, and they themselves being in a state of despondency, as the Romans, having proved superior in almost every battle, weakened them daily.

6. But the conditions which they proposed were difficult and intricate, since they pretended that, out of regard for humanity, their merciful monarch was willing to permit the remains of our army to return home, provided the Cæsar, with his officers, would satisfy his demands.

7. In reply, we sent as ambassadors on our part, Arinthæus and Sallustius; and while the proper terms were being discussed with great deliberation, we passed four more days in great suffering from want of provisions, more painful than any kind of torture.

8. And in this truce, if before the ambassadors were sent, the emperor, being disabused, had retired slowly from the territories of the enemy, he would have reached the forts of Corduena, a rich region belonging to us, only one hundred miles from the spot where these transactions were being carried on.

9. But Sapor obstinately demanded (to use his own language) the restoration of those territories which had been taken from him by Maximian; but as was seen in the progress of the negotiation, he in reality required, as the price of our redemption, five provinces on the other side of the Tigris, — Arzanena, Moxæna, Zabdicena, Rehemena, and Corduena, with fifteen

fortresses, besides Nisibis, and Singara, and the important fortress called the camp of the Moors.

10. And though it would have been better to fight ten battles than to give up one of them, still a set of flatterers harassed our pusillanimous emperor with harping on the dreaded name of Procopius, and affirmed that unless we quickly recrossed the river, that chieftain, as soon as he heard of the death of Julian, would easily bring about a revolution which no one could resist, by means of the fresh troops which he had under his command.

11. Jovian, being wrought upon by the constant reiteration of these evil counsels, without further delay gave up everything that was demanded, with this abatement, which he obtained with difficulty, that the inhabitants of Nisibis and Singara should not be given up to the Persians as well as the cities themselves; and that the Roman garrisons in the forts about to be surrendered should be permitted to retire to fortresses of our own.

12. To which another mischievous and unfair condition was added, that after this treaty was concluded we were not to be at liberty to assist Arsaces against the Persians, if he implored our aid, though he had always been our friend and trusty ally. And this was insisted on by Sapor for two reasons, in order that the man might be punished who had laid waste Chiliocomum at the emperor's command, and also that facility might be given for invading Armenia without a check. In consequence of this it fell out subsequently that Arsaces was taken prisoner, and that, amid different dissensions and disturbances, the Parthians laid violent hands on the greater portion of Armenia, where it borders on Media, and on the town of Artaxata.

13. This ignoble treaty being made, that nothing might be done during the armistice, in contravention of its terms, some men of rank were given as hostages on each side: on ours, Remora, Victor, and Bellovædus, tribunes of distinguished legions: and on that of the enemy, one of their chief nobles named Bineses, and three other satraps of note.

14. So peace was made for thirty years, and ratified by solemn oaths; and we, returning by another line of march, because the parts near the river were rugged and difficult, suffered severely for want of water and provisions.

VIII.

§ 1. The peace which had been granted on pretence of humanity was turned to the ruin of many who were so exhausted by want of food as to be at the last gasp, and who in consequence could only creep along, and were either carried away by the current of the river from not being able to swim, or if able to overcome the force of the stream so far as to reach the bank, were either slain like sheep by the Saracens or Persians (because, as we stated some time back, the Germans had driven them out), or sent to a distance to be sold for slaves.

2. But when the trumpets openly gave the signal for crossing the river, it was dreadful to see with what ardour every individual hastened to rush into

this danger, preferring himself to all his comrades, in the desire of avoiding the many dangers and distresses behind him. Some tried to guide the beasts who were swimming about at random, with hurdles hurriedly put together; others, seated on bladders, and others, being driven by necessity to all kinds of expedients, sought to pass through the opposing waves by crossing them obliquely.

3. The emperor himself with a few others crossed over in the small boats, which we said were saved when the fleet was burnt, and then sent the same vessels backwards and forwards till our whole body was brought across. And at length all of us, except such as were drowned, reached the opposite bank of the river, being saved amid our difficulties by the favour of the Supreme Deity.

4. While we were still oppressed with the fear of impending disasters, we learnt from information brought in by our outposts that the Persians were throwing a bridge over the river some way off, at a point out of our sight, in order that while all ideas of war were put an end to on our side by the ratification of the treaty of peace, they might come upon our invalids as they proceeded carelessly onwards, and on the animals exhausted with fatigue. But when they found their purpose discovered, they relinquished their base design.

5. Being now relieved from this suspicion, we hastened on by rapid marches, and approached Hatra, an ancient town in the middle of a desert, which had been long since abandoned, though at different times those warlike emperors, Trajan and Severus, had attacked it with a view to its destruction, but had been almost destroyed with their armies, as we have related in our history of their exploits.

6. And as we now learnt that over the vast plain before us for seventy miles in that arid region no water could be found but such as was brackish and fetid, and no kind of food but southernwood, wormwood, dracontium, and other bitter herbs, we filled the vessels which we had with sweet water, and having slain the camels and the rest of the beasts of burden, we thus sought to insure some kind of supplies, though not very wholesome.

7. For six days the army marched, till at last even grass, the last comfort of extreme necessity, could not be found; when Cassianus, Duke of Mesopotamia, and the tribune Mauricius, who had been sent forward with this object, came to a fort called Ur, and brought some food from the supplies which the army under Procopius and Sebastian, by living sparingly, had managed to preserve.

8. From this place another person of the name of Procopius, a secretary, and Memoridus, a military tribune, was sent forward to Illyricum and Gaul to announce the death of Julian, and the subsequent promotion of Jovian to the rank of emperor.

9. And Jovian deputed them to present his father-in-law Lucillianus (who, after giving up military service, had retired to the tranquillity of private life, and who was at that time dwelling at Sirmium) with a commission as captain

of the forces of cavalry and infantry, and to urge him at the same time to hasten to Milan, to support him there in any difficulties which might arise, or (what he feared most) to oppose any attempts which might be made to bring about a revolution.

10. And he also gave them still more secret letters, in which he warned Lucillianus to bring him some picked men of tried energy and fidelity, of whose aid he might avail himself according as affairs should turn out.

11. He also made a wise choice, and selected Malarichus, who was at that time in Italy on his own private affairs, sending him the ensigns of office that he might succeed Jovinus as commander of the forces in Gaul, in which appointment he had an eye on two important objects; first, to remove a general of especial merit who was an object of suspicion on that very account, and also by the promotion to so high a position of a man whose hopes were not set on anything so lofty to bind him to exert all his zeal in supporting the doubtful position of the maker of his fortunes.

12. And the officers who went to perform these commands were also enjoined to extol the emperor's conduct, and wherever they went to agree in reporting that the Parthian campaign had been brought to an honourable termination; they were also charged to prosecute their journey with all speed by night and day, delivering as they went letters from the new emperor to all the governors of provinces and commanders of the forces on their road; and when they had secretly learnt the opinions of them all, to return to him with all speed, in order that when he knew what was being done in the distant provinces, he might be able to frame well-digested and wise plans for strengthening himself in his government.

13. But Fame (being alway the most rapid bearer of bad news), outstripping these couriers, flew through the different provinces and nations; and above all others struck the citizens of Nisibis with bitter sorrow when they heard that their city was surrendered to Sapor, whose anger and enmity they dreaded, from recollecting the havoc and slaughter which he had made in his frequent attempts to take the place.

14. For it was clear that the whole eastern empire would have fallen under the power of Persia long before if it had not been for the resistance which this city, strong in its admirable position and its mighty walls, had been able to offer. But miserable as they now were, and although they were filled with a still greater fear of what might befall them hereafter, they were supported by this slender hope, that, either from his own inclination or from being won over by their prayers, the emperor might consent to keep their city in its existing state, as the strongest bulwark of the east.

15. While different reports were flying about of what had taken place, the scanty supplies which I have spoken of as having been brought, were consumed, and necessity might have driven the men to eat one another, if the flesh of the animals slain had not lasted them a little longer; but the consequence of our destitute condition was, that the arms and baggage were

thrown away; for we were so worn out with this terrible famine, that whenever a single bushel of corn was found (which seldom happened), it was sold for ten pieces of gold at the least.

16. Marching on from thence, we come to Thilsaphata where Sebastian and Procopius, with the tribunes and chief officers of the legions which had been placed under their command for the protection of Mesopotamia, came to meet the emperor as the solemn occasion required, and being kindly received, accompanied us on our march.

17. After this, proceeding with all possible speed, we rejoiced when we saw Nisibis, where the emperor pitched a standing camp outside the walls; and being most earnestly entreated by the whole population to come to lodge in the palace according to the custom of his predecessors, he positively refused, being ashamed that an impregnable city should be surrendered to an enraged enemy while he was within its walls.

18. But as the evening was getting dark, Jovian, the chief secretary, was seized while at supper, the man who at the siege of the city Maogamalcha we have spoken of as escaping with others by a subterranean passage, and being led to an out-of-the-way place, was thrown headlong down a dry well, and overwhelmed with a heap of stones which were thrown down upon him, because after the death of Julian he also had been named by a few persons as fit to be made emperor; and after the election of his namesake had not behaved with any modesty, but had been heard to utter secret whispers concerning the business, and had from time to time invited some of the leading soldiers to entertainments.

IX.

§ 1. The next day Bineses, one of the Persians of whom we have spoken as the most distinguished among them, hastening to execute the commission of his king, demanded from Jovian the immediate performance of his promise; and by his permission he entered the city of Nisibis, and raised the standard of his nation on the citadel, announcing to the citizens a miserable emigration from their native place.

2. Immediately they were all commanded to expatriate themselves, in vain stretching forth their hands in entreaty not to be compelled to depart, affirming that they by themselves, without drawing on the public resources for either provisions or soldiers, were sufficient to defend their own home in full confidence that Justice would be on their side while fighting for the place of their birth, as they had often found her to be before. Both nobles and common people joined in this supplication; but they spoke in vain as to the winds, the emperor fearing the crime of perjury, as he pretended, though in reality the object of his fear was very different.

3. Then a man of the name of Sabinus, eminent among his fellow-citizens both for his fortune and birth, replied with great fluency that Constantius too was at one time defeated by the Persians in the terrible strife of fierce war, that

afterwards he fled with a small body of comrades to the ungarded station of Hibita, where he lived on a scanty and uncertain supply of bread which was brought him by an old woman from the country; and yet that to the end of his life he lost no territory; while Jovian, at the very beginning of his reign, was yielding up the wall of his provinces, by the protection of which barrier they had hitherto remained safe from the earliest ages.

4. But as he could not prevail on the emperor, who persisted obstinately in alleging the obligation of his oath, presently, when Jovian, who had for some time refused the crown which was offered to him, accepted it under a show of compulsion, an advocate, named Silvanus, exclaimed boldly, "May you, O emperor, be so crowned in the rest of your cities." But Jovian was offended at his words, and ordered the whole body of citizens to quit the city within three days, in despair as they were at the existing state of affairs.

5. Accordingly, men were appointed to compel obedience to this order, with threats of death to every one who delayed his departure; and the whole city was a scene of mourning and lamentation, and in every quarter nothing was heard but one universal wail, matrons tearing their hair when about to be driven from their homes, in which they had been born and brought up, the mother who had lost her children, or the wife her husband, about to be torn from the place rendered sacred by their shades, clinging to their doorposts, embracing their thresholds, and pouring forth floods of tears.

6. Every road was crowded, each person straggling away as he could. Many, too, loaded themselves with as much of their property as they thought they could carry, while leaving behind them abundant and costly furniture, for this they could not remove for want of beasts of burden.

7. Thou in this place, O fortune of the Roman world, art justly an object of accusation, who, while storms were agitating the republic, didst strike the helm from the hand of a wise sovereign, to intrust it to an inexperienced youth, whom, as he was not previously known for any remarkable actions in his previous life, it is not fair either to blame or praise.

8. But it sunk into the heart of all good citizens, that while, out of fear of a rival claimant of his power, and constantly fancying some one in Gaul or in Illyricum might have formed ambitious designs, he was hastening to outstrip the intelligence of his approach, he should have committed, under pretence of reverence for an oath, an act so unworthy of his imperial power as to abandon Nisibis, which ever since the time of Mithridates had been the chief hindrance to the encroachments of the Persians in the East.

9. For never before since the foundation of Rome, if one consults all its annals, I believe has any portion of our territories been surrendered by emperor or consul to an enemy. Nor is there an instance of a triumph having been celebrated for the recovery of anything that had been lost, but only for the increase of our dominions.

10. On this principle, a triumph was refused to Publius Scipio for the recovery of Spain, to Fulvius for the acquisition of Capua after a long

struggle, and to Opimius after many battles with various results, because the people of Fregellæ, who at that time were our implacable enemies, had been compelled to surrender.

11. For ancient records teach us that disgraceful treaties, made under the pressure of extreme necessity, even after the parties to them have sworn to their observance in set terms, have nevertheless been soon dissolved by the renewal of war; as in the olden time, after the legions had been made to pass under the yoke at the Caudine Forks, in Samnium; and also when an infamous peace was contemplated by Albinus in Numidia; and when Mancinus, the author of a peace which was concluded in disgraceful haste, was surrendered to the people of Numantia.

12. Accordingly, when the citizens had been withdrawn, the city surrendered, and the tribune Constantius had been sent to deliver up to the Persian nobles the fortresses and districts agreed upon, Procopius was sent forward with the remains of Julian, to bury them in the suburbs of Tarsus, according to his directions while alive. He departed, I say, to fulfil this commission, and as soon as the body was buried, he quitted Tarsus, and though sought for with great diligence, he could not be found anywhere, till long afterwards he was suddenly seen at Constantinople invested with the purple.

X.

§ 1. These transactions having been thus concluded, after a long march we arrived at Antioch, where for several days in succession many terrible omens were seen, as if the gods were offended, since those who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies foretold that impending events would be melancholy.

2. For the statue of Maximian Cæsar, which was placed in the vestibule of the palace, suddenly lost the brazen globe, formed after the figure of the heavens, which it bore in its hand. Also the beams in the council chamber sounded with an ominous creak; comets were seen in the daytime, respecting the nature of which natural philosophers differ.

3. For some think they have received the name because they scatter fire wreathed like hair¹⁵⁶ by a number of stars being collected into one mass; others think that they derive their fire from the dry evaporation of the earth rising gradually to a greater height; some fancy that the sunbeams as they rapidly pass, being prevented by dense clouds from descending lower, by infusing their brilliancy into a dense body show a light which, as it were, seems spotted with stars to the eyes of mortals. Some again have a fixed opinion that this kind of light is visible when some cloud, rising to a greater height than usual, becomes illuminated by its proximity to the eternal fires; or, that at all events there are some stars like the rest, of which the special times of their rising and setting are not understood by man. There are many other

suggestions about comets which have been put forth by men skilled in mundane philosophy, but I must pass over them, as my subject calls me in another direction.

4. The emperor remained a short time at Antioch, distracted by many important cares, but desirous above all things to proceed. And so, sparing neither man nor beast, he started from that city in the depth of winter, though, as I have stated, many omens warned him from such a course, and made his entrance into Tarsus, a noble city of Cilicia, the origin of which I have already related.

5. Being in excessive haste to depart from thence, he ordered decorations for the tomb of Julian, which was placed in the suburb, in the road leading to the defiles of Mount Taurus. Though a sound judgment would have decided that the ashes of such a prince ought not to lie within sight of the Cydnus, however beautiful and clear that river is, but, to perpetuate the glory of his achievements, ought rather to be placed where they might be washed by the Tiber as it passes through the Eternal City and winds round the monuments of the ancient gods.

6. Then quitting Tarsus, he reached by forced marches Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, where Procopius the secretary and Memoridus the tribune met him on their return, and related to him all that occurred; beginning, as the order of events required, at the moment when Lucillianus (who had entered Milan with the tribunes Seniauchus and Valentinian, whom he had brought with him, as soon as it was known that Malarichus had refused to accept the post which was offered to him) hastened on with all speed to Rheims.

7. There, as if it had been a time of profound tranquillity, he went quite beside the mark, as we say, and while things were still in a very unsettled state, he most unseasonably devoted his attention to scrutinizing the accounts of the commissary, who, being conscious of fraud and guilt, fled to the standards of the soldiers, and pretended that while Julian was still alive some one of the common people had attempted a revolution. By this false report the army became so greatly excited that they put Lucillianus and Seniauchus to death. For Valentinian, who soon afterwards became emperor, had been concealed by his host Primitivus in a safe place, overwhelmed with fear and not knowing which way to flee.

8. This disastrous intelligence was accompanied by one piece of favourable news, — that the soldiers who had been sent by Jovian were approaching (men known in the camp as the heads of the classes), who brought word that the Gallic army had cordially embraced the cause of Jovian.

9. When this was known, the command of the second class of the Scutarii was given to Valentinian, who had returned with those men; and Vitalianus, who had been a soldier of the Heruli, was placed among the body-guards, and afterwards, when raised to the rank of count, met with very ill success in Illyricum. And at the same time Arinthæus was despatched into Gaul with letters for Jovinus, with an injunction to maintain his ground and act with

resolution and constancy; and he was further charged to make an example of the author of the disturbance which had taken place, and to send the ringleaders of the sedition as prisoners to the court.

10. When these matters had been arranged as seemed most expedient, the Gallic soldiers obtained an audience of the emperor at Aspuna, a small town of Galatia, and having been admitted into the council chamber, after the message which they brought had been listened to with approval, they received rewards and were ordered to return to their standards.

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11. When the emperor had made his entry into Ancyra, everything necessary for his procession having been prepared as well as the time permitted, Jovian entered on the consulship, and took as his colleague his son Varronianus, who was as yet quite a child, and whose cries as he obstinately resisted being borne in the curule chair, according to the ancient fashion, was an omen of what shortly happened.

12. Here also the appointed termination of life carried off Jovian with rapidity. For when he had reached Dadastana, a place on the borders of Bithynia and Galatia, he was found dead in the night; and many uncertain reports were spread concerning his death.

13. It was said that he had been unable to bear the unwholesome smell of the fresh mortar with which his bedchamber had been plastered. Also that his head had swollen in consequence of a great fire of coals, and that this had been the cause of his death; others said that he had died of a surfeit from over eating. He was in the thirty-third year of his age. And though he and Scipio Æmilianus both died in the same manner, we have not found out that any investigation into the death of either ever took place.

14. Jovian was slow in his movements, of a cheerful countenance, with blue eyes; very tall, so much so that it was long before any of the royal robes could be found to fit him. He was anxious to imitate Constantius, often occupying himself with serious business till after midday, and being fond of jesting with his friends in public.

15. He was given to the study of the Christian law, sometimes doing it marked honour; he was tolerably learned in it, very well inclined to its professors, and disposed to promote them to be judges, as was seen in some of his appointments. He was fond of eating, addicted to wine and women, though he would perhaps have corrected these propensities from a sense of what was due to the imperial dignity.

16. It was said that his father, Varronianus, through the warning of a dream, had long since foreseen what happened, and had foretold it to two of his most faithful friends, with the addition that he himself also should become consul. But though part of his prophecy became true, he could not procure the fulfilment of the rest. For though he heard of his son's high fortune, he died before he could see him.

17. And because the old man had it foretold to him in his sleep that the

highest office was destined for his name, his grandson Varronianus, while still an infant, was made consul with his father Jovian, as we have related above.

NOTES.

¹⁵¹ Primicerius: he was the third officer of the guard; the first being the lower; the second, the tribune — answering, as one might say, to our major.

¹⁵² The Zianni were an Armenian tribe. The legion belonged to the Thracian establishment.

¹⁵³ Tarquitius was an ancient Etruscan soothsayer, who had written on the subject of his art.

¹⁵⁴ That is Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁵⁵ It must be remembered that throughout Ammianus's history a count is always spoken of as of higher rank than a duke.

¹⁵⁶ From κόμη, hair.

BOOK XXVI.

ARGUMENT.

I. Valentinian, the tribune of the second school of the Scutarii, by the unanimous consent of both the civil and military officers, is elected emperor at Nicæa, in his absence — A dissertation on leap-year. — II. Valentinian, being summoned from Ancyra, comes with speed to Nicæa, and is again unanimously elected emperor, and having been clothed in the purple, and saluted as Augustus, harangues the army. — III. Concerning the prefecture of Rome, as administered by Apronianus. — IV. Valentinian at Nicomedia makes Valens, his brother, who was master of the horse, his colleague in the empire, and repeats his appointment at Constantinople, with the consent of the army. — V. The two emperors divide the counts and the army between them, and soon afterwards enter on their first consulship, the one at Milan, the other at Constantinople — The Allemanni lay waste Gaul — Procopius attempts a revolt in the East. — VI. The country, family, habits, and rank of Procopius; his obscurity in the time of Jovian, and how he came to be saluted emperor at Constantinople. — VII. Procopius, without bloodshed, reduces Thrace to acknowledge his authority; and by promises prevails on the cavalry and infantry, who were marching through that country, to take the oath of fidelity to him; he also by a speech wins over the Jovian and Victorian legions, which were sent against him by Valens. — VIII. Nicæa and Chalcedon being delivered from their blockades, Bithynia acknowledges the sovereignty of Procopius; as presently, after Cyzicus is stormed, the Hellespont does likewise. — IX. Procopius is deserted by his troops in Bithynia, Lycia, and Phrygia, is delivered alive to Valens, and beheaded. — X. Marcellus, a captain of the guard, his kinsman, and many of his partisans are put to death.

I.

A.D. 364.

§ 1. Having narrated with exceeding care the series of transactions in my own immediate recollection, it is necessary now to quit the track of notorious events, in order to avoid the dangers often found in connection with truth; and also to avoid exposing ourselves to unreasonable critics of our work, who would make an outcry as if they had been personally injured, if anything should be passed over which the emperor has said at dinner, if any cause should be overlooked for which the common soldiers were assembled round their standards, or if there were not inserted a mention of every insignificant fort, however little such things ought to have room in a varied description of different districts. Or if the name of every one who filled the office of urban prætor be not given, and many other things quite impertinent to the proper idea of a history, which duly touches on prominent occurrences, and does not stoop to investigate petty details or secret motives, which any one who wishes to know may as well hope to be able to count those little indivisible bodies flying through space, which we call atoms.

2. Some of the ancients, fearing this kind of criticism, though they composed accounts of various actions in a beautiful style, forbore to publish them, as Tully, a witness of authority, mentions in a letter to Cornelius Nepos. However, let us, despising the ignorance of people in general, proceed with the remainder of our narrative.

3. The course of events being terminated so mournfully, by the death of two emperors at such brief intervals, the army, having paid the last honours to

the dead body which was sent to Constantinople to be interred among the other emperors, advanced towards Nicæa, which is the metropolis of Bithynia, where the chief civil and military authorities applied themselves to an anxious consideration of the state of affairs, and as some of them were full of vain hopes, they sought for a ruler of dignity and proved wisdom.

4. In reports, and the concealed whispers of a few persons, the name of Equitius was ventilated, who was at that time tribune of the first class of the Scutarii; but he was disapproved by the most influential leaders as being rough and boorish; and their inclinations rather tended towards Januarius, a kinsman of Julian, who was the chief commissary of the camp in Illyricum.

5. However, he also was rejected because he was at a distance; and, as a man well qualified and at hand, Valentinian was elected by the unanimous consent of all men, and the manifest favour of the Deity. He was the tribune of the second class of the Scutarii, and had been left at Ancyra, it having been arranged that he should follow afterwards. And, because no one denied that this was for the advantage of the republic, messengers were sent to beg him to come with all speed; and for ten days the empire was without a ruler, which the soothsayer Marcus, by an inspection of entrails at Rome, announced to be the case at that moment in Asia.

6. But in the meanwhile, to prevent any attempt to overturn what had been thus settled, or any movement on the part of the fickle soldiers to set aside the election in favour of some one on the spot, Equitius and Leo, who was acting as commissary under Dagalaiphus the commander of the cavalry, and who afterwards incurred great odium as master of the offices,¹⁵⁷ strove with great prudence and vigilance to establish, to the best of their power, what had been the decision of the whole army, they being also natives of Pannonia, and partisans of the emperor elect.

7. When Valentinian arrived in answer to the summons he had received, either in obedience to omens which guided him in the prosecution of the affair, as was generally thought, or to repeated warnings conveyed in dreams, he would not come into public or be seen by any one for two days, because he wished to avoid the bissextile day of February which came at that time, and which he knew to have been often an unfortunate day for the Roman empire: of this day I will here give a plain explanation.

8. The ancients who were skilled in the motions of the world and the stars, among whom the most eminent are Meton, Euctemon, Hipparchus, and Archimedes, define it as the period of the revolving year when the sun, in accordance with the laws which regulate the heavens, having gone through the zodiac, in three hundred and sixty-five days and nights, returns to the same point: as, for instance, when, after having moved on from the second degree of the Ram, it returns again to it after having completed its circuit.

9. But the exact period of a year extends over the number of days above mentioned and six hours more. And so the correct commencement of the next year will not begin till after midday and ends in the evening. The third year

begins at the first watch, and lasts till the sixth hour of the night. The fourth begins at daybreak.

10. Now as the beginning of each year varies, one commencing at the sixth hour of the day, another at the same hour of the night, to prevent the calculation from throwing all science into confusion by its perplexing diversity, and the months of autumn from sometimes being found to come in the spring, it has been settled that those six hours which in a period of four years amount to twenty-four shall be put together so as to make one day and night.

11. And after much consideration it has been so arranged with the concurrence of many learned men, that thus the revolutions of the year may come to one regular end, removed from all vagueness and uncertainty, so that the theory of the heavens may not be clouded by any error, and that the months may retain their appointed position.

12. Before their dominions had reached any wide extent, the Romans were for a long time ignorant of this fact, and having been for many years involved in obscure difficulties, they were in deeper darkness and error than ever, when they gave the priests the power of intercalating, which they, in profligate subservience to the interests of the farmers of the revenue, or people engaged in lawsuits, effected by making additions or subtractions at their own pleasure.

13. And from this mode of proceeding many other expedients were adopted, all of which were fallacious, and which I think it superfluous now to enumerate. But when they were given up, Octavianus Augustus, in imitation of the Greeks, corrected these disorderly arrangements and put an end to these fluctuations, after great deliberation fixing the duration of the year at twelve months and six hours, during which the sun with its perpetual movement runs through the whole twelve signs, and concludes the period of a whole year.

14. This rule of the bissextile year, Rome, which is destined to endure to the end of time, established with the aid of the heavenly Deity. Now let us return to our history.

II.

§ 1. When this day, so little fit in the opinion of many for beginning any great affair, had passed, at the approach of evening, by the advice of the prefect Sallust, an order was issued by general consent, and with the penalty of death attached to any neglect of it, that no one of higher authority, or suspected of aiming at any objects of ambition, should appear in public the next morning.

2. And when, while the numbers who allowed their own empty wishes to torment them were weary of the slowness of time, the night ended at last, and daylight appeared, the soldiers were all assembled in one body, and Valentinian advanced into the open space, and mounting a tribunal of some height which had been erected on purpose, he was declared ruler of the empire as a man of due wisdom by this assembly, bearing the likeness of a comitia,

with the unanimous acclamations of all present.

3. Presently he was clothed with the imperial robe, and crowned, and saluted as Augustus with all the delight which the pleasure of this novelty could engender; and then he began to harangue the multitude in a premeditated speech. But as he put forth his arm to speak more freely, a great murmur arose, the centuries and maniples beginning to raise an uproar, and the whole mass of the cohorts presently urging that a second emperor should be at once elected.

4. And though some people fancied that this cry was raised by a few corrupt men in order to gain the favour of those who had been passed over, it appeared that that was a mistake, for the cry that was raised did not resemble a purchased clamour, but rather the unanimous voice of the whole multitude all animated with the same wish, because recent examples had taught them to fear the instability of this high fortune. Presently the murmurs of the furious and uproarious army appeared likely to give rise to a complete tumult, and men began to fear that the audacity of the soldiers might break out into some atrocious act.

5. And as Valentinian feared this above everything, he raised his hand firmly with the vigour of an emperor full of confidence, and venturing to rebuke some as obstinate and seditious, he delivered the speech he had intended without interruption.

6. "I exult, O ye gallant defenders of our provinces, and boast and always shall boast that your valour has conferred on me, who neither expected nor desired such an honour, the government of the Roman empire, as the fittest man to discharge its duties. That which was in your hands before an emperor was elected, you have completed beneficially and gloriously, by raising to this summit of honour a man whom you know by experience to have lived from his earliest youth to his present age with honour and integrity. Now then I entreat you to listen with quietness to a few plain observations which I think will be for the public advantage.

7. "So numerous are the matters for the consideration of an emperor, that I neither deny nor even doubt that it is a desirable thing that he should have a colleague of equal power to deal with every contingency. And I myself, as a man, do also fear the great accumulation of cares which must be mine, and the various changes of events. But still we must use every exertion to insure concord, by which even the smallest affairs give strength. And that is easily secured if, your patience concurring with your equity, you willingly grant me what belongs to me in this matter. For Fortune, the ally of all good counsels, will I trust aid me, while to the very utmost of my ability and power, I diligently search for a wise and temperate partner. For as wise men lay it down, not only in the case of empire where the dangers are frequent and vast, but also in matters of private and everyday life, a man ought rather to take a stranger into his friendship after he has had opportunities of judging him to be wise, than to ascertain his wisdom after he has made him his friend.

8. "This, in hopes of a happier fortune, I promise. Do you, retaining your steadiness of conduct and loyalty, recruit the vigour of your minds and bodies while rest in your winter quarters allows you to do so. And you shall soon receive what is your due on my nomination as emperor."

9. Having finished this speech, to which his unexpected authority gave weight, the emperor by it brought all over to his opinion. And even those who a few minutes before with loud voices demanded something different, now, following his advice, surrounded him with the eagles and standards, and, forming a splendid and formidable escort of all classes and ranks of the army, conducted him to the palace.

III.

§ 1. While the decisions of Fate were rapidly bringing these events to pass in the East, Apronianus, the governor of Rome, an upright and severe judge, among the grave cases by which that prefecture is continually oppressed, was labouring with most particular solicitude to suppress the magicians, who were now getting scarce, and who, having been taken prisoners, had been, after being put to the question, manifestly convicted by the evidence of their accomplices of having injured some persons. These he put to death, hoping thus, by the punishment of a few, to drive the rest, if any were still concealed, out of the city through fear of similar treatment.

2. And he is said to have acted thus energetically because having been promoted by Julian while he was still in Syria, he had lost one eye on his journey to take possession of his office, and he suspected that this was owing to his having been the object of some nefarious practices; therefore with just but unusual indignation he exerted great industry in searching out these and similar crimes. This made him appear cruel to some persons, because the populace were continually pouring in crowds into the amphitheatre while he was conducting the examination of some of the greatest criminals.

3. At last, after many punishments of this kind had been inflicted, he condemned to death the charioteer Hilarinus, who was convicted on his own confession of having intrusted his son, who was but a very young boy, to a sorcerer to be taught some secret mysteries forbidden by the laws, in order that he might avail himself of unlawful assistance without the privity of any one. But, as the executioner held him but loosely he suddenly escaped and fled to a Christian altar, and had to be dragged from it, when he was immediately beheaded.

4. But soon ample precautions were taken against the recurrence of this and similar offences, and there were none or very few who ventured afterwards to insult the rigour of the public law by practising these iniquities. But at a later period long impunity nourished atrocious crimes; and licentiousness increased to such a pitch that a certain senator followed the example of Hilarinus, and was convicted of having almost articed by a regular contract one of his slaves to a teacher of the black art, to be instructed in his impious mysteries, though

he escaped punishment by an enormous bribe, as common report went.

5. And, as it was said, having thus procured an acquittal, though he ought to have been ashamed even to have such an accusation, he took no pains to efface the stain, but as if, among a lot of infamous persons, he were the only one absolutely innocent, he used to ride on a handsomely caparisoned horse through the streets, and is still always attended by a troop of slaves, as if by a new and curious fashion he were desirous to attract particular observation, just as Duilius in ancient times after his glorious naval victory became so arrogant as to cause a flute-player to precede him with soft airs when he returned to his house after any dinner-party.

6. Under this same Apronianus all necessities were so abundant in Rome that not the slightest murmur because of any scarcity of supplies was ever heard, which is very common at Rome.

IV.

§ 1. But in Bithynia, Valentinian, as we have already mentioned, having been declared emperor, having fixed the next day but one for beginning his march, assembled his chief officers, and, as if the course which he preferred was to follow their advice, inquired whom they recommended him to take for his colleague; and when no one made him any answer, Dagalaiphus, who at that time was commander of the cavalry, boldly answered "If, O excellent emperor, you love your own kindred, you have a brother; if you love the republic, then seek the fittest man to invest."

2. Valentinian was offended with this speech, but kept silence, and dissembled his displeasure and his intentions. And having made a rapid journey he reached Nicomedia on the first of March, where he appointed his brother Valens master of the horse with the rank of tribune.

3. And after that, when he reached Constantinople, revolving many considerations in his mind, and considering that he himself was already overwhelmed with the magnitude of pressing business, he thought that the emergency would admit of no delay; and on the 28th of March he led Valens into the suburbs, where, with the consent of all men (and indeed no one dared to object), he declared him emperor, had him clothed in the imperial robes, and crowned with a diadem, and then brought him back in the same carriage with himself as the legitimate partner of his power, though in fact he was to be more like an obedient servant, as the remainder of my narrative will show.

4. After these matters had been thus settled without any interruption, the two emperors suffered a long time from a violent fever; but when out of danger (as they were more active in the investigation of evils than in removing them) they intrusted the commission to investigate the secret causes of this malady to Ursatius the master of the offices, a fierce Dalmatian, and to Juventius Siscianus the quæstor, their real motive, as was constantly reported, being to bring the memory of Julian and that of his friends into odium, as if their illness had been owing to their secret malpractices. But this insinuation

was easily disposed of, since not a word could be adduced to justify any imputation of such treason.

5. At this time the trumpet as it were gave signal for war throughout the whole Roman world; and the barbarian tribes on our frontier were moved to make incursion on those territories which lay nearest to them. The Allemanni laid waste Gaul and Rhætia at the same time. The Sarmatians and Quadi ravaged Pannonia. The Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Atacotti harassed the Britons with incessant invasions; the Austorians and other Moorish tribes attacked Africa with more than usual violence. Predatory bands of the Goths plundered Thrace.

6. The king of the Persians poured troops into Armenia, exerting all his power to reduce that people again into subjection to his authority; without any just cause, arguing, that after the death of Julian, with whom he had made a treaty of peace, there was nothing that ought to hinder him from recovering those lands which he could prove to have belonged in former times to his ancestors.

V.

A.D. 365.

§ 1. So after the winter had passed off quietly, the two emperors in perfect harmony, one having been formally elected, and the other having been admitted to share that honour, though chiefly in appearance, having traversed Thrace, arrived at Nissa, where in the suburb which is known as Mediana, and is three miles from the city, they divided the counts between them as if they were going to separate.

2. To the share of Valentinian, by whose will everything was settled, there fell Jovinus, who had lately been promoted by Julian to be the commander of the forces in Gaul, and Dagalaiphus, on whom Jovian had conferred a similar rank; while Victor was appointed to follow Valens to the east: and he also had originally been promoted by the decision of Julian; and to him was given Ariathæus as a colleague. For Lupicinus, who in like manner had sometime before been appointed by Jovian to command the cavalry, was defending the eastern districts.

3. At the same time Equitius received the command of the army of Illyricum, with the rank not of general but of count; and Serenianus, who sometime before had retired from the service, now, being a citizen of Pannonia, returned to it, and joined Valens as commander of the cohort of his guards. This was the way in which these affairs were settled, and in which the troops were divided.

4. After this, when the two brothers entered Sirmium, they divided their courts also, and Valentinian as the chief took Milan, while Valens retired to Constantinople.

5. Sallust, with the authority of prefect, governed the East, Mamertinus Italy with Africa and Illyricum, and Germanianus the provinces of Gaul.

6. It was in the cities of Milan and Constantinople that the emperors first assumed the consular robes. But the whole year was one of heavy disaster to the Roman state.

7. For the Allemanni burst through the limits of Germany, and the cause of their unusual ferocity was this. They had sent ambassadors to the court, and according to custom they were entitled to regular fixed presents, but received gifts of inferior value; which, in great indignation, they threw away as utterly beneath them. For this they were roughly treated by Ursatius, a man of a passionate and cruel temper, who at that time was master of the offices; and when they returned and related, with considerable exaggeration, how they had been treated, they roused the anger of their savage countrymen as if they had been despised and insulted in their persons.

8. About the same time, or not much later, Procopius attempted a revolution in the east; and both these occurrences were announced to Valentinian on the same day, the 1st of November, as he was on the point of making his entry into Paris.

9. He instantly sent Dagalaiphus to make head against the Allemanni, who, when they had laid waste the land nearest to them, had departed to a distance without bloodshed. But with respect to the measures necessary to crush the attempt of Procopius before it gained any strength, he was greatly perplexed, being made especially anxious by his ignorance whether Valens were alive or dead, that Procopius thus attempted to make himself master of the empire.

10. For Equitius, as soon as he heard the account of the tribune Antonius, who was in command of the army in the interior of Dacia, before he was able to ascertain the real truth of everything, brought the emperor a plain statement of what had taken place.

11. On this Valentinian promoted Equitius to the command of a division, and resolved on retiring to Illyricum to prevent a rebel who was already formidable from overrunning Thrace and then carrying an hostile invasion into Pannonia. For he was greatly terrified by recollecting recent events, considering how, not long before, Julian, despising an emperor who had been invariably successful in every civil war, before he was expected or looked for, passed on from city to city with incredible rapidity.

12. But his eager desire to return was cooled by the advice of those about him, who counselled and implored him not to expose Gaul to the barbarians, who were threatening it; nor to abandon on such a pretence provinces which were in need of great support. And then prayers were seconded by embassies from several important cities which entreated him not in a doubtful and disastrous crisis to leave them wholly undefended, when by his presence he might at once deliver them from the greatest dangers, by the mere terror which his mighty name would strike into the Germans.

13. At last, having given much deliberation to what might be most advisable, he adopted the opinion of the majority, and replied that Procopius was the foe only of himself and his brother, but the Allemanni were the

enemies of the whole Roman world; and so he determined in the mean time not to move beyond the frontier of Gaul.

14. And advancing to Rheims, being also anxious that Africa should not be suddenly invaded, he appointed Neotherius, who at that time was only a secretary, but who afterwards became a consul, to go to the protection of that country; and with him Masaucio, an officer of the domestic guard, being induced to add him by the consideration that he was well acquainted with the disturbed parts, since he had been brought up there under his father Cretion, who was formerly Count of Africa; he added further, Gaudentius, a commander of the Scutarii, a man whom he had long known, and on whose fidelity he placed entire confidence.

15. Because therefore these sad disturbances arose on both sides at one and the same time, we will here arrange our account of each separately in suitable order; relating first what took place in the East, and afterwards the war with the barbarians; since the chief events both in the West and the East occurred in the same months; lest, by any other plan, if we skipped over in haste from place to place, we should present only a confused account of everything, and so involve our whole narrative in perplexity and disorder.

VI.

§ 1. Procopius was born and bred in Cilicia, of a noble family, and occupied an advantageous position from his youth, as being a relation of Julian who afterwards became emperor. He was very strict in his way of life and morals, reserved and silent; but both as secretary, and afterwards as tribune distinguishing himself by his services in war, and rising gradually to the highest rank. After the death of Constantius, in the changes that ensued, he, being a kinsman of the emperor, began to entertain higher aims, especially after he was admitted to the order of counts; and it became evident that if ever he were sufficiently powerful, he would be a disturber of the public peace.

2. When Julian invaded Persia he left him in Mesopotamia, in command of a strong division of troops, giving him Sebastian for his colleague with equal power; and he was enjoined (as an uncertain rumour whispered, for no certain authority for the statement could be produced) to be guided by the course of events, and if he should find the republic in a languid state, and in need of further aid, to cause himself without delay to be saluted as emperor.

3. Procopius executed his commission in a courteous and prudent manner; and soon afterwards heard of the mortal wound and death of Julian, and of the elevation of Jovian to the supreme authority; while at the same time an ungrounded report had got abroad that Julian with his last breath had declared that it was his will that the helm of the state should be intrusted to Procopius. He therefore, fearing that in consequence of this report he might be put to death uncondemned, withdrew from public observation; being especially alarmed after the execution of Jovian, the principal secretary, who, as he heard, had been cruelly put to death with torture, because after the death of

Julian he had been named by a few soldiers as one worthy to succeed to the sovereignty, and on that account was suspected of meditating a revolution.

4. And because he was aware that he was sought for with great care, he withdrew into a most remote and secret district, seeking to avoid giving offence to any one. Then, finding that his hiding-place was still sought out by Jovian with increased diligence, he grew weary of living like a wild beast (since he was not only driven from high rank to a low station, but was often in distress even for food, and deprived of all human society); so at last, under the pressure of extreme necessity, he returned by secret roads into the district of Chalcedon.

5. Where, since that appeared a safer retreat, he concealed himself in the house of a trusty friend, a man of the name of Strategius, who from being an officer about the palace had risen to be a senator; crossing over at times to Constantinople whenever he could do so without being perceived; as was subsequently learnt from the evidence of this same Strategius after repeated investigations had been made into the conduct of all who were accomplices in his enterprise.

6. Accordingly, like a skilful scout, since hardship and want had so altered his countenance that no one knew him, he collected the reports that were flying about, spread by many who, as the present is always grievous, accused Valens of being inflamed with a passion for seizing what belonged to others.

7. An additional stimulus to his ferocity was the emperor's father-in-law, Petronius, who, from the command of the Martensian cohort, had been suddenly promoted to be a patrician. He was a man deformed both in mind and appearance, and cruelly eager to plunder every person without distinction; torturing all, guilty and innocent, and then binding them with fourfold bonds; exacting debts due as far back as the time of the emperor Aurelian, and grieving if any one escaped without loss.

8. And his natural cruelty was inflamed by this additional incentive, that as he was enriched by the sufferings of others, he was inexorable, cruel, hard hearted, and unfeeling, incapable either of doing justice or of listening to reason. He was more hated than even Cleander, who, as we read, while prefect in the time of Commodus, oppressed people of all ranks with his foolish arrogance; and more tyrannical than Plautian, who was prefect under Severus, and who with more than mortal pride would have thrown everything into confusion, if he had not been murdered out of revenge.

9. The cruelties which in the time of Valens, who acted under the influence of Petronius, closed many houses both of poor men and nobles, and the fear of still worse impending, sank deep into the hearts of both the provincials and soldiers, who groaned under the same burdens; and though the prayers breathed were silent and secret, yet some change of the existing state of things by the interposition of the supreme Deity was unanimously prayed for.

10. This state of affairs came home to the knowledge of Procopius, and he, thinking that if Fate were at all propitious, he might easily rise to the highest

power, lay in wait like a wild beast which prepares to make its spring the moment it sees anything to seize.

11. And while he was eagerly maturing his plans, the following chance gave him an opportunity which proved most seasonable. After the winter was past, Valens hastened into Syria; and when he had reached the borders of Bithynia he learnt from the accounts of the generals that the nation of the Goths, who up to that time had never come into collision with us, and who were therefore very fierce and untractable, were all with one consent preparing for an invasion of our Thracian frontier. When he heard this, in order to proceed on his own journey without hindrance, he ordered a sufficient force of cavalry and infantry to be sent into the districts in which the inroads of these barbarians were apprehended.

12. Therefore, as the emperor was now at a distance, Procopius, being wearied by his protracted sufferings, and thinking even a cruel death preferable to a longer endurance of them, precipitately plunged into danger; and not fearing the last extremities, but being wrought up almost to madness, he undertook a most audacious enterprise. His desire was to win over the legions known as the Divitenses and the younger Tungricani, who were under orders to march through Thrace for the coming campaign, and, according to custom, would stop two days at Constantinople on their way; and for this object he intended to employ some of them whom he knew, thinking it safer to rely on the fidelity of a few, and dangerous and difficult to harangue the whole body.

13. Those whom he selected as emissaries, being secured by the hope of great rewards, promised with a solemn oath to do everything he desired; and undertook also for the good-will of their comrades, among whom they had great influence from their long and distinguished service.

14. As was settled between them, when day broke, Procopius, agitated by all kinds of thoughts and plans, repaired to the Baths of Anastasia, so called from the sister of Constantine, where he knew these legions were stationed; and being assured by his emissaries that in an assembly which had been held during the preceding night all the men had declared their adherence to his party, he received from them a promise of safety, and was gladly admitted to their assembly; where, however, though treated with all honour by the throng of mercenary soldiers, he found himself detained almost as a hostage; for they, like the prætorians who after the death of Pertinax had accepted Julian as their emperor because he bid highest, now undertook the cause of Procopius in the hope of great gain to themselves from the unlucky reign he was planning.

15. Procopius therefore stood among them, looking pale and ghost-like; and as a proper royal robe could not be found, he wore a tunic spangled with gold, like that of an officer of the palace, and the lower part of his dress like that of a boy at school; and purple shoes; he also bore a spear, and carried a small piece of purple cloth in his right hand, so that one might fancy that some

theatrical figure or dramatic personification had suddenly come upon the stage.

16. Being thus ridiculously put forward as if in mockery of all honours, he addressed the authors of his elevation with servile flattery, promising them vast riches and high rank as the first-fruits of his promotion; and then he advanced into the streets, escorted by a multitude of armed men; and with raised standards he prepared to proceed, surrounded by a horrid din of shields clashing with a mournful clang, as the soldiers, fearing lest they might be injured by stones or tiles from the housetops, joined them together above their heads in close order.

17. As he thus advanced boldly the people showed him neither aversion nor favour; but he was encouraged by the love of sudden novelty, which is implanted in the minds of most of the common people, and was further excited by the knowledge that all men unanimously detested Petronius, who, as I have said before, was accumulating riches by all kinds of violence, reviving actions that had long been buried, and oppressing all ranks with the exaction of forgotten debts.

18. Therefore when Procopius ascended the tribunal, and when, as all seemed thunderstruck and bewildered, even the gloomy silence was terrible, thinking (or, indeed, expecting) that he had only found a shorter way to death, trembling so as to be unable to speak, he stood for some time in silence. Presently when he began, with a broken and languid voice, to say a few words, in which he spoke of his relationship to the imperial family, he was met at first with but a faint murmur of applause from those whom he had bribed; but presently he was hailed by the tumultuous clamours of the populace in general as emperor, and hurried off to the senate-house, where he found none of the nobles, but only a small number of the rabble of the city; and so he went on with speed, but in an ignoble style, to the palace.

19. One might marvel that this ridiculous beginning, so improvidently and rashly engaged in, should have led to melancholy disasters for the republic, if one were ignorant of previous history, and imagined that this was the first time any such thing had happened. But, in truth, it was in a similar manner that Andrisus of Adramyttium, a man of the very lowest class, assuming the name of Philip, added a third calamitous war to the previous Macedonian wars. Again, while the emperor Macrinus was at Antioch, it was then that Antoninus Heliogabalus issued forth from Emessa. Thus also Alexander, and his mother Mamæa, were put to death by the unexpected enterprise of Maximinus. And in Africa the elder Gordian was raised to the imperial authority, till, being overwhelmed with agony at the dangers which threatened him, he put an end to his life by hanging himself.

VII.

§ 1. So the dealers in cheap luxuries, and those who were about the palace, or who had ceased to serve, and all who, having been in the ranks of the army,

had retired to a more tranquil life, now embarked in this unusual and doubtful enterprise, some against their will, and others willingly. Some, however, thinking anything better than the present state of affairs, escaped secretly from the city, and hastened with all speed to the emperor's camp.

2. They were all outstripped by the amazing celerity of Sophronius, at that time a secretary, afterwards prefect of Constantinople, who reached Valens as he was just about to set out from Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in order, now that the hot weather of Cilicia was over, to go to Antioch; and having related to him all that had taken place, brought him, though wholly amazed and bewildered at so doubtful and perplexing a crisis, back into Galatia to encounter the danger before it had risen to a head.

3. While Valens was pushing forward with all speed, Procopius was using all his energy day and night, producing different persons who with cunning boldness pretended that they had arrived, some from the east, some from Gaul, and who reported that Valentinian was dead, and that everything was easy for the new and favoured emperor.

4. And because enterprises suddenly and wantonly attempted are often strengthened by promptness of action, and in order to neglect nothing, Nebridius, who had been recently promoted through the influence of Petronius to be prefect of the prætorium in the place of Sallust, and Cæsarius, the prefect of Constantinople, were at once thrown into prison; and Phronemius was intrusted with the government of the city, with the customary powers; and Euphrasius was made master of the offices, both being Gauls, and men of known accomplishments and good character. The government of the camp was intrusted to Gomoarius and Agilo, who were recalled to military service with that object — a very ill-judged appointment, as was seen by the result.

5. Now because Count Julius, who was commanding the forces in Thrace, was feared as likely to employ the troops at the nearest stations to crush the rebels if he received information of what was being done, a vigorous measure was adopted; and he was summoned to Constantinople by letter, which Nebridius, while still in prison, was compelled to write, as if he had been appointed by Valens to conduct some serious measures in connection with the movements of the barbarians; and as soon as he arrived he was seized and kept in close custody. By this cunning artifice the warlike tribes of Thrace were brought over without bloodshed, and proved a great assistance to this disorderly enterprise.

6. After this success, Araxius, by a court intrigue, was made prefect of the prætorium, as if at the recommendation of Agilo, his son-in-law. Many others were admitted to various posts in the palace, and to the government of provinces; some against their will, others voluntarily, and even giving bribes for their promotion.

7. And, as often happens in times of intestine commotion, some men, from the very dregs of the populace, rose to a high position, led by desperate boldness and insane expectations; while, on the contrary, others of noble birth

fell from the highest elevation down to exile and death.

8. When by these and similar acts the party of Procopius seemed firmly established, the next thing was to assemble a sufficient military force; and that was easily managed, though sometimes, in times of public disorder, a failure here has hindered great enterprises, and even some which had a lawful origin.

9. The divisions of cavalry and infantry which were passing through Thrace were easily gained over, and being kindly and liberally treated, were collected into one body, and at once presented the appearance of an army; and being excited by magnificent promises, they swore with solemn oaths fidelity to Procopius, promising to defend him with unswerving loyalty.

10. For a most seasonable opportunity of gaining them over was found; because he carried in his arms the little daughter of Constantius, whose memory was still held in reverence, himself also claiming relationship with Julian. He also availed himself of another seasonable incident, namely, that it was while Faustina, the mother of the child, was present that he had received the insignia of the imperial rites.

11. He employed also another expedient (though it required great promptitude); he chose some persons, as stupid as they were rash, whom he sent to Illyricum, relying on no support except their own impudence; but also well furnished with pieces of gold stamped with the head of the new emperor, and with other means suited to win over the multitude. But these men were arrested by Equitius, who was the commander of the forces in that country, and were put to death by various methods.

12. And then, fearing similar attempts by Procopius, he blocked up the three narrowest entrances into the northern province; one through Dacia, along the course of the different rivers; another, and that the most frequented, through the Succii; and the third through Macedonia, which is known as the Acontisma. And in consequence of these precautions the usurper was deprived of all hope of becoming master of Illyricum, and lost one great resource for carrying on the war.

13. In the mean time Valens, overwhelmed with the strange nature of this intelligence, and being already on his return through Gallo-Græcia, after he had heard what had happened at Constantinople, advanced with great diffidence and alarm; and as his sudden fears deprived him of his usual prudence, he fell into such despondency that he thought of laying aside his imperial robes as too heavy a burden; and in truth he would have done so if those about him had not hindered him from adopting so dishonourable a resolution. So, being encouraged by the opinions of braver men, he ordered two legions, known as the Jovian and the Victorian, to advance in front to storm the rebel camp.

14. And when they approached, Procopius, who had returned from Nicæa, to which city he had lately gone with the legion of Divitenses and a promiscuous body of deserters, which he had collected in a few days, hastened to Mygdus on the Sangarius.

15. And when the legions, being now prepared for battle, assembled there, and while both sides were exchanging missiles as if wishing to provoke an attack, Procopius advanced by himself into the middle, and under the guidance of favourable fortune, he remarked in the opposite ranks a man named Vitalianus (it is uncertain whether he had known him before), and having given him his hand and embraced him, he said, while both armies were equally astonished.

16. "And is this the end of the ancient fidelity of the Roman armies, and of the oaths taken under the strictest obligations of religion! Have you decided, O gallant men, to use your swords in defence of strangers, and that a degenerate Pannonian should undermine and upset everything, and so enjoy a sovereign power which he never even ventured to picture to himself in his prayers, while we lament over your ill-fortune and our own. Follow rather the race of your own noble princes which is now in arms, not with the view of seizing what does not belong to it, but with the hope of recovering its ancestral possessions and hereditary dignities."

17. All were propitiated by this conciliatory speech, and those who had come with the intention of fighting now readily lowered their standards and eagles, and of their own accord came over to him; instead of uttering their fearful yells, they unanimously saluted Procopius emperor, and escorted him to his camp, calling Jupiter to witness, after their military fashion, that Procopius should prove invincible.

VIII.

§ 1. Another fortunate circumstance occurred to swell the prosperity of the rebels. A tribune named Rumitalca, who had joined the partisans of Procopius, having been intrusted with the guard of the palace, digested a plan, and after mingling with the soldiers, passed over by sea to the town formerly known as Drepanum, but now as Helenopolis, and thence marched upon Nicæa, and made himself master of it before any one dreamt of such a step.

2. Valens sent Vadamarius, who had formerly been duke and king of the Allemanni, with a body of troops experienced in that kind of work, to besiege Nicæa, and proceeded himself to Nicomedia; and passing on from that city, he pressed the siege of Chalcedon with all his might; but the citizens poured reproaches on him from the walls, calling him Sabaiarius, or beer-drinker. Now Sabai is a drink made of barley or other grain, and is used only by poor people in Illyricum.

3. At last, being worn out by the scarcity of supplies and the exceeding obstinacy of the garrison, he was preparing to raise the siege, when the garrison who were shut up in Nicæa suddenly opened the gates and issued forth, destroying a great portion of the works of the besiegers, and under the command of the faithful Rumitalca hastened on eagerly in the hope of cutting off Valens, who had not yet quitted the suburb of Chalcedon. And they would have succeeded in their attempt if he had not learnt the imminence of his

danger from some rumour, and eluded the enemy who were pressing on his track, by departing with all speed by a road lying between the lake Sunon and the winding course of the river Gallus. And through this circumstance Bithynia also fell into the hands of Procopius.

4. When Valens had returned by forced marches from this city to Ancyra, and had learnt that Lupicinus was approaching with no inconsiderable force from the East, he began to entertain better hopes, and sent Arinthæus as his most approved general to encounter the enemy.

5. And when Arinthæus reached Dadastana, where we have mentioned that Jovian died, he suddenly saw in his front, Hyperechius, who had previously been only a subaltern, but who now, as a trusty friend, had received from Procopius the command of the auxiliary forces. And thinking it no credit to defeat in battle a man of no renown, relying on his authority and on his lofty personal stature, he shouted out a command to the enemy themselves to take and bind their commander; they obeyed, and so this mere shadow of a general was arrested by the hands of his own men.

6. In the interim, a man of the name of Venustus, who had been an officer of the treasury under Valens, and who had some time before been sent to Nicomedia, to distribute pay to the soldiers who were scattered over the East, when he heard of this disaster, perceived that the time was unfavourable for the execution of his commission, and repaired in haste to Cyzicus with the money which he had with him.

7. There, as it happened, he met Serenianus, who was at that time the count of the guards, and who had been sent to protect the treasury, and who now, with a garrison collected in a hurry, had undertaken the defence of the city, which was impregnable in its walls, and celebrated also for many ancient monuments, though Procopius, in order, now that he had got possession of Bithynia, to make himself master of the Hellespont, had sent a strong force to besiege it.

8. The siege went on slowly; often numbers of the besiegers were wounded by arrows and bullets, and other missiles; and by the skill of the garrison a barrier of the strongest iron chain was thrown across the mouth of the harbour, fastened strongly to the land on each side, to prevent the ships of the enemy, which were armed with beaks, from forcing their way in.

9. This boom, however, after great exertions on the part of both soldiers and generals, who were all exhausted by the fierce nature of the struggle, a tribune of the name of Aliso, an experienced and skilful warrior, cut through in the following manner: — He fastened together three vessels, and placed upon them a kind of testudo, thus, — on the benches stood a body of armed men, united together by their shields, which joined above their heads; behind them was another row, who stooped, so as to be lower; a third rank bent lower still, so as to form a regular gradation; so that the last row of all, resting on their haunches, gave the whole formation the appearance of an arch. This kind of machine is employed in contests under the walls of towns, in order that

while the blows of missiles and stones fall on the slippery descent they may pass off like so much rain.

10. Aliso then, being for a while defended from the shower of missiles, by his own vast strength held a log under this chain, while with a mighty blow of his axe he cut it through, so that being driven asunder, it left the broad entrance open, and thus the city was laid open unprotected to the assault of the enemy. And on this account, when, after the death of the originator of all this confusion, cruel vengeance was taken on the members of his party, the same tribune, from a recollection of his gallant action, was granted his life and allowed to retain his commission, and a long time afterwards fell in Isauria in a conflict with a band of ravagers.

11. When Cyzicus was thus opened to him, Procopius hastened thither, and pardoned all who had opposed him, except Serenianus, whom he put in irons, and sent to Nicæa, to be kept in close confinement.

12. And immediately he appointed the young Hormisdas (the son of the former Prince Hormisdas) proconsul intrusting him in the ancient fashion with the command both in civil and military affairs. He conducted himself, as his natural disposition prompted him, with moderation, but was almost seized by the soldiers whom Valens had sent by the difficult passes of Phrygia; he saved himself, however, by great energy, embarking on board a vessel which he kept in readiness for any emergency, carrying off also his wife, who followed him, and was nearly taken prisoner, had he not protected her under a shower of arrows. She was a lady of high family and great wealth, whose modesty and the glorious destiny reserved for her subsequently saved her husband from great dangers.

13. In consequence of this victory Procopius was elated beyond measure, and not knowing that a man, however happy, if Fortune turns her wheel may become most miserable before evening, he ordered the house of Arbetio, which he had previously spared as that of one of his own partisans, to be rifled, and it was full of furniture of countless value. The reason of his indignation against Arbetio was, that though he had summoned him several times to come to him, he had deferred his audience, pleading old age and sickness.

14. And this presumptuous man might, from the uncertainty in human affairs, have feared some great change; but though without any resistance he could have overrun the provinces of the East with the willing consent of the natives themselves, who, from weariness of the severe rule under which they then were, were eager for any change whatever, he indolently lingered, hoping to gain over some cities of Asia Minor, and to collect some men who were skilful in procuring gold, and who would be of use to him in future battles, which he expected would be both numerous and severe.

15. Thus he was allowing himself to grow blunt, like a rusty sword; just as formerly Pescennius Niger, when repeatedly urged by the Roman people to come to their aid at a time of great extremity, lost a great deal of time in Syria,

and at last was defeated by Severus in the Gulf of Issus (which is a town in Cilicia, where Alexander conquered Darius), and was put to death by a common soldier in a suburb of Antioch.

IX.

A.D. 366.

§ 1. These events took place in the depth of winter, in the consulship of Valentinian and Valens. But this high office of consul was transferred to Gratian, who was as yet only a private individual, and to Dagalaiphus. And then, having collected his forces at the approach of spring, Valens, having united Lupicinus's troops, which were a numerous body, to his own, marched with all speed towards Pessinus, which was formerly reckoned a town of Phrygia, but was now considered to belong to Galatia.

2. Having speedily secured it with a garrison, to prevent any unforeseen danger from arising in that district, he proceeded along the foot of Mount Olympus by very difficult passes to Lycia, intending to attack Gomoarius, who was loitering in that province.

3. Many vehemently opposed this project from this consideration, that his enemy, as has been already mentioned, always bore with him on a litter the little daughter of Constantius, with her mother Faustina, both when marching and when preparing for battle, thus exciting the soldiers to fight more resolutely for the imperial family, with which, as he told them, he himself was connected. So formerly, when the Macedonians were on the point of engaging in battle with the Illyrians, they placed their king, who was still an infant,¹⁵⁸ in his cradle behind the line of battle, and the fear lest he should be taken prisoner made them exert themselves the more so as to defeat their enemies.

4. To counteract this crafty manœuvre the emperor, in the critical state of his affairs, devised a sagacious remedy, and summoned Arbetio, formerly consul, but who was now living in privacy, to join him, in order that the fierce minds of the soldiers might be awed by the presence of a general who had served under Constantine. And it happened as he expected.

5. For when that officer, who was older in years than all around him, and superior in rank, showed his venerable gray hairs to the numbers who were inclined to violate their oaths, and accused Procopius as a public robber, and addressing the soldiers who followed his guilty leadership as his own sons and the partners of his former toils, entreated them rather to follow him as a parent known to them before as a successful leader than obey a profligate spendthrift who ought to be abandoned, and who would soon fall.

6. And when Gomoarius heard this, though he might have escaped from the enemy and returned in safety to the place from whence he came, yet, availing himself of the proximity of the emperor's camp, he passed over under the guise of a prisoner, as if he had been surrounded by the sudden advance of a superior force.

7. Encouraged by this, Valens quickly moved his camp to Phrygia, and

engaged the enemy near Nacolia, and the battle was doubtful till Agilo, the leader of Procopius's forces, betrayed his side by a sudden desertion of his ranks; and he was followed by many who, brandishing their javelins and their swords, crossed over to the emperor, bearing their standards and their shields reversed, which is the most manifest sign of defection.

8. When this unexpected event took place, Procopius abandoning all hope of safety, dismounted, and sought a hiding-place on foot in the groves and hills. He was followed by Florentius and the tribune Barchalbas, who having been known ever since the time of Constantine in all the terrible wars which had taken place, was now driven into treason by necessity not by inclination.

9. So when the greater part of the night was passed, as the moon, which had risen in the evening, by continuing her light till dawn increased their fear, Procopius, finding it impossible to escape, and having no resources, as is often the case in moments of extreme danger, began to blame his mournful and disastrous fortune. And being overwhelmed with care, he was on a sudden taken and bound by his own comrades, and, at daybreak led to the camp, and brought, silent and downcast, before the emperor. He was immediately beheaded; and his death put an end to the increasing disturbances of civil war. His fate resembled that of Perpenna of old, who, after Sertorius had been slain at a banquet, enjoyed the power for a short time, but was dragged out of the thicket where he was concealed, and brought to Pompey, by whose orders he was put to death.

10. Giving way to equal indignation against Florentius and Barchalbas, though they delivered up Procopius, he instantly ordered them also to be slain, without listening to reason. For if they had betrayed their legitimate prince, Justice herself would pronounce them justly slain; but if he whom they betrayed was a rebel and an enemy to the tranquillity of the state, as was alleged, then they ought to have received an ample reward for so memorable an action.

11. Procopius perished at the age of forty years and ten months. He was of a goodly appearance, tall, inclined to stoop, always looking on the ground as he walked, and in his reserved and melancholy manners like Crassus, whom Lucillius and Cicero record never to have smiled but once in his life; and what is very remarkable, as long as he lived he never shed blood.

X.

§ 1. About the same time, his kinsman Marcellus, an officer of the guard, who commanded the garrison of Nicæa, hearing of the treachery of the soldiers and the death of Procopius, attacked Serenianus, who was confined in the palace, unexpectedly at midnight, and put him to death. And his death was the safety of many.

2. For if he, a man of rude manners, bitter temper, and a love of injuring people, had survived Valens's victory, having also great influence with Valens from the similarity of his disposition and the proximity of their birthplaces, he

would have studied the secret inclinations of a prince always inclined to cruelty, and would have shed the blood of many innocent persons.

3. Having killed him, Marcellus by a rapid march seized on Chalcedon, and with the aid of a few people, whom the lowness of their condition and despair urged to crime, obtained a shadow of authority which proved fatal to him, being deceived by two circumstances, because he thought that the three thousand Goths who, after their kings had been conciliated, had been sent to aid Procopius, who had prevailed on them to support him by pleading his relationship to Constantine, would at a small cost be easily won over to support him, and also because he was ignorant of what had happened in Illyricum.

4. While these alarming events were taking place, Equitius, having learnt by trustworthy reports from his scouts that the whole stress of the war was now to be found in Asia, passed through the Succii, and made a vigorous attempt to take Philippopolis, the ancient Eumolpias,¹⁵⁹ which was occupied by a garrison of the enemy. It was a city in a most favourable position, and likely to prove an obstacle to his approach if left in his rear, and if he, while conducting reinforcements to Valens (for he was not yet acquainted with what had happened at Nacolia), should be compelled to hasten to the district around Mount Hæmus.

5. But when, a few days later, he heard of the foolish usurpation of Marcellus, he sent against him a body of bold and active troops, who seized him as a mischievous slave, and threw him into prison. From which, some days afterwards, he was brought forth, scourged severely with his accomplices, and put to death, having deserved favour by no action of his life except that he had slain Serenianus, a man as cruel as Phalaris, and faithful only in barbarity, which he displayed on the slightest pretext.

6. The war being now at an end by the death of the leader, many were treated with much greater severity than their errors or faults required, especially the defenders of Philippopolis, who would not surrender the city or themselves till they saw the head of Procopius, which was conveyed to Gaul.

7. Some, however, by the influence of intercessors, received mercy, the most eminent of whom was Araxius, who, when the crisis was at its height, had applied for and obtained the office of prefect. He, by the intercession of his son-in-law Agilo, was punished only by banishment to an island, from which he soon afterwards escaped.

8. But Euphrasius and Phronemius were sent to the west to be at the disposal of Valentinian. Euphrasius was acquitted, but Phronemius was transported to the Chersonesus, being punished more severely than the other, though their case was the same, because he had been a favourite with the late emperor Julian, whose memorable virtues the two brothers now on the throne joined in disparaging, though they were neither like nor equal to him.

9. To these severities other grievances of greater importance, and more to be dreaded than any sufferings in battle, were added. For the executioner, and

the rack, and bloody modes of torture, now attacked men of every rank, class, or fortune, without distinction. Peace seemed as a pretext for establishing a detestable tribunal, while all men cursed the ill-omened victory that had been gained as worse than the most deadly war.

10. For amid arms and trumpets the equality of every one's chance makes danger seem lighter; and often the might of martial valour obtains what it aims at; or else a sudden death, if it befalls a man, is attended by no feeling of ignominy, but brings an end to life and to suffering at the same time. When, however, laws and statutes are put forth as pretexts for wicked counsels, and judges, affecting the equity of Cato or Cassius, sit on the bench, though in fact everything is done at the discretion of over-arrogant power, on the whim of which every man's life or death depends, the mischief is fatal and incurable.

11. For at this time any one might go to the palace on any pretext, and if he were inflamed with a desire of appropriating the goods of others, though the person he accused might be notoriously innocent, he was received by the emperor as a friend to be trusted and deserving to be enriched at the expense of others.

12. For the emperor was quick to inflict injury, always ready to listen to informers, admitting the most deadly accusations, and exulting unrestrainedly in the diversity of punishments devised; ignorant of the expression of Tully, which teaches us that those men are unhappy who think themselves privileged to do everything.

13. This implacability, unworthy of a just cause, and disgracing his victory, exposed many innocent men to the torturers, crushing them beneath the rack, or slaying them by the stroke of the fierce executioner. Men who, if nature had permitted, would rather have lost ten lives in battle than be thus tortured while guiltless of all crime, having their estates confiscated, as if guilty of treason, and their bodies mutilated before death, which is the most bitter kind of death.

14. At last, when his ferocity was exhausted by his cruelties, men of the highest rank were still exposed to proscription, banishment, and other punishments which, though severe, appear lighter to some people. And in order to enrich some one else, men of noble birth, and perhaps still more richly endowed with virtues, were stripped of their patrimony and driven into exile, where they were exhausted with misery, perhaps being even reduced to subsist by beggary. Nor was any limit put to the cruelties which were inflicted till both the prince and those about him were satiated with plunder and bloodshed.

15. While the usurper, whose various acts and death we have been relating, was still alive, on the 21st of July, in the first consulship of Valentinian and his brother, fearful dangers suddenly overspread the whole world, such as are related in no ancient fables or histories.

16. For a little before sunrise there was a terrible earthquake, preceded by incessant and furious lightning. The sea was driven backwards, so as to recede from the land, and the very depths were uncovered, so that many marine

animals were left sticking in the mud. And the depths of its valleys and the recesses of the hills, which from the very first origin of all things had been lying beneath the boundless waters, now beheld the beams of the sun.

17. Many ships were stranded on the dry shore, while people straggling about the shoal water picked up fishes and things of that kind in their hands. In another quarter the waves, as if raging against the violence with which they had been driven back, rose, and swelling over the boiling shallows, beat upon the islands and the extended coasts of the mainland, levelling cities and houses wherever they encountered them. All the elements were in furious discord, and the whole face of the world seemed turned upside down, revealing the most extraordinary sights.

18. For the vast waves subsided when it was least expected, and thus drowned many thousand men. Even ships were swallowed up in the furious currents of the returning tide, and were seen to sink when the fury of the sea was exhausted; and the bodies of those who perished by shipwreck floated about on their backs or faces.

19. Other vessels of great size were driven on shore by the violence of the wind, and cast upon the housetops, as happened at Alexandria; and some were even driven two miles inland, of which we ourselves saw one in Laconia, near the town of Mothone, which was lying and rotting where it had been driven.

NOTES.

¹⁵⁷ Master of the Offices — v. Bohn's 'Gibbon,' ii., 223.

¹⁵⁸ The young king's name was Eropus, v. Justin, vii. 122.

¹⁵⁹ Called also *Trimontium*, from standing on three hills; the modern name is *Philippopoli*. See Smith's 'Anc. Geography,' .

BOOK XXVII.

ARGUMENT.

I. The Allemanni having defeated the Romans, put the counts Charietto and Severianus to death. — II. Jovinus, the commander of the cavalry in Gaul, surprises and routs two divisions of the Allemanni; defeats a third army in the country of the Catalauni, the enemy losing six thousand killed and four thousand wounded. — III. About the three prefects of the city, Symmachus, Lampadius, and Juventius — The quarrels of Damasus and Ursinus about the bishopric of Rome. — IV. The people and the six provinces of Thrace are described, and the chief cities in each province. — V. The emperor Valens attacks the Goths, who had sent Procopius' auxiliary troops to be employed against him, and after three years makes peace with them. — VI. Valentinian, with the consent of the army, makes his son Gratian emperor; and, after investing the boy with the purple, exhorts him to behave bravely, and recommends him to the soldiers. — VII. The passionate temper, ferocity, and cruelty of the emperor Valentinian. — VIII. Count Theodosius defeats the Picts, Attacotti, and Scots, who were ravaging Britain with impunity, after having slain the duke and count of that province, and makes them restore their plunder. — IX. The Moorish tribes ravage Africa — Valens checks the predatory incursions of the Isaurians — Concerning the office of city prefect. — X. The emperor Valentinian crosses the Rhine, and in a battle, attended with heavy loss to both sides, defeats and routs the Allemanni, who had taken refuge in their highest mountains. — XI. On the high family, wealth, dignity, and character of Probus. — XII. The Romans and Persians quarrel about the possession of Armenia and Iberia.

I.

A.D. 367.

§ 1. While these events which we have related were taking place with various consequences in the east, the Allemanni, after the many disasters and defeats which they had received in their frequent contests with the emperor Julian, at length, having recruited their strength, though not to a degree equal to their former condition, for the reason which has been already set forth, crossed the frontier of Gaul in formidable numbers. And immediately after the beginning of the year, while winter was still in its greatest severity in those frozen districts, a vast multitude poured forth in a solid column, plundering all the places around in the most licentious manner.

2. Their first division was met by Charietto, who at that time had the authority of count in both the German provinces, and who marched against them with his most active troops, having with him as a colleague count Severianus, a man of great age and feeble health, who had the legions Divitenses and Tungricana under his command, near Cabillonum (Châlons).160]

3. Then having formed the whole force into one solid body, and having with great rapidity thrown a bridge over a small stream, the Romans assailed the barbarians from a distance with arrows and light javelins, which they shot back at us with great vigour.

4. But when the battalions met and fought with drawn swords, our line was shaken by the vehement onset of the enemy, and could neither resist nor do any valorous deeds by way of attack, but were all put to flight as soon as they

saw Severianus struck down from his horse and severely wounded by an arrow.

5. Charietto, too, while labouring by the exposure of his own person, and with bitter reproaches, to encourage his men, who were giving way, and while by the gallantry with which he maintained his own position he strove to efface the disgrace they were incurring, was slain by a mortal wound from a javelin.

6. And after his death the standard of the Eruli and of the Batavi was lost, and the barbarians raised it on high, insulting it, dancing round it, but after a fierce struggle it was recovered.

II.

A.D. 367.

§ 1. The news of this disaster was received with great sorrow, and Dagalaiphus was sent from Paris to restore affairs to order. But as he delayed some time, and made excuses, alleging that he was unable to attack the barbarians, who were dispersed over various districts, and as he was soon after sent for to receive the consulship with Gratian, who was still only a private individual, Jovinus was appointed commander of the cavalry; and he being well provided and fully prepared, attacked the fortress of Churpeigne, protecting both his wings and flanks with great care. And at this place he fell on the barbarians unexpectedly, before they could arm themselves, and in a very short time utterly destroyed them.

2. Then leading on the soldiers while exulting in the glory of this easy victory, to defeat the other divisions, and advancing slowly, he learnt from the faithful report of his scouts that a band of ravagers, after having plundered the villages around, were resting on the bank of the river. And as he approached, while his army was concealed by the lowness of the ground and the thickness of the trees, he saw some of them bathing, some adorning their hair after their fashion, and some carousing.

3. And seizing this favourable opportunity, he suddenly bade the trumpet give the signal, and burst into the camp of the marauders. On the other hand, the Germans could do nothing but pour forth useless threats and shouts, not being allowed time to collect their scattered arms, or to form in any strength, so vigorously were they pressed by the conquerors. Thus numbers of them fell pierced with javelins and swords, and many took to flight, and were saved by the winding and narrow paths.

4. After this success, which was won by valour and good fortune, Jovinus struck his camp without delay, and led on his soldiers with increased confidence (sending out a body of careful scouts in advance) against the third division. And arriving at Châlons by forced marches, he there formed the whole body ready for battle.

5. And having constructed a rampart with seasonable haste, and refreshed his men with food and sleep as well as the time permitted, at daybreak he arranged his army in an open plain, extending his line with admirable skill, in

order that by occupying an extensive space of ground the Romans might appear to be equal in number to the enemy: being in fact inferior in that respect though equal in strength.

6. Accordingly, when the trumpet gave the signal and the battle began to rage at close quarters, the Germans stood amazed, alarmed at the well-known appearance of the shining standards. But though they were checked for a moment, they presently recovered themselves, and the conflict was protracted till the close of the day, when our valorous troops would have reaped the fruit of their gallantry without any loss if it had not been for Balchobaudes, a tribune of the legions, who being as sluggish as he was boastful, at the approach of evening retreated in disorder to the camp. And if the rest of the cohorts had followed his example and had also retired, the affair would have turned out so ruinous that not one of our men would have been left alive to tell what had happened.

7. But our soldiers, persisting with energy and courage, showed such a superiority in personal strength that they wounded four thousand of the enemy and slew six thousand, while they did not themselves lose more than twelve hundred killed and two hundred wounded.

8. At the approach of night the battle terminated, and our weary men having recruited their strength, a little before dawn our skilful general led forth his army in a square, and found that the barbarians had availed themselves of the darkness to escape. And having no fear there of ambuscade, he pursued them over the open plain, trampling on the dying and the dead, many of whom had perished from the effect of the severity of the cold on their wounds.

9. After he had advanced some way further, without finding any of the enemy he returned, and then he learnt that the king of the hostile army had been taken prisoner, with a few followers, by the Ascarii,¹⁶¹ whom he himself had sent by another road to plunder the tents of the Allemanni, and they had hanged him. But the general being angry at this, ordered the punishment of the tribune who had ventured on such an act without consulting his superior officer, and he would have condemned him if he had not been able to establish by manifest proof that the atrocious act had been committed by the violent impulse of the soldiers.

10. After this, when he returned to Paris with the glory of this success, the emperor met him with joy, and appointed him to be consul the next year, being additionally rejoiced because at the very same time he received the head of Procopius, which had been sent to him by Valens.

11. Besides these events, many other battles of inferior interest and importance took place in Gaul, which it would be superfluous to recount, since they brought no results worth mentioning, and it is not fit to spin out history with petty details.

§ 1. At this time, or a little before, a new kind of prodigy appeared in the corn district of Tuscany; those who were skilful in interpreting such things being wholly ignorant of what it portended. For in the town of Pistoja, at about the third hour of the day, in the sight of many persons, an ass mounted the tribunal, where he was heard to bray loudly. All the bystanders were amazed, as were all those who heard of the occurrence from the report of others, as no one could conjecture what was to happen.

2. But soon afterwards the events showed what was portended, for a man of the name of Terence, a person of low birth and a baker by trade, as a reward for having given information against Orsitus, who had formerly been prefect, which led to his being convicted of peculation, was intrusted with the government of this same province. And becoming elated and confident, he threw affairs into great disorder, till he was convicted of fraud on transactions relating to some ship-masters, as was reported, and was executed while Claudius was prefect of Rome.

3. But some time before this happened Symmachus succeeded Apronianus; a man deserving to be named among the most eminent examples of learning and moderation; under whose government the most sacred city enjoyed peace and plenty in an unusual degree; being also adorned with a magnificent and solid bridge which he constructed, and opened amid the great joy of his ungrateful fellow-citizens, as the result very plainly showed.

4. For they some years afterwards burnt his beautiful house on the other side of the Tiber, being enraged because some worthless plebeian had invented a story, which there was no evidence or witness to support, that he had said that he would prefer putting out the limekilns with his own wine, to selling the lime at the price expected of him.

5. After him the prefect of the city was Lampadius, who had been prefect of the prætorium, a man of such boundless arrogance, that he grew very indignant if he were not praised even when he spat, as if he did that with more grace than any one else; but still a man of justice, virtue, and economy.

6. When as prætor he was celebrating some splendid games, and giving abundant largesses, being unable to bear the tumult of the populace, which was often urgent to have gifts distributed to those who were unworthy, in order to show his liberality and his contempt for the multitude, he sent for a crowd of beggars from the Vatican, and enriched them with great presents.

7. But, not to digress too much, it will be sufficient to record one instance of his vanity, which, though of no great importance, may serve as a warning to judges. In every quarter of the city which had been adorned at the expense of different emperors he inscribed his own name, and that, not as if he were the restorer of old works, but their founder. This same fault is said to have characterized the emperor Trajan, from which the people in jest named him "The Pellitory of the wall."

8. While he was prefect he was disturbed by frequent commotions, the

most formidable being when a vast mob of the lowest of the people collected, and with firebrands and torches would have burnt his house near the baths of Constantine, if they had not been driven away by the prompt assistance of his friends and neighbours, who pelted them with stones and tiles from the tops of the houses.

9. And he himself, being alarmed at a sedition, which on this occasion had become so violent, retired to the Mulvian bridge (which the elder Scaurus is said to have built), and waited there till the discontent subsided, which indeed had been excited by a substantial grievance.

10. For when he began to construct some new buildings, he ordered the cost to be defrayed, not from the customary sources of revenue, but if iron, or lead, or copper, or anything of that kind was required, he sent officers who, pretending to try the different articles, did in fact seize them without paying any price for them. This so enraged the poor, since they suffered repealed losses from such a practice, that it was all he could do to escape from them by a rapid retreat.

11. His successor had formerly been a quæstor of the palace, his name was Juventius, a man of integrity and prudence, a Pannonian by birth. His administration was tranquil and undisturbed, and the people enjoyed plenty under it. Yet he also was alarmed by fierce seditions raised by the discontented populace, which arose from the following occurrence.

12. Damasus and Ursinus, being both immoderately eager to obtain the bishopric, formed parties and carried on the conflict with great asperity, the partisans of each carrying their violence to actual battle, in which men were wounded and killed. And as Juventius was unable to put an end to, or even to soften these disorders, he was at last by their violence compelled to withdraw to the suburbs.

13. Ultimately Damasus got the best of the strife by the strenuous efforts of his partisans. It is certain that on one day one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the Basilica of Sicininus, which is a Christian church.¹⁶² And the populace who had been thus roused to a state of ferocity were with great difficulty restored to order.

14. I do not deny, when I consider the ostentation that reigns at Rome, that those who desire such rank and power may be justified in labouring with all possible exertion and vehemence to obtain their wishes; since after they have succeeded, they will be secure for the future, being enriched by offerings from matrons, riding in carriages, dressing splendidly, and feasting luxuriously, so that their entertainments surpass even royal banquets.

15. And they might be really happy if, despising the vastness of the city, which they excite against themselves by their vices, they were to live in imitation of some of the priests in the provinces, whom the most rigid abstinence in eating and drinking, and plainness of apparel, and eyes always cast on the ground, recommend to the everlasting Deity and his true worshippers as pure and sober-minded men. This is a sufficient digression on

this subject: let us now return to our narrative.

IV.

§1. While the events above mentioned were taking place in Gaul and Italy, a new campaign was being prepared in Thrace. For Valens, acting on the decision of his brother, by whose will he was entirely governed, marched against the Goths, having a just cause of complaint against them, because at the beginning of the late civil war they had sent assistance to Procopius. It will here be desirable to say a few words of the origin of this people, and the situation of their country.

2. The description of Thrace would be easy if the pens of ancient authors agreed on the subject; but as the obscurity and variety of their accounts is of but little assistance to a work which professes to tell the truth, it will be sufficient for us to record what we remember to have seen ourselves.

3. The undying authority of Homer informs us that these countries were formerly extended over an immense space of tranquil plains and high rising grounds; since that poet represents both the north and the west wind as blowing from thence;¹⁶³ a statement which is either fabulous, or else which shows that the extensive district inhabited by all those savage tribes was formerly included under the single name of Thrace.

4. Part of this region was inhabited by the Scordisci, who now live at a great distance from these provinces; a race formerly savage and uncivilized, as ancient history proves, sacrificing their prisoners to Bellona and Mars, and drinking with eagerness human blood out of skulls. Their ferocity engaged the Roman republic in many wars; and on one occasion led to the destruction of an entire army with its general.^{164]}

5. But we see that the country now, the district being in the form of a crescent, resembles a splendid theatre; it is bounded on the west by mountains, on the abrupt summit of which are the thickly wooded passes of the Succi, which separate Thrace from Dacia.

6. On the left, or northern side, the heights of the Balkan form the boundary, as in one part does the Danube also, where it touches the Roman territory: a river with many cities, fortresses, and castles on its banks.

7. On the right, or southern side, lies Mount Rhodope; on the east, the country is bounded by a strait, which becomes more rapid from being swollen by the waters of the Euxine sea, and proceeds onwards with its tides towards the Ægean, separating the continents of Europe and Asia by a narrow space.

8. At a confined corner on the eastward it joins the frontier of Macedonia by a strait and precipitous defile named Acontisma; near to which are the valley and station of Arethusa, where one may see the tomb of Euripides, illustrious for his sublime tragedies; and Stagira, where we are told that Aristotle, who as Cicero says pours from his mouth a golden stream, was born.

9. In ancient times, tribes of barbarians occupied these countries, differing

from each other in customs and language. The most formidable of which, from their exceeding ferocity, were the Odrysæans, men so accustomed to shed human blood, that when they could not find enemies enough, they would, at their feasts, when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, stab their own bodies as if they belonged to others.

10. But as the republic grew in strength while the authority of the consular form of government prevailed, Marcus Didius, with great perseverance, attacked these tribes which had previously been deemed invincible, and had roved about without any regard either to divine or human laws. Drusus compelled them to confine themselves to their own territories; Minucius defeated them in a great battle on the river Maritza, which flows down from the lofty mountains of the Odrysæans; and after those exploits, the rest of the tribes were almost destroyed in a terrible battle by Appius Claudius the proconsul. And the Roman fleets made themselves masters of the towns on the Bosphorus, and on the coast of the Sea of Marmora.

11. After these generals came Lucullus; who was the first of all our commanders who fought with the warlike nation of the Bessi: and with similar vigour he crushed the mountaineers of the district of the Balkan, in spite of their obstinate resistance. And while he was in that country the whole of Thrace was brought under the power of our ancestors, and in this way, after many doubtful campaigns, six provinces were added to the republic.

12. Of these provinces the first one comes to, that which borders on the Illyrians, is called by the especial name of Thrace; its chief cities are Philippopolis, the ancient Eumolpias, and Beræa; both splendid cities. Next to this the province of the Balkan boasts of Hadrianople, which used to be called Uscudama, and Anchialos, both great cities. Next comes Mysia, in which is Marcianopolis, so named from the sister of the emperor Trajan, also Dorostorus, and Nicopolis, Odysus.

13. Next comes Scythia, in which the chief towns are Dionysiopolis, Tomis, and Calatis. The last of all is Europa; which besides many municipal towns has two principal cities, Apri and Perinthus, which in later times has received the name of Heraclea. Beyond this is Rhodope, in which are the cities of Maximianopolis, Maronea, and Ænus, after founding and leaving which, it was thought Æneas proceeded onwards to Italy, of which, after long wanderings, he became master, expecting by the auspices to enjoy there perpetual prosperity.

14. But it is certain, as the invariable accounts of all writers represent, that these tribes were nearly all agricultural, and, that living on the high mountains in these regions above mentioned, they are superior to us in health, vigour, and length of life; and they believe that this superiority arises from the fact, that in their food they for the most part abstain from all that is hot; also that the constant dews besprinkle their persons with a cold and bracing moisture, and that they enjoy the freshness of a purer atmosphere; and that they are the first of all tribes to feel the rays of the morning sun, which are instinct with

life, before they become tainted with any of the foulness arising from human things. Having discussed this matter let us now return to our original narrative.

V.

§ 1. After Procopius had been overpowered in Phrygia, and all material for domestic discords had thus been removed, Victor, the commander of the cavalry, was sent to the Goths to inquire, without disguise, why a nation friendly to the Romans, and bound to it by treaties of equitable peace, had given the support of its arms to a man who was waging war against their lawful emperor. And they, to excuse their conduct by a valid defence, produced the letters from the above-mentioned Procopius, in which he alleged that he had assumed the sovereignty as his due, as the nearest relation to Constantine's family; and they asserted that this was a fair excuse for their error.

2. When Victor reported this allegation of theirs, Valens disregarding it as a frivolous excuse, marched against them, they having already got information of his approach. And at the beginning of spring he assembled his army in a great body, and pitched his camp near a fortress named Daphne, where having made a bridge of boats he crossed the Danube without meeting any resistance.

3. And being now full of elation and confidence, as while traversing the country in every direction he met with no enemy to be either defeated or even alarmed by his advance; they having all been so terrified at the approach of so formidable a host, that they had fled to the high mountains of the Serri, which were inaccessible to all except those who knew the country.

4. Therefore, that he might not waste the whole summer, and return without having effected anything, he sent forward Arinthæus, the captain of the infantry, with some light forces, who seized on a portion of their families, which were overtaken as they were wandering over the plains before coming to the steep and winding defiles of the mountains. And having obtained this advantage, which chance put in his way, he returned with his men without having suffered any loss, and indeed without having inflicted any.

5. The next year he attempted with equal vigour again to invade the country of the enemy; but being checked in his advance by the inundations of the Danube, which covered a wide extent of country, he remained near the town of Capri, where he pitched a camp in which he remained till the autumn. And from thence, as he was prevented from undertaking any operations on account of the magnitude of the floods, he retired to Marcianopolis into winter quarters.

6. With similar perseverance he again invaded the land of the barbarians a third year, having crossed the river by a bridge of boats at Nivors; and by a rapid march he attacked the Gruthungi, a warlike and very remote tribe, and after some trivial skirmishes, he defeated Athanaric, at that time the most powerful man of the tribe, who dared to resist him with what he fancied an

adequate force, but was compelled to flee for his life. And then he returned himself with his army to Marcianopolis to spend the winter there, as the cold was but slight in that district.

7. After many various events in the campaigns of three years, there arose at last some very strong reasons in the minds of the barbarians for terminating the war. In the first place, because the fear of the enemy was increased by the continued stay made by the emperor in that country. Secondly, because as all their commerce was cut off they began to feel great want of necessaries. So that they sent several embassies with submissive entreaties for pardon and peace.

8. The emperor was as yet inexperienced, but still he was a very just observer of events, till having been captivated by the pernicious allurements of flattery, he subsequently involved the republic in an ever-to-be-lamented disaster; and now taking counsel for the common good, he determined that it was right to grant them peace.

9. And in his turn he sent to them Victor and Arinthæus, who at that time were the commanders of his infantry and cavalry; and when they sent him letters truly stating that the Goths were willing to agree to the conditions which they had proposed, he appointed a suitable place for finally settling the terms of the peace. And since Athanaric alleged that he was bound by a most dreadful oath, and also forbidden by the strict commands of his father ever to set foot on the Roman territory, and as he could not be brought to do so, while, on the other hand, it would be unbecoming and degrading for the emperor to cross over to him, it was decided by negotiation that some boats should be rowed into the middle of the river, on which the emperor should embark with an armed guard, and that there also the chief of the enemy should meet him with his people, and conclude a peace as had been arranged.

10. When this had been arranged, and hostages had been given, Valens returned to Constantinople, whither afterwards Athanaric fled, when he was driven from his native land by a faction among his kinsmen; and he died in that city, and was buried with splendid ceremony according to the Roman fashion.

VI.

§ 1. In the mean time, Valentinian being attacked with a violent sickness and at the point of death, at a secret entertainment of the Gauls who were present in the emperor's army, Rusticus Julianus, at that time master of the records, was proposed as the future emperor; a man as greedy of human blood as a wild beast, seeming to be smitten with some frenzy, as had been shown while governing Africa as proconsul.

2. For in his prefecture of the city, a post which he was filling when he died, fearing a change in the tyranny through the exercise of which he, as if in a dearth of worthy men, had been raised to that dignity, he was compelled to appear more gentle and merciful.

3. Against his partisans others with higher aims were exerting themselves in favour of Severus, who at that time was captain of the infantry, as a man very fit for such a dignity, who, although rough and unpopular, seemed yet more tolerable than the other, and worthy of being preferred to him by any means that could be devised.

4. But all these plans were formed to no purpose; for in the meantime, the emperor, through the variety of remedies applied, recovered, and would scarcely believe that his life had been saved with difficulty. And he proposed to invest his son Gratian, who was now on the point of arriving at manhood, with the ensigns of the imperial authority.

5. And when everything was prepared, and the consent of the soldiers secured, in order that all men might willingly accept the new emperor, immediately upon the arrival of Gratian, Valentinian advancing into the open space, mounted the tribune, and surrounded by a splendid circle of nobles and princes, and holding the boy by his right hand, showed him to them all, and in the following formal harangue recommended their intended sovereign to the army.

6. "This imperial robe which I wear is a happy indication of your good will towards me when you adjudged me superior to many illustrious men. Now, with you as the partners of my counsels and the favourers of my wishes, I will proceed to a seasonable work of affection, relying on the protecting promises of God, to whose eternal assistance it is owing that the Roman state stands and ever shall stand unshaken.

7. "Listen, I beseech you, O most gallant men, with willing minds to my desire, recollecting that these things which the laws of natural affection sanction, we have in this instance not only wished to accomplish with your perfect cognizance, but we have also desired to have them confirmed by you as what is proper for us and likely to prove beneficial.

8. This, my grown-up son Gratian, to whom all of you bear affection as a common pledge, who has long lived among your own children, I am, for the sake of securing the public tranquillity on all sides, about to take as my colleague in the imperial authority, if the propitious will of the ruler of heaven and of your dignity, shall co-operate with a parent's affection. He has not been trained by a rigid education from his very cradle as we ourselves have; nor has he been equally taught to endure hardships; nor is he as yet, as you see, able to endure the toils of war; but in his disposition he is not unworthy of the glorious reputation of his family, or the mighty deeds of his ancestors, and, I venture to say, he is likely to grow up equal to still greater actions.

9. "For as I often think when contemplating, as I am wont to do, his manners and passions though not yet come to maturity, he is so furnished with the liberal sciences, and in all accomplishments and graces, that even now, while only entering on manhood, he will be able to form an accurate judgment of virtuous and vicious actions. He will so conduct himself that virtuous men may see that they are appreciated; he will be eager in the performance of

noble actions; he will never desert the military standards and eagles; he will cheerfully bear heat, snow, frost, and thirst; he will, if necessity should arise, never shrink from fighting in defence of his country; he will expose his life to save his comrades from danger, and (and this is the highest and greatest work of piety) he will love the republic as his own paternal and ancestral home."

10. Before he had finished his speech, every soldier hastened to anticipate his comrades as well as his position permitted him, in showing that these words of the emperor met with their cheerful assent. And so, as partakers in his joy, and as convinced of the advantage of his proposal, they declared Gratian emperor, mingling the propitious clashing of their arms with the loud roar of the trumpets.

11. When Valentinian saw this, his confidence increased; he adorned his son with a crown and with the robes befitting his now supreme rank, and kissed him; and then thus addressed him, brilliant as he appeared, and giving careful attention to all his words: —

12. "You wear now," said he, "my Gratian, the imperial robe, as we have all desired, which has been conferred on you with favourable auspices by my will and that of our comrades. Therefore now, considering the weight of the affairs which press upon us, gird yourself up as the colleague of your father and your uncle; and accustom yourself to pass fearlessly with the infantry over the Danube and the Rhine, which are made passable by the frost, to keep close to your soldiers, to devote your blood and your very life with all skill and deliberation for the safety of those under your command; to think nothing unworthy of your attention which concerns any portion of the Roman empire.

13. "This is enough by way of admonition to you at the present moment, at other times I will not fail to give further advice. Now you who remain, the defenders of the state, I entreat, I beseech you to preserve with a steady affection and loyalty your youthful emperor thus intrusted to your fidelity."

14. These words of the emperor were accepted and ratified with all possible solemnity; Eupraxius, a native of Mauritania Cæsariensis, at that time master of the records, led the way by the exclamation, "The family of Gratian deserves this." And being at once promoted to be quæstor, he set an example of judicious confidence worthy of being imitated by all wise men; especially as he in no wise departed from the habits of his fearless nature, but was at all times a man of consistency and obedient to the laws, which, as we have remarked, speak to all men with one and the same voice under the most varied circumstances. He at this time was the more steady in adhering to the side of justice which he always espoused, because on one occasion when he had given good advice, the emperor had attacked him with violence and threats.

15. After this, the whole assembly broke out into praises of both emperors, the elder and the new one; and especially of the boy, whose brilliant eyes, engaging countenance and person, and apparent sweetness of disposition, recommended him to their favour. And these qualities would have rendered him an emperor worthy to be compared to the most excellent princes of

former times, if fate had permitted, and his relations who even then began to overshadow his virtue, before it was firmly rooted, with their own wicked actions.

16. But in this affair, Valentinian went beyond the custom which had been established for several generations, in making his brother and his son, not Cæsar, but emperors; acting indeed in this respect with great kindness. Nor had any one yet ever created a colleague with powers equal to his own, except the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who made his adopted brother Verus his colleague in the empire without any inferiority of power.

VII.

A.D. 368.

§ 1. After these transactions had been thus settled to the delight both of the prince and of the soldiers, but a few days intervened; and then Avitianus, who had been deputy, accused Mamertinus, the prefect of the prætorium, of peculation, on his return from the city whither he had gone to correct some abuses.

2. And in consequence of this accusation he was replaced by Rufinus, a man accomplished in every respect, who had attained the dignity of an honourable old age, though it is true that he never let slip any opportunity of making money when he thought he could do so secretly.

3. He now availed himself of his access to the emperor to obtain permission for Orfitus, who had been prefect of the city, but who was now banished, to receive back his property which had been confiscated, and return home.

4. And although Valentinian was a man of undisguised ferocity, he nevertheless, at the beginning of his reign, in order to lessen the opinion of his cruelty, took all possible pains to restrain the fierce impetuosity of his disposition. But this defect increasing gradually, from having been checked for some time, presently broke out more unrestrained to the ruin of many persons; and his severity was increased by the vehemence of his anger. For wise men define passion as a lasting ulcer of the mind, and sometimes an incurable one, usually engendered from a weakness of the intellect; and they have a plausible argument for asserting this in the fact that people in bad health are more passionate than those who are well; women, than men; old men, than youths; and people in bad circumstances than the prosperous.

5. About this time, among the deaths of many persons of low degree, that of Diocles, who had previously been a treasurer of Illyricum, was especially remarked; the emperor having had him burnt alive for some very slight offence, as was also the execution of Diodorus, who had previously had an honourable employment in the provinces, and also that of three officers of the vicar prefect of Italy, who were all put to death with great cruelty because the count of Italy had complained to the emperor that Diodorus had, though in a constitutional manner, implored the aid of the law against him; and that the

officers, by command of the judge, served a summons on him as he was setting out on a journey, commanding him to answer to the action according to law. And the Christians at Milan to this day cherish their memory, and call the place where they were buried, the tomb of the innocents.

6. Afterwards, in the affair of a certain Pannonian, named Maxentius, on account of the execution of a sentence very properly commanded by the judge to be carried out immediately, he ordered all the magistrates of these towns to be put to death, when Eupraxius, who at that time was quæstor, interposed, saying, "Be more sparing, O most pious of emperors, for those whom you command to be put to death as criminals, the Christian religion honours as martyrs, that is as persons acceptable to the deity."

7. And the prefect Florentius, imitating the salutary boldness of Eupraxius, when he heard that the emperor was in a similar manner very angry about some trifling and pardonable matter, and that he had ordered the execution of three of the magistrates in each of several cities, said to him, "And what is to be done if any town has not got so many magistrates? It will be necessary to suspend the execution there till there are a sufficient number for the purpose."

8. And besides this cruel conduct there was another circumstance horrible even to speak of, that if any one came before him protesting against being judged by a powerful enemy, and requiring that some other judge might hear his case, he always refused it; and however just the arguments of the man might be, he remitted his cause to the decision of the very judge whom he feared. And there was another very bad thing much spoken of; namely, that when it was urged that any debtor was in such absolute want as to be unable to pay anything, he used to pronounce sentence of death on him.

9. But some princes do these and other similar actions with the more lofty arrogance, because they never allow their friends any opportunity of setting them right in any mistake they make, either in a plan or in its execution; while they terrify their enemies by the greatness of their power. There can be no question of mistake or error raised before men who consider whatever they choose to do to be in itself the greatest of virtues.

VIII.

§ 1. Valentinian having left Amiens, and being on his way to Treves in great haste, received the disastrous intelligence that Britain was reduced by the ravages of the united barbarians to the lowest extremity of distress; that Nectaridus, the count of the sea-coast, had been slain in battle, and the duke Fullofaudes had been taken prisoner by the enemy in an ambuscade.

2. This news struck him with great consternation, and he immediately sent Severus, the count of the domestic guards, to put an end to all these disasters if he could find a desirable opportunity. Severus was soon recalled, and Jovinus, who then went to that country, sent forward Provertuides with great expedition to ask for the aid of a powerful army; for they both affirmed that the imminence of the danger required such a reinforcement.

3. Last of all, on account of the many formidable reports which a continual stream of messengers brought from that island, Theodosius was appointed to proceed thither, and ordered to make great haste. He was an officer already distinguished for his prowess in war, and having collected a numerous force of cavalry and infantry, he proceeded to assume the command in full confidence.

4. And since when I was compiling my account of the acts of the emperor Constantine, I explained as well as I could the movement of the sea in those parts at its ebb and flow, and the situation of Britain, I look upon it as superfluous to return to what has been once described; as the Ulysses of Homer when among the Phæacians hesitated to repeat his adventures by reason of the sufferings they brought to mind.

5. It will be sufficient here to mention that at that time the Picts, who were divided into two nations, the Dicalidones and the Vecturiones, and likewise the Attacotti, a very warlike people, and the Scots were all roving over different parts of the country and committing great ravages. While the Franks and the Saxons who are on the frontiers of the Gauls were ravaging their country wherever they could effect an entrance by sea or land, plundering and burning, and murdering all the prisoners they could take.

6. To put a stop to these evils, if a favourable fortune should afford an opportunity, the new and energetic general repaired to that island situated at the extreme corner of the earth; and when he had reached the coast of Boulogne, which is separated from the opposite coast by a very narrow strait of the sea, which there rises and falls in a strange manner, being raised by violent tides, and then again sinking to a perfect level like a plain, without doing any injury to the sailors. From Boulogne he crossed the strait in a leisurely manner, and reached Richborough, a very tranquil station on the opposite coast.

7. And when the Batavi, and Heruli, and the Jovian and Victorian legions who followed from the same place, had also arrived, he then, relying on their number and power, landed and marched towards Londinium, an ancient town which has since been named Augusta; and dividing his army into several detachments, he attacked the predatory and straggling bands of the enemy who were loaded with the weight of their plunder, and having speedily routed them while driving prisoners in chains and cattle before them, he deprived them of their booty which they had carried off from these miserable tributaries of Rome.

8. To whom he restored the whole except a small portion which he allotted to his own weary soldiers; and then joyful and triumphant he made his entry into the city which had just before been overwhelmed by disasters, but was now suddenly re-established almost before it could have hoped for deliverance.

9. This success encouraged him to deeds of greater daring, and after considering what counsels might be the safest, he hesitated, being full of

doubts as to the future, and convinced by the confession of his prisoners and the information given him by deserters, that so vast a multitude, composed of various nations, all incredibly savage, could only be vanquished by secret stratagems and unexpected attacks.

10. Then, by the publication of several edicts, in which he promised them impunity, he invited deserters and others who were straggling about the country on furlough, to repair to his camp. At this summons numbers came in, and he, though eager to advance, being detained by anxious cares, requested to have Civilis sent to him, to govern Britain, with the rank of proprefect, a man of quick temper, but just and upright; and he asked at the same time for Dulcitus, a general eminent for his military skill.

IX.

§ 1. These were the events which occurred in Britain. But in another quarter, from the very beginning of Valentinian's reign, Africa had been overrun by the fury of the barbarians, intent on bloodshed and rapine, which they sought to carry on by audacious incursions. Their licentiousness was encouraged by the indolence and general covetousness of the soldiers, and especially by the conduct of Count Romanus.

2. Who, foreseeing what was likely to happen, and being very skilful in transferring to others the odium which he himself deserved, was detested by men in general for the savageness of his temper, and also because it seemed as if his object was to outrun even our enemies in ravaging the provinces. He greatly relied on his relationship to Remigius, at that time master of the offices, who sent all kinds of false and confused statements of the condition of the country, so that the emperor, cautious and wary as he plumed himself on being, was long kept in ignorance of the terrible sufferings of the Africans.

3. I will explain with great diligence the complete series of all the transactions which took place in those regions, the death of Ruricius the governor, and of his lieutenants, and all the other mournful events which took place, when the proper opportunity arrives.

4. And since we are able here to speak freely, let us openly say what we think, that this emperor was the first of all our princes who raised the arrogance of the soldiers to so great a height, to the great injury of the state, by increasing their rank, dignity, and riches. And (which was a lamentable thing, both on public and private accounts) while he punished the errors of the common soldiers with unrelenting severity, he spared the officers, who, as if complete licence were given to their misconduct, proceeded to all possible lengths of rapacity and cruelty for the acquisition of riches, and acting as if they thought that the fortunes of all persons depended directly on their nod.

5. The framers of our ancient laws had sought to repress their pride and power, sometimes even condemning the innocent to death, as is often done in cases when, from the multitude concerned in some atrocity, some innocent men, owing to their ill luck, suffer for the whole. And this has occasionally

extended even to the case of private persons.

6. But in Isauria the banditti formed into bodies and roamed through the villages, laying waste and plundering the towns and wealthy country houses; and by the magnitude of their ravages they also greatly distressed Pamphylia and Cilicia. And when Musonius, who at that time was the deputy of Asia Minor, having previously been a master of rhetoric at Athens, had heard that they were spreading massacre and rapine in every direction, being filled with grief at the evil of which he had just heard, and perceiving that the soldiers were rusting in luxury and inactivity, he took with him a few light-armed troops, called *Diogmitæ*, and resolved to attack the first body of plunderers he could find. His way led through a narrow and most difficult defile, and thus he fell into an ambuscade, which he had no chance of escaping, and was slain, with all the men under his command.

7. The robber bands became elated at this advantage, and roamed over the whole country with increased boldness, slaying many, till at last our army was aroused, and drove them to take refuge amid the recesses of the rocks and mountains they inhabit. And then, as they were not allowed to rest, and were cut off from all means of obtaining necessary supplies, they at last begged for a truce, as a prelude to peace, being led to this step by the advice of the people of Germanicopolis, whose opinions always had as much weight with them as standard-bearers have with an army. And after giving hostages as they were desired, they remained for a long time quiet, without venturing on any hostilities.

8. While these events were taking place, *Prætextatus* was administering the prefecture of the city in a noble manner, exhibiting numerous instances of integrity and probity, virtues for which he had been eminent from his earliest youth; and thus he obtained what rarely happens to any one, that while he was feared, he did not at the same time lose the affection of his fellow-citizens, which is seldom strongly felt for those whom they fear as judges.

9. By his authority, impartiality, and just decisions, a tumult was appeased, which the quarrels of the Christians had excited, and after *Ursinus* was expelled complete tranquillity was restored, which best corresponded to the wishes of the Roman people; while the glory of their illustrious governor, who performed so many useful actions, continually increased.

10. For he also removed all the balconies, which the ancient laws of Rome had forbidden to be constructed, and separated from the sacred temples the walls of private houses which had been improperly joined to them; and established one uniform and proper weight in every quarter, for by no other means could he check the covetousness of those who made their scales after their own pleasure. And in the adjudication of lawsuits he exceeded all men in obtaining that praise which *Cicero* mentions in his panegyric of *Brutus*, that while he did nothing with a view to please anybody, everything which he did pleased everybody.

§ 1. About the same time, when Valentinian had gone forth on an expedition very cautiously as he fancied, a prince of the Allemanni, by name Rando, who had been for some time preparing for the execution of a plan which he had conceived, with a body of light-armed troops equipped only for a predatory expedition, surprised and stormed Mayence, which was wholly destitute of a garrison.

2. And as he arrived at the time when a great solemnity of the Christian religion was being celebrated, he found no obstacle whatever in carrying off a vast multitude of both men and women as prisoners, with no small quantity of goods as booty.

3. After this, for a short interval a sudden hope of brighter fortune shone upon the affairs of Rome. For as king Vithicabius, the son of Vadomarius, a bold and warlike man, though in appearance effeminate and diseased, was continually raising up the troubles of war against us, great pains were taken to have him removed by some means or other.

4. And because after many attempts it was found impossible to defeat him or to procure his betrayal, his most confidential servant was tampered with by one of our men, and by his hand he lost his life; and after his death, all hostile attacks upon us were laid aside for a while. But his murderer, fearing punishment if the truth should get abroad, without delay took refuge in the Roman territory.

5. After this an expedition on a larger scale than usual was projected with great care and diligence against the Allemanni, to consist of a great variety of troops: the public safety imperatively required such a measure, since the treacherous movements of that easily recruited nation were regarded with continual apprehension, while our soldiers were the more irritated, because, on account of the constant suspicion which their character awakened, at one time abject and suppliant, at another arrogant and threatening, they were never allowed to rest in peace.

6. Accordingly, a vast force was collected from all quarters, well furnished with arms and supplies of provisions, and the count Sebastian having been sent for with the Illyrian and Italian legions which he commanded, as soon as the weather got warm, Valentinian, accompanied by Gratian, crossed the Rhine without resistance. Having divided the whole army into four divisions, he himself marched with the centre, while Jovinus and Severus, the two captains of the camp, commanded the divisions on each side, thus protecting the army from any sudden attack.

7. And immediately under the guidance of men who knew the roads, all the approaches having been reconnoitred, the army advanced slowly through a most extensive district, the soldiers by the slowness of their march being all the more excited to wish for battle, and gnashing their teeth in a threatening manner, as if they had already found the barbarians. And as, after many days

had passed, no one could be found who offered any resistance, the troops applied the devouring flame to all the houses and all the crops which were standing, with the exception of such supplies for their own magazines as the doubtful events of war compelled them to collect and store up.

8. After this the emperor advanced further, with no great speed, till he arrived at a place called Solicinium, where he halted, as if he had suddenly come upon some barrier, being informed by the accurate report of his advanced guard that the barbarians were seen at a distance.

9. They, seeing no way of preserving their safety unless they defended themselves by a speedy battle, trusting in their acquaintance with the country, with one consent occupied a lofty hill, abrupt and inaccessible in its rugged heights on every side except the north, where the ascent was gentle and easy. Our standards were fixed in the usual manner, and the cry, "To arms!" was raised; and the soldiers, by the command of the emperor and his generals, rested in quiet obedience, waiting for the raising of the emperor's banner as the signal for engaging in battle.

10. And because little or no time could be spared for deliberation, since on one side the impatience of the soldiers was formidable, and on the other the Allemanni were shouting out their horrid yells all around, the necessity for rapid operations led to the plan that Sebastian with his division should seize the northern side of the hill, where we have said the ascent was gentle, in which position it was expected that, if fortune favoured him, he would be able easily to destroy the flying barbarians. And when he, as had been arranged, had moved forward first, while Gratian was kept behind with the Jovian legion, that young prince being as yet of an age unfit for battle or for hard toil, Valentinian, like a deliberate and prudent general, took off his helmet, and reviewed his centuries and maniples, and not having informed any of the nobles of his secret intentions, and having sent back his numerous body of guards, went forward himself with a very small escort, whose courage and fidelity he could trust, to reconnoitre the foot of the hill, declaring (as he was always apt to think highly of his own skill) that it must be possible to find another path which led to the summit besides that which the advanced guard had reported.

11. He then, as he advanced by a devious track over ground strange to him, and across pathless swamps, was very nearly being killed by the sudden attack of a band placed in an ambuscade on his flank, and being driven to extremities, only escaped by spurring his horse to a gallop in a different direction over a deep swamp, so at last, after being in the most imminent danger, he rejoined his legions. But so great had been his peril that his chamberlain, who was carrying his helmet, which was adorned with gold and precious stones, disappeared, helmet and all, while the man's body could never be found, so that it could be known positively whether he were alive or dead.

12. Then, when the men had been refreshed by rest, and the signal for

battle was raised, and the clang of warlike trumpets roused their courage, two youths of prominent valour, eager to be the first to encounter the danger, dashed on with fearless impetuosity before the line of their comrades. One was of the band of Scutarii, by name Salvius, the other, Lupicinus, belonging to the Gentiles. They raised a terrible shout, brandished their spears, and when they reached the foot of the rocks, in spite of the efforts of the Allemanni to repel them, pushed steadily on to the higher ground; while behind them came the main body of the army, which following their lead over places rough with brambles and rugged, at last, after vast exertions, reached the very summit of the heights.

13. Then again, with great spirit on both sides, the conflict raged with spears and swords. On our side the soldiers were more skilful in the art of war; on the other side the barbarians, ferocious but incautious, closed with them in the mighty fray; while our army extending itself, outflanked them on both sides with its overlapping wings, the enemy's alarm being increased by our shouts, the neighing of the horses, and the clang of trumpets.

14. Nevertheless they resisted with indomitable courage, and the battle was for some time undecided; both sides exerted themselves to the utmost, and death was scattered almost equally.

15. At last the barbarians were beaten down by the ardour of the Romans, and being disordered and broken, were thrown into complete confusion; and as they began to retreat they were assailed with great effect by the spears and javelins of their enemies. Soon the retreat became a flight, and panting and exhausted, they exposed their backs and the back sinews of their legs and thighs to their pursuers. After many had been slain, those who fled fell into the ambuscade laid for them by Sebastian, who was posted with his reserve at the back of the mountain, and who now fell unexpectedly on their flank, and slew numbers of them, while the rest who escaped concealed themselves in the recesses of the woods.

16. In this battle we also suffered no inconsiderable loss. Among those who fell was Valerian, the first officer of the domestic guards, and one of the Scutarii, named Natuspardo, a warrior of such pre-eminent courage that he might be compared to the ancient Sicinius or Sergius.

17. After these transactions, accompanied with this diversity of fortune, the army went into winter quarters, and the emperor returned to Treves.

XI.

§ 1. About this time, Vulcatius Rufinus died, while filling the office of prefect of the prætorium, and Probus was summoned from Rome to succeed him, a man well known to the whole Roman world for the eminence of his family, and his influence, as well as for his vast riches, for he possessed a patrimonial inheritance which was scattered over the whole empire; whether acquired justly or unjustly it is not for us to decide.

2. A certain good fortune, as the poets would represent it, attended him

from his birth, and bore him on her rapid wings, exhibiting him sometimes as a man of beneficent character, promoting the interests of his friends, though often also a formidable intriguer, and cruel and mischievous in the gratification of his enmities. As long as he lived he had great power, owing to the magnificence of his gifts and to his frequent possession of office, and yet he was at times timid towards the bold, though domineering over the timid; so that when full of self-confidence he appeared to be spouting in the tragic buskin, and when he was afraid he seemed more abased than the most abject character in comedy.

3. And as fishes, when removed from their natural element, cannot live long on the land, so he began to pine when not in some post of authority which he was driven to be solicitous for by the squabbles of his troops of clients, whose boundless cupidity prevented their ever being innocent, and who thrust their patron forward into affairs of state in order to be able to perpetrate all sorts of crimes with impunity.

4. For it must be confessed that though he was a man of such magnanimity that he never desired any dependent or servant of his to do an unlawful thing, yet if he found that any one of them had committed a crime, he laid aside all consideration of justice, would not allow the case to be inquired into, but defended the man without the slightest regard for right or wrong. Now this is a fault expressly condemned by Cicero, who thus speaks: "For what difference is there between one who has advised an action, and one who approves of it after it is performed? or what difference does it make whether I wished it be done, or am glad that it is done?"

5. He was a man of a suspicious temper, self-relying, often wearing a bitter smile, and sometimes caressing a man the more effectually to injure him.

6. This vice is a very conspicuous one in dispositions of that kind, and mostly so when it is thought possible to conceal it. He was also so implacable and obstinate in his enmities, that if he ever resolved to injure any one he would never be diverted from his purpose by any entreaties, nor be led to pardon any faults, so that his ears seemed to be stopped not with wax but with lead.

7. Even when at the very summit of wealth and dignity he was always anxious and watchful, and therefore he was continually subject to trifling illnesses.

8. Such was the course of events which took place in the western provinces of the empire.

XII.

§ 1. The King of Persia, the aged Sapor, who from the very commencement of his reign had been addicted to the love of plunder, after the death of the Emperor Julian, and the disgraceful treaty of peace subsequently made, for a short time seemed with his people to be friendly to us; but presently he trampled under foot the agreement which he had made with

Jovian, and poured a body of troops into Armenia to annex that country to his own dominions, as if the whole of the former arrangements had been abolished.

2. At first he contented himself with various tricks, intrigues, and deceits, inflicting some trifling injuries on the nation which unanimously resisted him, tampering with some of the nobles and satraps, and making sudden inroads into the districts belonging to others.

3. Afterwards by a system of artful cajolery fortified by perjury, he got their king Arsaces into his hands, having invited him to a banquet, when he ordered him to be seized and conducted to a secret chamber behind, where his eyes were put out, and he was loaded with silver chains, which in that country is looked upon as a solace under punishment for men of rank, trifling though it be; then he removed him from his country to a fortress called Agabana, where he applied to him the torture, and finally put him to death.

4. After this, in order that his perfidy might leave nothing unpolluted, having expelled Sauromaces, whom the authority of the Romans had made governor of Hiberia, he conferred the government of that district on a man of the name of Aspacuras, even giving him a diadem, to mark the insult offered to the decision of our emperors.

5. And after these infamous actions he committed the charge of Armenia to an eunuch named Cylaces, and to Artabannes, a couple of deserters whom he had received some time before (one of them having been prefect of that nation, and the other commander in-chief); and he enjoined them to use every exertion to destroy the town of Artogerassa, a place defended by strong walls and a sufficient garrison, in which were the treasures, and the wife and son of Arsaces.

6. These generals commenced the siege as they were ordered. And as it is a fortress placed on a very rugged mountain height, it was inaccessible at that time, while the ground was covered with snow and frost: and so Cylaces being an eunuch, and, as such, suited to feminine manœuvres, taking Artabannes with him, approached the walls; after having received a promise of safety, and he and his companion had been admitted into the city, he sought by a mixture of advice and threats to persuade the garrison and the queen to pacify the wrath of the implacable Sapor by a speedy surrender.

7. And after many arguments had been urged on both sides, the woman bewailing the sad fortune of her husband, these men, who had been most active in wishing to compel her to surrender, pitying her distress, changed their views; and conceiving a hope of higher preferment, they in secret conferences arranged that at an appointed hour of the night the gates should be suddenly thrown open, and a strong detachment should sally forth and fall upon the ramparts of the enemy's camp, surprising it with sudden slaughter; the traitors promising that, to prevent any knowledge of what was going on, they would come forward to meet them.

8. Having ratified this agreement with an oath, they quitted the town, and

led the besiegers to acquiesce in inaction by representing that the besieged had required two days to deliberate on what course they ought to pursue. Then in the middle of the night, when they were all soundly asleep in fancied security, the gates of the city were thrown open, and a strong body of young men poured forth with great speed, creeping on with noiseless steps and drawn swords, till they entered the camp of the unsuspecting enemy, where they slew numbers of sleeping men, without meeting with any resistance.

8. This unexpected treachery of his officers, and the loss thus inflicted on the Persians, caused a terrible quarrel between us and Sapor; and another cause for his anger was added, as the Emperor Valens received Para, the son of Arsaces, who at his mother's instigation had quitted the fortress with a small escort, and had desired him to stay at Neo-Cæsarea, a most celebrated city on the Black Sea, where he was treated with great liberality and high respect. Cylaces and Artabannes, being allured by this humanity of Valens, sent envoys to him to ask for assistance, and to request that Para might be given them for their king.

10. However, for the moment assistance was refused them; but Para was conducted by the general Terentius back to Armenia, where he was to rule that nation without any of the insignia of royalty; which was a very wise regulation, in order that we might not be accused of breaking our treaty of peace.

11. When this arrangement became known, Sapor was enraged beyond all bounds, and collecting a vast army, entered Armenia and ravaged it with the most ferocious devastation. Para was terrified at his approach, as were also Cylaces and Artabannes, and, as they saw no other resource, fled into the recesses of the lofty mountains which separate our frontiers from Lazica; where they hid in the depths of the woods and among the defiles of the hills for five months, eluding the various attempts of the king to discover them.

12. And Sapor, when he saw that he was losing his labour in the middle of winter, burnt all the fruit trees, and all the fortified castles and camps, of which he had become master by force or treachery, and also burnt Artogerassa, which had long been blockaded by his whole army, and after many battles was taken through the exhaustion of the garrison; and he carried off from thence the wife of Arsaces and all his treasures.

13. For these reasons, Arinthæus was sent into these districts with the rank of count, to aid the Armenians if the Persians should attempt to harass them by a second campaign.

14. At the same time, Sapor, with extraordinary cunning, being either humble or arrogant as best suited him, under pretence of an intended alliance, sent secret messengers to Para to reproach him as neglectful of his own dignity, since, with the appearance of royal majesty, he was really the slave of Cylaces and Artabannes. On which Para, with great precipitation, cajoled them with caresses till he got them in his power, and slew them, sending their heads to Sapor in proof of his obedience.

15. When the death of these men became generally known, it caused such dismay that Armenia would have been ruined without striking a blow in its own defence, if the Persians had not been so alarmed at the approach of Arinthæus that they forbore to invade it again, contenting themselves with sending ambassadors to the emperor, demanding of him not to defend that nation, according to the agreement made between them and Jovian.

16. Their ambassadors were rejected, and Sauromaces, who, as we have said before, had been expelled from the kingdom of Hiberia, was sent back with twelve legions under the command of Terentius; and when he reached the river Cyrus, Aspacuras entreated him that they might both reign as partners, being cousins; alleging that he could not withdraw nor cross over to the side of the Romans, because his son Ultra was as a hostage in the hands of the Persians.

17. The emperor learning this, in order by wisdom and prudence to put an end to the difficulties arising out of this affair, acquiesced in the division of Hiberia, allowing the Cyrus to be the boundary of the two divisions: Sauromaces to have the portion next to the Armenians and Lazians, and Aspacuras the districts which border on Albania and Persia.

18. Sapor, indignant at this, exclaimed that he was unworthily treated, because we had assisted Armenia contrary to our treaty, and because the embassy had failed which he had sent to procure redress, and because the kingdom of Hiberia was divided without his consent or privity; and so, shutting as it were, the gates of friendship, he sought assistance among the neighbouring nations, and prepared his own army in order, with the return of fine weather, to overturn all the arrangements which the Romans had made with a view to their own interests.

NOTES.

¹⁶⁰ Cabillonum is Châlons-sur-Soane, in Burgundy; Catalauni is Châlons-sur-Marne, in Champagne.

¹⁶¹ These seem to have been a tribe of the *Batavi*; but some editors give, as a various reading, *Hastarii*, which may be translated, a detachment of lancers.

¹⁶² Probably the church of Santa Maria Maggiore; but see note in Gibbon, ch. xxv. (vol. iii. , Bohn).

¹⁶³ See *Iliad*, ix. 5: —

Βορέης καὶ ζέφυρος τότε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον
Ἐλθοντ' ἔξοπίνης.

Thus translated by Pope: —

“As from its cloudy dungeon, issuing forth
A double tempest of the west and north
Swells o'er the sea from Thracia's frozen shore,
Heaps waves on waves, and bids th' Ægean roar.”

¹⁶⁴ The contents of the sixty-third book of Livy record that C. Porcius Cato lost his whole army in a campaign against the Scordisci, who were a Pannonian tribe; but neither Livy nor any other writer, except Ammianus, mentions that Cato himself was killed.

BOOK XXVIII.

ARGUMENT.

I. Many persons, even senators and women of senatorial family are accused at Rome of poisonings, adultery, and debauchery, and are punished. — II. The Emperor Valentinian fortifies the whole Gallic bank of the Rhine with forts, castles, and towers; the Allemanni slay the Romans who are constructing a fortification on the other side of the Rhine. — The Maratocupreni, who are ravaging Syria, are, by the command of Valens, destroyed with their children and their town. — III. Theodosius restores the cities of Britain which had been laid waste by the barbarians, repairs the fortresses, and recovers the province of the island which is called Valentia. — IV. Concerning the administration of Olybrius and Ampelius as prefects of the city: and concerning the vices of the Roman senate and people. — V. The Saxons, after a time, are circumvented in Gaul by the manœuvres of the Romans. Valentinian having promised to unite his forces with them, sends the Burgundians to invade Germany; but they, finding themselves tricked and deceived, put all their prisoners to the sword, and return home. — VI. The ravages inflicted in the province of Tripoli, and on the people of Leptis and Cæa, by the Asturians, are concealed from Valentinian by the bad faith of the Roman count; and so are not properly avenged.

I.

A.D. 368.

§ 1. While the perfidy of the king was exciting these unexpected troubles in Persia, as we have related above, and while war was reviving in the east, sixteen years and rather more after the death of Nepotianus, Bellona, raging through the eternal city, destroyed everything, proceeding from trifling beginnings to the most lamentable disasters. Would that they could be buried in everlasting silence, lest perhaps similar things may some day be again attempted, which will do more harm by the general example thus set than even by the misery they occasion.

2. And although after a careful consideration of different circumstances, a reasonable fear would restrain me from giving a minute account of the bloody deeds now perpetrated, yet, relying on the moderation of the present age, I will briefly touch upon the things most deserving of record, nor shall I regret giving a concise account of the fears which the events that happened at a former period caused me.

3. In the first Median war, when the Persians had ravaged Asia, they laid siege to Miletus with a vast host, threatening the garrison with torture and death, and at last reduced the citizens to such straits, that they all, being overwhelmed with the magnitude of their distresses, slew their nearest relations, cast all their furniture and movables into the fire, and then threw themselves in rivalry with one another on the common funeral pile of their perishing country.

4. A short time afterwards, Phrynichus made this event the subject of a tragedy which he exhibited on the stage at Athens; and after he had been for a short time listened to with complacency, when amid all its fine language the tragedy became more and more distressing, it was condemned by the indignation of the people, who thought that it was insulting to produce this as

the subject of a dramatic poem, and that it had been prompted not by a wish to console, but only to remind them to their own disgrace of the sufferings which that beautiful city had endured without receiving any aid from its founder and parent. For Miletus was a colony of the Athenians, and had been established there among the other Ionian states by Neleus, the son of that Codrus who is said to have devoted himself for his country in the Dorian war.

5. Let us now return to our subject. Maximinus, formerly deputy prefect of Rome, was born in a very obscure rank of life at Sopianæ, a town of Valeria; his father being only a clerk in the president's office, descended from the posterity of those Carpi whom Diocletian removed from their ancient homes and transferred to Pannonia.

6. After a slight study of the liberal sciences, and some small practice at the bar, he was promoted to be governor of Corsica, then of Sardinia, and at last of Tuscany. From hence, as his successor loitered a long while on his road, he proceeded to superintend the supplying of the eternal city with provisions, still retaining the government of the province; and three different considerations rendered him cautious on his first entrance into office, namely: —

7. In the first place, because he bore in mind the prediction of his father, a man pre-eminently skilful in interpreting what was portended by birds from whom auguries were taken, or by the note of such birds as spoke. And he had warned him that though he would rise to supreme authority, he would perish by the axe of the executioner; secondly, because he had fallen in with a Sardinian (whom he himself subsequently put to death by treachery, as report generally affirmed) who was a man skilled in raising up evil spirits, and in gathering presages from ghosts; and as long as that Sardinian lived, he, fearing to be betrayed, was more tractable and mild; lastly, because while he was slowly making his way through inferior appointments, like a serpent that glides underground, he was not yet of power sufficient to perpetrate any extensive destruction or executions.

8. But the origin of his arriving at more extensive power lay in the following transaction: Chilo, who had been deputy, and his wife, named Maxima, complained to Olybrius, at that time prefect of the city, asserting that their lives had been attacked by poison, and with such earnestness that the men whom they suspected were at once arrested and thrown into prison. These were Sericus, a musician, Asbolius, a wrestling master, and Campensis, a soothsayer.

9. But as the affair began to cool on account of the long-continued violence of some illness with which Olybrius was attacked, the persons who had laid the complaint, becoming impatient of delay, presented a petition in which they asked to have the investigation of their charge referred to the superintendent of the corn-market; and, from a desire for a speedy decision, this request was granted.

10. Now, therefore, that he had an opportunity of doing injury, Maximin displayed the innate ferocity which was implanted in his cruel heart, just as

wild beasts exhibited in the amphitheatre often do when at length released from their cages. And, as this affair was represented first in various ways, as if in a kind of prelude, and some persons with their sides lacerated named certain nobles, as if by means of their clients and other low-born persons known as criminals and informers, they had employed various artifices for injuring them. This infernal delegate, carrying his investigations to an extravagant length, presented a malicious report to the emperor, in which he told him that such atrocious crimes as many people had committed at Rome could not be investigated nor punished without the severest penalties.

11. When the emperor learnt this he was exasperated beyond measure, being rather a furious than a rigorous enemy to vice; and accordingly, by one single edict applying to causes of this kind, which in his arrogance he treated as if they partook of treason, he commanded that all those whom the equity of the ancient law and the judgment of the gods had exempted from examination by torture, should, if the case seemed to require it, be put to the rack.

12. And in order that the authority to be established, by being doubled and raised to greater distinction, might be able to heap up greater calamities, he appointed Maximin proprefect at Rome, and gave him as colleague in the prosecution of these inquiries, which were being prepared for the ruin of many persons, a secretary named Leo, who was afterwards master of the ceremonies. He was by birth a Pannonian, and by occupation originally a brigand, as savage as a wild beast, and insatiable of human blood.

13. The accession of a colleague so much like himself, inflamed the cruel and malignant disposition of Maximin, which was further encouraged by the commission which conferred this dignity on them; so that, flinging himself about in his exultation, he seemed rather to dance than to walk, while he studied to imitate the Brachmans who, according to some accounts, move in the air amid the altars.

14. And now the trumpets of intestine discords sounded, while all men stood amazed at the atrocity of the things which were done. Among which, besides many other cruel and inhuman actions so various and so numerous that it is impossible for me to relate them all, the death of Marinus, the celebrated advocate, was especially remarkable. He was condemned to death on a charge which was not even attempted to be supported by evidence, of having endeavoured by wicked acts to compass a marriage with Hispanilla.

15. And since I think that perhaps some persons may read this history who, after careful investigation, will object to it that such and such a thing was done before another; or again that this or that circumstance has been omitted, I consider that I have inserted enough, because it is not every event which has been brought about by base people that is worth recording; nor, if it were necessary to relate them all, would there be materials for such an account, not even if the public records themselves were examined, when so many atrocious deeds were common, and when this new frenzy was throwing everything into confusion without the slightest restraint; and when what was feared was

evidently not a judicial trial but a total cessation of all justice.

16. At this time, Cethegus, a senator, who was accused of adultery, was beheaded, and a young man of noble birth, named Alypius, who had been banished for some trivial misconduct, with some other persons of low descent, were all publicly executed; while every one appeared in their sufferings to see a representation of what they themselves might expect, and dreamt of nothing but tortures, prisons, and dark dungeons.

17. At the same time also, the affair of Hymetius, a man of very eminent character, took place, of which the circumstances were as follows. When he was governing Africa as proconsul, and the Carthaginians were in extreme distress for want of food, he supplied them with corn out of the granaries destined for the Roman people; and shortly afterwards, when there was a fine harvest, he without delay fully replaced what he had thus consumed.

18. But as at the time of the scarcity ten bushels had been sold to those who were in want for a piece of gold, while he now bought thirty for the same sum, he sent the profit derived from the difference in price to the emperor's treasury. Therefore, Valentinian, suspecting that there was not as much sent as there ought to have been as the proceeds of this traffic, confiscated a portion of his property.

19. And to aggravate the severity of this infliction, another circumstance happened about the same time which equally tended to his ruin. Amantius was a soothsayer of pre-eminent celebrity at that period, and having been accused by some secret informer of being employed by this same Hymetius to offer a sacrifice for some evil purpose, he was brought before a court of justice and put to the rack; but in spite of all his tortures, he denied the charge with steadfast resolution.

20. And as he denied it, some secret papers were brought from his house, among which was found a letter in the handwriting of Hymetius, in which he asked Amantius to propitiate the gods by some solemn sacrifices to engage them to make the disposition of the emperor favourable to him; and at the end of the letter were found some reproachful terms applied to the emperor as avaricious and cruel.

21. Valentinian learnt these facts from the report of some informers, who exaggerated the offence given, and with very unnecessary vigour ordered an inquiry to be made into the affair; and because Frontinus, the assessor of Hymetius, was accused of having been the instrument of drawing up this letter, he was scourged with rods till he confessed, and then he was condemned to exile in Britain. But Amantius was subsequently convicted of some capital crimes and was executed.

22. After these transactions, Hymetius was conducted to the town of Otricoli, to be examined by Ampelius, the prefect of the city, and deputy of Maximin; and when he was on the point of being condemned, as was manifest to every one, he judiciously seized an opportunity that was afforded to him of appealing to the protection of the emperor, and being protected by his name,

he came off for the time in safety.

23. The emperor, however, when he was consulted on the matter, remitted it to the senate, who examined into the whole affair with justice, and banished him to Boæ, a village in Dalmatia, for which they were visited with the wrath of the emperor, who was exceedingly enraged when he heard that a man whom in his own mind he had condemned to death had been let off with a milder punishment.

24. These and similar transactions led every one to fear that the treatment thus experienced by a few was intended for all: and that these evils should not, by being concealed, grow greater and greater till they reached an intolerable height, the nobles sent a deputation consisting of Prætextatus, formerly a prefect of the city, Venustus, formerly deputy, and Minervius, who had been a consular governor, to entreat the emperor not to allow the punishments to exceed the offences, and not to permit any senator to be exposed to the torture in an unprecedented and unlawful manner.

25. But when these envoys were admitted into the council chamber, Valentinian denied that he had ever given such orders, and insisted that the charges made against him were calumnies. He was, however, refuted with great moderation by the prætor Eupraxius; and in consequence of this freedom, the cruel injunction that had been issued, and which had surpassed all previous examples of cruelty, was amended.

26. About the same time, Lollianus, a youth of tender age, the son of Lampadius, who had been prefect, being accused before Maximin, who investigated his case with great care, and being convicted of having copied out a book on the subject of the unlawful acts (though, as his age made it likely, without any definite plan of using it), was, it seemed, on the point of being sentenced to banishment, when, at the suggestion of his father, he appealed to the emperor; and being by his order brought to court, it appeared that he had, as the proverb has it, gone from the frying-pan into the fire, as he was now handed over to Phalangius, the consular governor of Bætica, and put to death by the hand of the executioner.

27. There were also Tarratius Bassus, who afterwards became prefect of the city, his brother Camenius, a man of the name of Marcian, and Eusapius, all men of great eminence, who were prosecuted on the ground of having protected the charioteer Auchenius, and being his accomplices in the act of poisoning. The evidence was very doubtful, and they were acquitted by the decision of Victorinus, as general report asserted; Victorinus being a most intimate friend of Maximin.

28. Women too were equally exposed to similar treatment. For many of this sex also, and of noble birth, were put to death on being convicted of adultery or unchastity. The most notorious cases were those of Claritas and Flaviana; the first of whom, when conducted to death, was stripped of the clothes which she wore, not even being permitted to retain enough to cover her with bare decency; and for this the executioner also was convicted of

having committed a great crime, and burnt to death.

29. Paphius and Cornelius, both senators, confessed that they had polluted themselves by the wicked practice of poisoning, and were put to death by the sentence of Maximin; and by a similar sentence the master of the mint was executed. He also condemned Sericus and Asbolius, who have been mentioned before; and because while exhorting them to name any others who occurred to them, he had promised them with an oath that they should not themselves be punished either by fire or sword, he had them slain by violent blows from balls of lead. After this he also burnt alive Campensis the soothsayer, not having in his case bound himself by any oath or promise.

30. Here it is in my opinion convenient to explain the cause which brought Aginatus headlong to destruction, a man ennobled by a long race of ancestors, as unvarying tradition affirms, though no proof of his ancestral renown was ever substantiated.

31. Maximin, full of pride and arrogance, and being then also prefect of the corn-market, and having many encouragements to audacity, proceeded so far as to show his contempt for Probus, the most illustrious of all the nobles, and who was governing the provinces with the authority of prefect of the prætorium.

32. Aginatus, being indignant at this, and feeling it a hardship that in the trial of causes Olybrius had preferred Maximin to himself, while he was actually deputy at Rome, secretly informed Probus in private letters that the arrogant and foolish man who had thus set himself against his lofty merits, might easily be put down if he thought fit.

33. These letters, as some affirm, Probus sent to Maximin, hardened as he was in wickedness, because he feared his influence with the emperor; letting none but the bearer know the business. And when he had read them, the cruel Maximin became furious, and henceforth set all his engines at work to destroy Aginatus, like a serpent that had been bruised by some one whom it knew.

34. There was another still more powerful cause for intriguing against him, which ultimately became his destruction. For he charged Victorinus, who was dead, and from whom he had received a very considerable legacy, with having while alive made money of the decrees of Maximin; and with similar maliciousness he had also threatened his wife Anepsia with a lawsuit.

35. Anepsia, alarmed at this, and to support herself by the aid of Maximin, pretended that her husband in a will which he had recently made, had left him three thousand pounds weight of silver. He, full of covetousness, for this too was one of his vices, demanded half the inheritance, and afterwards, not being contented with that, as if it were hardly sufficient, he contrived another device which he looked upon as both honourable and safe; and not to lose his hold of the handle thus put in his way for obtaining a large estate, he demanded the daughter of Anepsia, who was the stepdaughter of Victorinus, as a wife for his son; and this marriage was quickly arranged with the consent of the woman.

36. Through these and other atrocities equally lamentable, which threw a

gloom over the whole of the eternal city, this man, never to be named without a groan, grew by the ruin of numerous other persons, and began to stretch out his hands beyond the limits of lawsuits and trials: for it is said that he had a small cord always suspended from a remote window of the prætorium, the end of which had a loop which was easily drawn tight, by means of which he received secret informations supported by no evidence or testimony, but capable of being used to the ruin of many innocent persons. And he used often to send his officers, Mucianus and Barbarus, men fit for any deceit or treachery, secretly out of his house.

37. Who then, as if bewailing some hardship which as they pretended had fallen upon them, and exaggerating the cruelty of the judge, with constant repetition assured those who really lay under execution that there was no remedy by which they could save themselves except that of advancing heavy accusation against men of high rank; because if such men were involved in such accusations, they themselves would easily procure an acquittal.

38. In this way, Maximin's implacable temper overwhelmed those yet in his power; numbers were thrown into prison, and persons of the highest rank were seen with anxious faces and in mourning attire. Nor ought any one of them to be blamed for bowing down to the ground in saluting this monster, when they heard him vociferating with the tone of a wild beast, that no one could ever be acquitted unless he choose.

39. For sayings like that, when instantly followed by their natural result, would have terrified even men like Numa, Pompilius, or Cato. In fact things went on in such a way that some persons never had their eyes dried of the tears caused by the misfortunes of others, as often happens in such unsettled and dangerous times.

40. And the iron-hearted judge, continually disregarding all law and justice, had but one thing about him which made him endurable; for sometimes he was prevailed upon by entreaties to spare some one, though this too is affirmed to be nearly a vice in the following passage of Cicero. "If anger be implacable, it is the extreme of severity; if it yield to entreaties, it is the extreme of levity; though in times of misfortune even levity is to be preferred to cruelty."

41. After these events, Leo arrived, and was received as his successor, and Maximin was summoned to the emperor's court and promoted to the office of prefect of the prætorium, where he was as cruel as ever, having indeed greater power of inflicting injury, like a basilisk serpent.

42. Just at this time, or not long before, the brooms with which the senate-house of the nobles was swept out were seen to flower, and this portended that some persons of the very lowest class would be raised to high rank and power.

43. Though it is now time to return to the course of our regular history, yet without neglecting the proper order of time, we must dwell on a few incidents, which through the iniquity of the deputy prefects of the city, were done most unjustly, being in fact done at the word and will of Maximin by those same

officers, who seemed to look on themselves as the mere servants of his pleasure.

44. After him came Ursicinus, a man of a more merciful disposition, who, wishing to act cautiously and in conformity to the constitution, confronted a man named Esaias with some others who were in prison on a charge of adultery with Rufina; who had attempted to establish a charge of treason against Marcellus her husband, formerly in a situation of high trust. But this act led to his being despised as a dawdler, and a person little fit to carry out such designs with proper resolution, and so he was removed from his place of deputy.

45. He was succeeded by Simplicius of Emona, who had been a schoolmaster, but was now the assessor of Maximin. After receiving this appointment, he did not grow more proud or arrogant, but assumed a supercilious look, which gave a repulsive expression to his countenance. His language was studiously moderate, while he meditated the most rigorous proceedings against many persons. And first of all he put Rufina to death with all the partners of her adultery, and all who were privy to it, concerning whom Ursicinus, as we have related, had already made a report. Then he put numbers of others to death, without any distinction between the innocent and the guilty.

46. Running a race of bloodshed with Maximin, as if he had, as it were, been his leader, he sought to surpass him in destroying the noblest families, imitating Busiris and Antæus of old, and Phalaris, so that he seemed to want nothing but the bull of Agrigentum.

47. After these and other similar transactions had taken place, a certain matron named Hesychia, who was accused of having attempted some crime, becoming greatly alarmed, and being of a fierce and resolute disposition, killed herself in the house of the officer to whom she was given in custody, by muffling her face in a bed of feathers, and stopping up her nostrils and so becoming suffocated.

48. To all these calamities another of no less severity was added. For Eumenius and Abienus, two men of the highest class, having been accused, during Maximin's term of office, of adultery with Fausiana, a woman of rank, after the death of Victorinus, under whose protection they were safe, being alarmed at the arrival of Simplicius, who was as full of audacity and threats as Maximin, withdrew to some secret hiding place.

49. But after Fausiana had been condemned they were recorded among the accused, and were summoned by public edict to appear, but they only hid themselves the more carefully. And Abrenus was for a very long time concealed in the house of Anepsia. But as it continually happens that unexpected accidents come to aggravate the distresses of those who are already miserable, a slave of Anepsia named Apaudulus, being angry because his wife had been flogged, went by night to Simplicius, and gave information

of the whole affair, and officers were sent to drag them both from their place of concealment.

50. The charge against Abrenus was strengthened by another charge which was brought against him, of having seduced Anepsia, and he was condemned to death. But Anepsia herself, to get some hope of saving her life by at least procuring the delay of her execution, affirmed that she had been assailed by unlawful arts, and had been ravished in the house of Aginatius.

51. Simplicius with loud indignation reported to the emperor all that had taken place, and as Maximin, who was now at court, hated Aginatius for the reason which we have already explained, and having his rage increased against him at the same time that his power was augmented, entreated with great urgency that he might be sentenced to death; and such a favour was readily granted to this furious and influential exciter of the emperor's severity.

52. Then fearing the exceeding unpopularity which would fall upon him if a man of patrician family should perish by the sentence of Simplicius, who was his new assessor and friend, he kept the imperial edict for the execution by him for a short time, wavering and doubting whom to pitch upon as a trusty and efficient perpetrator of so atrocious a deed.

53. At length, as like usually finds like, a certain Gaul of the name of Doryphorianus was discovered, a man daring even to madness; and as he promised to accomplish the matter in a short time, he obtained for him the post of deputy, and gave him the emperor's letter with an additional rescript; instructing the man, who though savage had no experience in such matters, how, if he used sufficient speed, he would meet with no obstacle to his slaying Aginatius; though, if there were any delay, he would be very likely to escape.

54. Doryphorianus, as he was commanded, hastened to Rome by rapid journeys; and while beginning to discharge the duties of his new office, he exerted great industry to discover how he could put a senator of eminent family to death without any assistance. And when he learnt that he had been some time before found in his own house where he was still kept in custody, he determined to have him brought before him as the chief of all the criminals, with Anepsia, in the middle of the night; an hour at which men's minds are especially apt to be bewildered by terror; as, among many other instances, the Ajax of Homer¹⁶⁵ shows us, when he expresses a wish rather to die by daylight, than to suffer the additional terrors of the night.

55. And as the judge, I should rather call him the infamous robber, intent only on the service he had promised to perform, carried everything to excess, having ordered Aginatius to be brought in, he also commanded the introduction of a troop of executioners; and while the chains rattled with a mournful sound, he tortured the slaves who were already exhausted by their long confinement, till they died, in order to extract from them matter affecting the life of their master; a proceeding which in a trial for adultery our merciful laws expressly forbids.

56. At last, when the tortures which were all but mortal had wrung some

hints from the maid-servant, without any careful examination of the truth of her words, Aginatus was at once sentenced to be led to execution, and without being allowed to say a word in his defence, though with loud outcries he appealed to and invoked the names of the emperors, he was carried off and put to death, and Anepsia was executed by a similar sentence. The eternal city was filled with mourning for these executions which were perpetrated either by Maximin himself when he was present in the city, or by his emissaries when he was at a distance.

57. But the avenging Furies of those who had been murdered were preparing retribution. For, as I will afterwards relate at the proper season, this same Maximin giving way to his intolerable pride when Gratian was emperor, was put to death by the sword of the executioner; and Simplicius also was beheaded in Illyricum. Doryphorianus too was condemned to death, and thrown into the Tullian prison, but was taken from thence by the emperor at his mother's suggestion, and when he was brought back to his own country was put to death with terrible torments. Let us now return to the point at which we left our history. Such, however, was the state of affairs in the city of Rome.

II.

A.D. 369.

§ 1. Valentinian having several great and useful projects in his head, began to fortify the entire banks of the Rhine, from its beginning in the Tyrol to the straits of the ocean,¹⁶⁶ with vast works; raising lofty castles and fortresses, and a perfect range of towers in every suitable place, so as to protect the whole frontier of Gaul; and sometimes, by constructing works on the other side of the river, he almost trenched upon the territories of the enemy.

2. At last considering that one fortress, of which he himself had laid the very foundations, though sufficiently high and safe, yet, being built on the very edge of the river Neckar, was liable to be gradually undermined by the violent beating of its waters, he formed a plan to divert the river itself into another channel; and, having sought out some workmen who were skilful in such works and collected a strong military force, he began that arduous labour.

3. Day after day large masses of oaken beams were fastened together, and thrown into the channel, and by them huge piles were continually fixed and unfixed, being all thrown into disorder by the rising of the stream, and afterwards they were broken and carried away by the current.

4. However, the resolute diligence of the emperor and the labour of the obedient soldiery prevailed; though the troops were often up to their chins in the water while at work; and at last, though not without considerable risk, the fixed camp was protected against all danger from the violence of the current, and is still safe and strong.

5. Joyful and exulting in this success, the emperor, perceiving that the

weather and the season of the year did not allow him any other occupation, like a good and active prince began to apply his attention to the general affairs of the republic. And thinking the time very proper for completing one work which he had been meditating, he began with all speed to raise a fortification on the other side of the Rhine, on Mount Piri, a spot which belongs to the barbarians. And as rapidity of action was one great means of executing this design with safety, he sent orders to the Duke Arator, through Syagrius, who was then a secretary, but who afterwards became prefect and consul, to attempt to make himself master of this height in the dead of the night.

6. The duke at once crossed over with the secretary, as he was commanded; and was beginning to employ the soldiers whom he had brought with him to dig out the foundations, when he received a successor, Hermogenes. At the very same moment there arrived some nobles of the Allemanni, fathers of the hostages, whom, in accordance with our treaty, we were detaining as important pledges for the long continuance of the peace.

7. And they, with bended knees entreated him not to let the Romans, with an improvident disregard of all safety (they whose fortune their everlasting good faith had raised to the skies), now be misled by a base error to trample all former agreements under foot, and attempt an act unworthy of them.

8. But since it was to no purpose that they used these and similar arguments, as they were not listened to, and finding that they had no chance of a conciliatory answer, they reluctantly returned, bewailing the loss of their sons; and when they were gone, from a secret hiding-place in a neighbouring hill a troop of barbarians sprang forth, waiting, as far as was understood, for the answer which was to be given to the nobles; and attacking our half-naked soldiers, who were carrying loads of earth, drew their swords and quickly slew them, and with them the two generals.

9. Nor was any one left to relate what had happened, except Syagrius, who, after they were all destroyed returned to the court, where by the sentence of his offended emperor he was dismissed the service; on which he retired to his own home; being judged by the severe decision of the prince to have deserved this sentence because he was the only one who escaped.

10. Meanwhile the wicked fury of bands of robbers raged through Gaul to the injury of many persons; since they occupied the most frequented roads, and without any hesitation seized upon everything valuable which came in their way. Besides many other persons who were the victims of these treacherous attacks, Constantianus, the tribune of the stable, was attacked by a secret ambuscade and slain; he was a relation of Valentinian, and the brother of Cerealis and Justina.

11. In other countries, as if the Furies were stirring up similar evils to afflict us on every side, the Maratocupreni, those most cruel banditti, spread their ravages in every direction. They were the natives of a town of the same name in Syria, near Apamea; very numerous, marvellously skilful in every kind of deceit, and an object of universal fear, because, under the character of

merchants or soldiers of high rank, they spread themselves quietly over the country, and then pillaged all the wealthy houses, villages, and towns which came in their way.

12. Nor could any one guard against their unexpected attacks; since they fell not upon any previously selected victim, but in places in various parts, and at great distances, and carried their devastations wherever the wind led them. For which reason the Saxons were feared beyond all other enemies, because of the suddenness of their attacks. They then, in bands of sworn comrades, destroyed the riches of many persons; and being under the impulse of absolute fury, they committed the most mournful slaughters, being not less greedy of blood than of booty. Nevertheless, that I may not, by entering into too minute details, impede the progress of my history, it will be sufficient to relate one destructive device of theirs.

13. A body of these wicked men assembled in one place, pretending to be the retinue of a receiver of the revenue, or of the governor of the province. In the darkness of the evening they entered the city, while the crier made a mournful proclamation, and attacked with swords the house of one of the nobles, as if he had been proscribed and sentenced to death. They seized all his valuable furniture, because his servants, being utterly bewildered by the suddenness of the danger, did not defend the house; they slew several of them, and then before the return of daylight withdrew with great speed.

14. But being loaded with a great quantity of plunder, since from their love of booty they had left nothing behind, they were intercepted by a movement of the emperor's troop, and were cut off and all slain to a man. And their children, who were at the time very young, were also destroyed to prevent their growing up in the likeness of their fathers; and their houses which they had built with great splendour at the expense of the misery of others, were all pulled down. These things happened in the order in which they have been related.

III.

§ 1. But Theodosius, a general of very famous reputation, departed in high spirits from Augusta, which the ancients used to call Londinium, with an army which he had collected with great energy and skill; bringing a mighty aid to the embarrassed and disturbed fortunes of the Britons. His plan was to seek everywhere favourable situations for laying ambuscades for the barbarians; and to impose no duties on his troops of the performance of which he did not himself cheerfully set the example.

2. And in this way, while he performed the duties of a gallant soldier, and showed at the same time the prudence of an illustrious general, he routed and vanquished the various tribes in whom their past security had engendered an insolence which led them to attack the Roman territories; and he entirely restored the cities and the fortresses which through the manifold disasters of the time had been injured or destroyed, though they had been originally

founded to secure the tranquillity of the country.

3. But while he was pursuing this career, a great crime was planned which was likely to have resulted in serious danger, if it had not been crushed at the very beginning.

4. A certain man named Valentine, in Valeria of Pannonia, a man of a proud spirit, the brother-in-law of Maximin, that wicked and cruel deputy, who afterwards became prefect, having been banished to Britain for some grave crime, and being a restless and mischievous beast, was eager for any kind of revolution or mischief, began to plot with great insolence against Theodosius, whom he looked upon as the only person with power to resist his wicked enterprise.

5. But while both openly and privily taking many precautions, as his pride and covetousness increased, he began to tamper with the exiles and the soldiers, promising them rewards sufficient to tempt them as far at least as the circumstances and his enterprise would permit.

6. But when the time for putting his attempt into execution drew near, the duke, who had received from some trustworthy quarter information of what was going on, being always a man inclined to a bold line of conduct, and resolutely bent on chastising crimes when detected, seized Valentine with a few of his accomplices who were most deeply implicated, and handed them over to the general Dulcitus to be put to death. But at the same time conjecturing the future, through that knowledge of the soldiers in which he surpassed other men, he forbade the institution of any examination into the conspiracy generally, lest if the fear of such an investigation should affect many, fresh troubles might revive in the province.

7. After this he turned his attention to make many necessary amendments, feeling wholly free from any danger in such attempts, since it was plain that all his enterprises were attended by a propitious fortune. So he restored cities and fortresses, as we have already mentioned, and established stations and outposts on our frontiers; and he so completely recovered the province which had yielded subjection to the enemy, that through his agency it was again brought under the authority of its legitimate ruler, and from that time forth was called Valentia, by desire of the emperor, as a memorial of his success.

8. The Areans, a class of men instituted in former times, and of whom we have already made some mention in recording the acts of Constans, had now gradually fallen into bad practices, for which he removed them from their stations; in fact they had been undeniably convicted of yielding to the temptation of the great rewards which were given and promised to them, so as to have continually betrayed to the barbarians what was done among us. For their business was to traverse vast districts, and report to our generals the warlike movements of the neighbouring nations.

9. In this manner the affairs which I have already mentioned, and others like them, having been settled, he was summoned to the court, and leaving the provinces in a state of exultation, like another *Furius Camillus* or *Papirius*

Cursor, he was celebrated everywhere for his numerous and important victories. He was accompanied by a large crowd of well-wishers to the coast, and crossing over with a fair wind, arrived at the emperor's camp, where he was received with joy and high praise, and appointed to succeed Valens Jovinus, who was commander of the cavalry.

IV.

§ 1. I have thus made a long and extensive digression from the affairs of the city, being constrained by the abundance of events which took place abroad; and now I will return to give a cursory sketch of them, beginning with the tranquil and moderate exercise of the prefect's authority by Olybrius, who never forgot the rights of humanity, but was continually anxious and careful that no word or deed of his should ever be harsh or cruel. He was a merciless punisher of calumnies; he restrained the exactions of the treasury wherever he could; he was a careful discriminator of right and wrong; an equitable judge, and very gentle towards those placed under his authority.

2. But all these good qualities were clouded by one vice which, though not injurious to the commonwealth, was very discreditable to a judge of high rank; namely, that his private life was one of great luxury, devoted to theatrical exhibitions, and to amours, though not such as were either infamous or incestuous.

3. After him Ampelius succeeded to the government of the city; he also was a man addicted to pleasure, a native of Antioch, and one who from having been master of the offices was twice promoted to a proconsulship, and sometime afterwards to that supreme rank, the prefecture. In other respects he was a cheerful man, and one admirably suited to win the favour of the people; though sometimes over-severe, without being as firm in his purposes as might have been wished. Had he been, he would have corrected, though perhaps not effectually, the gluttonous and debauched habits which prevailed; but, as it was, by his laxity of conduct, he lost a glory which otherwise might have been enduring.

4. For he had determined that no wine-shop should be opened before the fourth hour of the day; and that none of the common people, before a certain fixed hour, should either warm water or expose dressed meat for sale; and that no one of respectable rank should be seen eating in public.

5. Since these unseemly practices, and others still worse, owing to long neglect and connivance, had grown so frequent that even Epimenides of Crete, if, according to the fabulous story, he could have risen from the dead and returned to our times, would have been unable by himself to purify Rome; such deep stains of incurable vices overwhelmed it.

6. And in the first place we will speak of the faults of the nobles, as we have already repeatedly done as far as our space permitted; and then we will proceed to the faults of the common people, touching, however, only briefly and rapidly on either.

7. Some men, conspicuous for the illustriousness of their ancestry as they think, gave themselves immoderate airs, and call themselves Reburri, and Fabunii, and Pagonii, and Geriones, Dalii, Tarracii, or Perrasii, and other finely-sounding appellations, indicating the antiquity of their family.

8. Some also are magnificent in silken robes, as if they were being led to execution, or, to speak without words of so unfavourable an omen, as if after the army had passed they were bringing up the rear, and are followed by a vast troop of servants, with a din like that of a company of soldiers.

9. Such men when, while followed by fifty servants apiece, they have entered the baths, cry out with threatening voice, "Where are my people?" And if they suddenly find out that any unknown female slave has appeared, or any worn-out courtesan who has long been subservient to the pleasures of the townspeople, they run up, as if to win a race, and patting and caressing her with disgusting and unseemly blandishments, they extol her, as the Parthians might praise Semiramis, Egypt her Cleopatra, the Carians Artemisia, or the Palmyrene citizens Zenobia. And men do this, whose ancestor, even though a senator, would have been branded with a mark of infamy because he dared, at an unbecoming time, to kiss his wife in the presence of their common daughter.

10. Some of these, when any one meets and begins to salute them, toss their heads like bulls preparing to butt, offering their flatterers their knees or hands to kiss, thinking that quite enough for their perfect happiness; while they deem it sufficient attention and civility to a stranger who may happen to have laid them under some obligation to ask him what warm or cold bath he frequents, or what house he lives in.

11. And while they are so solemn, looking upon themselves as especial cultivators of virtue, if they learn that any one has brought intelligence that any fine horses or skilful coachmen are coming from any place, they rush with as much haste to see them, examine them, and put questions concerning them, as their ancestors showed on beholding the twin-brothers Tyndaridæ,¹⁶⁷ when they filled the whole city with joy by the announcement of that ancient victory.

12. A number of idle chatterers frequent their houses, and, with various pretended modes of adulation, applaud every word uttered by men of such high fortune; resembling the parasites in a comedy, for as they puff up bragging soldiers, attributing to them, as rivals of the heroes of old, sieges of cities, and battles, and the death of thousands of enemies, so these men admire the construction of the lofty pillars, and the walls inlaid with stones of carefully chosen colours, and extol these grandees with superhuman praises.

13. Sometimes scales are sent for at their entertainments to weigh the fish, or the birds, or the dormice which are set on the table; and then the size of them is dwelt on over and over again, to the great weariness of those present, as something never seen before; especially when near thirty secretaries stand by, with tablets and memorandum books, to record all these circumstances; so

that nothing seems to be wanting but a schoolmaster.

14. Some of them, hating learning as they hate poison, read Juvenal and Marius Maximus¹⁶⁸ with tolerably careful study; though, in their profound laziness, they never touch any other volumes; why, it does not belong to my poor judgment to decide.

15. For, in consideration of their great glories and long pedigrees, they ought to read a great variety of books; in which, for instance, they might learn that Socrates, when condemned to death and thrown into prison, asked some one who was playing a song of the Greek poet Stesichorus with great skill, to teach him also to do that, while it was still in his power; and when the musician asked him of what use this skill could be to him, as he was to die the next day, he answered, "that I may know something more before I die."

16. And there are among them some who are such severe judges of offences, that if a slave is too long in bringing them hot water, they will order him to be scourged with three hundred stripes; but should he intentionally have killed a man, while numbers insist that he ought to be unhesitatingly condemned as guilty, his master will exclaim, "What can the poor wretch do? what can one expect from a good-for-nothing fellow like that?" But should any one else venture to do anything of the kind, he would be corrected.

17. Their ideas of civility are such that a stranger had better kill a man's brother than send an excuse to them if he be asked to dinner; for a senator fancies that he has suffered a terrible grievance, equal to the loss of his entire patrimony, if any guest be absent, whom, after repeated deliberations, he has once invited.

18. Some of them, if they have gone any distance to see their estates in the country, or to hunt at a meeting collected for their amusement by others, think they have equalled the marches of Alexander the Great, or of Cæsar; or if they have gone in some painted boats from Lake Avernus to Pozzuoli or Cajeta, especially if they have ventured on such an exploit in warm weather. Where if, amid their golden fans, a fly should perch on the silken fringes, or if a slender ray of the sun should have pierced through a hole in their awning, they complain that they were not born among the Cimmerians.

19. Then, when they come from the bath of Silvanus, or the waters of Mamæa, which are so good for the health, after they come out of the water, and have wiped themselves with cloths of the finest linen, they open the presses, and take out of them robes so delicate as to be transparent, selecting them with care, till they have got enough to clothe eleven persons; and at length, after they have picked out all they choose, they wrap themselves up in them, and take the rings which they had given to their attendants to hold, that they might not be injured by the damp; and then they depart when their fingers are properly cooled.

20. Again, if any one having lately quitted the military service of the emperor, has retired to his home.¹⁶⁹ ...

21. Some of them, though not many, wish to avoid the name of gamblers,

and prefer to be called dice-players; the difference being much the same as that between a thief and a robber. But this must be confessed that, while all friendships at Rome are rather cool, those alone which are engendered by dice are sociable and intimate, as if they had been formed amid glorious exertions, and were firmly cemented by exceeding affection; to which it is owing that some of this class of gamblers live in such harmony that you might think them the brothers Quintilii.¹⁷⁰ And so you may sometimes see a man of base extraction, who knows all the secrets of the dice, as grave as Porcius Cato when he met with a repulse which he had never expected nor dreamt of, when a candidate for the prætorship, with affected solemnity and a serious face, because at some grand entertainment or assembly some man of proconsular rank has been preferred to himself.

22. Some lay siege to wealthy men, whether old or young, childless or unmarried, or even with wives and children (for with such an object no distinction is ever regarded by them), seeking by most marvellous tricks to allure them to make their wills; and then if, after observing all the forms of law, they bequeath to these persons what they have to leave, being won over by them to this compliance, they speedily die.¹⁷¹]

23. Another person, perhaps only in some subordinate office, struts along with his head up, looking with so slight and passing a glance upon those with whom he was previously acquainted, that you might fancy it must be Marcus Marcellus just returned from the capture of Syracuse.

24. Many among them deny the existence of a superior Power in heaven, and yet neither appear in public, nor dine, nor think that they can bathe with any prudence, before they have carefully consulted an almanac, and learnt where (for example) the planet Mercury is, or in what portion of Cancer the moon is as she passes through the heavens.

25. Another man, if he perceives his creditor to be importunate in demanding a debt, flies to a charioteer who is bold enough to venture on any audacious enterprise, and takes care that he shall be harassed with dread of persecution as a poisoner; from which he cannot be released without giving bail and incurring a very heavy expense. One may add to this, that he includes under this head a debtor who is only so through the engagements into which he has entered to avoid a prosecution, as if he were a real debtor, and that he never lets him go till he has obtained the discharge of the debt.

26. On the other side, a wife, who, as the old proverb has it, hammers on the same anvil day and night, to compel her husband to make his will, and then the husband is equally urgent that his wife shall do the same. And men learned in the law are procured on each side, the one in the bedchamber, and his opponent in the dining-room, to draw up counter-documents. And under their employ are placed ambiguous interpreters of the contracts of their victims, who, on the one side, promise with great liberality high offices, and the funerals of wealthy matrons; and from these they proceed to the obsequies of the husbands, giving hints that everything necessary ought to be prepared;

and¹⁷² ... as Cicero says, "Nor in the affairs of men do they understand anything good, except what is profitable; and they love those friends most (as they would prefer sheep) from whom they expect to derive the greatest advantage."173]

27. And when they borrow anything, they are so humble and cringing, you would think you were at a comedy, and seeing Micon or Laches; when they are constrained to repay what they have borrowed, they become so turgid and bombastic that you would take them for those descendants of Hercules, Cresphontes and Temenus. This is enough to say of the senatorial order.

28. And let us come to the idle and lazy common people, among whom some, who have not even got shoes boast of high-sounding names; calling themselves Cimessores, Statarii, Semicupæ, Serapina, or Cicimbricus, or Gluturiorus, Trulla, Lucanicus, Pordaca, or Salsula,¹⁷⁴ with numbers of other similar appellations. These men spend their whole lives in drinking, and gambling, and brothels, and pleasures, and public spectacles; and to them the Circus Maximus is their temple, their home, their public assembly; in fact, their whole hope and desire.175]

29. And you may see in the forum, and roads, and streets, and places of meeting, knots of people collected, quarrelling violently with one another, and objecting to one another, and splitting themselves into violent parties.

30. Among whom those who have lived long, having influence by reason of their age, their gray hairs and wrinkles, are continually crying out that the republic cannot stand, if in the contest which is about to take place, the skilful charioteer, whom some individual backs, is not foremost in the race, and does not dextrously shave the turning-post with the trace-horses.

31. And when there is so much ruinous carelessness, when the wished-for day of the equestrian games dawns, before the sun has visibly risen, they all rush out with headlong haste, as if with their speed they would outstrip the very chariots which are going to race; while as to the event of the contest they are all torn asunder by opposite wishes, and the greater part of them, through their anxiety, pass sleepless nights.

32. From hence, if you go to some cheap theatre, the actors on the stage are driven off by hisses, if they have not taken the precaution to conciliate the lowest of the people by gifts of money. And if there should be no noise, then, in imitation of the people in the Tauric Chersonese, they raise an outcry that the strangers ought to be expelled (on whose assistance they have always relied for their principal support), using foul and ridiculous expressions; such as are greatly at variance with the pursuits and inclinations of that populace of old, whose many facetious and elegant expressions are recorded by tradition and by history.

33. For these clever gentlemen have now devised a new method of expressing applause, which is, at every spectacle to cry out to those who appear at the end, whether they are couriers, huntsmen, or charioteers — in short, to the whole body of actors, and to the magistrates, whether of great or

small importance, and even to nations, "It is to your school that he ought to go." But what he is to learn there no one can explain.

34. Among these men are many chiefly addicted to fattening themselves up by gluttony, who, following the scent of any delicate food, and the shrill voices of the women who, from cockcrow, cry out with a shrill scream, like so many peacocks, and gliding over the ground on tiptoe, get an entrance into the halls, biting their nails while the dishes are getting cool. Others fix their eyes intently on the tainted meat which is being cooked, that you might fancy Democritus, with a number of anatomists, was gazing into the entrails of sacrificed victims, in order to teach posterity how best to relieve internal pains.

35. For the present this is enough to say of the affairs of the city; now let us return to other events which various circumstances brought to pass in the provinces.

V.

§ 1. In the third consulship of the emperors a vast multitude of Saxons burst forth, and having crossed the difficult passage of the ocean, made towards the Roman frontier by rapid marches, having before often battered on the slaughter of our men. The first storm of this invasion fell upon the count Nannenus, who was in command in that district, being a veteran general of great merit and experience.

2. He now engaged in battle with a host which fought as if resolved on death; but when he found that he had lost many of his men, and that he himself, having been wounded, would be unequal to a succession of battles, he sent word to the emperor of what was necessary, and prevailed on him to send Severus, the commander of the infantry, to aid him at this crisis.

3. That general brought with him a sufficient body of troops, and when he arrived in the country he so arrayed his men that he terrified the barbarians, and threw them into such disorder, even before any battle took place, that they did not venture to engage him, but, panic-stricken at the brilliant appearance of the standards and eagles, they implored pardon and peace.

4. The question of granting it to them was long discussed, with variety of opinion, between the Roman commanders; but at last, as it seemed for the advantage of the republic, a truce was granted, and after they had agreed to the conditions proposed, one of which was that they should furnish a number of young men suitable for military service, the Saxons were permitted to withdraw, but without their baggage, and to return to their own country.

5. But when they, being now freed from all fear, were preparing to return, some of our infantry were sent forward, who secretly laid an ambuscade in a certain hidden defile, from which they would easily be able to attack them as they passed. But the matter turned out very differently from what was expected.

6. For some of our men being roused by the noise of the Saxons, sprang

from their ambush unseasonably; and being suddenly seen, while they were hastening to establish themselves, the barbarians, with a terrible yell, put them to flight. Presently, however, they halted in a solid body, and being now driven to extremities, were compelled to fight, though their strength was far from great. The slaughter was great, and they would have been all cut off to a man, had not a column of cuirassier cavalry, which had been similarly placed in ambuscade at a place where the road divided, in order there also to attack the barbarians in their passage, been roused by the uproar, and come up suddenly.

7. Then the battle raged more fiercely, and with dauntless breasts the Romans pressed forward on all sides, and with drawn swords hemmed in their enemies, and slew them; nor did any of them ever return home, for not one survived the slaughter. And although an impartial judge will blame the action as treacherous and disgraceful, still if he weighs all the circumstances, he will not regret that a mischievous band of robbers was at length destroyed when such an opportunity presented itself.

8. After these affairs had been consummated thus successfully, Valentinian revolving in his mind a great variety of opinions, was filled with anxious solicitude, considering and contemplating different measures for breaking the pride of the Allemanni and their king Macrianus, who were incessantly and furiously disturbing the republic with their restless movements.

9. For that ferocious nation, though from its earliest origin diminished by various disasters, yet continually revives, so that it might be considered as having been free from attacks for many ages. At last, after the emperor had considered and approved of one plan after another, it was finally determined to excite the Burgundians to attack them, the Burgundians being a warlike people, with an immense population of active youths, and therefore formidable to all their neighbours.

10. And the emperor sent repeated letters to their chiefs by some silent and trustworthy messengers, to urge them to attack the Allemanni at a certain fixed time, and promising that he likewise would cross the Rhine with the Roman legions, and attack their forces when in disorder, and seeking to escape the unexpected attack of the Burgundians.

11. The letters of the emperor were received with joy, for two reasons: first, because for many ages the Burgundians had looked upon themselves as descended from the Romans; and secondly, because they had continual quarrels with the Allemanni about their salt-pits and their borders. So they sent against them some picked battalions, which, before the Roman soldiers could be collected, advanced as far as the banks of the Rhine, and, while the emperor was engaged in the construction of some fortresses, caused the greatest alarm to our people.

12. Therefore, after waiting for some time, Valentinian having failed to come on the appointed day as promised, and finding that none of his

engagements were performed, they sent ambassadors to the court, requesting assistance to enable them to return in safety to their own land, and to save them from exposing their rear unprotected to their enemies.

13. But when they perceived that their request was virtually refused by the excuses and pleas for delay with which it was received, they departed from the court in sorrow and indignation; and when the chiefs of the Burgundians received their report, they were very furious, thinking they had been mocked; and so they slew all their prisoners and returned to their native land.

14. Among them their king is called by one general name of "Hendinos," and according to a very ancient custom of theirs, is deposed from his authority if under his government the state meets with any disaster in war; or if the earth fails to produce a good crop; in the same way as the Egyptians are accustomed to attribute calamities of that kind to their rulers. The chief priest among the Burgundians is called "the Sinistus." But he is irremovable and not exposed to any such dangers as the kings.

15. Taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, Theodosius, the commander of the cavalry, passed through the Tyrol and attacked the Allemanni, who, out of fear of the Burgundians, had dispersed into their villages. He slew a great number, and took some prisoners, whom by the emperor's command he sent to Italy, where some fertile districts around the Po were assigned to them, which they still inhabit as tributaries.

VI.

§ 1. Let us now migrate, as it were, to another quarter of the world, and proceed to relate the distresses of Tripoli, a province of Africa; distresses which, in my opinion, even Justice herself must have lamented, and which burst out rapidly like flames. I will now give an account both of them and of their causes.

2. The Asturians are barbarians lying on the frontier of this province, a people always in readiness for rapid invasions, accustomed to live on plunder and bloodshed; and who, after having been quiet for a while, now relapsed into their natural state of disquiet, alleging the following as the serious cause for their movements.

3. One of their countrymen, by name Stachao, while freely traversing our territories, as in time of peace, did some things forbidden by the laws; the most flagrant of his illegal acts being that he endeavoured, by every kind of deceit and intrigue, to betray the province, as was shown by the most undeniable evidence, for which crime he was burnt to death.

4. To avenge his death, the Asturians, claiming him as their clansman, and affirming that he had been unjustly condemned, burst forth from their own territory like so many mad wild beasts during the reign of Jovian, but fearing to approach close to Leptis, which was a city with a numerous population, and fortified by strong walls, they occupied the district around it, which is very fertile, for three days: and having slain the agricultural population on it, whom

terror at their sudden inroad had deprived of all spirit, or had driven to take refuge in caves, and burnt a great quantity of furniture which could not be carried off, they returned home, loaded with vast plunder, taking with them as prisoner a man named Silva, the principal noble of Leptis, whom they found with his family at his country house.

5. The people of Leptis being terrified at this sudden disaster, not wishing to incur the further calamities with which the arrogance of the barbarians threatened them, implored the protection of Count Romanus, who had recently been promoted to the government of Africa. But when he came at the head of an army, and received their request to come to their immediate assistance in their distress, he declared that he would not move a step further unless abundant magazines and four thousand camels were provided for his troops.

6. At this answer the wretched citizens were stupefied, and declared to him, that after the devastations and conflagrations to which they had been exposed, it was impossible for them to make such exertions, even for the reparation of the cruel disasters which they had suffered; and, after waiting forty days there with vain pretences and excuses, the count retired without attempting any enterprise.

7. The people of Tripoli, disappointed in their hopes, and dreading the worst extremities, at their next council day, appointed Severus and Flaccianus ambassadors to carry to Valentinian some golden images of victory in honour of his accession to the empire, and to state fully and boldly to him the miserable distress of the province.

8. When this step became known, Romanus sent a swift horseman as a messenger to the master of the offices, Remigius, his own kinsman and his partner in plunder, bidding him take care, that by the emperor's decision, the investigation into this matter should be committed to the deputy and himself.

9. The ambassadors arrived at the court, and having obtained access to the emperor, they, in a set speech, laid all their distresses before him, and presented him with a decree of their council in which the whole affair was fully set forth. When the emperor had read it, he neither trusted the report of the master of the offices, framed to defend the misconduct of the count, nor, on the other hand, did he place confidence in these men who made a contrary report; but promised a full investigation into the affair, which however was deferred in the manner in which high authorities are wont to let such matters give place to their more pleasant occupations and amusements.

10. While waiting in suspense and protracted anxiety for some relief from the emperor's camp, the citizens of Tripoli were again attacked by troops of the same barbarians, now elated with additional confidence by their past successes. They ravaged the whole territory of Leptis and also that of Cæa, spreading total ruin and desolation everywhere, and, at last, retired loaded with an enormous quantity of spoil, and having slain many of our officers, the most distinguished of whom were Rusticianus, one of the priests, and the

ædile, Nicasius.

11. This invasion was prevented from being repelled by the fact, that at the entreaty of the ambassadors, the conduct of the military affairs, which had at first been intrusted to Ruricius, the president, had been subsequently transferred to Count Romanus.

12. So now a new messenger was sent to Gaul with an account of this fresh disaster; and his intelligence roused the emperor to great anger. So Palladius, his secretary, who had also the rank of tribune, was sent at once to liquidate the pay due to the soldiers, who were dispersed over Africa, and to examine into all that had taken place in Tripoli, he being an officer whose report could be trusted.

13. But while all these delays took place from the continual deliberations held on the case, and while the people of Tripoli were still waiting for the answer, the Asturians, now still more insolent after their double success, like birds of prey whose ferocity has been sharpened by the taste of blood, flew once more to attack them; and having slain every one who did not flee from the danger, they carried off all the spoil which they had previously left behind, cutting down all the trees and vines.

14. Then a certain citizen named Mychon, a man of high station and great influence, was taken prisoner in the district outside of the city; but before they could bind him he gave them the slip, and because an attack of gout rendered him unable to effect his escape, he threw himself down a dry well, from which he was drawn up by the barbarians with his ribs broken, and was conducted near to the gates of the city, where he was ransomed by the affection of his wife, and was drawn up to the battlements of the wall by a rope; but two days afterwards he died.

15. These events encouraged the pertinacity of the invaders, so that they advanced and attacked the very walls of Leptis, which resounded with the mournful wailings of the women, who were terrified in an extraordinary manner and quite bewildered, because they had never before been blockaded by an enemy. And after the city had been besieged for eight days continuously, during which many of the besiegers were wounded, while they made no progress, they retired much discouraged to their own country.

16. In consequence of these events, the citizens, being still doubtful of their safety, and desirous of trying every possible resource, before the ambassadors who had been first sent had returned, sent Jovinus and Pancratius to lay before the emperor a faithful account of the sufferings which they had endured, and which they themselves had seen: these envoys found the former ambassadors, Severus and Flaccianus, at Carthage; and on asking them what they had done, they learnt that they had been referred for a hearing to the deputy and the count. And immediately after this Severus was attacked by a dangerous illness and died; but notwithstanding what they had heard, the new ambassadors proceeded on their journey to the court.

17. After this, when Palladius arrived in Africa, the count, who knew on what account he had come, and who had been warned before to take measures for his own safety, sent orders to the principal officers of the army by certain persons who were in his secrets, to pay over to him, as being a person of great influence, and being the person most nearly connected with the principal nobles of the palace, the chief part of the money for the soldiers' pay which he had brought over, and they obeyed him.

18. So he, having been thus suddenly enriched, reached Leptis; and that he might arrive at a knowledge of the truth, he took with him to the districts that had been laid waste, Erecthius and Aristomenes, two citizens of great eloquence and reputation, who freely unfolded to him the distress which their fellow-citizens and the inhabitants of the adjacent districts had suffered. They showed him everything openly; and so he returned after seeing the lamentable desolation of the province: and reproaching Romanus for his inactivity, he threatened to report to the emperor an accurate statement of everything which he had seen.

19. He, inflamed with anger and indignation, retorted that he also should soon make a report, that the man who had been sent as an incorruptible secretary had converted to his own uses all the money which had been sent out as a donation to the soldiers.

20. The consequence was that Palladius, being hampered by the consciousness of his flagitious conduct, proceeded from henceforth in harmony with Romanus, and when he returned to court, he deceived Valentinian with atrocious falsehoods, affirming that the citizens of Tripoli complained without reason. Therefore he was sent back to Africa a second time with Jovinus, the last of all the ambassadors (for Pancratius had died at Treves), in order that he, in conjunction with the deputy, might inquire into everything connected with the second embassy. And besides this, the emperor ordered the tongues of Erecthius and Aristomenes to be cut out, because this same Palladius had intimated that they made some malignant and disloyal statements.

21. The secretary, following the deputy, as had been arranged, came to Tripoli. When his arrival was known, Romanus sent one of his servants thither with all speed, and Cæcilius, his assessor, who was a native of the province; and by their agency (whether they employed bribery or deceit is doubtful) all the citizens were won over to accuse Jovinus, vigorously asserting that he had never issued any of the commands which he had reported to the emperor; carrying their iniquity to such a pitch, that Jovinus himself was compelled by them to confess, to his own great danger, that he had made a false report to the emperor.

22. When these events were learnt from Palladius on his return, Valentinian, being always inclined to severe measures, commanded the execution of Jovinus as the author of such a report, and of Cælestinus, Concordius, and Lucius, as privy to it, and partners in it. He also commanded

Ruricius, the president, to be put to death for falsehood; the charge against him being aggravated by the circumstance that his report contained some violent and intemperate expressions.

23. Ruricius was executed at Sitifis; the rest were condemned at Utica by the sentence of the deputy Crescens. But before the death of the ambassadors, Flaccianus, while being examined by the deputy and the count, and while resolutely defending his own safety, was assailed with abuse, and then attacked with loud outcries and violence by the angry soldiers, and was nearly killed; the charge which they made against him being that the cause which had prevented the people of Tripoli from being defended was, that they had refused to furnish necessities for the use of any expedition.

24. On this account he was thrown into prison, till the emperor could be consulted on his case, and should decide what ought to be done; but his gaolers were tampered with, as was believed, and he escaped from prison and fled to Rome, where he concealed himself for some time, till his death.

25. In consequence of this memorable catastrophe, Tripoli, which had been often harassed by external and domestic calamities, brought forward no further accusations against those who had left it undefended, knowing that the eternal eye of justice was awake, as well as the avenging furies of the ambassadors and the president. And a long time afterwards the following event took place: — Palladius, having been dismissed from the military service, and stript of all that nourished his pride, retired into private life.

26. And when Theodosius, that magnificent commander of armies, came into Africa to put down Firmus, who was entertaining some pernicious designs, and, as he was ordered, began to examine the movable effects of Romanus, he found among his papers a letter of a certain person named Meterius, containing this passage: “Meterius, to his lord and patron, Romanus;” and at the end of the letter many expressions unconnected with its general subject. “Palladius, who has been cashiered, salutes you. He who says he was cashiered for no other reason than that in the case of the people of Tripoli he made a false report to the sacred ears.”

27. When this letter was sent to the court and read, Meterius was arrested by order of Valentinian, and confessed that the letter was his writing. Therefore Palladius also was ordered to appear, and reflecting on all the crimes he had committed, while at a halting place on the road, he watched an opportunity afforded him by the absence of his guards, as soon as it got dark (for, as it was a festival of the Christian religion, they passed the whole night in the church), and hanged himself.

28. The news of this propitious event — the death of the principal cause of their sad troubles — being known, Erecthius and Aristomenes, who when they first heard that their tongues were ordered to be cut out for sedition, had escaped, now issued from their hiding-places. And when the emperor Gratian was informed of the wicked deceit that had been practised (for by this time Valentinian was dead), their fears vanished, and they were sent to have their

cause heard before Hesperus the proconsul and Flavian the deputy, men whose justice was supported by the righteous authority of the emperor, and who, after putting Cæcilius to the torture, learnt from his clear confession that he himself had persuaded the citizens to bring false accusations against the ambassadors. These actions were followed by a report which gave the fullest possible account of all that had taken place, to which no answer was given.

29. And that the whole story might want nothing of tragic interest, the following occurrence also took place after the curtain had fallen. Romanus went to court, taking with him Cæcilius, with the intent to accuse the judges as having been unduly biassed in favour of the province; and being received graciously by Merobaudes, he demanded that some more necessary witnesses should be summoned. And when they had come to Milan, and had shown by proofs which seemed correct, though these were false, that they had been falsely accused, they were acquitted, and returned home. Valentinian was still alive, when after these events which we have related, Remigius also retired from public life, and afterwards hanged himself, as we shall relate in the proper place.

NOTES.

¹⁶⁵ See the Iliad, XVIII. 1. 645, where Ajax prays: —

“Lord of earth and air,
O King! O Father, hear my humble prayer!
Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore;
Give me to see, and Ajax asks no more!
If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,
But let us perish in the face of day.”

Pope’s *Trans.*, 1. 727, etc.

¹⁶⁶ See Gibbon, vol. III. (Bohn’s edition).

¹⁶⁷ This is an allusion to the story of Castor and Pollux bringing news of the victory gained at the battle of Regillus to Domitius (B.C. 496). The legend adds that they stroked his black beard, which immediately became red; from which he and his posterity derived the surname of Ænobarbus. — See Dion. Hal. vi. 13.

¹⁶⁸ Marius Maximus was an author who wrote an account of the lives of the Cæsars.

¹⁶⁹ § 20 is mutilated, so that no sense can be extracted from the remainder of it.

¹⁷⁰ Two brothers who had been colleagues in several important offices, and who were at last put to death together by Commodus.

¹⁷¹ The end of § 22 is also mutilated.

¹⁷² This passage, again, seems hopelessly mutilated.

¹⁷³ Cicero, de Amicitia, c. xxi.

¹⁷⁴ These are not in reality noble names, but names derived from low occupations. Trulla is a dish; Salsula, belonging to pickles, &c.

¹⁷⁵ Compare Juvenal’s description of the circumspect in his time: —

“Atque duas tantum resarexius optat
Panem et Circenses.”

BOOK XXIX.

ARGUMENT.

I. Theodorus, the secretary, aims at the imperial authority, and being accused of treason before Valens at Antioch, and convicted, is executed, with many of his accomplices. — II. In the East many persons are informed against as guilty of poisoning and other crimes; and being condemned (some rightly, some wrongfully), are executed. — III. In the West many instances occur of the ferocity and insane cruelty of the emperor Valentinian. — IV. Valentinian crosses the Rhine on a bridge of boats, but, through the fault of a soldier, fails in an attempt to surprise Macrianus, the king of the Allemanni. — V. Theodosius, the commander of the cavalry in Gaul, in several battles defeats Formus Maorus, the son of Nubelis Regulus, who had revolted from Valentinian; and, after having driven him to kill himself, restores peace to Africa. — VI. The Quadi, being provoked by the wicked murder of their king Galerius, in conjunction with the Sarmatians, lay waste both the Pannonias and Valeria with fire and sword, and destroy almost the whole of two legions — A dissertation on the city prefecture of Claudius.

I.

A.D. 371.

§ 1. At the conclusion of the winter, Sapor, king of Persia, being full of cruelty and arrogance from the confidence engendered by his former battles, having completed his army to its full number, and greatly strengthened it, sent out a force of cuirassiers, archers, and mercenary troops, to make an invasion of our territories.

2. Against this force, Count Trajan and Vodomarius, the ex-king of the Allemanni, advanced with a mighty army, having been enjoined by the emperor to remember his orders to act on the defensive rather than on the offensive against the Persians.

3. When they arrived at Vagabanta, a place well suited for the manœuvres of the legions, they supported against their will a rapid charge which was made upon them by the squadrons of the enemy, and retreated with the design not to be the first to slay any of the hostile soldiers, and not to be looked upon as guilty of having broken the treaty. At last, under the pressure of extreme necessity, they came to an engagement with the barbarians, and after having slain a great number of them, were victorious.

4. During the cessation of regular operations which ensued, several slight skirmishes occurred through the impatience of both armies, which ended with different results; and at last the summer ended, and a truce was agreed to by common consent, and the two armies separated, though the generals were violently inflamed against each other. The king of Parthia, intending to pass the winter at Ctesiphon, returned to his own home, and the Roman emperor went to Antioch; and while he tarried there, in complete security from foreign enemies, he had very nearly perished through domestic treachery, as shall be related in the coming narrative.

5. A certain Procopius, a restless man, at all times covetous and fond of

disturbances, had persuaded Anatolius and Spudasius, officers about the palace, who had been ordered to restore what they had appropriated from the treasury, to bring a plot against the Count Fortunatianus, who was especially obnoxious as being represented to be the principal demander of this restitution. He, being a man of naturally harsh temper, was thereupon inflamed almost to insanity, and exercising the authority of the office which he filled, he delivered up to trial before the tribunal of the prefect a person of the lowest birth, named Palladius, for being a poisoner in the train of Anatolius and Spudasius; Heliodorus, also an interpreter of the Fates from the events which happened at any one's birth; with the intent that they should be compelled by torture to relate all that they knew.

6. And when they came with rigid scrutiny to inquire into what had been done or attempted, Palladius boldly exclaimed, that the matters now under investigation were trivial, and such as might well be passed over; that he himself, if he might be allowed to speak, could bring forward some circumstances both formidable and more important, which, having been prepared with great exertion, would throw everything into confusion, if they were not provided against beforehand. Being ordered to explain without fear all he knew, he made a deposition at great length, affirming that Fidustius the president, and Pergamius and Irenæus, had secretly learnt, by the detestable arts of magic, the name of the person who should become emperor after Valens.

7. Fidustius was at once arrested (for he happened by chance be on the spot), and being brought secretly before the emperor, when confronted with the informer, he did not attempt by any denial to throw a doubt on what was already revealed, but laid open the whole of this wretched plot; confessing in plain words, that he himself, with Hilarius and Patricius, men skilled in the art of soothsaying, of whom Hilarius had filled high offices in the palace, had held consultations about the future possessors of the empire; that by secret arts they had searched into the Fates, which had revealed to them the name of an excellent emperor, admonishing them at the same time that a miserable end awaited the investigators of these omens.^{176]}

8. And while they were hesitating, unable to decide who at that moment was superior to all other men in vigour of mind, Theodorus appeared to excel all the rest, a man who had already arrived at the second class of secretaries. And in truth he deserved the opinion which they entertained of him; for he was descended from an ancient and illustrious family in Gaul; he had been liberally educated from his earliest childhood; he was eminent for modesty, prudence, humanity, courtesy, and literature. He always appeared superior to the post or place which he was filling, and was equally popular among high and low, and he was nearly the only man whose tongue was never unbridled, but who always reflected on what he was going to say, yet without ever being restrained by any fear of danger.

9. Fidustius, who had been tortured so severely that he was at the point of

death, added further, that all that he had now stated he had communicated to Theodorus by the intervention of Eucærius, a man of great literary accomplishments, and of very high reputation; indeed, he had a little time before governed Asia with the title of proprefect.

10. Eucærius was now thrown into prison; and when a report of all that had taken place was, as usual, laid before the emperor, his amazing ferocity burst out more unrestrainedly than ever, like a burning firebrand, being fed by the base adulation of many persons, and especially of Modestus, at that time prefect of the prætorium.

11. He, being every day alarmed at the prospect of a successor, addressed himself to the task of conciliating Valens, who was of a rustic and rather simple character, by tickling him with all kinds of disguised flattery and caresses, calling his uncouth language and rude expressions “flowers of Ciceronian eloquence.” Indeed, to raise his vanity higher, he would have promised to raise him up to the stars if he had desired it.

12. So Theodorus also was ordered to be arrested with all speed at Constantinople, to which city he had repaired on some private business, and to be brought to the court. And while he was on his way back, in consequence of various informations and trials which were carried on day and night, numbers of people were dragged away from the most widely separated countries — men eminent for their birth and high authority.

13. The public prisons, being now completely filled, could no longer contain the crowds which were confined in them, while private houses were equally crammed to suffocation, for nearly every one was a prisoner, and every man shuddered to think when it might be his turn or that of his nearest relations.

14. At last Theodorus himself arrived, in deep mourning, and half dead through fear. And while he was kept concealed in some obscure place in the vicinity, and all things were being got ready for his intended examination, the trumpet of civil discord suddenly sounded.

15. And because that man who knowingly passes over facts appears to be an equally unfaithful historian with him who invents circumstances which never happened, we do not deny (what, in fact, is quite undoubted) that the safety of Valens had often before been attacked by secret machinations, and was now in the greatest possible danger. And that a sword, as one may say, was presented to his throat by the officers of the army, and only averted by Fate, which was reserving him for lamentable misfortunes in Thrace.

16. For one day as he was taking a gentle nap in the afternoon, in a shady spot between Antioch and Seleucia, he was attacked by Sallust, at that time an officer of the Scutarii; and on various other occasions he was plotted against by many other persons, from whose treacherous designs he only escaped because the precise moment of his death had been determined at his birth by Destiny.

17. As sometimes happened in the times of the emperors Commodus and

Severus, whose safety was continually assailed with extreme violence, so that after many various dangers at the hands of their countrymen, the one was dangerously wounded by a dagger in the amphitheatre, as he entered it for the purpose of witnessing an entertainment, by a senator named Quintianus, a man of wicked ambition. The other, when extremely old, was assailed as he was lying in his bedchamber, by a centurion of the name of Saturninus, who was instigated to the act by Plautian the prefect, and would have been killed if his youthful son had not come to his assistance.

18. Valens, therefore, was to be excused for taking every precaution to defend his life, which traitors were endeavouring to take. But it was an unpardonable fault in him that, through tyrannical pride, he, with haste and with inconsiderate and malicious persecution, inflicted the same severities on the innocent as on the guilty, making no distinction between their deserts; so that while the judges were still doubting about their guilt, the emperor had made up his mind about their punishment, and men learnt that they were condemned before they knew that they were suspected.

19. But his obstinate resolution was strengthened since it received a spur from his own avarice, and that also of those who at that time were about the palace, and were constantly seeking new sources of gain; while if on any rare occasion any mention was made of humanity, they styled it slackness; and by their bloodthirsty flatteries perverted the resolution of a man who bore men's lives on the tip of his tongue, guiding it in the worst direction, and assailing everything with unseemly confusion, while seeking to accomplish the total ruin of the most opulent houses.

20. For Valens was a man who was especially exposed and open to the approaches of treacherous advisers, being tainted with two vices of a most mischievous character: one, that when he was ashamed of being angry, that very shame only rendered him the more intolerably furious; and secondly, that the stories which, with the easiness of access of a private individual, he heard in secret whispers, he took at once to be true and certain, because his haughty idea of the imperial dignity did not permit him to examine whether they were true or not.

21. The consequence was that, under an appearance of clemency, numbers of innocent men were driven from their homes, and sent into exile: and their property was confiscated to the public treasury, and then seized by himself for his private uses; so that the owners, after their condemnation, had no means of subsistence but such as they could beg; and were worn out with the distresses of the most miserable poverty. For fear of which that wise old poet Theognis advises a man to rush even into the sea.^{177]}

22. And even if any one should grant that these sentences were in some instances right, yet it surely was an odious severity; and from this conduct of his it was remarked that the maxim was sound which says, "that there is no sentence more cruel than that which, while seeming to spare, is still harsh."

23. Therefore all the chief magistrates and the prefect of the prætorium, to

whom the conduct of these investigations was committed, having been assembled together, the racks were got ready, and the weights, and lead, and scourges, and other engines of torture. And all places resounded with the horrors of the cruel voice of the executioners, and the cries uttered amid the clanking of chains: "Hold him!" "Shut him up!" "Squeeze him!" "Hide him!" and other yells uttered by the ministers of those hateful duties.

24. And since we saw numbers condemned to death after having endured cruel torture, everything being thrown into complete confusion as if in perfect darkness, because the complete recollection of everything which then took place has in some degree escaped me, I will mention briefly what I do remember.

25. Among the first who were summoned before the bench, was Pergamius, who, as we have already mentioned, was betrayed by Palladius, who accused him of having arrived at a foreknowledge of certain events through wicked incantations. As he was a man of exceeding eloquence, and very likely to say dangerous things, and after some very trivial interrogatories had been put to him, seeing that the judges were hesitating what questions to put first and what last, he began himself to harangue them boldly, and shouting out the names with a loud voice and without any cessation, he named several thousand persons as accomplices with himself, demanding that people should be brought forward to be accused of great crimes from every part of the empire, up to the very shores of the great Atlantic. The task that he thus seemed to be putting together for them was too arduous; so they condemned him to death; and afterwards put whole troops of others to death, till they came to the case of Theodorus, which was regarded, after the manner of the Olympian games, as a crowning of the whole.

26. The same day, among other circumstances, this melancholy event took place, that Salia, who a little while before had been the chief treasurer in Thrace, when he was about to be brought out of his prison to have his cause heard, and was putting on his shoes, as if suddenly overwhelmed by the dread of his impending destruction, died in the hands of his gaolers.

27. So when the court was opened, and when the judges exhibited the decrees of the law, though, in accordance with the desire of the emperor, they moderated the severity of the charges brought before them, one general alarm seized all people. For Valens had now so wholly departed from justice, and had become so accomplished in the infliction of injury, that he was like a wild beast in an amphitheatre; and if any one who had been brought before the court escaped, he grew furious beyond all restraint.

28. Presently Patricius and Hilarius were brought before the court, and were ordered to enumerate the whole series of their actions: and as they differed a little at the beginning of their statement, they were both put to the torture, and presently the tripod which they had used was brought in;¹⁷⁸ and they, being reduced now to the greatest extremity, gave a true account of the whole affair from the very beginning. And first Hilarius spoke as follows: —

29. "We did construct, most noble judges, under most unhappy auspices, this little unfortunate tripod which you see, in the likeness of that at Delphi, making it of laurel twigs: and having consecrated it with imprecations of mysterious verses, and with many decorations and repeated ceremonies, in all proper order, we at last moved it; and the manner in which we moved it as often as we consulted it upon any secret affair, was as follows: —

30. "It was placed in the middle of a building, carefully purified on all sides by Arabian perfumes; and a plain round dish was placed upon it, made of different metals. On the outer side of which the four-and-twenty letters of the alphabet were engraved with great skill, being separated from one another by distances measured with great precision.

31. "Then a person clothed in linen garments, and shod with slippers of linen, with a small linen cap on his head, bearing in his hand sprigs of vervain as a plant of good omen, in set verses, propitiated the deity who presides over foreknowledge, and thus took his station by this dish, according to all the rules of the ceremony. Then over the tripod he balanced a ring which he held suspended by a flaxen thread of extreme fineness, and which had also been consecrated with mystic ceremonies. And as this ring touched and bounded off from the different letters which still preserved their distances distinct, he made with these letters, by the order in which he touched them, verses in the heroic metre, corresponding to the questions which we had asked; the verses being also perfect in metre and rhythm; like the answers of the Pythia which are so celebrated, or those given by the oracles of the Branchidæ.

32. "Then, when we asked who should succeed the present emperor, since it was said that it would be a person of universal accomplishments, the ring bounded up, and touched the two syllables ΘΕΟ; and then as it added another letter, some one of the bystanders exclaimed that Theodorus was pointed out by the inevitable decrees of Fate. We asked no further questions concerning the matter: for it seemed quite plain to us that he was the man who was intended."

33. And when he had with this exactness laid the knowledge of this affair open to the eyes of the judges, he added with great benevolence, that Theodorus knew nothing of the matter. When after this they were asked whether the oracles which they had consulted had given them any foreknowledge of their present sufferings, they repeated these well-known verses which clearly pronounce that this employment of investigating those high secrets would cost them their lives. Nevertheless, they added, that the Furies equally threatened the judges themselves, and also the emperor, breathing only slaughter and conflagration against them. It will be enough to quote the three final verses.

“Οὐ μὰν νηποινίγε σὸν ἔσσεται αἶμα, καὶ αὐτοῖς
Τισφόνῃ βαρύμηνις ἐφοπλίζει κανιὸν οἶτον
Ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος ἀλαλεμένοισιν ἄρηα.”

“Thy blood shall not fall unaveng’d on earth:
The fierce Tisiphone still keeps her eye
Fixed on thy slayers; arming evil fate
Against them when arrayed on Mima’s plain
They seek to stem the tide of horrid war.”

When he had read these verses they were both tortured with great severity, and carried away dead.

34. Afterwards, that the whole workshop where the wickedness had been wrought might be disclosed to the world, a great number of men of rank were brought in, among whom were some of the original promoters of the whole business. And when each, regarding nothing but his own personal safety, sought to turn the destruction which menaced himself in some other quarter, by the permission of the judges, Theodorus began to address them. First of all, he humbled himself with entreaties for pardon; then being compelled to answer more precisely to the charges alleged, he proved that he, after having been informed of the whole affair by Eucærius, was prevented by him from repeating it to the emperor, as he had often attempted to do: since Eucærius affirmed that what did not spring from a lawless desire of reigning, but from some fixed law of inevitable fate, would surely come to pass.

35. Eucærius, when cruelly tortured, confirmed this statement by his own confession. His own letters were employed to convict Theodorus, letters which he had written to Hilarius full of indirect hints, which showed that he had conceived a sure hope of such events from the prophecies of the soothsayers; and was not inclined to delay, but was looking for an opportunity of attaining the object of his desires.

36. After the establishment of these facts, the prisoners were removed; and Eutropius, who at that time was governing Asia with the rank of proconsul, having been involved in the accusation as having been a partisan of theirs, was nevertheless acquitted; being exculpated by Pasiphilus the philosopher, who, though cruelly tortured to make him implicate Eutropius by a wicked lie, could not be moved from his vigorous resolution and fortitude.

37. To that was added the philosopher Simonides, a young man, but the most rigidly virtuous of all men in our time. An information had been laid against him as having been made aware of what was going on by Fidustius, as he saw that his cause depended, not on its truth, but on the will of one man, avowed that he had known all that was alleged, but had forborne to mention it out of regard for his character for constancy.

38. When all these matters had been minutely inquired into, the emperor, in answer to the question addressed to him by the judges, ordered them all to be condemned and at once executed: and it was not without shuddering that the vast populace beheld the mournful spectacle; filling the whole air with lamentations (since they looked on the misery of each individual as threatening the whole community with a similar fate) when the whole number

of accused persons, except Simonides, were executed in a melancholy manner. Simonides being reserved to be burnt alive by the express command of the savage judge, who was enraged at his dignified constancy.

39. And he, abandoning life as an imperious mistress, and defying the sudden destruction thus coming on him, was burnt without giving any sign of shrinking; imitating, in his death, the philosopher Peregrinus, surnamed Proteus, who having determined to quit the world, at the quinquennial games of Olympia, in the sight of all Greece, mounted a funeral pile which he had built himself, and was there burnt alive.

40. After his death, on the ensuing days a vast multitude of almost all ranks, whose names it would be too arduous a task to enumerate, being convicted by calumnious accusations, were despatched by the executioners, after having been first exhausted by every description of torture. Some were put to death without a moment's breathing-time or delay, while the question was still being asked whether they deserved to be punished at all; in fact, men were slaughtered like sheep in all directions.

41. After this, innumerable quantities of papers, and many heaps of volumes were collected, and burnt under the eyes of the judges, having been taken out of various houses as unlawful books; in order to lessen the unpopularity arising from so many executions, though in fact, the greater part of them were books teaching various kinds of liberal accomplishments, or books of law.

42. Not long afterwards, Maximus, the celebrated philosopher, a man of vast reputation for learning, from whose eloquent discourses the emperor Julian derived his great learning and wisdom, being accused of having been acquainted with the verses of the oracle mentioned above, and confessing that he had known something of them, but that he had not divulged what he knew, as being bound to keep silence out of consideration for his promise; but adding that he had of his own accord predicted that those who had consulted the oracle would perish by public execution, was conducted to Ephesus, his native place, and there beheaded. And thus by his own forfeiture of life, he found that the injustice of a judge is the worst of all crimes.

43. Diogenes, too, a man of noble family, great forensic eloquence and pre-eminent courtesy, who had some time before been governor of Bithynia, being entangled in the toils of wicked falsehood, was put to death in order to afford a pretext for seizing on his ample patrimony.

44. Alypius also, who had been governor of Britain, a man of most delightful mildness of temper, and who had lived a tranquil and retired life (since even against such as him did Injustice stretch forth her hands), was involved in the greatest misfortune; and was accused with Hierocles his son, a youth of most amiable disposition of having been guilty of poisoning, on the unsupported information of a low fellow named Diogenes, who had been tortured with extreme severity to force him to make confessions which might

please the emperor, or rather, which might please his accuser. When his limbs could no longer endure their punishment, he was burnt alive; and Alypius, after having had his property confiscated, was condemned to banishment, though by an extraordinary piece of good fortune he received back his son after he had been condemned, and had actually been led out to suffer a miserable death.

II.

§ 1. During all this time, Palladius, the original cause of these miseries, whom we have already spoken of as having been arrested by Fortunatianus, being, from the lowness of his original condition, a man ready to fall into every kind of wickedness, by heaping one murder on another diffused mourning and lamentation over the whole empire.

2. For being allowed to name any persons he chose, without distinction of rank, as men contaminated by the practice of forbidden arts, like a huntsman who has learnt to mark the secret tracks of wild beasts, he enclosed many victims within his wretched toils, some as being polluted with a knowledge of poisonings, others as accomplices of those who were guilty of treason.

3. And that wives too might not have leisure to weep over the miseries of their husbands, officers were sent at once to seal up the house of any one who was condemned, and who, while examining all the furniture, slipped in among it old women's incantations, or ridiculous love-tokens, contrived to bring destruction on the innocent; and then, when these things were mentioned before the bench, where neither law, nor religion, nor equity were present to separate truth from falsehood, those whom they thus accused, though utterly void of offence, without any distinction, youths, and decrepit old men, without being heard in their defence, found their property confiscated, and were hurried off to execution in litters.

4. One of the consequences in the eastern provinces was, that from fear of similar treatment, people burnt all their libraries; so great was the terror which seized upon all ranks. For, to cut my story short, at that time all of us crawled about as if in Cimmerian darkness, in the same kind of dread as the guest of Dionysius of Sicily; who, while feasting at a banquet more irksome than famine itself, saw a sword suspended over his head by a single horsehair.

5. There was a man named Bassianus, of most noble family, a secretary, and eminently distinguished for his military services, who, on a charge of having entertained ambitious projects, and of having sought oracles concerning their issue, though he declared he had only consulted the oracles to know the sex of his next child, was saved indeed from death by the great interest made for him by his relations who protected him; but he was stripped of all his splendid inheritance.

6. Amid all this destruction and ruin, Heliodorus, that hellish colleague of Palladius in bringing about these miseries (being what the common people call a mathematician), having been admitted into the secret conferences of the

imperial palace, and been tempted by every kind of caress and cajolery to relate all he knew or could invent, was putting forth his fatal stings.

7. For he was carefully feasted on the most delicate food, and furnished with large sums of money to give to his concubines; and he strutted about in every direction with a pompous, haughty countenance, and was universally dreaded. Being the more confident and arrogant, because as he was high chamberlain, he could go constantly and openly to the brothels, in which, as he desired, he was freely entertained, while revealing the edicts of the “parental guardian of the state,” which were destined to be disastrous to many.

8. And through his means, as an advocate at the bar, Valens was instructed beforehand in what would most contribute to success — what to place in the first part of his speech, and with what figures, and what inventions to work up splendid passages.

9. And as it would take a long time to enumerate all the devices of that villain, I will mention this one only, which, in its rash boldness, assailed the very pillars of the patrician dignity. As I have said before, he was raised to exceeding arrogance by being admitted to the secret conferences of the princes; and being, from the lowness of his birth, a man ready for any wickedness, he laid an information against that illustrious pair of consuls, the brothers Eusebius and Hypatius, relations of the former emperor Constantius, as having conceived desires of a higher fortune, and formed projects and entered into enterprises for the attainment of supreme power. Adding, in order to procure additional credit for this falsehood, that Eusebius had had a set of imperial robes prepared for him.

10. And when the story had been swallowed willingly, Valens raging and threatening, a prince who never ought to have had any power at all, because he thought that everything, even injustice, was in his power, was incessantly active in causing the production, even from the most distant countries, of all those whom the lawless accuser in profound security had insisted ought to be produced; and further commanded a prosecution to be instituted on the criminal charge.

11. And when equity had long been tossed to and fro by knotty difficulties, while that abandoned profligate persisted with unyielding obstinacy in maintaining the truth of his assertions, while the severest tortures were unable to wring any confession from the prisoners, and when every circumstance proved that those eminent men were free from all consciousness of anything of the kind, still the false accuser was treated with the same respect as he had previously received. But though the prisoners were sentenced to exile and a heavy fine, a short time afterwards they were recalled from banishment, restored to their former rank and dignity, and their fine repaid.

12. Still after all these shameful transactions, the prince did not proceed with any more moderation or decency than before; never considering that in a wise government it is well not to be too keen in hunting out offences, even as a means of inflicting distress upon one’s enemies; and that nothing is so

unbecoming as to display a bitterness of disposition in connection with supreme authority.

13. But when Heliodorus died, whether of sickness or through some deliberate violence is uncertain (I should not like to say, and I wish that the facts themselves were equally silent), many men of rank in mourning robes, among whom were these two brothers of consular rank, by the express command of the emperor, attended his funeral when he was borne to his grave by the undertakers.

14. At that time, and in that place, the whole vileness and stupidity of the ruler of the empire was publicly displayed. When he was entreated to abstain from abandoning himself to inconsolable grief, he remained obstinately inflexible, as if he had stopped his ears with wax to pass the rocks of the Sirens.

15. But at last, being overcome by the pertinacious entreaties of his court, he ordered some persons to go on foot, bareheaded, and with their hands folded, to the burial-place of this wretched gladiator to do him honour. One shudders now to recollect the decree by which so many men of high rank were humiliated, especially some of consular dignity, after all their truncheons and robes of honour, and all the worldly parade of having their names recorded in the annals of their nation.

16. Among them all, our friend Hypatius was most conspicuous, recommended as he was to every one by the beauty of the virtues which he had practised from his youth; being a man of quiet and gentle wisdom, preserving an undeviating honesty combined with the greatest courtesy of manner, so that he conferred a fresh lustre on the glory of his ancestors, and was an ornament to his posterity, by the memorable actions which he performed in the office of prefect, to which he was twice appointed.

17. At the same time, this circumstance came to crown the other splendid actions of Valens, that, while in the case of others he gave way to such furious violence, that he was even vexed when the severity of their punishment was terminated by death, yet he pardoned Pollentianus, the tribune, a man stained with such enormous wickedness, that at that very time he was convicted on his own confession of having cut out the womb of a living woman and taken from it her child, in order to summon forth spirits from the shades below, and to consult them about a change in the empire. He looked on this wretch with the eye of friendship, in spite of the murmurs of the whole bench of senators, and discharged him in safety, suffering him to retain not only his life, but his vast riches and full rank in the army.

18. O most glorious learning, granted by the express gift of heaven to happy mortals, thou who hast often refined even vicious natures! How many faults in the darkness of that age wouldst thou have corrected if Valens had ever been taught by thee that, according to the definition of wise men, empire is nothing else but the care of the safety of others; and that it is the duty of a good emperor to restrain power, to resist any desire to possess all things, and

all implacability of passion, and to know, as the dictator Cæsar used to say, “That the recollection of cruelty was an instrument to make old age miserable!” And therefore that it behoves any one who is about to pass a sentence affecting the life and existence of a man, who is a portion of the world, and makes up the complement of living creatures, to hesitate long and much, and never to give way to intemperate haste in a case in which what is done is irrevocable. According to that example well known to all antiquity.

19. When Dolabella was proconsul in Asia, a matron at Smyrna confessed that she had poisoned her son and her husband, because she had discovered that they had murdered a son whom she had had by a former husband. Her case was adjourned — the council to whom it had been referred being in doubt how to draw a line between just revenge and unprovoked crime; and so she was remitted to the judgment of the Areopagus, those severe Athenian judges, who are said to have decided disputes even among the gods. They, when they had heard the case, ordered the woman and her accuser to appear before them again in a hundred years, to avoid either acquitting a poisoner, or punishing one who had been the avenger of her kindred. So that is never to be thought too slow which is the last of all things.

20. After all the acts of various iniquity already mentioned, and after even the free persons who were allowed to survive had been thus shamefully branded, the eye of Justice which never sleeps, that unceasing witness and avenger of events, became more attentive and vigilant. For the avenging Furies of those who had been put to death, working on the everlasting deity with their just complaints, kindled the torches of war, to confirm the truth of the oracle, which had given warning that no crime can be perpetrated with impunity.

21. While the affairs thus narrated were taking place, Antioch was exposed to great distress through domestic dissension, though not molested by any attacks on the side of Parthia. But the horrid troop of Furies, which after having caused all sorts of miseries there, had quitted that city, now settled on the neck of the whole of Asia, as will be seen in what follows.

22. A certain native of Trent, by name Festus, a man of the lowest obscurity of birth, being a relation of Maximin, and one who had assumed the manly robe at the same time with himself, was cherished by him as a companion, and by the will of the Fates had now crossed over to the east, and having there become governor of Syria, and master of the records, he set a very good and respectable example of lenity. From this he was promoted to govern Asia with the rank of proconsul, being thus, as the saying is, borne on with a fair wind to glory.

23. And hearing that Maximin caused the destruction of every virtuous man, he began from this time to denounce his actions as mischievous and disgraceful. But when he saw that, in consequence of the removal of those persons whom he had impiously put to death, that wicked man had arrived at the dignity of prefect, he began to be excited to similar conduct and similar

hopes. And suddenly changing his character like an actor, he applied himself to the study of doing injury, and went about with fixed and severe eyes, trusting that he also should soon become a prefect, if he only polluted himself with the blood of innocent men.

24. And although there are many and various instances in which, to put the best construction on them, he acted with great harshness, still it will be sufficient to enumerate a few, which are notorious and commonly spoken of, seeming to be done in rivalry of the deeds which were committed at Rome; for the principle of good and bad actions is the same everywhere, even if the importance of the circumstances be unequal.

25. There was a philosopher named Cæranius, a man of no inconsiderable merit, whom he put to death with the most cruel tortures, and without any one coming forward to avenge him, because, when writing familiarly to his wife, he had put a postscript in Greek, “σὺ δὲ νόει, καὶ στέφε τὴν πύλην.”— “Do you take care and adorn the gate,” which is a common expression to let the hearer know that something of importance is to be done.

26. There was a certain simple old woman who was wont to cure intermittent fever by a gentle incantation, whom he put to death as a witch, after she had been summoned, with his consent, to his daughter, and had cured her.

27. There was a certain citizen of high respectability, among whose papers, when they were searched by the officers on some business or other, was found the nativity of some one of the name of Valens. He, when asked on what account he had troubled himself about the star of the emperor, had repelled the accusation by declaring that it was his own brother Valens whose nativity was thus found, and when he promised to bring abundant proof that he had long been dead, the judges would not wait for evidence of the truth of his assertion, but put him to the torture and cruelly slew him.

28. A young man was seen in the bath to put the fingers of each hand alternately against the marble and against his own chest, and then to repeat the names of the seven vowels, fancying that a remedy for a pain in the stomach. For this he was brought before the court, put to the torture, and then beheaded.

III.

§ 1. These events, and the account of Gaul to which I am now about to proceed, will cause some interruption to the narration of occurrences in the metropolis. Among many terrible circumstances, I find that Maximin was still prefect, who by the wide extent of his power was a cruel prompter to the emperor, who combined the most unrestrained licence with unbounded power. Whoever, therefore, considers what I have related, must also reflect on the other facts which have been passed over, and, like a prudent man, he will pardon me if I do not record everything which the wickedness of certain counsels has occasioned by exaggerating every accusation?

2. For while severity, the foe of all right principles, increased, Valentinian,

being a man of a naturally ferocious disposition, when Maximin arrived, having no one to give him good advice or to restrain him, proceeded, as if hurried on by a storm of winds and waves, to all kinds of cruel actions; so that when angry, his voice, his countenance, his gait, and his complexion, were continually changing. And of this passionate intemperance there are many undoubted instances, of which it will be sufficient to recount a few.

3. A certain grown-up youth, of those called pages, having been appointed to take care of a Spartan hound which had been brought out for hunting, let him loose before the appointed moment, because the animal, in its efforts to escape, leaped upon him and bit him; and for this he was beaten to death and buried the same day.

4. The master of a workshop, who had brought the emperor an offering of a breastplate most exquisitely polished, and who was therefore in expectation of a reward, was ordered by him to be put to death because the steel was of less weight than he considered requisite.... There was a certain native, of Epirus, a priest of the Christian religion.¹⁷⁹ ...

5. Constantianus, the master of the stables, having ventured to change a few of the horses, to select which he had been despatched to Sardinia, was, by his order, stoned to death. Athanasius, a very popular character, being suspected by him of some levity in the language he held among the common people, was sentenced to be burnt alive if he ever did anything of the kind again; and not long afterwards, being accused of having practised magic, he was actually burnt, no pardon being given even to one whose devices had often afforded the emperor great amusement.

6. Africanus was an advocate of great diligence, residing in Rome; he had had the government of one province, and aspired to that of another. But when Theodosius, the commander of the cavalry, supported his petition for such an office, the emperor answered him somewhat rudely, "Away with you, O count, and change the head of the man who wishes to have his province changed." And by this sentence a man of great eloquence perished, only because, like many others, he wished for higher preferment.

7. Claudian and Sallust were officers of the Jovian legion, who had gradually risen to the rank of tribunes; but they were accused by some man of the most despicable baseness of having said something in favour of Procopius when he aimed at the imperial power. And when a diligent investigation into this charge had proved ineffectual, the emperor gave orders to the captains of the cavalry who had been employed in it, to condemn Claudian to banishment, and to pass sentence of death upon Sallust, promising that he would reprieve him as he was being led to execution. The sentence was passed, as he commanded; but Sallust was not reprieved, nor was Claudian recalled from exile till after the death of Valentinian.... After they had been exposed to frequent tortures.

8. Nevertheless after so many persons had been put to the question, some

of whom had even expired under the severity of their tortures, still no traces of the alleged crimes could be discovered. In this affair some of the body-guards, who had been sent to arrest certain persons, were, in a most unusual manner, beaten to death.

9. The mind shudders at the idea of recapitulating all that took place, and, indeed, dreads to do so, lest we should appear to make a business of pointing out the vices of an emperor who, in other respects, had many good qualities. But this one circumstance may not be passed over in silence nor suppressed, that he kept two ferocious she-bears who were used to eat men; and they had names, Golden Camel and Innocence, and these beasts he took such care of that he had their dens close to his bedchamber; and appointed over them trusty keepers who were bound to take especial care that the odious fury of these monsters should never be checked. At last he had Innocence set free, after he had seen the burial of many corpses which she had torn to pieces, giving her the range of the forests as a reward for her services.180]

IV.

§ 1. These actions are the most undeniable proof of his habits and real character; but even the most obstinate disparager of his disposition cannot deny him the praise of great ability, which never forgot the interests of the state; especially when it is recollected, that perhaps it is a greater and more beneficial, as well as difficult, task to control the barbarians by means of an army, than to repulse them. And when ... If any one of the enemy moved, he was seen from the watch-towers and immediately overwhelmed.

2. But among many other subjects of anxiety, the first and most important thing of all which was agitated, was to seize alive, either by force or by trickery, as Julian had formerly taken Vadamarius, Macrianus, the king, who, through all the changes which had taken place, had obtained a considerable increase of power, and was rising up against our people with full-grown strength: and after all the measures had been taken which seemed required by the affair itself and the time, and when it had been learnt by information collected from deserters when the aforesaid monarch could be seized before he expected anything of the kind, the emperor threw a bridge of boats across the Rhine with as much secrecy as was possible, lest any one should interpose any obstacle to such a work.

3. Severus, who was the commander of the infantry, led the van of the army towards Wiesbaden; and then, reflecting on his scanty numbers, halted in consternation; being afraid lest, as he should be quite unequal to resist them, he should be overwhelmed by the mass of the hostile army if it attacked him.

4. And because he suspected that the dealers who brought slaves for sale, whom he found at that place by chance, would be likely to repair with speed to the king to tell him what they had seen, he stripped them of all their merchandise, and then put them all to death.

5. Our generals were now encouraged by the arrival of more troops; and speedily contrived a temporary camp, because none of the baggage-beasts had arrived, nor had any one a proper tent, except the emperor, for whom one was constructed of carpets and tapestry. Then waiting a short time on account of the darkness of the night, at daybreak the army quitted the camp and proceeded onwards; being led by guides well acquainted with the country. The cavalry, under Theodosius, its captain, was appointed to lead the way ... was inconvenienced by the great noise made by his men; whom his repeated commands could not restrain from rapine and incendiarism. For the guards of the enemy being roused by the crackling of the flames, and suspecting what had happened, put the king on a light carriage and carrying him off with great speed, hid him among the defiles of the neighbouring mountains.

6. Valentinian being defrauded of the glory of taking him, and that neither through any fault of his own or of his generals, but through the insubordination of his soldiers, which was often the cause of great misfortunes to the Roman state, laid waste all the enemy's country for fifty miles with fire and sword; and then returned dejected to Treves.

7. Where like a lion raging for the loss of a deer or a goat and champing with empty jaws, while fear was breaking and dividing the enemy, he proceeded to command the Bucenobantes, who are a tribe of the Allemanni opposite to Mayence, to elect Fraomarius as their king in place of Macrianus. And, shortly afterwards, when a fresh invasion had entirely desolated that canton, he removed him to Britain, where he gave him the authority of a tribune, and placed a number of the Allemanni under his command, forming for him a division strong both in its numbers and the excellence of its appointments. He also gave two other nobles of the same nation, by name Bitheridus and Hortarius, commands in his army; of whom Hortarius, being betrayed by the information of Florentius, Duke of Germany, who accused him of having written letters to Macrianus and the chieftains of the barbarians, containing language unfavourable to the republic, was put to the torture, and having been compelled to confess the truth, was condemned to be burnt alive.

V.

§ 1. After this ... it seems best to relate these matters in one connected narrative, lest the introduction of other affairs wholly unconnected with them, and which took place at a distance, should lead to confusion, and prevent the reader from acquiring a correct knowledge of these numerous and intricate affairs.

2. Nubel, who had been the most powerful chieftain among the Mauritanian nations, died, and left several sons, some legitimate, others born of concubines, of whom Zamma, a great favourite of the Count Romanus, was slain by his brother Firmus; and this deed gave rise to civil discords, and wars. For the count being exceedingly eager to avenge his death, made formidable preparations for the destruction of his treacherous enemy. And as continual

reports declared, most exceeding pains were taken in the palace, that the despatches of Romanus, which contained many most unfavourable statements respecting Firmus, should be received and read by the prince; while many circumstances strengthened their credibility. And, on the other hand, that those documents which Firmus frequently, for the sake of his own safety, endeavoured to lay before the emperor by the agency of his friends, should be kept from his sight as long as possible, Remigius, a friend and relation of Romanus, and who was at that time master of the offices, availed himself of other more important affairs which claimed the emperor's attention to declare that Firmus's papers were all unimportant and superfluous, only to be read at a perfectly favourable opportunity.

3. But when Firmus perceived that these intrigues were going on to keep his defence out of sight, trembling for fear of the worst if all his excuses should be passed over, and he himself be condemned as disaffected and mischievous, and so be put to death, he revolted from the emperor's authority, and aided ... in devastation.^{181]}

4. Therefore, to prevent an implacable enemy from gaining strength by such an increase of force, Theodosius, the commander of the cavalry, was sent with a small body of the emperor's guards to crush him at once. Theodosius was an officer whose virtues and successes were at that time conspicuous above those of all other men: he resembled those ancient heroes, Domitius Corbulo, and Lusius; the first of whom was distinguished by a great number of gallant achievements in the time of Nero, and the latter of equal reputation under Trajan.

5. Theodosius marched from Arles with favourable auspices, and having crossed the sea with the fleet under his command so rapidly that no report of his approach could arrive before himself, he reached the coast of Mauritania Sitifensis; that portion of the coast being called, by the natives, Igilgitanum. There, by accident, he met Romanus, and addressing him kindly, sent him to arrange the stations of the sentries and the outposts, without reproaching him for any of the matters for which he was liable to blame.

6. And when he had gone to the other province, Mauritania Cæsariensis, he sent Gildo, the brother of Firmus and Maximus, to assist Vincentius, who, as the deputy of Romanus, was the partner of his disloyal schemes and thefts.

7. Accordingly, as soon as his soldiers arrived, who had been delayed by the length of the sea voyage, he hastened to Sitifis; and gave orders to the body-guards to keep Romanus and his attendants under surveillance. He himself remained in the city, full of embarrassment and anxiety, working many plans in his mind, while devising by what means or contrivances he could conduct his soldiers who were accustomed to a cold climate through a country parched up with heat; or how he could catch an enemy always on the alert and appearing when least expected, and who relied more on surprises and ambuscades than a pitched battle.

8. When news of these facts reached Firmus, first through vague reports, and subsequently by precise information, he, terrified at the approach of a general of tried valour, sent envoys and letters to him, confessing all he had done, and imploring pardon; asserting that it was not of his own accord that he had been driven on to an action which he knew to be criminal, but that he had been goaded on by unjust treatment of a flagitious character, as he undertook to show.

9. When his letters had been read, and when peace was promised him, and hostages received from him, Theodosius proceeded to the Pancharian station to review the legions to which the protection of Africa was intrusted, and who had been ordered to assemble to meet him at that place. There he encouraged the hopes of them all by confident yet prudent language; and then returned to Sitifis, having reinforced his troops with some native soldiers; and, not being inclined to admit of any delay, he hastened to regain his camp.

10. Among many other admirable qualities which he displayed, his popularity was immensely increased by an order which he issued, forbidding the army to demand supplies from the inhabitants of the province; and asserting, with a captivating confidence, that the harvests and granaries of the enemy were the magazines of the valour of our soldiers.

11. Having arranged these matters in a way which caused great joy to the landowners, he advanced to Tubusuptum, a town near Mons Ferratus, where he rejected a second embassy of Firmus, because it had not brought with it the hostages, as had been provided before. From this place, having made as careful an examination of everything as the time and place permitted, he proceeded by rapid marches to the Tyndenses and Massisenses; tribes equipped with light arms, under the command of Mascizel and Dius, brothers of Firmus.

12. When the enemy, being quick and active in all their movements, came in sight, after a fierce skirmish by a rapid interchange of missiles, both sides engaged in a furious contest; and amid the groans of the wounded and dying were heard also the wailing and lamentations of barbarian prisoners. When the battle was over, the territory for a great distance was ravaged and wasted by fire.

13. Among the havoc thus caused, the destruction of the farm of Petra, which was razed to the ground, and which had been originally built by Salmaces, its owner, a brother of Firmus, in such a manner as to resemble a town, was especially remarkable. The conqueror was elated at this success, and with incredible speed proceeded to occupy the town of Lamfortense, which was situated among the tribes already mentioned; here he caused large stores of provisions to be accumulated, in order that if, in his advance into the inland districts, he should find a scarcity of supplies, he might order them to be brought from this town, which would be at no great distance.

14. In the mean time Mascizel, having recruited his forces by auxiliaries which he had procured from the tribes on the borders, ventured on a pitched

battle with our army, in which his men were routed, and a great portion of them slain, while he himself was with difficulty saved from death by the speed of his horse.

15. Firmus, being weakened by the losses he had sustained in two battles, and in great perplexity, in order to leave no expedient untried, sent some priests of the Christian religion with the hostages, as ambassadors to implore peace. They were received kindly, and having promised supplies of food for our soldiers, as they were commissioned to do, they brought back a propitious answer. And then, sending before him a present, Firmus himself went with confidence to meet the Roman general, mounted on a horse fitted for any emergency. When he came near Theodosius, he was awe-struck at the brilliancy of the standards, and the terrible countenance of the general himself; and leapt from his horse, and with neck bowed down almost to the ground, he, with tears, laid all the blame on his own rashness, and entreated pardon and peace.

16. He was received with a kiss, since such treatment of him appeared advantageous to the republic; and being now full of joyful hope, he supplied the army with provisions in abundance; and having left some of his own relations as hostages, he departed in order, as he promised, to restore those prisoners whom he had taken at the first beginning of these disturbances. And two days afterwards, without any delay, he restored the town of Icosium (of the founders of which we have already spoken), also the military standards, the crown belonging to the priest, and all the other things which he had taken, as he had been commanded to do.

17. Leaving this place, our general, advancing by long marches, reached Tiposa, where, with great elation, he gave answers to the envoys of the Mazices, who had combined with Firmus, and now in a suppliant tone implored pardon, replying to their entreaties that he would at once march against them as perfidious enemies.

18. When he had thus cowed them by the fear of impending danger, and had commanded them to return to their own country, he proceeded onwards to Cæsarea, a city formerly of great wealth and importance, of the origin of which we have given a full account in our description of Africa. When he reached it, and saw that nearly the whole of it had been destroyed by extensive conflagrations, and that the flint stones of the streets were covered with ashes, he ordered the first and second legions to be stationed there for a time, that they might clear away the heaps of cinders and ashes, and keep guard there to prevent a fresh attack of the barbarians from repeating this devastation.

19. When accurate intelligence of these events had arrived, the governors of the province and the tribune Vincentius issued forth from the places of concealment in which they had been lying, and came with speed and confidence to the general. He saw and received them with joy, and, while still at Cæsarea, having accurately inquired into every circumstance, he found that

Firmus, while assuming the disguise of an ally and a suppliant, was secretly planning how, like a sudden tempest, to overwhelm his army while unprepared for any such danger.

20. On this he quitted Cæsarea, and went to the town of Sugabarritanum, which is on the slope of Mount Transcellensis. There he found the cavalry of the fourth cohort of archers, who had revolted to the rebels, and in order to show himself content with lenient punishments, he degraded them all to the lowest class of the service, and ordered them, and a portion of the infantry of the Constantian legion, to come to Tigaviæ with their tribunes, one of whom was the man who, for want of a diadem, had placed a neck-chain on the head of Firmus.

21. While these events were proceeding, Gildo and Maximus returned, and brought with them Bellenes, one of the princes of the Mazices, and Fericius, prefect of that nation, both of whom had espoused the faction of the disturber of the public peace, leading them forth in chains.

22. When this order had been executed, Theodosius himself came forth from his camp at daybreak, and on seeing those men surrounded by his army, said, "What, my trusty comrades, do you think ought to be done to these nefarious traitors?" And then, in compliance with the acclamations of the whole army, who demanded that their treason should be expiated by their blood, he, according to the ancient fashion, handed over those of them who had served in the Constantian legion to the soldiers to be put to death by them. The officers of the archers he sentenced to lose their hands, and the rest he condemned to death, in imitation of Curio, that most vigorous and severe general, who by this kind of punishment crushed the ferocity of the Dardanians, when it was reviving like the Lernæan hydra.

23. But malignant detractors, though they praise the ancient deed, vituperate this one as terrible and inhuman, affirming that the Dardanians¹⁸² were implacable enemies, and therefore justly suffered the punishment inflicted on them; but that those soldiers, who belonged to our own standards, ought to have been corrected with more lenity, for falling into one single error. But we will remind these cavillers, of what perhaps they know already, namely, that this cohort was not only an enemy by its own conduct, but also by the example which it set to others.

24. He also commanded Bellenes and Fericius, who have been mentioned above, and whom Gildo brought with him, to be put to death; and likewise Curandius, a tribune of the archers, because he had always been backward in engaging the enemy himself, and had never been willing to encourage his men to fight. And he did this in recollection of the principle laid down by Cicero, that "salutary vigour is better than an empty appearance of clemency."

25. Leaving Sugabari, he came to a town called Gallonatis, surrounded by a strong wall, and a secure place of refuge for the Moors, which, as such, he destroyed with his battering-rams. And having slain all the inhabitants, and levelled the walls, he advanced along the foot of Mount Ancorarius to the

fortress of Tingetanum, where the Mazices were all collected in one solid body. He at once attacked them, and they encountered him with arrows and missiles of all kinds as thick as hail.

26. The battle proceeded for some time vigorously on both sides, till at last the Mazices, though a hardy and warlike race, being unable to withstand the fury of our men and the shock of their arms, after sustaining heavy loss, fled in every direction in disgraceful panic; and as they fled they were put to the sword in great numbers, with the exception only of those who, contriving to make their escape, afterwards, by their humble supplications, obtained the pardon which the times permitted to be granted to them.

27. Their leader Suggena, who succeeded Romanus, was sent into Mauritania Sitifensis to establish other garrisons necessary to prevent that province from being overrun; and he himself, elated by his recent achievements, marched against the nation of the Musones, who, from a consciousness of the ravages and murders of which they had been guilty, had joined the party of Firmus, hoping that he would soon obtain the chief authority.

28. Having advanced some distance, he found, near the town of Addense, that a number of tribes, who, though differing from each other in manners and language, were all animated with one feeling, in fomenting the outbreaks of terrible wars, being urged on and encouraged by the hope of great rewards from a sister of Firmus, named Cyria; who being very rich, and full of feminine resolution, was resolved to make a great effort to help her brother.

29. Therefore Theodosius, fearing to become involved in a war to which his forces were unequal, and that if he with his small force (for he had but three thousand five hundred men) should engage with an immense multitude, he should lose his whole army, at first hesitating between the shame of retreating and his wish to fight, gradually fell back a little; but presently was compelled by the overpowering mass of the barbarians to retire altogether.

30. The barbarians were exceedingly elated at this event, and pursued him with great obstinacy.... Being compelled by necessity to fight, he would have lost all his army and his own life, had not these tumultuous tribes, the moment they saw a troop of the Mazican auxiliaries, with a few Roman soldiers in their front, fancied that a numerous division was advancing to charge them, and in consequence taking to flight, opened to our men a way of escape which was previously shut against them.

31. Theodosius now drew off his army in safety; and when he had reached a town called Mazucanum, he found there a number of deserters, some of whom he burnt alive, and others he mutilated after the fashion of the archers whose hands had been cut off. He then proceeded towards Tipata, which he reached in the course of February.

32. There he stayed some time deliberating, like that old delayer, Fabius, on the circumstances around him, desiring to subdue the enemy, who was not

only warlike, but so active as usually to keep out of bowshot, rather by manœuvres and skill than by hazardous engagements.

33. Still he from time to time sent out envoys, skilled in the arts of persuasion, to the surrounding tribes, the Basuræ, the Cautauriani, the Anastomates, the Cafaves, the Davares, and other people in their neighbourhood, trying to bring them over to our alliance, either by presents, threats, or by promises of pardon for past violence ... seeking by delays and intrigues to crush an enemy who offered so stout a resistance to his attacks, just as Pompey in times past had subdued Mithridates.

34. On this account Firmus, avoiding immediate destruction, although he was strengthened by a large body of troops, abandoned the army which he had collected by a lavish expenditure of money, and as the darkness of night afforded a chance of concealment, he fled to the Caprarian mountains, which were at a great distance, and from their precipitous character inaccessible.

35. On his clandestine departure, his army also dispersed, being broken up into small detachments without any leader, and thus afforded our men an opportunity of attacking their camp. That was soon plundered, and all who resisted were put to the sword, or else taken prisoners; and then, having devastated the greater portion of the country, our wise general appointed prefects of tried loyalty as governors of the different tribes through which he passed.

36. The traitor was thrown into consternation by the unexpected boldness of his pursuit, and with the escort of only a few servants, hoping to secure his safety by the rapidity of his movements, in order to have nothing to impede his flight, threw away all the valuable baggage which he had taken with him. His wife, exhausted with continual toil....

37. Theodosius ... showing mercy to none of them, having refreshed his soldiers by a supply of better food, and gratified them by a distribution of pay, defeated the Capracienses and Abanni, who were the next tribes to them, in some unimportant skirmishes, and then advanced with great speed to the town of ... and having received certain intelligence that the barbarians had already occupied the hills, and were spread over the precipitous and broken ground to a great height, so that they were quite inaccessible to any but natives who were intimately acquainted with the whole country, he retired, giving the enemy an opportunity by a truce, short as it was, to receive an important reinforcement from the Ethiopians in the neighbourhood.

38. Then having assembled all their united forces, they rushed on to battle with threatening shouts, and an utter disregard of their individual safety, compelling him to retreat, full of consternation at the apparently countless numbers of their army. But soon the courage of his men revived, and he returned, bringing with him vast supplies, and with his troops in a dense column, and brandishing their shields with formidable gestures, he again engaged the enemy in close combat.

39. The barbarians rattled their arms in a savage manner, and our

battalions, with equal rage, pushed on, they also rattling their shields against their knees. Still the general, like a cautious and prudent warrior, aware of the scantiness of his numbers, advanced boldly with his army in battle array, till he came to a point, at which he turned off, though still preserving an undaunted front, towards the city of Contensis, where Firmus had placed the prisoners whom he had taken from us, as in a remote and safe fortress. He recovered them all, and inflicted severe punishment, according to his custom, on the traitors among the prisoners, and also on the guards of Firmus.

40. While he was thus successful, through the protection of the Supreme Deity, he received correct intelligence from one of his scouts that Firmus had fled to the tribe of the Isaffenses. He at once entered their territory to require that he should be given up, with his brother Mazuca, and the rest of his relations: and on being refused, he declared war against the nation.

41. And after a fierce battle, in which the barbarians displayed extraordinary courage and ferocity, he threw his army into a solid circle; and then the Isaffenses were so completely overpowered by the weight of our battalions pressing on them that numbers were slain; and Firmus himself, gallantly as he behaved, after exposing himself to imminent danger by the rashness of his courage, put spurs to his horse, and fled; his horse being accustomed to make his way with great speed over the most rocky and precipitous paths. But his brother Mazuca was taken prisoner, mortally wounded.

42. It was intended to send him to Cæsarea, where he had left behind him many records of his atrocious cruelties; but his wounds reopened, and he died. So his head was cut off, and (his body being left behind) was conveyed to that city, where it was received with great joy by all who saw it.

43. After this our noble general inflicted most severe punishment, as justice required, on the whole nation of the Isaffenses, which had resisted till it was thus subdued in war. And he burnt alive one of the most influential of the citizens, named Evasius, and his son Florus, and several others, who were convicted on undeniable evidence of having aided the great disturber of tranquillity by their secret counsels.

44. From thence Theodosius proceeded into the interior, and with great resolution attacked the tribe of the Jubileni, to which he heard that Nubel, the father of Firmus, belonged; but presently he halted, being checked by the height of the mountains, and their winding defiles. And though he had once attacked the enemy, and opened himself a further road by slaying a great number of them, still, fearing the high precipices as places pre-eminently adapted for ambuscades, he withdrew, and led back his army in safety to a fortress called Audiense, where the Jesalenses, a warlike tribe, came over to him, voluntarily promising to furnish him with reinforcements and provisions.

45. Our noble general, exulting in this and similarly glorious achievements, now made the greatest efforts to overtake the original disturber of tranquillity

himself, and therefore having halted for some time near a fortress named Medianum, he planned various schemes through which he hoped to procure that Firmus should be given up to him.

46. And while he was directing anxious thoughts and deep sagacity to this object, he heard that he had again gone back to the Isafilenses; on which, as before, without any delay, he marched against them with all possible speed. Their king, whose name was Igmazen, a man of great reputation in that country, and celebrated also for his riches, advanced with boldness to meet him, and addressed him thus, "To what country do you belong, and with what object have you come hither? Answer me." Theodosius, with firm mind and stern looks, replied, "I am a lieutenant of Valentinian, the master of the whole world, sent hither to destroy a murderous robber; and unless you at once surrender him, as the invincible emperor has commanded, you also, and the nation of which you are king, will be entirely destroyed." Igmazen, on receiving this answer, heaped a number of insulting epithets on our general, and then retired full of rage and indignation.

47. And the next morning at daybreak the two armies, breathing terrible threats against each other, advanced to engage in battle: nearly twenty thousand barbarians constituted the front of their army, with very large reserves posted behind, out of sight, with the intention that they should steal forward gradually, and hem in our battalions with their vast and unexpected numbers. These were also supported by a great number of auxiliaries of the Jesalenian tribes, whom we have mentioned as having promised reinforcements and supplies to ourselves.

48. On the other side, the Roman army, though scanty in numbers, nevertheless being full of natural courage, and elated by their past victories, formed into dense columns, and joining their shields firmly together, in the fashion of a testudo, planted their feet firmly in steady resistance; and from sunrise to the close of day the battle was protracted. A little before evening Firmus was seen mounted on a tall horse, expanding his scarlet cloak in order to attract the notice of his soldiers, whom he was exciting with a loud voice at once to deliver up Theodosius, calling him a ferocious and cruel man — an inventor of merciless punishments — as the only means of delivering themselves from the miseries which he was causing them.

49. This unexpected address only provoked some of our men to fight with more vigour than ever, but there were others whom it seduced to desert our ranks. Therefore when the stillness of night arrived, and the country became enveloped in thick darkness, Theodosius returned to the fortress of Duodiense, and, recognizing those soldiers who had been persuaded by fear and Firmus's speech to quit the fight, he put them all to death by different modes of execution; of some he cut off the right hands, others he burnt alive.

50. And conducting himself with ceaseless care and vigilance, he routed a division of the barbarians who, though afraid to show themselves by day, ventured, after the moon had set, to make an attempt upon his camp: some of

those who advanced further than their comrades he took prisoners. Departing from this place, he made a forced march through by-roads to attack the Jesalensians, who had shown themselves disloyal and unfaithful. He could not obtain any supplies from their country, but he ravaged it, and reduced it to complete desolation. Then he passed through the towns of Mauritania and Cæsarensis, and returned to Sitifis, where he put to the torture Castor and Martinianus, who had been the accomplices of Romanus in his rapine and other crimes, and afterwards burnt them.

51. After this the war with the Isafenses was renewed; and in the first conflict, after the barbarians had been routed with heavy loss, their king Igmazen, who had hitherto been accustomed to be victorious, agitated by fears of the present calamity, and thinking that all his alliances would be destroyed, and that he should have no hope left in life if he continued to resist, with all the cunning and secrecy that he could, fled by himself from the battle; and reaching Theodosius, besought him in a suppliant manner to desire Masilla, the chief magistrate of the Mazices, to come to him.

52. When that noble had been sent to him as he requested, he employed him as his agent to advise the general, as a man by nature constant and resolute in his plans, that the way to accomplish his purpose would be to press his countrymen with great vigour, and, by incessant fighting, strike terror into them; as, though they were keen partisans of Firmus, they were nevertheless wearied out by repeated disasters.

53. Theodosius adopted this advice, and, by battle after battle, so completely broke the spirits of the Isafenses, that they fell away like sheep, and Firmus again secretly escaped, and hiding himself for a long time in out-of-the-way places and retreats, till at last, while deliberating on a further flight, he was seized by Igmazen, and put in confinement.

54. And since he had learnt from Masilla the plans which had been agitated in secret, he at last came to reflect that in so extreme a necessity there was but one remedy remaining, and he determined to trample under foot the love of life by a voluntary death; and having designedly filled himself with wine till he became stupefied, when, in the silence of the night, his keepers were sunk in profound slumber, he, fully awake from dread of the misfortune impending over him, left his bed with noiseless steps, and crawling on his hands and feet, conveyed himself to a distance, and then, having found a rope which chance provided for the end of his life, he fastened it to a nail which was fixed in the wall, and hanging himself, escaped the protracted sufferings of torture.

55. Igmazen was vexed at this, lamenting that he was thus robbed of his glory, because it had not been granted to him to conduct this rebel alive to the Roman camp; and so, having received a pledge of the state for his own safety, through the intervention of Masilla, he placed the body of the dead man on a camel, and when he arrived at the camp of the Roman army, which was pitched near the fortress of Subicarensis, he transferred it to a pack-horse, and offered it to Theodosius, who received it with exultation.

56. And Theodosius having assembled a crowd of soldiers and citizens, and having asked them whether they recognized the face of the corpse, learnt by their answers that there was no question at all that it was the man; after this he stayed there a short time, and then returned to Sitifis in great triumph, where he was received with joyful acclamations of the people of every age and rank.

VI.

§ 1. While Theodosius was thus exerting himself, and toiling in Mauritania and Africa, the nation of the Quadi was roused to make a sudden movement. It was a nation now not very formidable, but one which had formerly enjoyed vast renown for its warlike genius and power, as its achievements prove, some of which were distinguished for the rapidity, as well as for the greatness, of their success; instances are: — Aquileia, which was besieged by them and the Marcomanni; Opitergium, which was destroyed by them, and many other bloody successes which were gained in that rapid campaign when the Julian Alps were passed, and that illustrious emperor Marcus, of whom we have already spoken, was hardly able to offer them any resistance. And indeed they had, for barbarians, just ground of complaint.

2. For Valentinian, who from the beginning of his reign had been full of a resolution to fortify his frontier, which was a glorious decision, but one carried too far in this case, ordered a fortress capable of containing a strong garrison to be constructed on the south side of the river Danube, in the very territories of the Quadi, as if they were subject to the Roman authority. The natives, being very indignant at this, and anxious for their own rights and safety, at first contented themselves with trying to avert the evil by an embassy and expostulations.

3. But Maximin, always eager for any wickedness, and unable to bridle his natural arrogance, which was now increased by the pride which he felt in his rank as prefect, reproached Equitius, who at that time was the commander of the forces in Illyricum, as careless and inactive, because the work, which it was ordered should be carried on with all speed, was not yet finished. And he added, as a man guided only by zeal for the common good, that if the rank of Duke of Valeria were only conferred on his own little son, Marcellianus, the fortification would be soon completed without any more pretexts for delay. Both his wishes were presently granted.

4. Marcellianus received the promotion thus suggested, and set out to take possession of his government; and when he reached it, being full of untimely arrogance, as might be expected from the son of such a father, without attempting to conciliate those whom false dreams of gain had caused to quit their native land, he applied himself to the work which had been recently begun, and had only been suspended to afford an opportunity for the inhabitants to present petitions against it.

5. Lastly, when their king Gabinius requested, in a most moderate tone, that no innovations might be made, he as if intending to assent to his petition, with feigned courtesy invited him and some other persons to a banquet; and then as he was departing after the entertainment, unsuspecting of treachery, he caused him, in infamous violation of the sacred rights of hospitality, to be murdered.

6. The report of so atrocious an act was speedily spread abroad, and roused the indignation of the Quadi and other surrounding tribes, who, bewailing the death of the king, collected together and sent forth predatory bands, which crossed the Danube; and when no hostilities were looked for, attacked the people who were occupied in the fields about the harvest; and having slain the greater portion of them, carried off all the survivors to their own country with a great booty of different kinds of cattle.

7. And at that time an inexorable atrocity was very near being committed, which would have been reckoned among the most disgraceful disasters which ever happened to the Roman state, for the daughter of Constantius had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner as she was at dinner in a hotel called the Pistrinsian, when on her way to be married to Gratian: and she was only saved by the promptitude of Messala the governor of the province, who, aided by the favour of the propitious Deity, placed her in a carriage belonging to him as governor, and conducted her back with all possible speed to Sirmium, a distance of about twenty-six miles.

8. By this fortunate chance the royal virgin was delivered from the peril of miserable slavery; and if she had been taken and her captors had refused to ransom her, it would have been the cause of terrible disasters to the republic. After this the Quadi in conjunction with the Sarmatians, extended their ravages further (since both these tribes were addicted beyond measure to plunder and robbery), carrying off, men, women, and cattle, and exulting in the ashes of burnt villas, and in the misery of the murdered inhabitants, whom they fell upon unexpectedly and slaughtered without mercy.

9. All the neighbouring districts were filled with apprehension of similar evils, and Probus, the prefect of the prætorium, who was at that time at Sirmium, a man wholly unexperienced in war, being panic-struck with the calamitous appearance of these new occurrences, and scarcely able to raise his eyes for fear, was for a long time wavering in doubt what to do. At first he prepared some swift horses and resolved to fly the next night; but afterwards, taking advice from some one who gave him safer counsel, he stayed where he was, but without doing anything.

10. For he had been assured that all those who were within the walls of the city would immediately follow him, with the intention of concealing themselves in suitable hiding-places; and if that had been done, the city, left without defenders, would have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

11. Presently, after his terror had been a little moderated, he applied himself with some activity to do what was most pressing; he cleared out the

fosses which were choked up with ruins; he repaired the greater portion of the walls which, through the security engendered by a long peace, had been neglected, and had fallen into decay, and raised them again to the height of lofty towers, devoting himself zealously to the work of building. In this way the work was speedily completed, because he found that the sums which some time before had been collected for the erection of a theatre were sufficient for the purpose he was now pressing forward. And to this prudent measure he added another of like precaution, in summoning a cohort of archer cavalry from the nearest station, that it might be at hand to resist a siege should any take place.

12. By these barriers, as they may be called, the barbarians were forced to abandon their design of besieging the city, since they were not skilful in contests of this kind, and were also hampered by the burden of their booty; accordingly they turned aside to pursue Equitius. And when, from the information given them by their prisoners, they learnt that he had retired to the most remote part of Valeria, they hastened thither by forced marches, gnashing their teeth, and determined on his death, because they believed that it was through his means their innocent king had been circumvented.

13. And as they were hastening onwards with impetuous and vengeful speed, they were met by two legions, the Pannonian and the Mœsian, both of approved valour, who, if they had acted in harmony, must unquestionably have come off victorious. But while they were hastening onward to attack the barbarians separately, a quarrel arose between them on the subject of their honour and dignity, which impeded all their operations.

14. And when intelligence of this dissension reached the Sarmatians, who are a most sagacious people, they, without waiting for any regular signal of battle, attacked the Mœsians first; and while the soldiers, being surprised and in disorder, were slowly making ready their arms, many of them were killed; on which the barbarians with increased confidence attacked the Pannonians, and broke their line also; and when the line of battle was once disordered, they redoubled their efforts, and would have destroyed almost all of them, if some had not saved themselves from the danger of death by a precipitate flight.

15. Amid these calamitous inflictions of adverse fortune, Theodosius the younger, Duke of Mœsia, then in the first bloom of youth, but afterwards a prince of the highest reputation, in many encounters defeated and vanquished the Free Sarmatians (so called to distinguish them from their rebellious slaves), who had invaded our frontier on the other side, till he exhausted them by his repeated victories; and with such vigour did he crush the assembled crowds combined to resist his arms, that he glutted the very birds and beasts with the blood of the vast numbers justly slain.

16. Those who remained having lost all their pride and spirit, fearing lest a general of such evident promptitude and courage should rout or destroy these invading battalions on the very edge of his frontier, or lay ambuscades for

them in the recesses of the woods, made from time to time many vain attempts to escape, and at last, discarding all confidence in battle, they begged indulgence and pardon for their past hostility. And being thoroughly subdued, they did nothing for some time contrary to the treaty of peace, being more especially terrified because a strong force of Gallic soldiers had come to the defence of Illyricum.

17. While these events were agitating the empire, and while Claudius was prefect of the Eternal City, the Tiber, which intersects its walls, and which, after receiving the waters of many drains and copious streams, falls into the Tyrrhenian Sea, overflowed its banks, in consequence of an abundance of rain, and extending to a size beyond that of a river, overwhelmed almost everything with its flood.

18. All those parts of the city which lie in the plain were under water, and nothing reared its head above but the hills and other spots of rising ground, which seemed like islands, out of the reach of present danger. And, as the vastness of the inundation permitted of no departure in any direction to save the multitude from dying of famine, great quantities of provisions were brought in barges and boats. But when the bad weather abated, and the river which had burst its bounds returned to its accustomed channel, the citizens discarded all fear, and apprehended no inconvenience for the future.

19. Claudius, as a prefect, conducted himself very quietly, nor was any sedition in his time provoked by any real grievance. He also repaired many ancient buildings; and among his improvements he built a large colonnade contiguous to the bath of Agrippa, and gave it the name of The Colonnade of Success, because a temple bearing that title is close to it.

NOTES.

¹⁷⁶ For an account of this incantation, see Gibbon, Bohn's edition vol. iii., , note.

¹⁷⁷ The lines of Theognis are —

“Ἄνδρ’ ὀγαθὸν πενίῃ πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα
καὶ γήρωος πολιοῦ, Κύρνε, καὶ ἠπιάλου
Ἦν δὴ χρεὶ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακίεα ποντοῦ
ῥίπτειν, καὶ πετρῶν Κύρνε, κατ’ ἠλιβάτων.”

Which may be thus translated: —

“Want crushes a brave man far worse than age,
O Cynus! or than fever's fiery rage;
Flee, should thy flight beneath the greedy wave,
Or from steep rocks but ope a milder grave.”

¹⁷⁸ For the purposes of divination.

¹⁷⁹ This sentence is so mutilated as to be unintelligible, but is filled up by conjecture, founded on a knowledge of the facts, thus: “who was executed because he had not given up Octavian, who had been formerly proconsul of Africa, and who had taken refuge in his house when accused of some crime.”

¹⁸⁰ The end of this chapter also is lost, as are one or two passages in the beginning of Chapter IV.

¹⁸¹ Manuscript imperfect.

¹⁸² The Dardanians were a Thracian tribe.

BOOK XXX.

ARGUMENT.

I. Para, king of Armenia, being summoned by Valens to Tarsus, and being detained there under pretence of doing him honour, escapes with three hundred of his countrymen; and having baffled the sentinels on the roads, he regains his kingdom on horseback; but not long afterwards he is slain by Duke Trajan at an entertainment. — II. The embassies of the Emperor Valens and Sapor, king of Persia, who are at variance about the kingdoms of Armenia and Hiberia. — III. Valentinian, after having ravaged several districts of the Allemanni, has a conference with their king Macrianus, and makes peace with him. — IV. Modestus, the præfect of the prætorium, diverts Valens from his purpose of sitting as a judge — A statement of the condition of the bar, of counsel learned in the law, and the different classes of advocates. — V. Valentinian, intending to wage war against the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who had been devastating Pannonia, marches into Illyricum, and having crossed the Danube, he ravages the territories of the Quadi, burns their villages, and slaughters the inhabitants, without regard to age. — VI. Valentinian, while giving answer, in a great passion, to the ambassadors of the Quadi, who are trying to excuse their countrymen, bursts a blood-vessel, and dies. — VII. Who his father was, and what was his conduct as emperor. — VIII. His cruelty, avarice, envy, and cowardice. — IX. His virtues. — X. Valentinian the younger, the son of Valentinian, is saluted as emperor in the camp at Bregetio.

I.

A.D. 374.

§ 1. While all these difficulties and disturbances had been caused by the perfidy of the Duke Marcellianus, in treacherously murdering the king of the Quadi, a terrible crime was committed in the East, where Para, king of Armenia was also murdered by secret treachery; the original cause of which wicked action we have ascertained to be this: —

2. Some men of perverse temperament, who delighted in public misfortune, had concocted a number of accusations against this prince for acts which they imputed to him even when scarcely grown up, and had exaggerated them to Valens. Among these men was the Duke Terentius, a man who always walked about with a downcast melancholy look, and throughout his life was an unwearied sower of discord.

3. He, having formed a combination with a few people of Para's nation, whom a consciousness of their own crimes had filled with fear, was continually harping in his letters to the court on the deaths of Cylax and Artabannes; adding also that this same young king was full of haughtiness in all his conduct, and that he behaved with excessive cruelty to his subjects.

4. In consequence of these letters, Para, as if it were intended that he should become a partaker in a treaty of which existing circumstances required ratification, was invited to court with all the ceremony to which he was entitled as a king, and then was detained at Tarsus in Cilicia, with a show of honour, without being able to procure permission to approach the emperor's camp, or to learn why his arrival had been so eagerly pressed; since on this point all around him preserved a rigid silence. At last, however, by means of private information, he learnt that Terentius was endeavouring by letter to

persuade the Roman sovereign to send without delay another king to Armenia; lest, out of hatred to Para, and a knowledge of what they had to expect if he returned among them, his nation, which at present was friendly to us, should revolt to the Persians, who had long been eager to reduce them under their power either by violence, fear, or flattery.

5. Para, reflecting on this warning, foreboded grievous mischief for himself; and being a man of forethought and contrivance, as he could not perceive any means of safety, except by a speedy departure, by the advice of his most trusty friends he collected a body of 300 persons who had accompanied him from his own country, and with horses selected for especial speed, acting as men are wont to do under the pressure of great terror and perplexity, that is to say, with more boldness than prudence; late one afternoon he started boldly forth at the head of his escort, formed in one solid body.

6. And when the governor of the province, having received information from the officer who kept the gate, came with prompt energy and found him in the suburb, he earnestly entreated him to remain; but finding that he could not prevail upon him, he quitted him, for fear of his own life.

7. And not long afterwards Para, with his escort, turned back upon the legion which was pursuing him and on the point of overtaking him, and pouring arrows upon them as thick as sparks of fire, though designedly missing them, he put them to flight, filling them, tribune and all, with complete consternation, so that they returned to the city with greater speed than they left it.

8. After this, Para being released from all fear, continued his laborious and rapid journey for two days and two nights, till he reached the Euphrates; where, for want of boats, he was unable to pass the river, which at that place is full of strong currents and too deep to be forded. His men, not being skilful swimmers, were afraid to trust themselves to the stream, and he himself showed more hesitation than any of them; indeed he would have halted there altogether, if while every one was suggesting one plan or another, he had not at last hit upon the following expedient, which seemed the safest in this emergency.

9. They took a number of little beds which they found in the neighbouring houses, and supported them each on two bladders, of which there were plenty at hand in the vineyards. And then he and his nobles placed themselves each on a bed, leading their horses after them, and so floated down and across the stream; by which contrivance, after extreme danger, they at last reached the opposite bank.

10. All the rest swam their horses, and though they were terribly tossed about and often almost sunk by the eddying stream, still, though much exhausted by their wetting, they also reached the opposite bank; when having rested for a short time and refreshed themselves, they proceeded on their way, travelling further than on the previous days.

11. When this transaction became known, the emperor being greatly moved at the king's flight, fearing he would break off his alliance, sent Daniel and Barzimeres to bring him back; the one being a count, the other the tribune of the Scutarii, and he placed under their command a thousand archers prepared for a rapid march by the lightness of their equipment.

12. These officers, trusting to their acquaintance with the country, and feeling sure that Para, as a stranger who was not accustomed to it, would take a roundabout way, sought to cut him off by marking a short cut through some valleys; and having divided their forces, they blockaded the two nearest roads, which were three miles from one another, in order that whichever Para took he might be caught before he expected it. But he escaped their manœuvre in this way: —

13. A traveller who happened to be hastening towards the western bank of the river, saw that the two roads were filled with armed soldiers, and accordingly quitted this road in order to avoid them, and made his way by an almost invisible path, which lay between them, overgrown with bushes and brambles, and fell in with the Armenians, who were by this time greatly fatigued. He was brought before the king, and, being admitted by him to a private conference, related to him secretly what he had seen, and was detained in safety.

14. And presently, without anything being done to give an idea that they were alarmed, a horseman was sent secretly to the road on the right side to prepare a resting-place and some food. And when he had been gone a little time, another was sent to the left with directions to move with great rapidity, and do the same thing; neither horseman being aware that the other had been sent in a different direction.

15. And after this arrangement had been thus cleverly made, the king himself, with his escort, retraced his steps through the jungle by which the traveller had come, taking him for his guide, and passing through this overgrown path, which was almost too narrow for a loaded horse, he left the Roman soldiers behind him and so escaped. Meanwhile our troops, who had made prisoners of the soldiers who had been thus sent out to impose upon them, waited a long time, while watching for the king, and stretching out their hands, as one may say, to seize the game which they expected would rush into them. And while they were thus waiting for the arrival of Para, he reached his kingdom in safety, where he was received with great joy by his countrymen, and still remained unshaken in his fidelity to us, burying in silence the injuries which he had received.

16. After this, Daniel and Barzimeres, having been thus balked of their prey, returned to Tarsus, and were loaded with bitter reproaches as inactive and blundering officers. But like venomous serpents whose first spring has failed, they only whetted their deadly fangs, in order at the first opportunity to inflict all the injury in their power on the king who had thus escaped them.

17. And, with a view to palliate the effect of their own mistake, or rather of

the defeat their hopes, which the deeper sagacity of the king had contrived, they began to fill the emperor's ears, which were at all times most ready to receive all kinds of reports with false accusations against Para; pretending that he was skilled in Circean incantations, so as to be able to transform people, or to afflict them with sickness in a marvellous manner, adding, moreover, that it was by means of arts of this kind that he had rendered himself invisible, and that if allowed to continue changing his shape, he would cause them great trouble, if permitted to live to boast of having deceived them.

18. In this manner the hatred which Valens had conceived against him was increased to an incredible degree; and plan after plan was laid to take his life, either by force or stratagem; and orders to that effect were transmitted by secret letters to Trajan, who at that time was in Armenia, in chief command of the forces in that kingdom.

19. Trajan, accordingly, began to surround Para with treacherous blandishments — at one time showing him some letters of Valens, which appeared to indicate that he was favourably disposed towards the king — at another, partaking cheerfully of his entertainments, he at last, with great apparent respect (but in pursuance of a deliberate plot), invited him to supper. Para, fearing no hostility, came, and was placed in the seat of honour at the feast.

20. Exquisite delicacies were set before him, and the splendid palace resounded with the music of lyres and lutes. Presently, when the wine had circulated freely, the master of the feast quitted it for a moment, under pretence of some natural want, and immediately a ferocious barbarian of the troop they call *Supræ*¹⁸³ was sent in, brandishing a drawn sword, and with a terribly ferocious countenance, to murder the youth, against whose escape ample precautions had now been taken.

21. As soon as he saw him, the king, who as it happened was on the further side of the couch, jumped up and drew his dagger to defend his life by every means in his power, but was stabbed in the breast, and fell like a miserable victim, being shamefully cut to pieces with repeated blows.

22. By this foul contrivance was his credulity shamefully deceived at a feast which is respected even on the coast of the Euxine Sea, under the eye of the Deity of Hospitality; and the blood of a stranger and a guest was sprinkled on the splendid tablecloths, and, by its foaming gore, filled the guests with loathing, who at once dispersed in great horror. If the dead can feel sorrow or indignation, then let that illustrious Fabricius Luscinus groan at the evidence of this deed, knowing with what greatness of mind he himself repelled Demochares (or, as some call him, Nicias), the king's servant, who in a secret conference offered to poison Pyrrhus, at that time desolating Italy with cruel wars, and wrote to the king, bidding him beware of his immediate attendants: such great reverence in the first ages of antiquity was there for the rights of hospitality even when claimed by an enemy.

23. But this modern, strange, and shameful act was excused by the

precedent afforded by the death of Sertorius; though the emperor's flatterers were perhaps ignorant that, as Demosthenes — the everlasting glory of Greece — affirms, an unlawful and wicked action cannot be defended by its resemblance to another crime, or by the fact that that crime met with impunity.

II.

§ 1. These are the transactions which especially attracted notice in Armenia; but Sapor, after the last defeat which his troops had experienced, having heard of the death of Para, whom he had been earnestly labouring to win to his own alliance, was terribly grieved; and, as the activity of our army increased his apprehensions, he began to dread still greater disasters to himself.

2. He therefore sent Arsaces as his ambassador to the emperor, to advise him utterly to destroy Armenia as a perpetual cause of trouble; or, if that plan should be decided against, asking that an end might be put to the division of Hiberia into two provinces, that the Roman garrison might be withdrawn, and that Aspacuras, whom he himself had made the sovereign of the nation, might be permitted to reign with undivided authority.

3. To this proposal, Valens replied, that he could not change the resolutions which had been agreed to by both of them; and, indeed, that he should maintain them with zealous care. Towards the end of the winter, letters were received from the king of a tenor very contrary to this noble determination of Valens, full of vain and arrogant boasting. For in them Sapor affirmed that it was impossible for the seeds of discord to be radically extirpated, unless those who had been witnesses of the peace which had been made with Julian were all collected, some of whom he knew to be already dead.

4. After this, the matter becoming a source of greater anxiety, the emperor, who was more skilful in choosing between different plans than in devising them himself, thinking that it would be beneficial to the state in general, ordered Victor, the commander of the cavalry, and Urbicius, the Duke of Mesopotamia, to march with all speed to Persia, bearing a positive and plain answer to the proposals of Sapor: namely, that he, who boasted of being a just man, and one contented with his own, was acting wickedly in coveting Armenia, after a promise had been made to its inhabitants, that they should be allowed to live according to their own laws. And unless the soldiers who had been left as auxiliaries to Sauromaces returned without hindrance at the beginning of the ensuing year, as had been agreed, he would compel Sapor by force to perform what he might at present do with a good grace.

5. And this embassy would in all respects have been a just and honourable one, if the ambassadors had not, contrary to their instructions, accepted some small districts in this same Armenia which were offered them. When the ambassadors returned, the Surena (the magistrate who enjoys an authority second only to that of the king) came with them, offering the said districts to

the emperor which our ambassadors had ventured to take.

6. He was received with liberality and magnificence; but dismissed without obtaining what he requested. And then, great preparations were made for war, in order that, as soon as the severity of the winter was over, the emperor might invade Persia with three armies; and with this object he began with all speed to bargain for the services of some Scythian auxiliaries.

7. Sapor not having succeeded in obtaining what his vain hopes had led him to reckon on, and being exasperated in an extraordinary degree, because he had learnt that our emperor was preparing for an expedition, nevertheless stifled his wrath, and gave the Surena a commission to endeavour to recover by force of arms (if any one should resist him) the territories which Count Victor and Urbicius had accepted, and to press hostilities with the utmost rigour against those soldiers who had been destined to aid Sauromaces.

8. His orders were at once carried out. Nor was it found possible to prevent or resist their execution, because a new cause of alarm suddenly came on the republic; as the entire nation of the Goths suddenly burst into Thrace. The calamities which we experienced from that event shall be related succinctly in their proper places.

9. These were the occurrences which took place in the East. And while they were proceeding, as has been related, the unfailing arm of justice avenged the losses we had sustained in Africa, and the slaughter of the ambassadors of Tripoli, whose shades were still wandering about unavenged. For Justice, though a late, is yet a scrupulous and unerring discriminator between right and wrong.

10. Remigius, whom we have already spoken of as favouring Count Romanus, who had laid waste these provinces after Leo had succeeded him as master of the offices, retired from office and from public life, and devoted himself to rural pursuits in his own native district near Mayence.

11. And while he was living there in security, Maximin, the prefect of the prætorium, despising him because of his return to a tranquil life, as he was accustomed to attack everything like a terrible pestilence, set to work to do him injury by every means in his power. And, in order to hunt out all his secrets, he seized Cæsarius who had formerly been a servant of his, and afterwards had become a secretary of the emperor, and put him to the question, torturing him with great severity to learn from him what Remigius had done, and how much he had received to induce him to countenance the wicked actions of Romanus.

12. But when Remigius heard this in his retreat, to which, as has been said, he had retired; being oppressed by the consciousness of his acts, or perhaps letting the dread of false accusation overpower his reason, he hanged himself.

III.

§ 1. The next year Gratian took Equitius as his colleague in the consulship; and Valentinian, after desolating some cantons of the Allemanni, was building

a fortress near Basle, which the natives of the country call Robur, when a report was brought to him from the prefect Probus with an account of the disasters which had taken place in Illyricum.

2. He read them with a very careful examination, as became a prudent general; and then being filled with anxious thoughts, he sent his secretary, Paternianus, to that country, to inquire minutely into the whole details of the affair. And, as he soon received from him a true account of all that had taken place, he prepared to repair thither himself with all speed, in order to overwhelm with the first crash of his arms (such was his idea) the barbarians who had dared to pollute our frontier.

3. But, because, as it was now the end of autumn, there were many serious difficulties in the way, all the nobles in the palace pressed him earnestly to allow the time between that and the beginning of spring to be spent in embassies and conferences. Reminding him, in the first place, that the roads were all impassable through frost — that it was impossible to find herbage to feed the cattle, or anything else that would be useful. In the next place, they dwelt on the ferocity of the chieftains who lay nearest to Gaul, and especially of Macrianus whom they greatly dreaded, as it was quite certain that he was no friend to us, and was inclined to attack even the fortified cities.

4. By recapitulating these arguments, and adding others of great weight, they brought the emperor to adopt a wiser plan; and immediately (as was best for the commonwealth) King Macrianus was invited in courteous terms to come to Mayence; and the event proved that he also was well inclined to make a treaty. When he arrived, however, it was marvellous how proud and arrogant he was, as if he were to be the supreme arbiter of the peace. And on a day appointed for a conference he came, carrying himself very loftily, to the very brink of the Rhine, and escorted by a number of his countrymen, who made a great clang with their shields.

5. On the other hand, the emperor, having embarked in a boat, such as is used on that river, and likewise escorted by a strong force, came with great confidence up to the eastern bank, being conspicuous through the brilliancy of his glittering standards; and when the frantic gestures and murmurs of the barbarians had been quieted, a long discussion took place on both sides, and at last a firm friendship was agreed on, and ratified with an oath.

6. When this was over, the king, who had been the cause of all these troubles, retired, quite pacified, and destined to prove an ally to us for the future; indeed, he afterwards, to the very end of his life, gave proof of his constancy and resolution to preserve his agreement with us, by many noble and gallant actions.

7. But subsequently he died in the country of the Franks, which he had invaded and ravaged in a most destructive manner, till at last he was cut off by the manœuvres of Mellobaudes, the warlike king of that nation, and slain. After the treaty had thus been solemnly ratified, Valentinian retired into winter quarters, at Treves.

§ 1. These were the events which took place in Gaul and the northern countries. But in the east, while all our foreign affairs were quiet, great domestic evils were increasing in consequence of the conduct of the friends and relations of Valens, who had more regard to expediency than honesty; for they laboured with the utmost diligence to bring about the recall from his post a judge of rigid probity, who was fond of deciding lawsuits equitably, out of a fear lest, as in the times of Julian, when Innocence was allowed a fair opportunity of defending itself, the pride of the powerful nobles, which was accustomed to roam at large with unrestrained licence, might again be broken down.

2. With these and similar objects a great number of persons conspired together, being led by Modestus, the prefect of the prætorium, who was a complete slave to the wishes of the emperor's eunuchs, and who, under a specious countenance, concealed a rough disposition which had never been polished by any study of ancient virtue or literature, and who was continually asserting that to look into the minute details of private actions was beneath the dignity of the emperor. He thinking, as he said, that the examination of such matters had been imposed on the nobles to lower their dignity, abstained from all such matters himself, and opened the doors to plunder; which doors are now daily more and more opened by the depravity of the judges and advocates, who are all of the same mind, and who sell the interests of the poor to the military commanders, or the persons of influence within the palace, by which conduct they themselves have gained riches and high rank.

3. This profession of forensic oratory the wisdom of Plato defines to be πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον, "the shadow of a fraction of the art of government," or a fourth part of the art of flattery. But Epicurus calls it κακοτεχνία, reckoning it among the wicked arts. Tisias, who has Gorgias of Leontinum on his side, calls the orator an artist of persuasion.

4. And while such has been the opinion formed of this art by the ancients, the craft of some of the Eastern people has put it forward so as to make it an object of hatred to good men, on which account an orator it is sometimes restricted to a limited time for speaking.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, after saying a few words about its unworthy character, as I found by experience while in those countries, I will return to my original subject.

5. The tribunals, in former times, when good taste prevailed, were greatly adorned by our advocates, when orators of spirited eloquence — laborious and accomplished scholars — shone pre-eminent in genius, honesty, fluency, and every kind of embellishment of language. As Demosthenes, who, as we learn from the Athenian records, whenever he was going to speak, drew together a vast concourse of people from the whole of Greece, who assembled for the sake of hearing him; and Callistratus, who, when summing up his noble pleading on the subject of Oropus in Eubœa, produced such an

impression that that same Demosthenes quitted the academy, at the time when Plato was at its head, to become his follower. And Hyperides, and Æschines, and Andocides, and Dinarchus, and Antiphon the Rhamnusian, who is the first man spoken of in ancient history as having received a fee for pleading a cause.

6. And similarly among the Romans, the Rutilii, and Galbæ, and Scauri, men of eminent reputation for purity of life and manners, and for frugality; and in the succeeding generations, many men of censorian and consular rank, and even many who had celebrated triumphs, such as the Crassi, the Antonii, the Philipii, the Scævolæ, and numbers of others, after having commanded armies with glory, gained victories, and raised trophies, became eminent also for their civil services to the State, and won fresh laurels by their noble contests at the bar, thus reaping the highest honour and glory.

7. And after them Cicero, the most excellent of them all, who repeatedly saved many who were in distress from the scorching flames of judgment by the stream of his imperious eloquence, used to affirm “that if men could not be defended without their advocate incurring blame, they certainly could not be carelessly defended without his being guilty of crime.”

8. But now throughout all the regions of the East one may see the most violent and rapacious classes of men hovering about the courts of law, and besieging the houses of the rich like Spartan or Cretan hounds, cunningly pursuing different traces, in order to create the occasion of a lawsuit.

9. Of these the chief is that tribe of men who, sowing every variety of strife and contest in thousands of actions, wear out the doorposts of widows and the thresholds of orphans, and create bitter hatred among friends, relations, or connections, who have any disagreement, if they can only find the least pretext for a quarrel. And in these men, the progress of age does not cool their vices as it does those of others, but only hardens and strengthens them. And amid all their plunder they are insatiable and yet poor, whetting the edge of their genius in order by their crafty orations to catch the ear of the judges, though the very title of those magistrates is derived from the name of Justice.

10. In the pertinacity of these men rashness assumes the disguise of freedom — headlong audacity seeks to be taken for constancy, and an empty fluency of language usurps the name of eloquence — by which perverse arts, as Cicero tells us, it is a shame for the holy gravity of a judge be deceived. For he says, “And as nothing in a republic ought to be so incorruptible as a suffrage or a sentence, I do not understand why the man who corrupts such things with money is to be esteemed worthy of punishment, while he who perverts them by eloquence receives commendation. In fact, the latter appears to me to do the most harm, it being worse to corrupt a judge by a speech than by a bribe, inasmuch as no one can corrupt a wise man with a bribe, though it is possible that he may with eloquence.”

11. There is a second class of those men who, professing the science of the law, especially the interpretation of conflicting and obsolete statutes, as if they

had a bridle placed in their mouths, keep a resolute silence, in which they rather resemble their shadows than themselves. These, like those men who cast nativities or interpret the oracles of the sibyl, compose their countenances to a sort of gravity, and then make money of their supine drowsiness.

12. And that they may appear to have a more profound knowledge of the laws, they speak of Trebatius,¹⁸⁵ and Cascellius, and Alfenus, and of the laws of the Aurunci and Sicani, which have long become obsolete, and have been buried ages ago with the mother of Evander. And if you should pretend to have deliberately murdered your mother, they will promise you that there are many cases recorded in abstruse works which will secure your acquittal, if you are rich enough to pay for it.

13. There is a third class of these men, who, to arrive at distinction in a turbulent profession, sharpen their mercenary mouths to mystify the truth, and by prostituting their countenances and their vile barking, work their way with the public. These men, whenever the judge is embarrassed and perplexed, entangle the matter before him with further difficulties, and take pains to prevent any arrangement, carefully involving every suit in knotty subtleties. When these courts, however, go on rightly, they are temples of equity; but when they are perverted they are hidden and treacherous pitfalls, and if any person falls into them, he will not escape till after many years have elapsed, and till he himself has been sucked dry to his very marrow.

14. There is a fourth and last class, impudent, saucy, and ignorant, consisting of those men who, having left school too early, run about the corners of cities, giving more time to farces than to the study of actions and defences, wearing out the doors of the rich, and hunting for the luxuries of banquets and rich food.

15. And when they have given themselves up to gains, and to the task of hunting for money by every means, they incite men, on any small pretence whatever, to go to law; and if they are permitted to defend a cause, which but seldom happens, it is not till they are before the judge, while the pleadings are being recited, that they begin to inquire into the cause of the client, or even into his name; and then they so overflow with a heap of unarranged phrases and circumlocutions, that from the noise and jabber of the vile medley you would fancy you were listening to Thersites.

16. But when it happens that they have no single allegation they can establish, they then resort to an unbridled licence of abuse; for which conduct they are continually brought to trial themselves, and convicted, when they have poured ceaseless abuse upon people of honour; and some of these men are so ignorant that they do not appear ever to have read any books.

17. And if in a company of learned men the name of any ancient author is ever mentioned, they fancy it to be some foreign name of a fish or other eatable. And if any stranger asks (we will say) for Marcianus, as one with whom he is as yet unacquainted, they all at once pretend that their name is Marcianus.

18. Nor do they pay the slightest attention to what is right; but as if they had been sold to and become the property of Avarice, they know nothing but a boundless licence in asking. And if they catch any one in their toils, they entangle him in a thousand meshes, pretending sickness by way of protracting the consultations. And to produce an useless recital of some well-known law, they prepare seven costly methods of introducing it, thus weaving infinite complications and delays.

19. And when at last days and months and years have been passed in these proceedings, and the parties to the suit are exhausted, and the whole matter in dispute is worn out with age, then these men, as if they were the very heads of their profession, often introduce sham advocates along with themselves. And when they have arrived within the bar, and the fortune or safety of some one is at stake, and they ought to labour to ward off the sword of the executioner from some innocent man, or calamity and ruin, then, with wrinkled brows, and arms thrown about with actor-like gestures, so that they want nothing but the flute of Gracchus at their back,¹⁸⁶ then they keep silence for some time on both sides; and at last, after a scene of premeditated collusion, some plausible preamble is pronounced by that one of them who is most confident in his power of speaking, and who promises an oration which shall rival the beauties of the oration for Cluentius¹⁸⁷ or for Ctesiphon.¹⁸⁸ And then, when all are eager for him to make an end, he concludes his preamble with a statement that the chief advocates have as yet only had three years since the commencement of the suit to prepare themselves to conduct it; and so obtains an adjournment, as if they had to wrestle with the ancient Antæus, while still they resolutely demand the pay due for their arduous labours.

20. And yet, in spite of all these things, advocates are not without some inconveniences, which are hard to be endured by one who would live uprightly. For being allured by small gains, they quarrel bitterly among themselves, and offend numbers by the insane ferocity of their evil speaking, which they pour forth when they are unable to maintain the weakness of the case intrusted to them by any sound reasoning.

21. And sometimes the judges prefer persons who have been instructed in the quibbles of Philistion or Æsop, to those who come from the school of Aristides the Just, or of Cato — men who, having bought public offices for large sums of money, proceed like troublesome creditors to hunt out every one's fortune, and so shake booty for themselves out of the laps of others.

22. Finally, the profession of a lawyer, besides other things, has in it this, which is most especially formidable and serious (and this quality is almost innate in all litigants), namely that when, through one or other out of a thousand accidents, they have lost their action, they fancy that everything which turned out wrong was owing to the conduct of their counsel, and they usually attribute the loss of every suit to him, and are angry, not with the weakness of their case or (as they often might be) with the partiality of the judge, but only with their advocate. Let us now return to the affairs from

which we have thus digressed.

V.

A.D. 375.

§ 1. At the beginning of the spring Valentinian quitted Treves, and proceeded by rapid marches along the usual high roads. And as he approached the districts to which he was hastening, he was met by ambassadors from the Sarmatians, who threw themselves at his feet, and, with prayers, breathing no wish but for peace, entreated him to be favourable and merciful to them, assuring him that he would not find any of their countrymen implicated in or privy to any evil action.

2. And when they had frequently repeated this assertion, he, after careful deliberation, made answer to them, that these matters must be diligently inquired into by an accurate investigation in the district where they were said to have happened, and if they had happened, then they must be punished. After this, when he had reached Carnuntum, a city of the Illyrians, now indeed in a desolate and ruinous state, but still very convenient for the general of an army, he from thence sallied out whenever either chance or skill afforded him an opportunity; and by the possession of this post in their neighbourhood, he checked the inroads of the barbarians.

3. And although he alarmed all people in that district, since it was expected that, as a man of active and impetuous feelings, he would speedily command the judges to be condemned through whose perfidy or desertion the empire had been left undefended on the side of the Pannonians, yet when he did arrive he was so lukewarm in the business that he neither inquired into the death of the king Gabricius, nor did he make any accurate investigation into the calamities which the republic had sustained, with a view to learning through whose misconduct or negligence these events had taken place; so that in fact, in proportion as he was severe in punishing his common soldiers, he was remiss in correcting (even by harsh words) those of higher rank.

4. The only person whom he pursued with any especial hatred was Probus; whom from the first moment that he saw him he never ceased to threaten, and to whom he never softened; and the causes of this animosity against him were not obscure nor trivial. When Probus first obtained the rank of prefect of the prætorium, the power of which he was continually labouring to extend by all kinds of means (I wish I could say by all lawful means), he forgot the lessons which he might have learnt from his illustrious descent, and devoted himself more to flattery than to modesty.

5. For reflecting on the resolution of the emperor, who considered nothing but how he might amass money from all quarters, without any distinction between just and unjust actions; he never attempted to lead back the misguided prince into the path of equity, as mild and wise rulers often have done; but rather followed his lead through all his winding and tortuous paths.

6. And to this conduct were owing the heavy distresses which afflicted the

emperor's subjects; the ruinous titles, privileges, and exemptions, which alike ate up the fortunes of poor and rich; under different pretexts which were produced, each more powerful than the other, as the fruit of a long experience in injuring. Lastly, the burdens of all tributes and taxes were augmented in a manifold degree; and drove some of the highest nobles from fear of the worst to emigrate from their homes; some also after being drained to the utmost by the cruelty of the revenue officers, as they really had nothing more to give, were thrown into prison, of which they became permanent inmates. And some, becoming weary of life and light, sought a release from their miseries by hanging themselves.

7. Unvarying report made known the treacherous and inhuman character of these transactions; but Valentinian, as if his ears had been stopped with wax, was ignorant of the report, being eager to acquire money indiscriminately, even from the most trivial sources, and thinking only of what was presented to him; though he would perhaps have spared the Pannonian provinces, if he had earlier known of these melancholy sources of gain with which he became acquainted when it was too late, owing to the following occurrence: —

8. Following the example of the inhabitants of other provinces, the people of Epirus were compelled by the prefect to send envoys to thank him, and a certain philosopher named Iphicles, a man of tried courage and magnanimity (who was very unwilling to undertake the commission), was elected to discharge that duty.

9. And when he saw the emperor, having been recognized by him and questioned as to the cause of his arrival, he answered in Greek; and, like a philosopher who professed himself a votary of truth, when the prince inquired more precisely, if those who had sent him did really think well of the prefect, he replied, that they had sent him against their will, and with bitter groans.

10. The emperor, stricken by this speech as by an arrow, now investigated his actions like a sagacious beast, inquiring of him, in his own language, about different persons whom he knew: for instance, where was this man or that man (mentioning some one of high reputation and honour, or some very rich man, or some other person well known as having filled some high office). And when he learnt that this man had been hanged, that that one had been banished beyond the seas, and that a third had killed himself or had expired under torture, he became furiously angry, while Leo, who was at that time master of the offices, added fuel to his passion — O shameful villany! Leo, it should be borne in mind, was at this very time secretly aiming at the prefecture; and had he obtained that office and authority, he would undoubtedly have governed with such audacity, that the administration of Probus would in comparison have been extolled as a model of justice and humanity.

11. So the emperor remained at Carnuntum; and during the three summer months he occupied himself uninterruptedly in preparing arms and magazines, in the hope that chance might afford him a good opportunity of making use of them; intending to take a favourable season for attacking the Quadi, who had

lately caused an atrocious disturbance; since in their chief town, Faustinus, the nephew of Juventius, the prefect of the prætorium, who had attained the rank of military secretary, was tortured and then put to death by the executioners, under the very eyes of Probus; having been accused of slaying an ass in some magical operation, as his enemies asserted; but he himself said it was to use for strengthening his hair, which was beginning to fall off.

12. Another charge was also maliciously brought against him, namely, that when a person of the name of Nigrinus had in jest asked him to make him a secretary, he replied in ridicule of the man and his petition, "Make me emperor if you wish to obtain that." And because some gave an unfair interpretation to this jest, Faustinus himself, and Nigrinus, and several other persons were put to death.

13. Accordingly, having sent forward Merobaudes with a strong force of infantry under his command, and Sebastian for his colleague, to ravage the districts of the barbarians with fire and sword, Valentinian speedily moved his camp to Buda; and having with great rapidity made a bridge of boats in order to guard against any sudden mishap, he crossed the river in another place and entered the territories of the Quadi, who from their precipitous mountains were watching for his approach; the main body of their nation, in their perplexity and uncertainty of what might happen, had taken refuge with their families in those hills; but were overwhelmed with consternation when they unexpectedly saw the imperial standards in their country.

14. Valentinian advanced with as much rapidity as he could, slaughtering every one of whatever age whom his sudden inroad surprised straggling about the country, and after burning all their dwellings, he returned safe without having experienced the slightest loss. And then, as autumn was now on the wane, he stopped awhile at Buda, seeking where best to fix his winter quarters in a region subject to very rigorous frost. And he could not find any suitable place except Sabaria, though that town was at the time in a very bad state of defence, having been ruined by frequent sieges.

15. Accordingly when he reached this place, though it was one of great consequence to him, he remained there but a very short time; and having left it, he marched along the bank of the river, which he strengthened with several forts and castles, and manned them with adequate garrisons. He then proceeded to Bregitio; and in that town, after settling down there in quiet, his Destiny, by numerous prodigies, portended to him his approaching fate.

16. For a very few days before some of those comets, which ever give token of the ruins of lofty fortunes, and of which we have already explained the origin, appeared in the heavens. Also, a short time before, a thunderbolt fell at Sirmium, accompanied with a terrific clap of thunder, and set fire to a portion of the palace and senate-house: and much about the same time an owl settled on the top of the royal baths at Sabaria, and pouring forth a funeral strain, withstood all the attempts to slay it with arrows or stones, however truly aimed, and though numbers of people shot at it in diligent rivalry.

17. And again, when the emperor was quitting the city to return to the camp, he set out to leave it by the same gate by which he had entered it, with the object of obtaining an augury that he should speedily return to Gaul. But the spot through neglect had become choked up with ruins; and when they were cleaning it out they found that the door, which had originally closed the entrance, had fallen down: and a great multitude of people, though labouring with all their might, were unable to remove it; so that after waiting the greater part of the day there, he was obliged at last to go out by another gate.

18. And on the night preceding the day on which he died, he saw in a dream, such as often visits a man in his sleep, his absent wife sitting by, with dishevelled hair, and clad in a mourning robe; which some people fancied was Fortune, who was about in this sad apparel to take her leave of him.

19. After this, when he came forth in the morning, his brow was contracted, and his countenance somewhat melancholy; and when his horse was brought to him, it would not let him mount, but reared up its forefeet over the shoulders of the equerry who was holding it. Valentinian, according to the usual bent of his savage temper, grew immoderately furious, and ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off, which had, he said, pushed him aside when mounting a horse he was used to: and the innocent youth would have perished under torture if Cerealis, the principal master of the horse, had not delayed the barbarous infliction at his own risk.

VI.

§ 1. After this event ambassadors arrived from the Quadi, with humble supplications, entreating peace, and oblivion of the past: and that there might be no obstacle to their obtaining this, they promised to furnish a body of recruits, and some other things which would be of use to the Roman state.

2. And after they had been received, and had obtained permission to return with the grant of an armistice which they had solicited (but in truth, our want of supplies and the unfavourable season of the year prevented us from harassing them any longer), they were, by the influence of Equitius, who became security for their good behaviour, admitted into the council-chamber. When introduced they seemed quite overcome by fear, bowing down to the ground; and on being ordered to unfold their message, they urged all the customary pretences and excuses, confirming them by an oath; assuring the council that whatever offence had been committed against any of our people, had not been done by the consent of the nobles of the nation, but only by some foreign banditti who dwelt on the borders of the river; they added further, as a fact quite sufficient to establish the truth of their allegations, that the fortress which had been begun to be built both unjustly and unreasonably, had inflamed the savage temper of those rude men to a great pitch of ferocity.

3. By this speech the emperor was excited to most vehement wrath; and as he began to reply to it he grew more indignant, reproaching the whole nation in bitter language, as unmindful of kindness, and ungrateful. But after a time

he became pacified, and inclined to a milder view of the case, when suddenly, as if he had been stricken from heaven, his breathing and his voice ceased, and his countenance appeared bloodshot, and in a moment the blood burst forth, and a deadly sweat broke forth over his whole body; and to save him from falling down in the sight of a number of low-born persons, he was led by his servants into one of the private chambers in the interior of the palace.

4. When he was placed on his bed, breathing with difficulty, though the vigour of his intellect was not as yet at all diminished, he recognized those who stood around, having been collected by the chamberlains with great promptitude, to prevent any of them being suspected of having murdered him. And as on account of the fever which was racking his bowels it was necessary to open a vein, yet no surgeon could be found, because he had dispersed them all over different districts to cure the soldiers among whom a dangerous pestilence was raging.

5. At last, however, one was procured; but though he punctured a vein over and over again, he could not produce a single drop of blood, while all the time his bowels were burning with the intensity of his fever; or (as some fancied) because his limbs were wholly dried up in consequence of some of the passages, which we now call hæmorrhoidal, were closed up and crusted over through the severity of the cold.

6. The emperor, from the exceeding violence of his agony, felt that the moment of his death was at hand; and attempted to say something, and to give some orders, as was indicated by a sobbing, which shook his whole frame, a gnashing of the teeth, and a series of violent gestures with his arms, resembling those of boxers with the *cæstus*: at last he became exhausted, and covered all over with livid spots, and after a severe struggle he expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, having reigned twelve years all but a hundred days.

VII.

§ 1. This is a seasonable opportunity to do as we have often done before, namely, to retrace from the original appearance of the father of this emperor down to the time of his own death, all his actions, just touching on them cursorily with a brief mention, not omitting to distinguish between his vices and his virtues, both of which his lofty position held up to the world; being a condition which naturally reveals the inward disposition of every man.

2. The elder Gratian was born at Cibalæ, a town of Pannonia, of a mean family; and from his childhood he received the surname of Funarius, because, while still very young, while he was carrying about a rope (*funem*) for sale, he resisted the attempt of five soldiers who laboured with all their might to take it from him: thus rivalling Milo of Crotona, from whom no amount of strength could ever wrest an apple, whether he held it in his right or his left hand.

3. Therefore, on account of his exceeding personal strength, and his skill in wrestling after the military fashion, he became well known to many persons, was promoted to the rank of an officer of the guard, then to the post of tribune:

after this he was made count, and sent to command the forces in Africa: but there he was suspected of theft; and having quitted that province, he was some time afterwards sent to command the army in Britain, with the same authority which he had enjoyed in Africa. At length he received an honourable discharge from military service, and returned home; and while living there in quiet, he suddenly had all his property confiscated by Constantius, on the ground that, when the civil discord was at its height, he was said to have received Magnentius as a guest when passing through his land to carry his designs into execution.

4. The merits of Gratian brought Valentinian into notice from his early youth; and, indeed, he was further aided by his own eminent qualities; so that he received the ornaments of the imperial majesty at Nicæa; when he also made his brother Valens his colleague, as one bound to him not only by his relationship as a brother, but also by the most perfect agreement — Valens, as we shall show at a suitable time, being made up almost equally of vices and of virtues.

5. Therefore Valentinian, after having experienced many dangers and much distress as a private individual, as soon as he began to reign went to visit the towns and cities which were situated on the rivers; and repaired to Gaul, which was exposed to the inroads of the Allemanni, who had begun to recover their courage and to reassume an imposing attitude since they had heard of the death of the Emperor Julian — the only prince whom they had feared since the time of Constans.

6. And Valentinian was deservedly dreaded by them because he took care to keep up the numbers of his army by strong reinforcements, and because also he fortified both banks of the Rhine with lofty fortresses and castles, to prevent the enemy from ever passing over into our territory without being perceived.

7. We may pass over many circumstances, and many acts which he performed with the authority of an emperor whose power was fully established, and many of the reforms which he either effected himself, or caused to be carried out by his vigorous lieutenants. But we must record how, after he had raised his son Gratian to a partnership in the imperial authority, he contrived the secret murder of Vithigabius, the king of the Allemanni, and the son of Vodomarius, a young man in the flower of youth, who was actively stirring up the surrounding nations to tumults and wars; doing this because he found it impossible to procure his death openly. How also he fought a battle against the Allemanni near Solicinium, where he was nearly circumvented and slain by the manœuvres of the enemy; but where at last he utterly destroyed their whole army with the exception of a few who saved themselves by the aid of the darkness which assisted the rapidity of their flight.

8. Amid all these prudent actions he also turned his attention to the Saxons who had lately broken out with extreme ferocity, making attacks in every direction where they were least expected, and had now penetrated into the

inland districts, from which they were returning enriched by a vast booty. He destroyed them utterly by a device which was indeed treacherous, but most advantageous; and he recovered by force all the booty which the defeated robbers were carrying off.

9. Nor did he disregard the condition of the Britons, who were unable to make head against the vast hosts of their enemies, who were overrunning their country; he revived their hopes of better fortune, and re-established liberty and steady tranquillity among them; routing their invaders so completely that scarcely any of them returned to their own country.

10. With similar vigour he crushed Valentinus the Pannonian exile (who was labouring to disturb the general tranquillity in that province), before his enterprise could become dangerous. He also delivered Africa from great dangers at a time when it was thrown into confusion by an unexpected disaster: when Firmus, unable to bear the greediness and arrogance of the soldiers, was exciting the people of Mauritania to every kind of discord and disturbance. With similar resolution would he have avenged the disasters sustained in Illyricum, had he not left that important duty uncompleted, in consequence of being thus cut off by a premature death.

11. And although these various achievements, which we have here recorded, were consummated by the assistance of his admirable generals, yet it is very notorious that he himself also performed many considerable exploits; being a man fertile in resources, and of long experience and great skill in military affairs: and certainly it would have been an admirable crown to his great actions if he had been able to take King Macrianus alive, who at that time was a very formidable sovereign; nevertheless he exerted great energy in attempting to do so, after he heard that he had escaped from the Burgundians, whom he himself had led against the Allemanni; and the certainty of his escape was to him a cause of great sorrow and indignation.

VIII.

§ 1. Thus have I rapidly run over the different actions of this prince. Now, relying on the certainty that posterity, inasmuch as it is free both from fear and from base flattery, is usually an honest judge of all past transactions, I will rapidly run over his vices, intending afterwards to relate his good qualities.

2. Sometimes he put on an affectation of clemency, though the bent of his natural disposition inclined him more to cruelty: forgetful forsooth, that by a man who governs a vast empire extremes of every kind are to be avoided as rocks by a mariner.

3. Nor indeed was he ever found to be contented with moderate punishments, but was continually commanding cruel tortures to be multiplied; so that many, after undergoing this murderous kind of examination, were brought to death's door. And he was so eager to inflict injury, that he never once saved any one who had been condemned to death, by a milder sentence, though even the most inhuman of emperors have sometimes done so.

4. And yet he might have reflected on many examples in former ages; and he might have imitated the many models of humanity and of piety which he could have found both among natives of the empire and among those of foreign extraction (and humanity and piety are defined by philosophers to be qualities nearly akin). Of such instances it will suffice to enumerate these which follow: — Artaxerxes, that very powerful king of Persia, to whom the great length of one of his limbs caused the name of Longhand to be given, wishing, through the natural lenity of his disposition, to reprove the varieties of punishment in which his nation, always cruel, had hitherto delighted, punished some criminals by taking off their turbans instead of their heads: and instead of the old royal fashion of cutting off people's ears for their offences, he used to cut the tassels which hang from their caps. And this moderation and lenity made him so popular and respected that all the Grecian writers vie with each other in celebrating his many admirable actions.

5. Again, when Prænestinus was prætor, and was brought before the court of justice, because, in the Samnite war, when ordered to march with all speed to reinforce the army, he had been very dilatory in his movements, Papirius Cursor, who at that time was dictator, ordered the lictor to get ready his axe; and when the prætor, having discarded all hope of being able to clear himself, seemed utterly stupefied at the order, he commanded the lictor to cut down a shrub close by; and having in this jocular manner reproved him, he let him go: without himself incurring any disrespect by so doing, since all knew him for a man who, by his own unassisted vigour, had brought long and dangerous wars to a happy termination; and had been the only man reckoned able to resist Alexander the Great if that prince had invaded Italy.

6. Valentinian, perhaps, was ignorant of these models; and as he never considered that the mercy of the emperor is always the best comfort of persons in distress, he increased all punishments by his free use of both fire and sword: punishments which the merciful disposition of our ancestors looked upon as the very last resource in the most imminent dangers — as we may learn from the beautiful sentiment of Isocrates, who continually insists that we ought rather to pardon a king who is sometimes defeated in war, than one who is ignorant of justice.

7. And it was under the influence of this saying of his that I imagine Cicero uttered that admirable sentence, in his defence of Oppius: “That indeed to have greatly contributed to the safety of one other person was an honour to many; but that to have had no share in injuring others had never been thought discreditable to any one.”

8. A desire of increasing his riches without any regard to right and wrong, and of hunting out every kind of source of gain, even at the cost of other people's lives, raged in this emperor to a most excessive degree, and never flagged. Some, indeed, attempted to excuse it by pleading the example of the Emperor Aurelian; affirming that as he, after the death of Gallienus and the lamentable disasters which the republic suffered at that time, finding his

treasury totally exhausted, fell upon the rich like a torrent, so Valentinian also, after the losses which he sustained in his Parthian campaign, being reduced to want by the greatness of his expenses, in order to procure reinforcements for his army and pay for his troops, mingled with his severity a desire of collecting excessive wealth. Pretending not to know that there are some things which, although strictly speaking lawful, still ought not to be done. In this he was very unlike the celebrated Themistocles of old times, who, when strolling carelessly about after he had destroyed the Persian host in the battle of Salamis, and seeing a number of golden armlets and chains lying on the ground, said to one of his companions who was by— “You may take up these things because you are not Themistocles,” thinking it became a magnanimous general to spurn any idea of personal gain.

9. Many examples of similar moderation abound in the Roman generals; and without stopping to enumerate them, since such acts are not indications of perfect virtue (for indeed it is no great glory to abstain from carrying off other persons’ property), I will just mention one single instance of the forbearance of people in general in this respect in ancient times: — When Marius and Cinna had given the Roman populace leave to plunder the wealthy houses of certain persons whom they had proscribed, the minds of the mob, who, however uncivilized they might be, were accustomed to respect the rights of men, refused to touch the produce of other men’s labours; so that in fact no one could be found so needy or so base as to be willing to profit by the miseries of the state.

10. Besides these things the aforesaid emperor was a prey in his inmost heart to a devouring envy; and as he knew that most vices put on a semblance of virtue, he used to be fond of repeating, that severity is the inseparable companion of lawful power. And as magistrates of the highest rank are in the habit of thinking everything permitted to them, and are always inclined to depress those who oppose them, and to humiliate those who are above them, so he hated all who were well dressed, or learned, or opulent, or high born; and he was always disparaging the brave, that he might appear to be the only person eminent for virtue. And this is a vice which, as we read, was very flagrant in the Emperor Hadrian.

11. This same emperor used to be continually abusing the timid, calling them sordid and base, and people who deserved to be depressed below the very lowest of the low; and yet he himself often grew pale, in the most abject manner, with groundless fears, and often from the bottom of his soul was terrified at things which had no existence at all.

12. Remigius, the master of the ceremonies, knowing this, and also that Valentinian was used to get into furious passions at every trifling incident, spread a report, among other things, that some of the barbarians were in motion; and the emperor, when he heard this, became at once so broken-spirited through fear that he became as gentle and merciful as Antoninus Pius.

13. He never intentionally appointed unjust judges but if he learned that those whom he had once promoted were acting cruelly, he boasted that he had discovered new Lyncurguses and Cassiuses, those ancient pillars of justice; and he used to be continually exhorting them by his letters severely to chastise even the slightest errors.

14. Nor had those who were under accusations, if any misfortune fell upon them, any refuge in the kindness of the prince; which ought to be, as it were, a desirable haven to those tossed about in a stormy sea. For, as wise men teach us, "The advantage and safety of the subject is the true end of just government."

IX.

§ 1. It is natural for us, after discussing these topics, if we would act fairly, now to come to his virtuous and laudable actions; since if he had tempered his vices fairly with them he would have been a second Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. Towards the people of the provinces he was very considerate, lightening the burden of their tributes throughout the empire. He also exerted himself in a very beneficial manner in building towns and strengthening the frontiers. He was a strict observer of military discipline, erring only in this respect, that while he punished even slight misconduct on the part of the common soldiers, he allowed the crimes of the officers of rank and of the generals to proceed to greater and greater lengths, and shut his ears against every complaint that was uttered against them. And this partiality of his was the cause of the murmurs in Britain, and the disasters in Africa, and the devastation of Illyricum.

2. He was, both at home and abroad, a strict observer of modesty and chastity, keeping his conscience wholly free from all taint of impurity or obscenity, and in consequence he bridled the wantonness of the imperial court as with a strong rein; and he was the more easily able to do this because he had never shown any indulgence to his own relations, whom he either kept in obscurity, or (if he promoted them at all) raised to a very moderate rank, with the exception of his brother, whom, in deference to the necessities of the times, he made his partner in the imperial dignity.

3. He was very scrupulous in giving high rank to any one; nor, as long as he was emperor, did any one of the moneyed interest become ruler of a province, nor was any government sold, unless it was at the beginning of his reign, when wicked actions were sometimes committed in the hope that the new prince would be too much occupied to punish them.

4. In waging war, and in defending himself from attacks, he was prudent and very skilful, like a veteran of great experience in military affairs. He was a very wise admirer of all that was good, and dissuader from all that was bad; and a very accurate observer of all the details of military service. He wrote with elegance, and described everything with great neatness and skill in composition. He was an inventor of new arms. He had an excellent memory,

and a fluent, easy style of speaking, which at times bordered closely upon eloquence. He was a lover of elegant simplicity, and was fond, not so much of profuse banquets, as of entertainments directed by good taste.

5. Lastly, he was especially remarkable during his reign for his moderation in this particular, that he kept a middle course between the different sects of religion; and never troubled any one, nor issued any orders in favour of one kind of worship or another; nor did he promulgate any threatening edicts to bow down the necks of his subjects to the form of worship to which he himself was inclined; but he left these parties just as he found them, without making any alterations.

6. His body was muscular and strong: the brightness of his hair — the brilliancy of his complexion, with his blue eyes, which always looked askance with a stern aspect — the beauty of his figure — his lofty stature, and the admirable harmony of all his features — filled up the dignity and beauty of an appearance which bespoke a monarch.

X.

§ 1. After the last honours had been paid to the emperor, and his body had been prepared for burial, in order to be sent to Constantinople to be there entombed among the remains of former emperors, the campaign which was in preparation was suspended, and people began to be anxious as to what part would be taken by the Gallic cohorts, who were not always steady in loyalty to the lawful emperor, but looked upon themselves as the disposers of power, and were regarded by others as very likely to venture on some new enterprise at so favourable a moment. This circumstance also was likely to aid any attempt that might be made at a revolution, that Gratian, who knew nothing of what had taken place, was still at Treves, where his father, when about to set out on his own expedition, had desired him to wait.

2. While affairs were in this state of uncertainty, and when every one shared the same fears, looking on themselves as all in the same boat, and sure to be partners in danger, if danger should arise, at last it was decided by the advice of the principal nobles to take up the bridge which had been necessarily made when they meditated invading the territories of the enemy, in order that, in compliance with the commands given by Valentinian while alive, Merobaudes might be at once summoned to the camp.

3. He, being a man of great cunning and penetration, divined what had happened (perhaps indeed he had been informed of it by the messenger who brought him his summons), and suspecting that the Gallic troops were likely to break the existing concord, he pretended that a token which had been agreed upon had been sent to him that he was to return with the messenger to watch the banks of the Rhine; since the fury of the barbarians was again menacing hostilities, and (in compliance with a secret injunction which he received, at the same time) he removed to a distance. Sebastian also as yet was ignorant of the death of the emperor; and he being an orderly and quietly

disposed man, but very popular among the soldiers, required on that account to be strictly watched.

4. Accordingly when Merobaudes had returned, the chief men took careful counsel as to what was to be done; and at last it was arranged that the child Valentinian, the son of the deceased emperor, at that time a boy of four years old, should be associated in the imperial power. He was at present a hundred miles off, living with his mother, Justina, in a small town called Murocincta.

5. This decision was ratified by the unanimous consent of all parties; and Cerealis, his uncle, was sent with speed to Murocincta, where he placed the royal child on a litter, and so conducted him to the camp. On the sixth day after his father's death, he was declared lawful emperor, and saluted as Augustus with the usual solemnities.

6. And although at the time many persons thought that Gratian would be indignant that any one else had been appointed emperor without his permission, yet afterwards, when all fear and anxiety was removed, they lived in greater security, because he, wise and kindhearted man as he was, loved his young relative with exceeding affection, and brought him up with great care.

NOTES.

¹⁸³ No one has succeeded in explaining this word. Some editors wish to read *Suræ*, explaining that as “men picked out for their great strength,” by a reference to Juvenal, xvi. 14 — *Grandes magna adsubsellia Suræ*. Wagner proposes to read *Scurræ*, a name sometimes given to the guards in this age.

¹⁸⁴ As at Athens, where the orators were only allowed to speak as long as an hour-glass, filled with water, was running down.

¹⁸⁵ All these men are spoken of by Horace as distinguished lawyers in his time.

¹⁸⁶ See Cicero, *de Oratore* iii. 60.

¹⁸⁷ The Speech of Cicero *pro Cœlio Cluentio*.

¹⁸⁸ The celebrated speech of Demosthenes, more usually known as that of *De Coronâ*.

BOOK XXXI.

ARGUMENT.

I. Omens announcing the death of the Emperor Valens, and a disaster to be inflicted by the Gauls. — II. A description of the abodes and customs of the Huns, the Alani, and other tribes, natives of Asiatic Scythia. — III. The Huns, either by arms or by treaties, unite the Alani on the Don to themselves; invade the Goths, and drive them from their country. — IV. The chief division of the Goths, surnamed the Thuringians, having been expelled from their homes, by permission of Valens are conducted by the Romans into Thrace, on condition of promising obedience and a supply of auxiliary troops. The Gruthungi also, who form the other division of the Goths, secretly cross the Danube by a bridge of boats. — V. The Thuringians being in great distress from hunger and the want of supplies, under the command of their generals Alavivus and Fritigern, revolt from Valens, and defeat Lupicinus and his army. — VI. Why Sueridus and Colias, nobles of the Gothic nation, after having been received in a friendly manner, revolted; and after slaying the people of Hadrianopolis, united themselves to Fritigern, and then turned to ravage Thrace. — VII. Profuturus, Trajan, and Richomeres fought a drawn battle against the Goths. — VIII. The Goths being hemmed in among the defiles at the bottom of the Balkan, after the Romans by returning had let them escape, invaded Thrace, plundering, massacring, ravishing, and burning, and slay Barzimeres, the tribune of the Scutarii. — IX. Frigeridus, Gratian's general, routs Farnobius at the head of a large body of Goths and Taifala; sparing the rest, and giving them some lands around the Po. — X. The Lentiensian Alemanni are defeated in battle by the generals of the emperor Gratian, and their king Priamis is slain. Afterwards, having yielded and furnished Gratian with a body of recruits, they are allowed to return to their own country. — XI. Sebastian surprises the Goths at Beræa as they are returning home loaded with plunder, and defeats them with great slaughter; a few saved themselves by flight. Gratian hastens to his uncle Valens, to carry him aid against the Goths. — XII. Valens, before the arrival of Gratian resolves to fight the Goths. — XIII. All the Goths unite together, that is to say, the Thuringians, under their king Fritigern. The Gruthungi, under their dukes Alatheus and Salaces, encounter the Romans in a pitched battle, rout their cavalry, and then falling on the infantry when deprived of the support of their horse, and huddled together in a dense body, they defeat them with enormous loss, and put them to flight. Valens is slain, but his body cannot be found. — XIV. The virtues and vices of Valens. — XV. The victorious Goths besiege Hadrianopolis, where Valens had left his treasures and his insignia of imperial rank, with the prefect and the members of his council; but after trying every means to take the city, without success, they at last retire. — XVI. The Goths, having by bribes won over the forces of the Huns and of the Alani to join them, make an attack upon Constantinople without success. The device by which Julius, the commander of the forces beyond Mount Taurus, delivered the eastern provinces from the Goths.

I.

A.D. 375.

§ 1. In the mean time the swift wheel of Fortune, which continually alternates adversity with prosperity, was giving Bellona the Furies for her allies, and arming her for war; and now transferred our disasters to the East, as many presages and portents foreshowed by undoubted signs.

2. For after many true prophecies uttered by diviners and augurs, dogs were seen to recoil from howling wolves, and the birds of night constantly uttered querulous and mournful cries; and lurid sunrises made the mornings dark. Also, at Antioch, among the tumults and squabbles of the populace, it had come to be a custom for any one who fancied himself ill treated to cry out in a licentious manner, “May Valens be burnt alive!” And the voices of the criers were constantly heard ordering wood to be carried to warm the baths of Valens, which had been built under the superintendence of the emperor himself.

3. All which circumstances all but pointed out in express words that the end of the emperor's life was at hand. Besides all these things, the ghost of the king of Armenia, and the miserable shades of those who had lately been put to death in the affair of Theodorus, agitated numbers of people with terrible alarms, appearing to them in their sleep, and shrieking out verses of horrible import.189]

4. ... and its death indicated an extensive and general calamity arising from public losses and deaths. Last of all, when the ancient walls of Chalcedon were thrown down in order to build a bath at Constantinople, and the stones were torn asunder, on one squared stone which was hidden in the very centre of the walls these Greek verses were found engraved, which gave a full revelation of what was to happen: —

“Ἄλλ’ ὅποταν νύμφαι δροσερῇ κατὰ ἄστρῳ χορεΐη
Τεπόμεναι στρέψονται εὖστεέφας κατ’ ἀγνιάς
Καὶ τεῖχος λούτροιο πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἄλκαί
Δὴ τότε μύρια φῦλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων
Ἰστροῦ καλλιρόοιο πόρον περάοντα σὺν αἰχμῇ
Καὶ Σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ Μυσίδα γαῖαν
Παιονίης δ’ ἐπιβάντα σὺν σὺν ἐλπίσι μαινομένῃσιν
Αὐτόου καὶ βιότο ο τέλος καὶ δῆρις εφεξεῖ.”

Translation.

“But when young wives and damsels blithe, in dances that delight,
Shall glide along the city streets, with garlands gaily bright;
And when these walls, with sad regrets, shall fall to raise a bath,
Then shall the Huns in multitude break forth with might and wrath.
By force of arms the barrier-stream of Ister they shall cross,
O'er Scythic ground and Mæisian lands spreading dismay and loss:
They shall Pannonian horsemen brave, and Gallic soldiers slay,
And nought but loss of life and breath their course shall ever stay.”

II.

§ 1. The following circumstances were the original cause of all the destruction and various calamities which the fury of Mars roused up, throwing everything into confusion by his usual ruinous violence: the people called Huns, slightly mentioned in the ancient records, live beyond the Sea of Azov, on the border of the Frozen Ocean, and are a race savage beyond all parallel.

2. At the very moment of their birth the cheeks of their infant children are deeply marked by an iron, in order that the usual vigour of their hair, instead of growing at the proper season, may be withered by the wrinkled scars; and accordingly they grow up without beards, and consequently without any beauty, like eunuchs, though they all have closely-knit and strong limbs, and

plump necks; they are of great size, and low legged, so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts, or the stout figures which are hewn out in a rude manner with an axe on the posts at the end of bridges.

3. They are certainly in the shape of men, however uncouth, but are so hardy that they neither require fire nor well-flavoured food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses.

4. They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres as things not fitted for common use. Nor is there even to be found among them a cabin thatched with reed; but they wander about, roaming over the mountains and the woods and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles. And even when abroad they never enter a house unless under the compulsion of some extreme necessity; nor, indeed, do they think people under roofs as safe as others.

5. They wear linen clothes, or else garments made of the skins of field-mice: nor do they wear a different dress out of doors from that which they wear at home; but after a tunic is once put round their necks, however it becomes worn, it is never taken off or changed till, from long decay, it becomes actually so ragged as to fall to pieces.

6. They cover their heads with round caps, and their shaggy legs with the skins of kids; their shoes are not made on any lasts, but are so unshapely as to hinder them from walking with a free gait. And for this reason they are not well suited to infantry battles, but are nearly always on horseback, their horses being ill-shaped, but hardy; and sometimes they even sit upon them like women if they want to do anything more conveniently. There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. On horseback they buy and sell, they take their meat and drink, and there they recline on the narrow neck of their steed, and yield to sleep so deep as to indulge in every variety of dream.

7. And when any deliberation is to take place on any weighty matter, they all hold their common council on horseback. They are not under the authority of a king, but are contented with the irregular government of their nobles, and under their lead they force their way through all obstacles.

8. Sometimes when provoked, they fight; and when they go into battle, they form in a solid body, and utter all kinds of terrific yells. They are very quick in their operations, of exceeding speed, and fond of surprising their enemies. With a view to this, they suddenly disperse, then reunite, and again, after having inflicted vast loss upon the enemy, scatter themselves over the whole plain in irregular formations: always avoiding a fort or an entrenchment.

9. And in one respect you may pronounce them the most formidable of all warriors, for when at a distance they use missiles of various kinds tipped with

sharpened bones instead of the usual points of javelins, and these bones are admirably fastened into the shaft of the javelin or arrow; but when they are at close quarters they fight with the sword, without any regard for their own safety; and often while their antagonists are warding off their blows they entangle them with twisted cords, so that, their hands being fettered, they lose all power of either riding or walking.

10. None of them plough, or even touch a plough-handle: for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their waggons, which they make their homes; in fact they seem to be people always in flight. Their wives live in these waggons, and there weave their miserable garments; and here too they sleep with their husbands, and bring up their children till they reach the age of puberty; nor, if asked, can any one of them tell you where he was born, as he was conceived in one place, born in another at a great distance, and brought up in another still more remote.

11. In truces they are treacherous and inconstant, being liable to change their minds at every breeze of every fresh hope which presents itself, giving themselves up wholly to the impulse and inclination of the moment; and, like brute beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the distinction between right and wrong. They express themselves with great ambiguity and obscurity; have no respect for any religion or superstition whatever; are immoderately covetous of gold; and are so fickle and irascible, that they very often on the same day that they quarrel with their companions without any provocation, again become reconciled to them without any mediator.

12. This active and indomitable race, being excited by an unrestrainable desire of plundering the possessions of others, went on ravaging and slaughtering all the nations in their neighbourhood till they reached the Alani, who were formerly called the Massagetæ; and from what country these Alani come, or what territories they inhabit (since my subject has led me thus far), it is expedient now to explain: after showing the confusion existing in the accounts of the geographers, who ... at last have found out ... of truth.

13. The Danube, which is greatly increased by other rivers falling into it, passes through the territory of the Sauromatæ, which extends as far as the river Don, the boundary between Asia and Europe. On the other side of this river the Alani inhabit the enormous deserts of Scythia, deriving their own name from the mountains around; and they, like the Persians, having gradually subdued all the bordering nations by repeated victories, have united them to themselves, and comprehended them under their own name. Of these other tribes the Neuri inhabit the inland districts, being near the highest mountain chains, which are both precipitous and covered with the everlasting frost of the north. Next to them are the Budini and the Geloni, a race of exceeding ferocity, who flay the enemies they have slain in battle, and make of their skins clothes for themselves and trappings for their horses. Next to the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, who dye both their bodies and their hair of a blue colour, the lower classes using spots few in number and small — the nobles

broad spots, close and thick, and of a deeper hue.

15. Next to these are the *Melanchænæ* and the *Anthropophagi*, who roam about upon different tracts of land and live on human flesh. And these men are so avoided on account of their horrid food, that all the tribes which were their neighbours have removed to a distance from them. And in this way the whole of that region to the north-east, till you come to the Chinese, is uninhabited.

16. On the other side the *Alani* again extend to the east, near the territories of the *Amazons*, and are scattered among many populous and wealthy nations, stretching to the parts of Asia which, as I am told, extend up to the *Ganges*, a river which passes through the country of the *Indians*, and falls into the *Southern Ocean*.

17. Then the *Alani*, being thus divided among the two quarters of the globe (the various tribes which make up the whole nation it is not worth while to enumerate), although widely separated, wander, like the *Nomades*, over enormous districts. But in the progress of time all these tribes came to be united under one generic appellation, and are called *Alani*....

18. They have no cottages, and never use the plough, but live solely on meat and plenty of milk, mounted on their waggons, which they cover with a curved awning made of the bark of trees, and then drive them through their boundless deserts. And when they come to any pasture-land, they pitch their waggons in a circle, and live like a herd of beasts, eating up all the forage — carrying, as it were, their cities with them in their waggons. In them the husbands sleep with their wives — in them their children are born and brought up; these waggons, in short, are their perpetual habitation, and wherever they fix them, that place they look upon as their home.

19. They drive before them their flocks and herds to their pasturage; and, above all other cattle, they are especially careful of their horses. The fields in that country are always green, and are interspersed with patches of fruit trees, so that, wherever they go, there is no dearth either of food for themselves or fodder for their cattle. And this is caused by the moisture of the soil, and the number of the rivers which flow through these districts.

20. All their old people, and especially all the weaker sex, keep close to the waggons, and occupy themselves in the lighter employments. But the young men, who from their earliest childhood are trained to the use of horses, think it beneath them to walk. They are also all trained by careful discipline of various sorts to become skilful warriors. And this is the reason why the *Persians*, who are originally of *Scythian* extraction, are very skilful in war.

21. Nearly all the *Alani* are men of great stature and beauty; their hair is somewhat yellow, their eyes are terribly fierce; the lightness of their armour renders them rapid in their movements; and they are in every respect equal to the *Huns*, only more civilized in their food and their manner of life. They plunder and hunt as far as the *Sea of Azov* and the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, ravaging also *Armenia* and *Media*.

22. And as ease is a delightful thing to men of a quiet and placid

disposition, so danger and war are a pleasure to the Alani, and among them that man is called happy who has lost his life in battle. For those who grow old, or who go out of the world from accidental sicknesses, they pursue with bitter reproaches as degenerate and cowardly. Nor is there anything of which they boast with more pride than of having killed a man: and the most glorious spoils they esteem the scalps which they have torn from the heads of those whom they have slain, which they put as trappings and ornaments on their war horses.

23. Not is there any temple or shrine seen in their country, nor even any cabin thatched with straw, their only idea of religion being to plunge a naked sword into the ground with barbaric ceremonies, and then they worship that with great respect, as Mars, the presiding deity of the regions over which they wander.

24. They presage the future in a most remarkable manner; for they collect a number of straight twigs of osier, then with certain secret incantations they separate them from one another on particular days; and from them they learn clearly what is about to happen.

25. They have no idea of slavery, inasmuch as they themselves are all born of noble families; and those whom even now they appoint to be judges are always men of proved experience and skill in war. But now let us return to the subject which we proposed to ourselves.

III.

§ 1. Therefore the Huns, after having traversed the territories of the Alani, and especially of that tribe of them who border on the Gruthungi, and who are called Tanaitæ, and having slain many of them and acquired much plunder, they made a treaty of friendship and alliance with those who remained. And when they had united them to themselves, with increased boldness they made a sudden incursion into the extensive and fertile districts of Ermenrichus, a very warlike prince, and one whom his numerous gallant actions of every kind had rendered formidable to all the neighbouring nations.

2. He was astonished at the violence of this sudden tempest, and although, like a prince whose power was well established he long attempted to hold his ground, he was at last overpowered by a dread of the evils impending over his country, which were exaggerated by common report, till he terminated his fear of great danger by a voluntary death.

3. After his death Vithimiris was made king. He for some time maintained a resistance to the Alani, relying on the aid of other tribes of the Huns, whom by large promises of pay he had won over to his party; but, after having suffered many losses, he was defeated by superior numbers and slain in battle. He left an infant son named Viderichus, of whom Alatheus and Saphrax undertook the guardianship, both generals of great experience and proved courage. And when they, yielding to the difficulties of the crisis, had given up all hope of being able to make an effectual resistance, they retired with

caution till they came to the river Dniester, which lies between the Danube and the Dnieper, and flows through a vast extent of country.

4. When Athanaric, the chief magistrate of the Thuringians (against whom, as I have already mentioned, Valens had begun to wage war, to punish him for having sent assistance to Procopius), had become informed of these unexpected occurrences, he prepared to maintain his ground, with a resolution to rise up in strength should he be assailed as the others had been.

5. At last he pitched his camp at a distance in a very favourable spot near the banks of the Dniester and the valleys of the Gruthungi, and sent Muderic, who afterwards became Duke of the Arabian frontier, with Lagarimanus and others of the nobles, with orders to advance for twenty miles, to reconnoitre the approach of the enemy while in the mean time he himself, without delay, marshalled his troops in line of battle.

6. However, things turned out in a manner very contrary to his expectations. For the Huns (being very sagacious in conjectures) suspecting that there must be a considerable multitude further off, contrived to pass beyond those they had seen, and arranged themselves to take their rest where there was nothing at hand to disturb them; and then, when the moon dispelled the darkness of night, they forded the river, which was the best plan that presented itself, and fearing lest the piquets at the outposts might give the alarm to the distant camp, they made all possible speed and advanced with the hope of surprising Athanaric himself.

7. He was stupefied at the suddenness of their onset, and after losing many of his men, was compelled to flee for refuge to the precipitous mountains in the neighbourhood, where, being wholly bewildered with the strangeness of this occurrence, and the fear of greater evils to come, he began to fortify with lofty walls all the territory between the banks of the river Pruth and the Danube, where it passes through the lands of the Taifali, and he completed this line of fortification with great diligence, thinking that by this step he should secure his own personal safety.

8. While this important work was going on, the Huns kept pressing on his traces with great speed, and they would have overtaken and destroyed him if they had not been forced to abandon the pursuit from being impeded by the great quantity of their booty. In the mean time a report spread extensively through the other nations of the Goths, that a race of men, hitherto unknown, had suddenly descended like a whirlwind from the lofty mountains, as if they had risen from some secret recess of the earth, and were ravaging and destroying everything which came in their way. And then the greater part of the population which, because of their want of necessaries had deserted Athanaric, resolved to flee and to seek a home remote from all knowledge of the barbarians; and after a long deliberation where to fix their abode, they resolved that a retreat into Thrace was the most suitable for these two reasons: first of all, because it is a district most fertile in grass; and also because, by the

great breadth of the Danube, it is wholly separated from the barbarians, who were already exposed to the thunderbolts of foreign warfare. And the whole population of the tribe adopted this resolution unanimously.

IV.

A.D. 376.

§ 1. Accordingly, under the command of their leader Alavivus, they occupied the banks of the Danube; and having sent ambassadors to Valens, they humbly entreated to be received by him as his subjects, promising to live quietly, and to furnish a body of auxiliary troops if any necessity for such a force should arise.

2. While these events were passing in foreign countries, a terrible rumour arose that the tribes of the north were planning new and unprecedented attacks upon us: and that over the whole region which extends from the country of the Marcomanni and Quadi to Pontus, a barbarian host composed of different distant nations, which had suddenly been driven by force from their own country, was now, with all their families, wandering about in different directions on the banks of the river Danube.

3. At first this intelligence was lightly treated by our people, because they were not in the habit of hearing of any wars in those remote districts till they were terminated either by victory or by treaty.

4. But presently, as the belief in these occurrences grew stronger, being confirmed, too, by the arrival of the foreign ambassadors, who, with prayers and earnest entreaties, begged that the people thus driven from their homes and now encamped on the other side of the river, might be kindly received by us, the affair seemed a cause of joy rather than of fear, according to the skilful flatterers who were always extolling and exaggerating the good fortune of the emperor; congratulating him that an embassy had come from the furthest corners of the earth unexpectedly, offering him a large body of recruits; and that, by combining the strength of his own nation with these foreign forces, he would have an army absolutely invincible; observing further that, by the yearly payment for military reinforcements which came in every year from the provinces, a vast treasure of gold might be accumulated in his coffers.

5. Full of this hope he sent forth several officers to bring this ferocious people and their waggons into our territory. And such great pains were taken to gratify this nation which was destined to overthrow the empire of Rome, that not one was left behind, not even of those who were stricken with mortal disease. Moreover, having obtained permission of the emperor to cross the Danube and to cultivate some districts in Thrace, they crossed the stream day and night, without ceasing, embarking in troops on board ships and rafts, and canoes made of the hollow trunks of trees, in which enterprise, as the Danube is the most difficult of all rivers to navigate, and was at that time swollen with continual rains, a great many were drowned, who, because they were too numerous for the vessels, tried to swim across, and in spite of all their

exertions were swept away by the stream.

6. In this way, through the turbulent zeal of violent people, the ruin of the Roman empire was brought on. This, at all events, is neither obscure nor uncertain, that the unhappy officers who were intrusted with the charge of conducting the multitude of the barbarians across the river, though they repeatedly endeavoured to calculate their numbers, at last abandoned the attempt as hopeless: and the man who would wish to ascertain the number might as well (as the most illustrious of poets¹⁹⁰ says) attempt to count the waves in the African sea, or the grains of sand tossed about by the zephyr.

7. Let, however, the ancient annals be accredited which record that the Persian host which was led into Greece, was, while encamped on the shores of the Hellespont, and making a new and artificial sea,¹⁹¹ numbered in battalions at Doriscus; a computation which has been unanimously regarded by all posterity as fabulous.

8. But after the innumerable multitudes of different nations, diffused over all our provinces, and spreading themselves over the vast expanse of our plains, who filled all the champaign country and all the mountain ranges, are considered, the credibility of the ancient accounts is confirmed by this modern instance. And first of all Fritigern was received with Alavivus; and the emperor assigned them a temporary provision for their immediate support, and ordered lands to be assigned them to cultivate.

9. At that time the defences of our provinces were much exposed, and the armies of barbarians spread over them like the lava of Mount Etna. The imminence of our danger manifestly called for generals already illustrious for their past achievements in war: but nevertheless, as if some unpropitious deity had made the selection, the men who were sought out for the chief military appointments were of tainted character. The chief among them were Lupicinus and Maximus, the one being Count of Thrace, the other a leader notoriously wicked — and both men of great ignorance and rashness.

10. And their treacherous covetousness was the cause of all our disasters. For (to pass over other matters in which the officers aforesaid, or others with their unblushing connivance, displayed the greatest profligacy in their injurious treatment of the foreigners dwelling in our territory, against whom no crime could be alleged) this one melancholy and unprecedented piece of conduct (which, even if they were to choose their own judges, must appear wholly unpardonable) must be mentioned.

11. When the barbarians who had been conducted across the river were in great distress from want of provisions, those detested generals conceived the idea of a most disgraceful traffic: and having collected hounds from all quarters with the most insatiable rapacity, they exchanged them for an equal number of slaves, among whom were several sons of men of noble birth.

12. About this time also, Vitheric, the king of the Gruthungi, with Alatheus and Saphrax, by whose influence he was mainly guided, and also with Farnobius, approached the bank of the Danube, and sent envoys to the

emperor to entreat that he also might be received with the same kindness that Alavivus and Fritigern had experienced.

13. But when, as seemed best for the interests of the state, these ambassadors had been rejected, and were in great anxiety as to what they should do, Athanaric, fearing similar treatment, departed; recollecting that long ago when he was discussing a treaty of alliance with Valens, he had treated that emperor with contempt, in affirming that he was bound by a religious obligation never to set his foot on the Roman territory; and that by this excuse he had compelled the emperor to conclude a peace in the middle of the war. And he, fearing that the grudge which Valens bore him for this conduct was still lasting, withdrew with all his forces to Caucalandes, a place which, from the height of its mountains and the thickness of its woods, is completely inaccessible; and from which he had lately driven out the Sarmatians.

V.

§ 1. But the Thuringians, though they had some time since received permission to cross the river, were still wandering up and down the banks, being hindered by a twofold obstacle; first, that in consequence of the mischievous dissimulation of the said generals they were not supplied with the necessary provisions; and also because they were designedly detained that they might the more easily be plundered under the wicked semblance of traffic.

2. And when they ascertained these facts, they began to grumble, and proposed to resist the evils which they apprehended from the treachery of these men by open force; and Lupicinus, who feared that they would resist, brought up his troops close to them, in order to compel them to be gone with all possible rapidity.

3. The Gruthungi seized this as a favourable opportunity, and seeing that the Roman soldiers were occupied in another quarter, and that the vessels which used to go up and down, to prevent them from crossing, were now stationary, crossed the river on roughly-made rafts, and pitched their camp at a great distance from Fritigern.

4. But he, by his innate foresight, provided against everything that could happen, and marching on slowly as well in obedience to the commands he had received as to allow time for other powerful kings to join him, came by slow marches to Marcianopolis, arriving later than he was expected. And here another atrocious occurrence took place, which kindled the torches of the Furies for general calamity.

5. Alavivus and Fritigern were invited to a banquet; while Lupicinus drew up his soldiers against the chief host of the barbarians, and so kept them at a distance from the walls of the town; though they with humble perseverance implored admission in order so to procure necessary provisions, professing themselves loyal and obedient subjects. At last a serious strife arose between

the citizens and the strangers who were thus refused admittance, which gradually led to a regular battle. And the barbarians, being excited to an unusual pitch of ferocity when they saw their relations treated as enemies, began to plunder the soldiers whom they had slain.

6. But when Lupicinus, of whom we have already spoken, learnt by secret intelligence that this was taking place, while he was engaged in an extravagant entertainment, surrounded by buffoons, and almost overcome by wine and sleep, he, fearing the issue, put to death all the guards who, partly as a compliment and partly as a guard to the chiefs, were on duty before the general's tent.

7. The people who were still around the walls heard of this with great indignation, and rising up by degrees into a resolution to avenge their kings, who, as they fancied, were being detained as prisoners, broke out with furious threats. And Fritigern, being a man of great readiness of resource, and fearing that perhaps he might be detained with the rest as a hostage, exclaimed that there would be a terrible and destructive conflict if he were not allowed to go forth with his companions in order to pacify the multitude, who he said had broken out in this tumult from believing that their leaders had been trepanned and murdered under show of courtesy. Having obtained permission, they all went forth, and were received with cheers and great delight; they then mounted their horses and fled, in order to kindle wars in many quarters.

8. When Fame, ever the malignant nurse of bad news, bruited this abroad, the whole nation of the Thuringians became suddenly inflamed with a desire for war; and among many preparations which seemed to betoken danger, the standards of war were raised according to custom, and the trumpets poured forth sounds of evil omen; while the predatory bands collected in troops plundering and burning villages, and throwing everything that came in their way into alarm by their fearful devastations.

9. Against these hosts, Lupicinus, having collected his forces with the greatest possible rapidity, advanced with more rashness than prudence, and halted in battle array nine miles from the city. The barbarians, perceiving this, charged our battalions before we expected them, and dashing upon the shields with which they covered their bodies, they cut down all who fell in their way with their swords and spears; and urged on by their bloodthirsty fury, they continued the slaughter, till they had taken our standards, and the tribunes and the greater part of the soldiers had fallen, with the exception of the unhappy general, who could find nothing to do but, while all the rest were fighting, to betake himself to flight, and return full gallop to the city. And then the enemies, clothing themselves in the arms of the Romans whom they had slain, pushed on their devastating march without hindrance.

10. And since, after recounting various other exploits, we have now come to this portion of our subject, we call upon our readers (if we shall ever have any) not to expect a minute detail of everything that took place, or of the number of the slain, which indeed it would be utterly impossible to give. It

will be sufficient to abstain from concealing any part of the truth by a lie, and to give the general outline of what took place: since a faithful honesty of narration is always proper if one would hand events down to the recollection of posterity.

11. Those who are ignorant of antiquity declare that the republic was never so overwhelmed with the darkness of adverse fortune; but they are deceived in consequence of the stupor into which they are thrown by these calamities, which are still fresh in their memory. For if the events of former ages, or even of those immediately preceding our own times are considered, it will be plain that such melancholy events have often happened, of which I will bring to mind several instances.

12. The Teutones and the Cimbri came suddenly from the remote shores of the ocean, and overran Italy; but, after having inflicted enormous disasters on the Roman republic, they were at last overcome by our illustrious generals, and being wholly vanquished, learnt by their ultimate destruction what martial valour, combined with skill, can effect.

13. Again, in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, the insane fury of a number of different nations combined together, after fearful wars ... would have left but a small part of them.

14. But, soon after these calamitous losses, the state was re-established in all its former strength and prosperity; because the soberness of our ancestry had not yet become infected with the luxury and softness of a more effeminate way of life, and had not learnt to indulge in splendid banquets, or the criminal acquisition of riches. But both the highest classes and the lowest living in harmony, and imbued with one unanimous spirit, eagerly embraced a glorious death in the cause of the republic as a tranquil and quiet haven.

15. The great multitudes of the Scythian nations, having burst through the Bosphorus, and made their way to the shores of the Sea of Azov with 2000 ships, inflicted fearful losses on us by land and sea; but also lost a great portion of their own men, and so at last returned to their own country.

16. Those great generals, the Decii, father and son, fell fighting against the barbarians. The cities of Pamphylia were besieged, many islands were laid waste; Macedon was ravaged with fire and sword. An enormous host for a long time blockaded Thessalonica and Cyzicus. Arabia also was taken; and so at the same time was Nicopolis, which had been built by the Emperor Trajan as a monument of his victory over the Dacians.

17. After many fearful losses had been both sustained and inflicted Philippopolis was destroyed, and, unless our annals speak falsely, 100,000 men were slaughtered within its walls. Foreign enemies roved unrestrained over Epirus, and Thessaly, and the whole of Greece; but after that glorious general Claudius had been taken as a colleague in the empire (though again lost to us by an honourable death), the enemy was routed by Aurelian, an untiring leader, and a severe avenger of injuries; and after that they remained quiet for a long time without attempting anything, except that some bands of

robbers now and then ranged the districts in their own neighbourhood, always, however, to their own injury. And now I will return to the main history from which I have digressed.

VI.

§ 1. When this series of occurrences had been made generally known by frequent messengers, Sueridus and Colias, two nobles of the Goths, who had some time before been friendly received with their people, and had been sent to Hadrianople to pass the winter in that city, thinking their own safety the most important of all objects, looked on all the events which were taking place with great indifference.

2. But, on a sudden, letters having arrived from the emperor, in which they were ordered to cross over to the province of the Hellespont, they asked, in a very modest manner, to be provided with money to defray the expenses of their march, as well as provisions, and to be allowed a respite of two days. But the chief magistrate of the city was indignant at this request, being also out of humour with them on account of some injury which had been done to property of his own in the suburbs, and collected a great mob of the lowest of the people, with a body of armourers, of whom there is a great number in that place, and led them forth armed to hasten the departure of the Goths. And ordering the trumpeters to sound an alarm, he menaced them with destruction unless they at once departed with all speed, as they had been ordered.

3. The Goths, bewildered by this unexpected calamity, and alarmed at this outbreak of the citizens, which looked more as if caused by a sudden impulse than by any deliberate purpose, stood without moving. And being assailed beyond all endurance by reproaches and manifestations of ill will, and also by occasional missiles, they at last broke out into open revolt; having slain several of those who had at first attacked them with too much petulance, and having put the rest to flight, and wounded many with all kinds of weapons, they stripped their corpses and armed themselves with the spoils in the Roman fashion; and then, seeing Fritigern near them, they united themselves to him as obedient allies, and blockaded the city. They remained some time, maintaining this difficult position and making promiscuous attacks, during which they lost some of their number by their own audacity, without being able to avenge them; while many were slain by arrows and large stones hurled from slings.

4. Then Fritigern, perceiving that his men, who were unaccustomed to sieges, were struggling in vain, and sustaining heavy losses, advised his army to leave a force sufficient to maintain the blockade, and to depart with the rest, acknowledging their failure, and saying that "He did not war with stone walls." Advising them also to lay waste all the fertile regions around without any distinction, and to plunder those places which were not defended by any garrisons.

5. His counsel was approved, as his troops knew that he was always a very

able commander in bringing their plans to success; and then they dispersed over the whole district of Thrace, advancing cautiously; while those who came of their own accord to surrender, or those whom they had taken prisoners, pointed out to them the richest towns, and especially those where it was said that supplies of provisions could be found. And in addition to their natural confidence they were greatly encouraged by this circumstance, that a multitude of that nation came in daily to join them who had formerly been sold as slaves by the merchants, with many others whom, when at their first passage of the river they were suffering from severe want, they had bartered for a little bad wine or morsels of bread.

6. To these were added no inconsiderable number of men skilled in tracing out veins of gold, but who were unable to endure the heavy burden of their taxes; and who, having been received with the cheerful consent of all, they were of great use to them while traversing strange districts — showing them the secret stores of grain, the retreats of men, and other hiding-places of divers kinds.

7. Nor while these men led them on as their guides did anything remain untouched by them, except what was inaccessible or wholly out of the way; for without any distinction of age or sex they went forward destroying everything in one vast slaughter and conflagration: tearing infants even from their mother's breast and slaying them; ravishing their mothers; slaughtering women's husbands before the eyes of those whom they thus made widows; while boys of tender and of adult age were dragged over the corpses of their parents.

8. Lastly, numbers of old men, crying out that they had lived long enough, having lost all their wealth, together with beautiful women, had their hands bound behind their back, and were driven into banishment, bewailing the ashes of their native homes.

VII.

A.D. 377.

§ 1. This news from Thrace was received with great sorrow, and caused the Emperor Valens much anxiety.¹⁹² He instantly sent Victor, the commander of the cavalry, into Persia, to make such arrangements in Armenia as were required by the impending danger. While he himself prepared at once to quit Antioch and go to Constantinople, sending before him Profuturus and Trajan, both officers of rank and ambition, but of no great skill in war.

2. When they arrived at the place where it seemed most expedient to combat this hostile multitude in detail and by ambuscades and surprises, they very injudiciously adopted the ill-considered plan of opposing the legions which had arrived from Armenia to barbarians who were still raging like madmen. Though the legions had repeatedly proved equal to the dangers of a pitched battle and regular warfare, they were not suited to encounter an innumerable host which occupied all the chains of the lofty hills, and also all

the plains.

3. Our men had never yet experienced what can be effected by indomitable rage united with despair, and so having driven back the enemy beyond the abrupt precipices of the Balkan, they seized upon the rugged defiles in order to hem in the barbarians on ground from which they would be unable to find any exit, and where it seemed they might be overcome by famine. They themselves intended to await the arrival of Frigeridus, the duke, who was hastening towards them with the auxiliaries from Pannonia and other countries, and whom, at the request of Valens, Gratian had commanded to march to the camp to aid those who were menaced with total destruction.

4. After him, Richomerus, at that time count of the domestics, who also, by the command of Gratian, had moved forwards from Gaul, hastened towards Thrace,¹⁹³ bringing with him some cohorts, which were cohorts in name, though the greater portion of them had already deserted (if we would believe some people), by the persuasion of Merobaudes, fearing lest Gaul, now divested of all the troops, would be ravaged without check after the barbarians had forced the passage of the Rhine.

5. But Frigeridus was prevented from moving by the gout, or at all events (as some of his malicious detractors represented it), he pleaded sickness as an excuse for not being present in the struggles which were expected, and so Richomerus, being unanimously called to the chief command, with Profuturus and Trajan for his colleagues, advanced towards the town of Salices — at no great distance from which was a countless host of barbarians, arranged in a circle, with a great multitude of waggons for a rampart around them, behind which, as if protected by a spacious wall, they enjoyed ease and an abundance of booty.

6. Filled with hopes of success, the Roman generals — resolved on some gallant enterprise should fortune afford them an opportunity — were carefully watching the movements of the Goths! having formed the design — if they moved their camp in any other direction, which they were very much in the habit of doing — to fall upon their rear, making no doubt that they should slay many of them, and recover a great portion of their spoil.

7. When the barbarians learnt this, probably through the information of some deserter, from whom they obtained a knowledge of our operations, they remained for some time in the same place; but at last, being influenced by fear of the opposing army, and of the reinforcements which might be expected to throng to them, they assembled, by a preconcerted signal, the predatory bands dispersed in different districts, and which, the moment they received the orders of their leaders, returned like firebrands, with the swiftness of birds, to their “encampment of chariots” (as they call it), and thus gave their countrymen confidence to attempt greater enterprises.

8. After this there was no cessation of hostilities between the two parties

except what was afforded by a few short truces; for after those men had returned to the camp whom necessity had forced to quit it, the whole body which was crowded within the circuit of the encampment, being full of fierce discontent, excitement, and a most ferocious spirit, and now reduced to the greatest extremities, were eager for bloodshed: nor did their chiefs, who were present with them, resist their desire; and as the resolution to give battle was taken when the sun was sinking, and when the approach of night invited the sullen and discontented troops to rest, they took some food quietly, but remained all night sleepless.

9. On the other hand the Romans, knowing what was going on, kept themselves also awake, fearing the enemy and their insane leaders as so many furious wild beasts: nevertheless, with fearless minds they awaited the result, which, though they acknowledged it to be doubtful in respect of their inferiority in number, they still trusted would be propitious because of the superior justice of their cause.

10. Therefore the next day, as soon as it was light, the signal for taking arms having been given by the trumpets on both sides, the barbarians, after having, in accordance with their usual custom, taken an oath to remain faithful to their standards, attempted to gain the higher ground, in order that from it they might descend down the steep like wheels, overwhelming their enemy by the vigour of their attack. When this was seen, our soldiers all flocked to their proper regiments, and then stood firm, neither turning aside nor in any instance even leaving their ranks to rush forward.

11. Therefore when the armies on both sides, advancing more cautiously, at last halted and stood immovable, the warriors, with mutual sternness, surveying each other with fierce looks. The Romans in every part of their line sang warlike songs, with a voice rising from a lower to a higher key, which they call *barritus*,¹⁹⁴ and so encouraged themselves to gallant exertions. But the barbarians, with dissonant clamour, shouted out the praises of their ancestors, and amid their various discordant cries, tried occasional light skirmishes.

12. And now each army began to assail the other with javelins and other similar missiles; and then with threatening shouts rushed on to close combat, and packing their shields together like a *testudo*, they came foot to foot with their foes. The barbarians, active, and easily rallied, hurled huge bludgeons, burnt at one end, against our men, and vigorously thrust their swords against the opposing breasts of the Romans, till they broke our left wing; but as it recoiled, it fell back on a strong body of reserve which was vigorously brought up on their flank, and supported them just as they were on the very point of destruction.

13. Therefore, while the battle raged with vast slaughter, each individual soldier rushing fiercely on the dense ranks of the enemy, the arrows and javelins flew like hail; the blows of swords were equally rapid; while the cavalry, too, pressed on, cutting down all who fled with terrible and mighty

wounds on their backs; as also on both sides did the infantry, slaughtering and hamstringing those who had fallen down, and through fear were unable to fly.

14. And when the whole place was filled with corpses, some also lay among them still half alive, vainly cherishing a hope of life, some of them having been pierced with bullets hurled from slings, others with arrows barbed with iron. Some again had their heads cloven in half with blows of swords, so that one side of their heads hung down on each shoulder in a most horrible manner.

15. Meanwhile, stubborn as the conflict was, neither party was wearied, but they still fought on with equal valour and equal fortune, nor did any one relax in his sternness as long as his courage could give him strength for exertion. But at last the day yielded to the evening, and put an end to the deadly contest: the barbarians all withdrew, in no order, each taking his own path, and our men returned sorrowfully to their tents.

16. Then having paid the honours of burial to some among the dead, as well as the time and place permitted, the rest of the corpses were left as a banquet to the ill-omened birds, which at that time were accustomed to feed on carcases — as is even now shown by the places which are still white with bones. It is quite certain that the Romans, who were comparatively few, and contending with vastly superior numbers, suffered serious losses, while at the same time the barbarians did not escape without much lamentable slaughter.

VIII.

§ 1. Upon the melancholy termination of this battle, our men sought a retreat in the neighbouring city of Marcianopolis. The Goths, of their own accord, fell back behind the ramparts formed by their waggons, and for seven days they never once ventured to come forth or show themselves. So our soldiers, seizing the opportunity, raised a barrier, and shut in some other vast multitudes of the barbarians among the defiles of the Balkan, in hope, forsooth, that this destructive host being thus hemmed in between the Danube and the desert, and having no road by which to escape, must perish by famine, since everything which could serve to sustain life had been conveyed into the fortified cities, and these cities were safe from any attempt of the barbarians to besiege them, since they were wholly ignorant of the use of warlike engines.

2. After this Richomeres returned to Gaul, to convey reinforcements to that country, where a fresh war of greater importance than ever, was anticipated. These events took place in the fourth consulship of Gratian, and the first of Merobaudes, towards the autumn of the year.

3. In the mean time Valens, having heard of the miserable result of these wars and devastations, gave Saturninus the command of the cavalry, and sent him to carry aid to Trajan and Profuturus.

4. At that time, throughout the whole countries of Scythia and Mœsia, everything which could be eaten had been consumed; and so, urged equally by their natural ferocity and by hunger, the barbarians made desperate efforts

to force their way out of the position in which they were enclosed but though they made frequent attempts, they were constantly overwhelmed by the vigour of our men, who made an effectual resistance by the aid of the rugged ground which they occupied; and at last, being reduced to the extremity of distress, they allured some of the Huns and Alani to their alliance by the hope of extensive plunder.

5. When this was known, Saturninus (for by this time he had arrived and was busy in arranging the outposts and military stations in the country) gradually collected his men, and was preparing to retreat, in pursuance of a sufficiently well-devised plan, lest the multitude of barbarians by some sudden movement (like a river which had burst its barriers by the violence of a flood) should easily overthrow his whole force, which had now been for some time watching the place from which danger was suspected.

6. The moment that, by the seasonable retreat of our men, the passage of these defiles was opened, the barbarians, in no regular order, but wherever each individual could find a passage, rushed forth without hindrance to spread confusion among us; and raging with a desire for devastation and plunder, spread themselves with impunity over the whole region of Thrace, from the districts watered by the Danube, to Mount Rhodope and the strait which separates the Ægean from the Black Sea, spreading ravage, slaughter, bloodshed, and conflagration, and throwing everything into the foulest disorder by all sorts of acts of violence committed even on the free-born.

7. Then one might see, with grief, actions equally horrible to behold and to speak of: women panic-stricken, beaten with cracking scourges; some even in pregnancy, whose very offspring, before they were born, had to endure countless horrors: here were seen children twining round their mothers; there one might hear the lamentations of noble youths and maidens all seized and doomed to captivity.

8. Again, grown-up virgins and chaste matrons were dragged along with countenances disfigured by bitter weeping, wishing to avoid the violation of their modesty by any death however agonizing. Here some wealthy nobleman was dragged along like a wild beast, complaining, of fortune as merciless and blind, who in a brief moment had stripped him of his riches, of his beloved relations, and his home; had made him see his house reduced to ashes, and had reduced him to expect either to be torn limb from limb himself, or else to be exposed to scourging and torture, as the slave of a ferocious conqueror.

9. But the barbarians, like beasts who had broken loose from their cages, pouring unrestrainedly over the vast extent of country, marched upon a town called Dibaltum, where they found Barzimeres, a tribune of the Scutarii, with his battalion, and some of the Cornuti legion, and several other bodies of infantry pitching a camp, like a veteran general of great experience as he was.

10. Instantly (as the only means of avoiding immediate destruction) he ordered the trumpet to give the signal for battle; and strengthening his flanks,

rushed forward with his little army in perfect order. And he made so gallant a struggle, that the barbarians would have obtained no advantage over him, if a strong body of cavalry had not come round upon him from behind, while his men were panting and weary with their exertions: so at last he fell, but not without having inflicted great slaughter on the barbarians, though the vastness of their numbers made their losses less observed.

IX.

§ 1. After this affair had terminated, the Goths, being uncertain what next to do, went in quest of Frigeridus, with the resolution to destroy him wherever they could find him, as a formidable obstacle to their success; and having rested for a while to refresh themselves with sleep and better food than usual, they then pursued him like so many wild beasts, having learnt that by Gratian's order he had returned into Thrace, and had pitched his camp near Beræa, intending to wait there to see how affairs would turn out.

2. They hastened accordingly, that by a rapid march they might carry out their proposed plan; but Frigeridus, who knew as well how to command as to preserve his troops, either suspected their plans, or else obtained accurate information respecting them from the scouts whom he had sent out; and therefore returned over the mountains and through the thick forests into Illyricum; being full of joy at the success which an unexpected chance threw in his way.

3. For as he was retreating, and moving on steadily with his force in a solid column, he came upon Farnobius, one of the chieftains of the Goths, who was roaming about at random with a large predatory band, and a body of the Taifali, with whom he had lately made an alliance, and who (if it is worth mentioning), when our soldiers were all dispersed for fear of the strange nations which were threatening them, had taken advantage of their dispersion to cross the river, in order to plunder the country thus left without defenders.

4. When their troops thus suddenly came in sight, our general with great prudence prepared to bring on a battle at close quarters, and, in spite of their ferocious threats, at once attacked the combined leaders of the two nations; and would have slain them all, not leaving a single one of them to convey news of their disaster, if, after Farnobius, hitherto the much-dreaded cause of all these troubles, had been slain, with a great number of his men, he had not voluntarily spared the rest on their own earnest supplication; and then he distributed those to whom he had thus granted their lives in the districts around the Italian towns of Modena, Reggio, and Parma, which he allotted to them to cultivate.

5. It is said that this nation of the Taifali was so profligate, and so immersed in the foulest obscenities of life, that they indulged in all kinds of unnatural lusts, exhausting the vigour both of youth and manhood in the most polluted defilements of debauchery. But if any adult caught a boar or slew a

bear single-handed, he was then exempted from all compulsion of submitting to such ignominious pollution.

X.

§ 1. It was when autumn was passing into winter that terrible whirlwinds swept over Thrace; and as if the Furies were throwing everything into confusion, awful storms extended even into distant regions.

2. And now the people of the Allemanni, belonging to the district of Lintz, who border on the Tyrol, having by treacherous incursions violated the treaty which had been made with them some time before, began to make attempts upon our frontier; and this calamity had the following lamentable beginning.

3. One of this nation who was serving among the guards of the emperor, returned home at the call of some private business of his own; and being a very talkative person, when he was continually asked what was doing in the palace, he told them that Valens, his uncle, had sent for Gratian to conduct the campaign in the East, in order that by their combined forces they might drive back the inhabitants of the countries on our eastern frontier, who had all conspired for the overthrow of the Roman state.

4. The people of Lintz greedily swallowed this intelligence, looking on it as if it concerned themselves also as neighbours, being so rapid and active in their movements; and so they assembled, in predatory bands, and when the Rhine was sufficiently frozen over to be passable, in the month of February.... The Celtæ, with the Petulantes legion, repulsed them, but not without considerable loss.

5. These Germans, though thus compelled to retreat, being aware that the greater part of our army had been despatched into Illyricum, where the emperor was about to follow to assume the command, became more bold than ever, and conceived the idea of greater enterprises. Having collected the inhabitants of all the adjacent countries into one body, and with 40,000 armed men, or 70,000, as some, who seek to enhance the renown of the emperor, have boasted, they with great arrogance and confidence burst into our territories.

6. Gratian, when he heard of this event, was greatly alarmed, and recalling the cohorts which he had sent on before into Pannonia, and collecting others whom he had prudently retained in Gaul, he committed the affair to the conduct of Nannienus, a leader of great prudence and skill, joining with him as his colleague with equal power, Mellobaudes, the count-commander of the domestics and king of the Franks, a man of great courage and renown in war.195]

7. Nannienus took into his consideration the variable chances of fortune, and therefore voted for acting slowly and with caution, while Mellobaudes, hurried away by a fierce desire for fighting, according to his usual custom, was eager at once to march against the enemy; and would not brook delay.

8. Presently a horrid shout was raised by the enemy, and the trumpeters on

our side also gave the signal for battle, upon which a fierce engagement began near Colmar. On both sides numbers fell beneath the blows of arrows and hurled javelins.

9. But while the battle was raging, the multitude of the enemy appeared so countless, that our soldiers, avoiding a conflict with them on the open field, dispersed as best they could among the different narrow paths overgrown with trees; but they afterwards stood their ground firmly, and by the boldness of their carriage and the dazzling splendour of their arms, when seen from a distance, made the barbarians fear that the emperor himself was at hand.

10. And they suddenly turned their backs, still offering occasional resistance, to leave no chance for safety untried; but at last they were routed with such slaughter that of their whole number not above 9,000, as was reckoned, escaped, and these owed their safety to the thickness of the woods. Among the many bold and gallant men who perished was their king, Priarius, who had been the principal cause of this ruinous war.

11. Gratian was greatly delighted and encouraged by this success; and intending now to proceed to the East, he secretly crossed the Rhine, and turned his march to the left, being full of sanguine hopes, and resolving, if fortune should only favour his enterprise, to destroy the whole of this treacherous and turbulent nation.

12. And as intelligence of this design was conveyed to the people of Lintz by repeated messengers, they, who had already been reduced to great weakness by the almost entire destruction of their forces, and were now greatly alarmed at the expected approach of the emperor, hesitated what to do, and as neither by resistance, nor by anything which they could do or devise, did they perceive any possibility of obtaining ever so brief a respite, they withdrew with speed to their hills, which were almost inaccessible from the steepness of their precipices, and reaching the most inaccessible rocks by a winding path, they conveyed thither their riches and their families, and prepared to defend them with all their might.

13. Having deliberated on this difficulty, our general selected 500 men of proved experience in war out of each legion, to station opposite to the entrances to this wall of rock. And they, being further encouraged by the fact that the emperor himself was continually seen actively employed among the front rank, endeavoured to scale the precipices, not doubting but that if they could once set foot upon the rocks they should instantly catch the barbarians, like so much game, without any conflict; and so an engagement was commenced towards the approach of noon, and lasted even to the darkness of night.

14. Both sides experienced heavy losses. Our men slew numbers, and fell in numbers; and the armour of the emperor's body-guard, glittering with gold and brilliant colours, was crushed beneath the weight of the heavy missiles hurled upon them.

15. Gratian held a long deliberation with his chief officers; and it seemed to

them fruitless and mischievous to contend with unreasonable obstinacy against these rugged and overhanging rocks; at last (as is usual in such affairs), after various opinions had been delivered, it was determined, without making any more active efforts, to blockade the barbarians and reduce them by famine; since against all active enterprises the character of the ground which they occupied was a sufficient defence.

16. But the Germans still held out with unflinching obstinacy, and being thoroughly acquainted with the country, retreated to other mountains still more lofty than those which they occupied at first. Thither also the emperor turned with his army, with the same energy as before, seeking for a path which might lead him to the heights.

17. And when the barbarians saw him thus with unwearied perseverance intent upon their destruction, they surrendered; and having by humble supplication obtained mercy, they furnished a reinforcement of the flower of their youth to be mingled with our recruits, and were permitted to retire in safety to their native land.

18. It is beyond all belief how much vigour and rapidity of action Gratian, by the favour of the eternal Deity, displayed in gaining this seasonable and beneficial victory, which broke the power of the Western tribes at a time when he was preparing to hasten in another direction. He was indeed a young prince of admirable disposition, eloquent, moderate, warlike, and merciful, rivalling the most admirable of his predecessors, even while the down of youth was still upon his cheeks; the only drawback to his character being that he was sometimes drawn into ridiculous actions, when, in consequence of temptations held out by his minions and favourites, he imitated the vain pursuits of Cæsar Commodus; but he was never bloodthirsty.

19. For as that prince, because he had been accustomed to slay numbers of wild beasts with his javelins in the sight of the people, and prided himself beyond measure on the skill with which he slew a hundred lions let loose at the same time in the amphitheatre with different missiles, and without ever having to repeat his shot; so Gratian, in the enclosures called preserves, slew wild beasts with his arrows, neglecting much serious business for this amusement, and this at a time when if Marcus Antoninus had resumed the empire he would have found it hard, without colleagues of equal genius to his own, and without the most serious deliberation of counsel, to remedy the grievous disasters of the republic.

20. Therefore having made all the arrangements which the time would permit for the affairs of Gaul, and having punished the traitor of the Scutarii who had betrayed to the barbarians the intelligence that the emperor was about to depart with all speed for Illyricum, Gratianus quitted the army, and passing through the fortress known as that of Arbor Felix, he proceeded by forced marches to carry his assistance to those who needed it.

21. About this time, while Frigeridus was with great wisdom devising

many schemes likely to prove of advantage to the general safety, and was preparing to fortify the defiles of the Succi, to prevent the enemy (who, by the rapidity of their movements and their fondness for sallies, were always threatening the northern provinces like a torrent) from extending their inroads any further he was superseded by a count named Maurus, a man cruel, ferocious, fickle, and untrustworthy. This man, as we have related in our account of preceding transactions being one of Julian's body-guard to whom the defence of the palace was expressly committed, while that prince was doubting about accepting the imperial authority, took the chain from his own neck and offered it to him for a diadem.

22. Thus, in the most critical aspect of our difficulties, a cautious and energetic general was removed, when, even if he had previously retired into private life, he ought, from the greatness of the affairs which required his superintendence, to have been brought back again to the camp.

XI.

A.D. 378.

§ 1. About the same time Valens quitted Antioch, and, after a long journey, came to Constantinople, where he stayed a few days, being made anxious by a trifling sedition among the citizens. He intrusted the command of the infantry, which had previously been committed to Trajan, to Sebastian, who at his request had been lately sent to him from Italy, being a general of well-known vigilance; and he himself went to Melanthias, a country palace belonging to the emperors, where he conciliated the soldiers by giving them their pay, furnishing them with provisions, and frequently addressing them in courteous speeches.

2. Having left this place, he proceeded according to the stages he had marked out, and came to a station named Nice, where he learnt from intelligence brought by his scouts, that the barbarians, who had collected a rich booty, were returning loaded with it from the districts about Mount Rhodope, and were now near Hadrianople. They, hearing of the approach of the emperor with a numerous force, were hastening to join their countrymen, who were in strong positions around Beræa and Nicopolis; and immediately (as the ripeness of the opportunity thus thrown in his way required) the emperor ordered Sebastian to hasten on with three hundred picked soldiers of each legion, to do something (as he promised) of signal advantage to the commonweal.

3. Sebastian pushed on by forced marches, and came in sight of the enemy near Hadrianople; but as the gates were barred against him, he was unable to approach nearer, since the garrison feared that he had been taken prisoner by the enemy, and won over by them: so that something to the injury of the city might happen, like what had formerly taken place in the case of Count Actus, who had been cunningly taken prisoner by the soldiers of Magnentius, and who thus caused the opening of the passes of the Julian Alps.

4. At last, though late, they recognized Sebastian, and allowed him to enter the city. He, then, as well as he could, refreshed the troops under his command with food and rest, and next morning secretly issued forth, and towards evening, being partially concealed by the rising ground and some trees, he suddenly caught sight of the predatory bands of the Goths near the river Maritza, where, favoured by the darkness of night, he charged them while in disorder and unprepared, routing them so completely that, with the exception of a few whom swiftness of foot saved from death, the whole body were slain, and he recovered such an enormous quantity of booty, that neither the city, nor the extensive plains around could contain it.

5. Fritigern was greatly alarmed; and fearing lest this general, who as we have often heard succeeded in all his undertakings, should surprise and utterly destroy his different detachments, which were scattered at random over the country, intent only on plunder, he called in all his men near the town of Cabyle, and at once made off, in order to gain the open country, where he would not be liable to be straitened for want of provisions, or harassed by secret ambuscades.

6. While these events were proceeding in Thrace, Gratian having sent letters to inform his uncle of the energy with which he had overcome the Allemanni, and forwarded his baggage by land, himself, with a picked band of his quickest troops, crossed the Danube, reached Bononia, and afterwards Sirmium, where he halted four days. He then descended the river to the Camp of Mars, where he was laid up by an intermittent fever, and, being suddenly assailed by the Alani, lost a few of his followers.

XII.

§ 1. At this time Valens was disturbed by a twofold anxiety, having learned that the people of Lintz had been defeated, and also because Sebastian, in the letters which he sent from time to time, exaggerated what had taken place by his pompous language. Therefore he advanced from Melanthias, being eager by some glorious exploit to equal his youthful nephew, by whose virtue he was greatly excited. He was at the head of a numerous force, neither unwarlike nor contemptible, and had united with them many veteran bands, among whom were several officers of high rank, especially Trajan, who a little while before had been commander of the forces.

2. And as by means of spies and observation it was ascertained that the enemy were intending to blockade the different roads by which the necessary supplies must come, with strong divisions, he sent a sufficient force to prevent this, despatching a body of the archers of the infantry and a squadron of cavalry, with all speed, to occupy the narrow passes in the neighbourhood.

3. Three days afterwards, when the barbarians, who were advancing slowly, because they feared an attack in the unfavourable ground which they were traversing, arrived within fifteen miles from the station of Nice, which was the aim of their march, the emperor, with wanton impetuosity, resolved

on attacking them instantly, because those who had been sent forward to reconnoitre (what led to such a mistake is unknown) affirmed that their entire body did not exceed ten thousand men.

4. Marching on with his army in battle array, he came near the suburb of Hadrianople, where he pitched his camp, strengthening it with a rampart of palisades, and then impatiently waited for Gratian. While here, Richomeres, Count of the Domestici, arrived, who had been sent on by that emperor with letters announcing his immediate approach.

5. And imploring Valens to wait a little while for him that he might share his danger, and not rashly face the danger before him single handed, he took counsel with his officers as to what was best to be done.

6. Some, following the advice of Sebastian, recommended with urgency that he should at once go forth to battle; while Victor, master-general of the cavalry, a Sarmatian by birth, but a man of slow and cautious temper, recommended him to wait for his imperial colleague, and this advice was supported by several other officers, who suggested that the reinforcement of the Gallic army would be likely to awe the fiery arrogance of the barbarians.

7. However, the fatal obstinacy of the emperor prevailed, fortified by the flattery of some of the princes, who advised him to hasten with all speed, so that Gratian might have no share in a victory which, as they fancied, was already almost gained.

8. And while all necessary preparations were being made for the battle, a presbyter of the Christian religion (as he called himself), having been sent by Fritigern as his ambassador, came, with some colleagues of low rank, to the emperor's camp; and having been received with courtesy, he presented a letter from that chieftain, openly requesting that the emperor would grant to him and to his followers, who were now exiles from their native homes, from which they had been driven by the rapid invasions of savage nations, Thrace, with all its flocks and all its crops, for a habitation. And if Valens would consent to this, Fritigern would agree to a perpetual peace.

9. In addition to this message, the same Christian, as one acquainted with his commander's secrets, and well trusted, produced other secret letters from his chieftain who, being full of craft and every resource of deceit, informed Valens, as one who was hereafter to be his friend and ally, that he had no other means to appease the ferocity of his countrymen, or to induce them to accept conditions advantageous to the Roman state, unless from time to time he showed them an army under arms close at hand, and by frightening them with the name of the emperor, recalled them from their mischievous eagerness for fighting. The ambassadors retired unsuccessful, having been looked on as suspicious characters by the emperor.

10. When the day broke which the annals mark as the fifth of the Ides of August, the Roman standards were advanced with haste, the baggage having been placed close to the walls of Hadrianople, under a sufficient guard of

soldiers of the legions; the treasures and the chief insignia of the emperor's rank were within the walls, with the prefect and the principal members of the council.

11. Then, having traversed the broken ground which divided the two armies, as the burning day was progressing towards noon, at last, after marching eight miles, our men came in sight of the waggons of the enemy, which had been stated by the scouts to be all arranged in a circle. According to their custom, the barbarian host raised a fierce and hideous yell, while the Roman generals marshalled their line of battle. The right wing of the cavalry was placed in front; the chief portion of the infantry was kept in reserve.

12. But the left wing of the cavalry, of which a considerable number were still straggling on the road, were advancing with speed, though with great difficulty; and while this wing was deploying, not as yet meeting with any obstacle, the barbarians being alarmed at the terrible clang of their arms and the threatening crash of their shields (since a large portion of their own army was still at a distance, under Alatheus and Saphrax, and, though sent for, had not yet arrived), again sent ambassadors to ask for peace.

13. The emperor was offended at the lowness of their rank, and replied, that if they wished to make a lasting treaty, they must send him nobles of sufficient dignity. They designedly delayed, in order by the fallacious truce which subsisted during the negotiation to give time for their cavalry to return, whom they looked upon as close at hand; and for our soldiers, already suffering from the summer heat, to become parched and exhausted by the conflagration of the vast plain; as the enemy had, with this object, set fire to the crops by means of burning faggots and fuel. To this evil another was added, that both men and cattle were suffering from extreme hunger.

14. In the meantime Fritigern, being skilful in divining the future, and fearing a doubtful struggle, of his own head sent one of his men as a herald, requesting that some nobles and picked men should at once be sent to him as hostages for his safety, when he himself would fearlessly bring us both military aid and supplies.

15. The proposition of this formidable chief was received with praise and approbation, and the tribune Equitius, a relation of Valens, who was at that time high steward of the palace, was appointed, with general consent, to go with all speed to the barbarians as a hostage. But he refused, because he had once been taken prisoner by the enemy, and had escaped from Dibaltum, so that he feared their vengeful anger; upon this Richomerus voluntarily offered himself, and willingly undertook to go, thinking it a bold action, and one becoming a brave man; and so he set out, bearing vouchers of his rank and high birth.

16. And as he was on his way towards the enemy's camp, the accompanying archers and Scutarii, who on that occasion were under the command of Bacurius, a native of Iberia, and of Cassio, yielded, while on their march, to an indiscreet impetuosity, and on approaching the enemy, first

attacked them rashly, and then by a cowardly flight disgraced the beginning of the campaign.

17. This ill-timed attack frustrated the willing services of Richomeres, as he was not permitted to proceed; in the mean time the cavalry of the Goths had returned with Alatheus and Saphrax, and with them a battalion of Alani; these descending from the mountains like a thunderbolt, spread confusion and slaughter among all whom in their rapid charge they came across.

XIII.

§ 1. And while arms and missiles of all kinds were meeting in fierce conflict, and Bellona, blowing her mournful trumpet, was raging more fiercely than usual, to inflict disaster on the Romans, our men began to retreat; but presently, roused by the reproaches of their officers, they made a fresh stand, and the battle increased like a conflagration, terrifying our soldiers, numbers of whom were pierced by strokes from the javelins hurled at them, and from arrows.

2. Then the two lines of battle dashed against each other, like the beaks (or rams) of ships, and thrusting with all their might, were tossed to and fro, like the waves of the sea. Our left wing had advanced actually up to the waggons, with the intent to push on still further if they were properly supported; but they were deserted by the rest of the cavalry, and so pressed upon by the superior numbers of the enemy, that they were overwhelmed and beaten down, like the ruin of a vast rampart. Presently our infantry also was left unsupported, while the different companies became so huddled together that a soldier could hardly draw his sword, or withdraw his hand after he had once stretched it out. And by this time such clouds of dust arose that it was scarcely possible to see the sky, which resounded with horrible cries; and in consequence, the darts, which were bearing death on every side, reached their mark, and fell with deadly effect, because no one could see them beforehand so as to guard against them.

3. But when the barbarians, rushing on with their enormous host, beat down our horses and men, and left no spot to which our ranks could fall back to deploy, while they were so closely packed that it was impossible to escape by forcing a way through them, our men at last began to despise death, and again took to their swords and slew all they encountered, while with mutual blows of battle-axes, helmets and breastplates were dashed in pieces.

4. Then you might see the barbarian towering in his fierceness, hissing or shouting, fall with his legs pierced through, or his right hand cut off, sword and all, or his side transfixed, and still, in the last gasp of life, casting round him defiant glances. The plain was covered with carcasses, strewing the mutual ruin of the combatants; while the groans of the dying, or of men fearfully wounded, were intense, and caused great dismay all around.

5. Amidst all this great tumult and confusion, our infantry were exhausted by toil and danger, till at last they had neither strength left to fight, nor spirits

to plan anything; their spears were broken by the frequent collisions, so that they were forced to content themselves with their drawn swords, which they thrust into the dense battalions of the enemy, disregarding their own safety, and seeing that every possibility of escape was cut off from them.

6. The ground, covered with streams of blood, made their feet slip, so that all that they endeavoured to do was to sell their lives as dearly as possible; and with such vehemence did they resist their enemies who pressed on them, that some were even killed by their own weapons. At last one black pool of blood disfigured everything, and wherever the eye turned, it could see nothing but piled-up heaps of dead, and lifeless corpses trampled on without mercy.

7. The sun being now high in the heavens, having traversed the sign of Leo, and reached the abode of the heavenly Virgo, scorched the Romans, who were emaciated by hunger, worn out with toil, and scarcely able to support even the weight of their armour. At last our columns were entirely beaten back by the overpowering weight of the barbarians, and so they took to disorderly flight, which is the only resource in extremity, each man trying to save himself as well as he could.

8. While they were all flying and scattering themselves over roads with which they were unacquainted, the emperor, bewildered with terrible fear, made his way over heaps of dead, and fled to the battalions of the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who, till the superior numbers of the enemy became wholly irresistible, stood firm and immovable. As soon as he saw him. Trajan exclaimed that all hope was lost, unless the emperor, thus deserted by his guards, could be protected by the aid of his foreign allies.

9. When this exclamation was heard, a count named Victor hastened to bring up with all speed the Batavians, who were placed in the reserve, and who ought to have been near at hand, to the emperor's assistance; but as none of them could be found, he too retreated, and in a similar manner Richomeres and Saturninus saved themselves from danger.

10. So now, with rage flashing in their eyes, the barbarians pursued our men, who were in a state of torpor, the warmth of their veins having deserted them. Many were slain without knowing who smote them; some were overwhelmed by the mere weight of the crowd which pressed upon them; and some were slain by wounds inflicted by their own comrades. The barbarians spared neither those who yielded nor those who resisted.

11. Besides these, many half slain lay blocking up the roads, unable to endure the torture of their wounds; and heaps of dead horses were piled up and filled the plain with their carcasses. At last a dark moonless night put an end to the irremediable disaster which cost the Roman state so dear.

12. Just when it first became dark, the emperor being among a crowd of common soldiers, as it was believed — for no one said either that he had seen him, or been near him — was mortally wounded with an arrow, and, very shortly after, died, though his body was never found. For as some of the enemy loitered for a long time about the field in order to plunder the dead,

none of the defeated army or of the inhabitants ventured to go to them.

13. A similar fate befell the Cæsar Decius, when fighting vigorously against the barbarians; for he was thrown by his horse falling, which he had been unable to hold, and was plunged into a swamp, out of which he could never emerge, nor could his body be found.

14. Others report that Valens did not die immediately, but that he was borne by a small body of picked soldiers and eunuchs to a cabin in the neighbourhood, which was strongly built, with two stories; and that while these unskilful hands were tending his wounds, the cottage was surrounded by the enemy, though they did not know who was in it; still, however, he was saved from the disgrace of being made a prisoner.

15. For when his pursuers, while vainly attempting to force the barred doors, were assailed with arrows from the roof, they, not to lose by so inconvenient a delay the opportunity of collecting plunder, gathered some faggots and stubble, and setting fire to them, burnt down the building, with those who were in it.

16. But one of the soldiers dropped from the windows, and, being taken prisoner by the barbarians, revealed to them what had taken place, which caused them great concern, because they looked upon themselves as defrauded of great glory in not having taken the ruler of the Roman state alive. This same young man afterwards secretly returned to our people, and gave this account of the affair.

17. When Spain had been recovered after a similar disaster, we are told that one of the Scipios was lost in a fire, the tower in which he had taken refuge having been burnt. At all events it is certain that neither Scipio nor Valens enjoyed that last honour of the dead — a regular funeral.

18. Many illustrious men fell in this disastrous defeat, and among them one of the most remarkable was Trajan, and another was Sebastian; there perished also thirty-five tribunes who had no particular command, many captains of battalions, and Valerianus and Equitius, one of whom was master of the horse and the other high steward. Potentius, too, tribune of the promoted officers, fell in the flower of his age, a man respected by all persons of virtue, and recommended by the merits of his father, Ursicinus, who had formerly been commander of the forces, as well as by his own. Scarcely one-third of the whole army escaped.

19. Nor, except the battle of Cannæ, is so destructive a slaughter recorded in our annals; though, even in the times of their prosperity, the Romans have more than once had to deplore the uncertainty of war, and have for a time succumbed to evil Fortune; while the well-known dirges of the Greeks have bewailed many disastrous battles.

XIV.

§ 1. Such was the death of Valens, when he was about fifty years old, and had reigned rather less than fourteen years. We will now describe his virtues,

which were known to many, and his vices.

2. He was a faithful and steady friend — a severe chastiser of ambition — a rigid upholder of both military and civil discipline — always careful that no one should assume importance on account of any relationship to himself; slow both in conferring office, and in taking it away; a very just ruler of the provinces, all of which he protected from injury, as if each had been his own house; devoting singular care to the lessening the burdens of the state, and never permitting any increase of taxation. He was very moderate in the exaction of debts due to the state, but a vehement and implacable foe to all thieves, and to every one convicted of peculations; nor in affairs of this kind was the East, by its own confession, ever better treated under any other emperor.

3. Besides all this, he was liberal with due regard to moderation, of which quality there are many examples, one of which it will be sufficient to mention here: — As in palaces there are always some persons covetous of the possessions of others, if any one petitioned for lapsed property, or anything else which it was usual to apply for, he made a proper distinction between just and unjust claims, and when he gave it to the petitioner, while reserving full liberty to any one to raise objections, he often associated the successful candidate with three or four partners, in order that those covetous suitors might conduct themselves with more moderation, when they saw the profits for which they were so eager diminished by this device.

4. Of the edifices, which in the different cities and towns he either repaired or built from their foundations, I will say nothing (to avoid prolixity), allowing those things to speak for themselves. These qualities, in my opinion, deserve the imitation of all good men. Now let us enumerate his vices.

5. He was an immoderate coveter of great wealth; impatient of labour, he affected an extreme severity, and was too much inclined to cruelty; his behaviour was rude and rough; and he was little imbued with skill either in war or in the liberal arts. He willingly sought profit and advantage in the miseries of others, and was more than ever intolerable in straining ordinary offences into sedition or treason; he cruelly encompassed the death or ruin of wealthy nobles.

6. This also was unendurable, that while he wished to have it appear that all actions and suits were decided according to the law, and while the investigation of such affairs was delegated to judges especially selected as the most proper to decide them, he still would not allow any decision to be given which was contrary to his own pleasure. He was also insulting, passionate, and always willing to listen to all informers, without the least distinction as to whether the charges which they advanced were true or false. And this vice is one very much to be dreaded, even in private affairs of everyday occurrence.

7. He was dilatory and sluggish; of a swarthy complexion; had a cast in one eye, a blemish, however, which was not visible at a distance; his limbs were well set; his figure was neither tall nor short; he was knock-kneed, and rather

pot-bellied.

8. This is enough to say about Valens: and the recollection of his contemporaries will fully testify that this account is a true one. But we must not omit to mention that when he had learnt that the oracle of the tripod, which we have related to have been moved by Patricius and Hilanus, contained those three prophetic lines, the last of which is, —

“Ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος ἀλαλκομένοισιν ἄρηα.”

“Repelling murd’rous war in Mimas’ plain;”

— he, being void of accomplishments and illiterate, despised them at first; but as his calamities increased, he became filled with abject fear, and, from a recollection of this same prophecy, began to dread the very name of Asia, where he had been informed by learned men that both Homer and Cicero had spoken of the Mountain of Mimas over the town of Erythræ.

9. Lastly, — after his death, and the departure of the enemy, it is said that a monument was found near the spot where he is believed to have died, with a stone fixed into it inscribed with Greek characters, indicating that some ancient noble of the name of Mimas was buried there.

XV.

§ 1. After this disastrous battle, when night had veiled the earth in darkness, those who survived fled, some to the right, some to the left, or wherever fear guided them, each man seeking refuge among his relations, as no one could think of anything but himself, while all fancied the lances of the enemy sticking in their backs. And far off were heard the miserable wailings of those who were left behind — the sobs of the dying, and the agonizing groans of the wounded.

2. But when daylight returned, the conquerors, like wild beasts rendered still more savage by the blood they had tasted, and allured by the temptations of groundless hope, marched in a dense column upon Hadrianople, resolved to run any risk in order to take it, having been informed by traitors and deserters that the principal officers of State, the insignia of the imperial authority, and the treasures of Valens had all been placed there for safety, as in an impregnable fortress.

3. And to prevent the ardour of the soldiers from being cooled by delay, the whole city was blockaded by the fourth hour; and the siege from that time was carried on with great vigour, the besiegers, from their innate ferocity, pressing in to complete its destruction, while, on the other hand, the garrison was stimulated to great exertions by their natural courage.

4. And while the vast number of soldiers and grooms, who were prohibited from entering the city with their beasts, kept close to the walls and to the houses which joined them, and fought gallantly, considering the disadvantages under which they laboured from the lowness of the ground

which they occupied, and baffled the rage of their assailants till the ninth hour of the day, on a sudden three hundred of our infantry, of those who were nearest the battlements, formed themselves into a solid body, and deserted to the barbarians, who seized upon them with avidity, and (it is not known on what account) at once slaughtered them all. And from that time forth it was remarked that no one, even in the extremity of despair, adopted any similar conduct.

5. Now while all these misfortunes were at their height, suddenly there came a violent thunderstorm, and rain pouring down from the black clouds dispersed the bands of soldiers who were raging around; and they returned to their camp, which was measured out in a circle by their waggons; and being more elated and haughty than ever, they sent threatening letters to our men ... and an ambassador ... on condition of safety to him.

6. But as the messenger did not dare to enter the city, the letters were at last brought in by a certain Christian; and when they had been read and considered with all proper attention, the rest of the day and the whole of the night was devoted to preparing for defence. For inside the city the gates were blocked up with huge stones; the weak parts of the walls were strengthened, and engines to hurl javelins or stones were fixed on all convenient places, and a sufficient supply of water was also provided; for the day before some of the combatants had been distressed almost to death by thirst.

7. On the other hand the Goths, considering the difficulty and uncertainty of all warlike transactions, and becoming anxious at seeing their bravest warriors wounded and slain, and their strength gradually diminished, devised and adopted a crafty counsel, which, however, was revealed to us by Justice herself.

8. They seduced some picked soldiers of our army, who had revolted to them the day before, to pretend to escape back to their former comrades, and thus gain admittance within the walls; and after they had effected their entrance, they were secretly to set fire to some part of the city, so that the conflagration might serve as a secret signal, and while the garrison and citizens were occupied in extinguishing it, the walls might be left undefended, and so be easily stormed.

9. The traitors did as they were commanded; and when they came near the ditch they stretched out their hands, and with entreaties requested to be admitted into the city as Romans. When they were admitted, however (since no suspicion existed to hinder their admission), and were questioned as to the plans of the enemy, they varied in their tale: and in consequence they were put to the torture, and having formally confessed what they had undertaken to do, they were all beheaded.

10. Accordingly, every resource of war having been prepared, the barbarians, at the third watch discarding all fear from past failures, rushed in enormous numbers against the blocked-up entrances of the city, their officers urging them with great obstinacy. But the provincials and imperial guards,

with the rest of the garrison, rose with fearless courage to repel them, and their missiles of every kind, even when shot at random among so vast a crowd, could not fall harmless. Our men perceived that the barbarians were using the same weapons which we ourselves had shot at them: and accordingly an order was given that the strings which fastened the iron points to the javelins and arrows should be cut before they were hurled or shot; so that while flying they should preserve their efficacy, but when they pierced a body or fell on the ground they should come asunder.

11. While affairs were in this critical state an unexpected accident had a considerable influence on the result. A scorpion, a military engine which in ordinary language is also known as the wild-ass, being stationed opposite the dense array of the enemy, hurled forth a huge stone, which, although it fell harmless on the ground, yet by the mere sight of it terrified them so greatly, that in alarm at the strange spectacle they all fell back and endeavoured to retreat.

12. But their officers ordering the trumpets to sound a charge, the battle was renewed; and the Romans, as before, got the advantage, not a single javelin or bullet hurled by a slinger failing of its effect. For the troops of the generals who led the vanguard, and who were inflamed by the desire of possessing themselves of the treasures which Valens had so wickedly acquired, were followed closely by others who were vain of exposing themselves to as much danger as those of greater renown. And some were wounded almost to death: others were struck down, crushed by huge weights, or pierced through their breasts with javelins; some who carried ladders and attempted to scale the walls on different sides were buried under their own burthens, being beaten down by stones which were hurled upon them, and by fragments of pillars and cylinders.

13. And yet, horrible as the sight of this bloodshed was, so great was their ardour that no one relaxed in his gallant exertions till the evening, being encouraged by seeing many of the garrison also fall by various wounds. So, without rest or relaxation, both the besiegers and the besieged fought with unwearied courage.

14. And now no kind of order was observed by the enemy, but they fought in detached bands and in skirmishes (which is the sign of the extremity of despair); and at last, when evening came on, they all returned to their tents, sorrowfully, each man accusing his neighbour of inconsiderate rashness, because they had not taken the advice of Fritigern, and avoided the labours and dangers of a siege.

XVI.

§ 1. After the battle, the soldiers devoted the whole night (which, as it was summer, was not long) to tending the wounded with all the remedies known to their nations, and when daylight returned they began to discuss various plans, doubting what to do. And after many plans had been proposed and objected

to, they at last decided to occupy Perinthus, and then, every place where they could hear that any treasures were stored up, the deserters and fugitives having given them all the information they required, so that they learnt what was in every house, to say nothing of what was in every city. Adopting this resolution unanimously, which they thought the best, they advanced by slow marches, ravaging and burning everything as they passed.

2. But those who had been besieged in Hadrianople, after the barbarians had departed, as soon as scouts of approved fidelity had reported that the whole place was free from enemies, issued forth at midnight, and avoiding the public causeways, took out-of-way roads through the woods, and withdrew, some to Philippopolis, and from thence to Serdica, others to Macedonia; with all the wealth which they had saved undiminished, and pressing on with the greatest exertion and celerity, as if they were likely to find Valens in those regions, since they were wholly ignorant that he had perished in battle, or else certainly (as is rather believed) burnt to death in the cottage.

3. Meanwhile the Goths, combining with the Huns and Alani, both brave and warlike tribes, and inured to toil and hardship, whom Fritigern had with great ability won over to his side by the temptation of great rewards — fixed their camp near Perinthus; but recollecting their previous losses, they did not venture to come close to the city, or make any attempt to take it; they, however, devastated and entirely stripped the fertile territory surrounding it, slaying or making prisoners of the inhabitants.

4. From hence they marched with speed to Constantinople in battle array, from fear of ambuscades; being eager to make themselves masters of its ample riches, and resolved to try every means to take that illustrious city. But while giving way to extravagant pride, and beating almost against the barriers of the gates, they were repulsed in this instance by the Deity.

5. A body of Saracens (a nation of whose origin and manners we have already given a full account in several places), being more suited for sallies and skirmishes than for pitched battles, had been lately introduced into the city; and, as soon as they saw the barbarian host, they sallied out boldly from the city to attack it. There was a stubborn fight for some time; and at last both armies parted on equal terms.

6. But a strange and unprecedented incident gave the final advantage to the eastern warriors; for one of them with long hair, naked — with the exception of a covering round his waist — shouting a hoarse and melancholy cry, drew his dagger and plunged into the middle of the Gothic host, and after he had slain an enemy, put his lips to his throat, and sucked his blood. The barbarians were terrified at this marvellous prodigy, and from that time forth, when they proceeded on any enterprise, displayed none of their former and usual ferocity, but advanced with hesitating steps.

7. As time went on their ardour damped, and they began to take into consideration the vast circuit of the walls (which was the greater on account of the large space occupied by mansions with gardens within it), the

inaccessible beauties of the city, and the immensity of its population; also the vicinity of the strait which divides the Black Sea from the Ægean. Then after destroying the works which they had constructed, having sustained greater losses than they had inflicted, they raised the siege, and roamed at random over the northern provinces, which they traversed without restraint as far as the Julian Alps, which the ancients used to call the Venetian Alps.

8. At this time the energy and promptitude of Julius, the commander of the forces on the other side of Mount Taurus, was particularly distinguished; for when he learnt what had happened in Thrace, he sent secret letters to all the governors of the different cities and forts, who were all Romans (which at this time is not very common), requesting them, on one and the same day, as at a concerted signal, to put to death all the Goths who had previously been admitted into the places under their charge; first luring them into the suburbs, in expectation of receiving the pay which had been promised to them. This wise plan was carried out without any disturbance or any delay; and thus the Eastern provinces were delivered from great dangers.

9. Thus have I, a Greek by birth, and formerly a soldier, related all the events from the accession of Nerva to the death of Valens, to the best of my abilities; professing above all things to tell the truth, which, as I believe, I have never knowingly perverted, either by silence or by falsehood. Let better men in the flower of their age, and of eminent accomplishments, relate the subsequent events. But if it should please them to undertake the task, I warn them to sharpen their tongues to a loftier style.

NOTES.

¹⁸⁹ The text is unusually mutilated here. It has been proposed to insert: "A little goat with its throat cut was found dead in the street."

¹⁹⁰ Virg. Georg., II. 106.

¹⁹¹ Ammianus here alludes to the canal out through Mount Athos.

¹⁹² See Gibbon, vol. ii., p. 215 (Bohn's edition).

¹⁹³ See Gibbon, vol. iii., p. 229 (Bohn).

¹⁹⁴ *Barritus* is the word used for the trumpeting of an elephant.

¹⁹⁵ See Gibbon, vol. iii., p. 181 (Bohn).



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BOOK XIV

Constantius and Gallus

The cruelty of Gallus Caesar.¹

After the survival of the events of an unendurable campaign,² when the spirits of both parties, broken by the variety of their dangers and hardships, were still drooping, before the blare of the trumpets had ceased or the soldiers been assigned to their winter quarters, the gusts of raging Fortune brought new storms upon the commonwealth through the misdeeds, many and notorious, of Gallus Caesar.³ He had been raised, at the very beginning of mature manhood, by an unexpected promotion from the utmost depths of wretchedness to princely heights, and overstepping the bounds of the authority conferred upon him, by excess of violence was causing trouble everywhere. For by his relationship to the imperial stock, and the affinity which he even then had with the name of Constantius,⁴ he was raised to such a height of presumption that, if he had been more powerful, he would have ventured (it seemed) upon a course hostile to the author of his good fortune. [2] To his cruelty his wife was besides a serious incentive, a woman beyond measure presumptuous because of her kinship to the emperor, and previously joined in marriage by her father Constantine with his brother's son, King Hanniballianus.⁵ She, a Megaera⁶ in mortal guise, constantly aroused the savagery of Gallus, being as insatiable as he in her thirst for human blood. The pair in process of time gradually became more expert in doing harm, and through underhand and crafty eavesdroppers, who had the evil habit of lightly adding to their information and wanting to learn only what was false and agreeable to them, they fastened upon innocent victims false charges of aspiring to royal power or of practising magic. [3] There stood out among their lesser atrocities, when their unbridled power had already surpassed the limits of unimportant delinquencies, the sudden and awful death of one Clematius, a nobleman of Alexandria. This man's mother-in-law, it was said, had a violent passion for her son-in-law, but was unable to seduce him; whereupon, gaining entrance to the palace by a back door, she presented the queen with a valuable necklace, and thus secured the dispatch of his death-warrant to Honoratus, at that time Count of the East;⁷ and so Clematius, a man contaminated by no guilt, was put to death without being allowed to protest or even to open his lips.

[4] After the perpetration of this impious deed, which now began to arouse the fears of others also, as if cruelty were given free rein, some persons were adjudged guilty on the mere shadow of suspicion and condemned. Of these some were put to death, others punished by the confiscation of their property and driven from their homes into exile, where, having nothing left save tears

and complaints, they lived on the doles of charity; and since constitutional and just rule had given place to cruel caprice, wealthy and famous houses were being closed. [5] And no words of an accuser, even though bribed, were required amid these accumulations of evils, in order that these crimes might be committed, at least ostensibly, under the forms of law, as has sometimes been done by cruel emperors; but whatever the implacable Caesar had resolved upon was rushed to fulfilment, as if it had been carefully weighed and determined to be right and lawful. [6] It was further devised that sundry low-born men, whose very insignificance made them little to be feared, should be appointed to gather gossip in all quarters of Antioch and report what they had heard. These, as if travellers, and in disguise, attended the gatherings of distinguished citizens, and gained entrance to the houses of the wealthy in the guise of needy clients; then, being secretly admitted to the palace by a back door, they reported whatever they had been able to hear or learn, with one accord making it a rule to add inventions of their own and make doubly worse what they had learned, but suppressing the praise of Caesar which the fear of impending evils extorted from some against their will. [7] And sometimes it happened that if the head of a household, in the seclusion of his private apartments, with no confidential servant present, had whispered something in the ear of his wife, the emperor learned it on the following day, as if it were reported by Amphiaraus or Marcius, those famous seers of old.⁸ And so even the walls, the only sharers of secrets, were feared. [8] Moreover, his fixed purpose of ferreting out these and many similar things increased, spurred on by the queen, who pushed her husband's fortunes headlong to sheer ruin, when she ought rather, with womanly gentleness, to have recalled him by helpful counsel to the path of truth and mercy, after the manner of the wife⁹ of that savage emperor Maximinus, as we have related in our account of the acts of the Gordians.

[9] Finally, following an unprecedented and destructive course, Gallus also ventured to commit the atrocious crime which, to his utter disgrace, Gallienus is said to have once hazarded at Rome. Taking with him a few attendants with concealed weapons, he used to roam at evening about the inns and street-corners, inquiring of every one in Greek, of which he had remarkable command, what he thought of the Caesar. And this he did boldly in a city¹⁰ where the brightness of the lights at night commonly equals the resplendence of day. At last, being often recognized, and reflecting that if he continued that course he would be conspicuous, he appeared only in broad daylight, to attend to matters which he considered important. And all this conduct of his caused very deep sorrow to many.

[10] Now at that time Thalassius was the Praetorian Prefect at court,¹¹ a man who was himself of an imperious character. He, perceiving that Gallus' temper was rising, to the peril of many, did not try to soothe it by ripe counsel, as sometimes high officials have moderated the ire of princes; but rather roused the Caesar to fury by opposing and reproving him at

unseasonable times; very frequently he informed the emperor of Gallus' doings, exaggerating them and taking pains — whatever his motive may have been — to do it openly. Through this conduct the Caesar was soon still more violently enraged, and as if raising higher, as it were, the standard of his obstinacy, with no regard for his own life or that of others, he rushed on with uncontrollable impetuosity, like a swift torrent, to overthrow whatever opposed him.

Inroads of the Isaurians.

And indeed this was not the only calamity to afflict the Orient with various disasters. For the Isaurians ¹² too, whose way it is now to keep the peace and now put everything in turmoil by sudden raids, abandoned their occasional secret plundering expeditions and, as impunity stimulated for the worse their growing boldness, broke out in a serious war. For a long time they had been inflaming their warlike spirits by restless outbreaks, but they were now especially exasperated, as they declared, by the indignity of some of their associates, who had been taken prisoner, having been thrown to beasts of prey in the shows of the amphitheatre at Iconium, a town of Pisidia — an outrage without precedent. ^[2] And, in the words of Cicero, ¹³ as even wild animals, when warned by hunger, generally return to the place where they were once fed, so they all, swooping like a whirlwind down from their steep and rugged mountains, made for the districts near the sea; and hiding themselves there in pathless lurking-places and defiles as the dark nights were coming on — the moon being still crescent and so not shining with full brilliance — they watched the sailors. And when they saw that they were buried in sleep, creeping on all fours along the anchor-ropes and making their way on tiptoe into the boats, they came upon the crew all unawares, and since their natural ferocity was fired by greed, they spared no one, even of those who surrendered, but massacred them all and without resistance carried off the cargoes, led either by their value or by their usefulness. ^[3] This however did not continue long; for when the fate of those whom they had butchered and plundered became known, no one afterwards put in at those ports, but avoiding them as they would the deadly cliffs of Sciron, ¹⁴ they coasted along the shores of Cyprus, which lie opposite to the crags of Isauria. ^[4] Then presently, as time went on and nothing came their way from abroad, they left the sea-coast and withdrew to that part of Lycaonia that borders on Isauria; and there, blocking the roads with close barricades, they lived on the property of the provincials and of travellers. ^[5] Anger at this aroused the soldiers quartered in the numerous towns and fortresses which lie near those regions, and each division strove to the best of its power to check the marauders as they ranged more widely, now in solid bodies, sometimes even in isolated bands. But the soldiers were defeated by their strength and numbers; for since the Isaurians were born and brought up amid the steep and winding defiles of the mountains, they bounded over them as if they were a smooth and level

plain, attacking the enemy with missiles from a distance and terrifying them with savage howls. [6] And sometimes our infantry in pursuing them were forced to scale lofty slopes, and when they lost their footing, even if they reached the very summits by catching hold of underbrush or briars, the narrow and pathless tracts allowed them neither to take order of battle nor with mighty effort to keep a firm footing; and while the enemy, running here and there, tore off and hurled down masses of rock from above, they made their perilous way down over steep slopes; or if, compelled by dire necessity, they made a brave fight, they were overwhelmed by falling boulders of enormous weight. [7] Therefore extreme caution was shown after that, and when the marauders began to make for the mountain heights, the soldiers yielded to the unfavourable position. When, however, the Isaurians could be found on level ground, as constantly happened, they were allowed neither to stretch out their right arms nor poise their weapons, of which each carried two or three, but they were slaughtered like defenceless sheep.

[8] Accordingly these same marauders, distrusting Lycaonia, which is for the most part level, and having learned by repeated experience that they would be no match for our soldiers in a stand-up fight, made their way by retired by-paths into Pamphylia, long unmolested, it is true, but through fear of raids and massacres protected everywhere by strong garrisons, while troops were spread all over the neighbouring country. [9] Therefore they made great haste, in order by extreme swiftness to anticipate the reports of their movements, trusting in their bodily strength and activity; but they made their way somewhat slowly to the summits of the hills over winding trails. And when, after overcoming extreme difficulties, they came to the steep banks of the Melas, a deep and eddying stream, which surrounds the inhabitants like a wall and protects them, the lateness of the night increased their alarm, and they halted for a time, waiting for daylight. They thought, indeed, to cross without opposition and by their unexpected raid to lay waste all before them; but they endured the greatest hardships to no purpose. [10] For when the sun rose, they were prevented from crossing by the size of the stream, which was narrow but deep. And while they were hunting for fishermen's boats or preparing to cross on hastily woven hurdles, the legions that were then wintering at Side poured out and fell upon them in swift attack. And having set up their standards near the river-bank, the legions drew themselves up most skilfully for fighting hand to hand with a close formation of shields; and with perfect ease they slew some, who had even dared to cross the river secretly, trusting to swimming, or in hollowed out tree trunks. [11] From there, after trying the skill of our soldiers even to a final test without gaining anything, dislodged by fear and the strength of the legions, and not knowing what direction to take, they came to the neighbourhood of the town of Laranda. [12] There they were refreshed with food and rest, and after their fear had left them, they attacked some rich villages; but since these were aided by some cohorts of cavalry, which chanced to come up, the enemy withdrew

without attempting any resistance on the level plain; but as they retreated, they summoned all the flower of their youth that had been left at home. [13] And since they were distressed by severe hunger, they made for a place called Palaea, near the sea, which was protected by a strong wall. There supplies are regularly stored even to-day, for distribution to the troops that defend the whole frontier of Isauria. Therefore they invested that fortress for three days and three nights; but since the steep slope itself could not be approached without deadly peril, and nothing could be effected by mines, and no method of siege was successful, they withdrew in dejection, ready, under the pressure of extreme necessity, to undertake even tasks beyond their powers. [14] Accordingly, filled with still greater fury, to which despair and famine added fuel, with increased numbers and irresistible energy they rushed on to destroy Seleucia, the metropolis of the province, which Count Castricius was holding with three legions steeled by hard service. [15] Warned of their approach by trusty scouts, the officers of the garrison gave the watchword, according to regulations, and in a swift sally led out the entire force; and having quickly crossed the bridge over the river Calycadnus, whose mighty stream washes the towers of the city walls, they drew up their men in order of battle. And yet no one charged or was allowed to fight; for they feared that band on fire with madness, superior in numbers, and ready to rush upon the sword, regardless of their lives. [16] Consequently, when the army came into view afar off, and the notes of the trumpeters were heard, the marauders stopped and halted for a while; then, drawing their formidable swords, they came on at a slower pace. [17] And when the unperturbed soldiers made ready to meet them, deploying their ranks and striking their shields with their spears, an action which rouses the wrath and resentment of the combatants, they intimidated the nearest of the enemy by their very gestures. But as they were eagerly rushing to the fray, their leaders called them back, thinking it inadvisable to risk a doubtful combat when fortifications were not far distant, under the protection of which the safety of all could be put on a solid foundation. [18] In this conviction, then, the warriors were led back within the walls, the entrances to the gates on all sides were barred, and they took their place on the battlements and pinnacles with rocks gathered from every hand and weapons in readiness, so that, if anyone should force his way near to the walls, he might be overwhelmed by a shower of spears and stones. [19] Still, the besieged were greatly troubled by the fact that the Isaurians, having captured some boats which were carrying grain on the river, were abundantly supplied with provisions, while they themselves had already exhausted the regular stores and were dreading the deadly pangs of approaching famine. [20] When the news of this situation spread abroad, and repeated messages dispatched to Gallus Caesar had roused him to action, since the Master of the Horse¹⁵ was at the time too far removed from the spot, orders were given to Nebridius, Count of the East.¹⁶ He quickly got together troops from every side and with the greatest energy was hastening to rescue this great and strategically important city from danger. On

learning this, the freebooters departed without accomplishing anything more of consequence, and scattering (after their usual fashion) made for the trackless wastes of the high mountains.

An unsuccessful plot of the Persians.

When affairs had reached this stage in Isauria, the king of Persia, ¹⁷ involved in war with his neighbours, was driving back from his frontiers a number of very wild tribes which, with inconsistent policy, often make hostile raids upon his territories and sometimes aid him when he makes war upon us. One of his grandees, Nohodares by name, having received orders to invade Mesopotamia whenever occasion offered, was carefully reconnoitring our territory, intending a sudden incursion in case he found any opening. ^[2] And as all the districts of Mesopotamia, being exposed to frequent raids, were protected by frontier-guards and country garrisons, Nohodares, having turned his course to the left, had beset the remotest parts of Osdroene, attempting a novel and all but unprecedented manœuvre; and if he had succeeded, he would have devastated the whole region like a thunderbolt. Now what he planned was the following.

^[3] The town of Batne, founded in Anthemusia in early times by a band of Macedonians, is separated by a short space from the river Euphrates; it is filled with wealthy traders when, at the yearly festival, near the beginning of the month of September, a great crowd of every condition gathers for the fair, to traffic in the wares sent from India and China, and in other articles that are regularly brought there in great abundance by land and sea. ^[4] This district the above-mentioned leader made ready to invade, on the days set for this celebration, through the wilderness and the grass-covered banks of the river Abora; but he was betrayed by information given by some of his own soldiers, who, fearing punishment for a crime which they had committed, deserted to the Roman garrison. Therefore, withdrawing without accomplishing anything, he languished thereafter in inaction.

Inroads of the Saracens; their customs.

The Saracens, however, whom we never found desirable either as friends or as enemies, ranging up and down the country, in a brief space of time laid waste whatever they could find, like rapacious kites which, whenever they have caught sight of any prey from on high, seize it with swift swoop, and directly they have seized it make off. ^[2] Although I recall having told of their customs in my history of the emperor Marcus, ¹⁸ and several times after that, yet I will now briefly relate a few more particulars about them. ^[3] Among those tribes whose original abode extends from the Assyrians to the cataracts of the Nile and the frontiers of the Blemmyae all alike are warriors of equal rank, half-nude, clad in dyed cloaks as far as the loins, ranging widely with

the help of swift horses and slender camels in times of peace or of disorder. No man ever grasps a plough-handle or cultivates a tree, none seeks a living by tilling the soil, but they rove continually over wide and extensive tracts without a home, without fixed abodes or laws; they cannot long endure the same sky, nor does the sun of a single district ever content them. [4] Their life is always on the move, and they have mercenary wives, hired under a temporary contract. But in order that there may be some semblance of matrimony, the future wife, by way of dower, offers her husband a spear and a tent, with the right to leave him after a stipulated time, if she so elect: and it is unbelievable with what ardour both sexes give themselves up to passion. [5] Moreover, they wander so widely as long as they live, that a woman marries in one place, gives birth in another, and rears her children far away, without being allowed any opportunity for rest. [6] They all feed upon game and an abundance of milk, which is their main sustenance, on a variety of plants, as well as on such birds as they are able to take by fowling; and I have seen many of them who were wholly unacquainted with grain and wine. [7] So much for this dangerous tribe. Let us now return to our original theme.

The torture of the followers of Magnentius.

While this was happening in the East, Constantius was passing the winter at Arelate, where he gave entertainments in the theatre and the circus with ostentatious magnificence. Then, on the 10th of October, which completed the thirtieth year of his reign, ¹⁹ giving greater weight to his arrogance and accepting every false or doubtful charge as evident and proven, among other atrocities he tortured Gerontius, a count of the party of Magnentius, ²⁰ and visited him with the sorrow of exile. [2] And, as an ailing body is apt to be affected even by slight annoyances, so his narrow and sensitive mind, thinking that every sound indicated something done or planned at the expense of his safety, made his victory ²¹ lamentable through the murder of innocent men. [3] For if anyone of the military commanders or ex-officials, ²² or one of high rank in his own community, was accused even by rumour of having favoured the party of the emperor's opponent, he was loaded with chains and dragged about like a wild beast. And whether a personal enemy pressed the charge or no one at all, as though it was enough that he had been named, informed against, or accused, he was condemned to death, or his property confiscated, or he was banished to some desert island.

[4] Moreover his harsh cruelty, whenever the majesty of the empire was said to be insulted, and his angry passions and unfounded suspicions were increased by the bloodthirsty flattery of his courtiers, who exaggerated everything that happened and pretended to be greatly troubled by the thought of an attempt on the life of a prince on whose safety, as on a thread, they hypocritically declared that the condition of the whole world depended. [5] And he is even said to have given orders that no one who had ever been punished for these or similar offences should be given a new trial after a writ

of condemnation ²³ had once been presented to him in the usual manner, which even the most inexorable emperors commonly allowed. And this fatal fault of cruelty, which in others sometimes grew less with advancing age, in his case became more violent, since a group of flatterers intensified his stubborn resolution.

[6] Prominent among these was the state secretary ²⁴ Paulus, a native of Spain, a kind of viper, whose countenance concealed his character, but who was extremely clever in scenting out hidden means of danger for others. When he had been sent to Britain to fetch some officers who had dared to conspire with Magnentius, since they could make no resistance he autocratically exceeded his instructions and, like a flood, suddenly overwhelmed the fortunes of many, making his way amid manifold slaughter and destruction, imprisoning freeborn men and even degrading some with handcuffs; as a matter of fact, he patched together many accusations with utter disregard of the truth, and to him was due an impious crime, which fixed an eternal stain upon the time of Constantius. [7] Martinus, who was governing those provinces as substitute for the prefects, deeply deplored the woes suffered by innocent men; and after often begging that those who were free from any reproach should be spared, when he failed in his appeal he threatened to retire, in the hope that, at least through fear of this, that malevolent man-hunter might finally cease to expose to open danger men naturally given to peace. [8] Paulus thought that this would interfere with his profession, and being a formidable artist in devising complications, for which reason he was nicknamed “The Chain,” since the substitute continued to defend those whom he was appointed to govern, Paulus involved even him in the common peril, threatening to bring him also in chains to the emperor’s court, along with the tribunes and many others. Thereupon Martinus, alarmed at this threat, and thinking swift death imminent, drew his sword and attacked that same Paulus. But since the weakness of his hand prevented him from dealing a fatal blow, he plunged the sword which he had already drawn into his own side. And by that ignominious death there passed from life a most just ruler, who had dared to lighten the unhappy lot of many. [9] After perpetrating these atrocious crimes, Paulus, stained with blood, returned to the emperor’s camp, bringing with him many men almost covered with chains and in a state of pitiful filth and wretchedness. On their arrival, the racks were made ready and the executioner prepared his hooks and other instruments of torture. Many of the prisoners were proscribed, others driven into exile; to some the sword dealt the penalty of death. For no one easily recalls the acquittal of anyone in the time of Constantius when an accusation against him had even been whispered.

The faults of the Roman Senate and People.

Meanwhile Orfitus was governing the eternal city with the rank of Prefect, and with an arrogance beyond the limits of the power that had been conferred

upon him. He was a man of wisdom, it is true, and highly skilled in legal practice, but less equipped with the adornment of the liberal arts than became a man of noble rank. During his term of office serious riots broke out because of the scarcity of wine; for the people, eager for an unrestrained use of this commodity, are roused to frequent and violent disturbances.

[2] Now I think that some foreigners ²⁵ who will perhaps read this work (if I shall be so fortunate) may wonder why it is that when the narrative turns to the description of what goes on at Rome, I tell of nothing save dissensions, taverns, and other similar vulgarities. Accordingly, I shall briefly touch upon the reasons, intending nowhere to depart intentionally from the truth.

[3] At the time when Rome first began to rise into a position of world-wide splendour, destined to live so long as men shall exist, in order that she might grow to a towering stature, Virtue and Fortune, ordinarily at variance, formed a pact of eternal peace; for if either one of them had failed her, Rome had not come to complete supremacy. [4] Her people, from the very cradle to the end of their childhood, ²⁶ a period of about three hundred years, carried on wars about her walls. Then, entering upon adult life, after many toilsome wars, they crossed the Alps and the sea. Grown to youth and manhood, from every region which the vast globe includes, they brought back laurels and triumphs. And now, declining into old age, and often owing victory to its name alone, it has come to a quieter period of life. [5] Thus the venerable city, after humbling the proud necks of savage nations, and making laws, the everlasting foundations and moorings of liberty, like a thrifty parent, wise and wealthy, has entrusted the management of her inheritance to the Caesars, as to her children. [6] And although for some time the tribes ²⁷ have been inactive and the centuries ²⁸ at peace, and there are no contests for votes but the tranquillity of Numa's time has returned, yet throughout all regions and parts of the earth she is accepted as mistress and queen; everywhere the white hair of the senators and their authority are revered and the name of the Roman people is respected and honoured.

[7] But this magnificence and splendour of the assemblies is marred by the rude worthlessness of a few, who do not consider where they were born, but, as if licence were granted to vice, descend to sin and wantonness. For as the lyric poet Simonides tells us, ²⁹ one who is going to live happy and in accord with perfect reason ought above all else to have a glorious fatherland. [8] Some of these men eagerly strive for statues, thinking that by them they can be made immortal, as if they would gain a greater reward from senseless brazen images than from the consciousness of honourable and virtuous conduct. And they take pains to have them overlaid with gold, a fashion first introduced by Acilius Glabrio, ³⁰ after his skill and his arms had overcome King Antiochus. ³¹ But how noble it is, scorning these slight and trivial honours, to aim to tread the long and steep ascent to true glory, as the bard of Ascrea expresses it, ³² is made clear by Cato the Censor. For when he was asked why he alone among many did not have a statue, he replied: "I would rather that good men should

wonder why I did not deserve one than (which is much worse) should mutter ‘Why was he given one?’”

[9] Other men, taking great pride in coaches higher than common and in ostentatious finery of apparel, sweat under heavy cloaks, which they fasten about their necks and bind around their very throats, while the air blows through them because of the excessive lightness of the material; and they lift them up with both hands and wave them with many gestures, especially with their left hands, ³³ in order that the over-long fringes and the tunics embroidered with party-coloured threads in multiform figures of animals may be conspicuous. [10] Others, though no one questions them, assume a grave expression and greatly exaggerate their wealth, doubling the annual yield of their fields, well cultivated (as they think), of which they assert that they possess a great number from the rising to the setting sun; they are clearly unaware that their forefathers, through whom the greatness of Rome was so far flung, gained renown, not by riches, but by fierce wars, and not differing from the common soldiers in wealth, mode of life, or simplicity of attire, overcame all obstacles by valour. [11] For that reason the eminent Valerius Publicola was buried by a contribution of money, ³⁴ and through the aid of her husband’s friends ³⁵ the needy wife of Regulus and her children were supported. And the daughter of Scipio ³⁶ received her dowry from the public treasury, since the nobles blushed to look upon the beauty of this marriageable maiden long unsought because of the absence of a father of modest means.

[12] But now-a-days, if as a stranger ³⁷ of good position you enter for the first time to pay your respects to some man who is well-to-do ³⁸ and therefore puffed up, at first you will be greeted as if you were an eagerly expected friend, and after being asked many questions and forced to lie, you will wonder, since the man never saw you before, that a great personage should pay such marked attention to your humble self as to make you regret, because of such special kindness, that you did not see Rome ten years earlier. [13] When, encouraged by this affability, you make the same call on the following day, you will hang about unknown and unexpected, while the man who the day before urged you to call again counts up his clients, wondering who you are or whence you came. But when you are at last recognized and admitted to his friendship, if you devote yourself to calling upon him for three years without interruption, then are away for the same number of days, and return to go through with a similar course, you will not be asked where you were, and unless you abandon the quest in sorrow, you will waste your whole life to no purpose in paying court to the blockhead. [14] And when, after a sufficient interval of time, the preparation of those tedious and unwholesome banquets begins, or the distribution of the customary doles, it is debated with anxious deliberation whether it will be suitable to invite a stranger, with the exception of those to whom a return of hospitality is due; and if, after full and mature deliberation, the decision is in the affirmative, the man who is invited is one who watches all night before the house of the charioteers, ³⁹ or who is a

professional dicer, or who pretends to the knowledge of certain secrets. [15] For they avoid learned and serious people as unlucky and useless, in addition to which the announcers of names, who are wont to traffic in these and similar favours, on receiving a bribe, admit to the doles and the dinners obscure and low-born intruders.

[16] But I pass over the gluttonous banquets and the various allurements of pleasures, lest I should go too far, and I shall pass to the fact that certain persons hasten without fear of danger through the broad streets of the city and over the upturned stones of the pavements as if they were driving post-horses with hoofs of fire (as the saying is), dragging after them armies of slaves like bands of brigands and not leaving even Sannio at home, as the comic writer says. ⁴⁰ And many matrons, imitating them, rush about through all quarters of the city with covered heads and in closed litters. [17] And as skilful directors of battles place in the van dense throngs of brave soldiers, then light-armed troops, after them the javelin-throwers, and last of all the reserve forces, to enter the action in case chance makes it needful, just so those who have charge of a city household, made conspicuous by wands grasped in their right hands, carefully and diligently draw up the array; then, as if the signal had been given in camp, close to the front of the carriage all the weavers march; next to these the blackened service of the kitchen, then all the rest of the slaves without distinction, accompanied by the idle plebeians of the neighbourhood; finally, the throng of eunuchs, beginning with the old men and ending with the boys, sallow and disfigured by the distorted form of their members; so that, wherever anyone goes, beholding the troops of mutilated men, he would curse the memory of that Queen Samiramis of old, who was the first of all to castrate young males, thus doing violence, as it were, to Nature and wresting her from her intended course, since she at the very beginning of life, through the primitive founts of the seed, by a kind of secret law, shows the ways to propagate posterity.

[18] In consequence of this state of things, the few houses that were formerly famed for devotion to serious pursuits now teem with the sports of sluggish indolence, re-echoing to the sound of singing and the tinkling of flutes and lyres. In short, in place of the philosopher the singer is called in, and in place of the orator the teacher of stagecraft, and while the libraries are shut up forever like tombs, water-organs are manufactured and lyres as large as carriages, and flutes and instruments heavy for gesticulating actors.

[19] At last we have reached such a state of baseness, that whereas not so very long ago, when there was fear of a scarcity of food, foreigners were driven neck and crop from the city, ⁴¹ and those who practised the liberal arts (very few in number) were thrust out without a breathing space, yet the genuine attendants upon actresses of the mimes, and those who for the time pretended to be such, were kept with us, while three thousand dancing girls, without even being questioned, remained here with their choruses, and an equal number of dancing masters. [20] And, wherever you turn your eyes, you

may see a throng of women with curled hair, who might, if they had married, by this time, so far as age goes, have already produced three children, sweeping the pavements ⁴² with their feet to the point of weariness and whirling in rapid gyrations, while they represent the innumerable figures that the stage-plays have devised.

[21] Furthermore, there is no doubt that when once upon a time Rome was the abode of all the virtues, many of the nobles detained here foreigners of free birth by various kindly attentions, as the Lotuseaters of Homer ⁴³ did by the sweetness of their fruits. [22] But now the vain arrogance of some men regards everything born outside the pomerium ⁴⁴ of our city as worthless, except the childless and unwedded; and it is beyond belief with what various kinds of obsequiousness men without children are courted at Rome. ⁴⁵ [23] And since among them, as is natural in the capital of the world, cruel disorders gain such heights that all the healing art is powerless even to mitigate them, it has been provided, as a means of safety, that no one shall visit a friend suffering from such a disease, and by a few who are more cautious another sufficiently effective remedy has been added, namely, that servants sent to inquire after the condition of a man's acquaintances who have been attacked by that disorder should not be readmitted to their masters' house until they have purified their persons by a bath. So fearful are they of a contagion seen only by the eyes of others. [24] But yet, although these precautions are so strictly observed, some men, when invited to a wedding, where gold is put into their cupped right hands, although the strength of their limbs is impaired, will run even all the way to Spoletium. ⁴⁶ Such are the habits of the nobles.

[25] But of the multitude of lowest condition and greatest poverty some spend the entire night in wineshops, some lurk in the shade of the awnings of the theatres, which Catulus ⁴⁷ in his aedileship, imitating Campanian wantonness, was the first to spread, or they quarrel with one another in their games at dice, making a disgusting sound by drawing back the breath into their resounding nostrils; or, which is the favourite among all amusements, from sunrise until evening, in sunshine and in rain, they stand open-mouthed, examining minutely the good points or the defects of charioteers and their horses. [26] And it is most remarkable to see an innumerable crowd of plebeians, their minds filled with a kind of eagerness, hanging on the outcome of the chariot races. These and similar things prevent anything memorable or serious from being done in Rome. Accordingly, I must return to my subject.

Atrocities and savagery of Gallus Caesar.

His lawlessness now more widely extended, Caesar became offensive to all good men, and henceforth showing no restraint, he harassed all parts of the East, sparing neither ex-magistrates nor the chief men of the cities, nor even the plebeians. [2] Finally, he ordered the death of the leaders of the senate of Antioch ⁴⁸ in a single writ, enraged because when he urged a prompt introduction of cheap prices at an unseasonable time, since scarcity

threatened, they had made a more vigorous reply than was fitting. And they would have perished to a man, had not Honoratus, then count-governor ⁴⁹ of the East, opposed him with firm resolution. [3] This also was a sign of his savage nature which was neither obscure nor hidden, that he delighted in cruel sports; and sometimes in the Circus, absorbed in six or seven contests, he exulted in the sight of boxers pounding each other to death and drenched with blood, as if he had made some great gain. [4] Besides this, his propensity for doing harm was inflamed and incited by a worthless woman, who, on being admitted to the palace (as she had demanded) had betrayed a plot that was secretly being made against him by some soldiers of the lowest condition. Whereupon Constantina, exulting as if the safety of her husband were now assured, gave her a reward, and seating her in a carriage, sent her out through the palace gates into the public streets, in order that by such inducements she might tempt others to reveal similar or greater conspiracies.

[5] After this, when Gallus was on the point of leaving for Hierapolis, ostensibly to take part in the campaign, and the commons of Antioch suppliantly besought him to save them from the fear of a famine, which, through many difficulties of circumstance, was then believed to be imminent, he did not, after the manner of princes whose widely extended power sometimes cures local troubles, make any arrangements or command the bringing of supplies from neighbouring provinces; but to the multitude, which was in fear of the direst necessity, he delivered up Theophilus, consular governor of Syria, who was standing near by, constantly repeating the statement, that no one could lack food if the governor did not wish it. [6] These words increased the audacity of the lowest classes, and when the lack of provisions became more acute, driven by hunger and rage, they set fire to the pretentious house of a certain Eubulus, a man of distinction among his own people; then, as if the governor had been delivered into their hands by an imperial edict, they assailed him with kicks and blows, and trampling him under foot when he was half-dead, with awful mutilation tore him to pieces. After his wretched death each man saw in the end of one person an image of his own peril and dreaded a fate like that which he had just witnessed. [7] At that same time Serenianus, a former general, through whose inefficiency Celse in Phoenicia had been pillaged, as we have described, ⁵⁰ was justly and legally tried for high treason, and it was doubtful by what favour he could be acquitted; for it was clearly proved that he had enchanted by forbidden arts a cap which he used to wear, and sent a friend of his with it to a prophetic shrine, to seek for omens as to whether the imperial power was destined to be firmly and safely his, as he desired. [8] At that time a twofold evil befell, in that an awful fate took off Theophilus, who was innocent, and Serenianus, who was deserving of universal execration, got off scotfree, almost without any strong public protest.

[9] Constantius, hearing of these events from time to time, and being informed of some things by Thalassius, ⁵¹ who, as he had now learned, had

died a natural death, wrote in flattering terms to the Caesar, but gradually withdrew from him his means of defence. He pretended to be anxious, since soldiers are apt to be disorderly in times of inaction, lest they might conspire for Gallus' destruction, and bade him be satisfied with the palace troops only⁵² and those of the guards, besides the Targeteers and the Household troops. He further ordered Domitianus, a former state treasurer,⁵³ and now prefect, that when he came into Syria, he should politely and respectfully urge Gallus, whom he had frequently summoned, to hasten to return to Italy.^[10] But when Domitianus had quickened his pace because of these instructions and had come to Antioch, passing by the gates of the palace in contempt of the Caesar, on whom he ought to have called, he went to the general's quarters with the usual pomp, and having for a long time pleaded illness, he neither entered the palace nor appeared in public, but remaining in hiding he made many plots for Gallus' ruin, adding some superfluous details to the reports which from time to time he sent to the emperor.^[11] At last, being invited to the palace and admitted to the council,⁵⁴ without any preliminary remarks he said inconsiderately and coolly: "Depart, Caesar and know that, if you delay, I shall at once order your supplies and those of your palace to be cut off." Having said only this in an insolent tone, he went off in a passion, and although often sent for, he never afterwards came into Gallus' presence.^[12] Caesar, angered at this and feeling that such treatment was unjust and undeserved, ordered his faithful guards⁵⁵ to arrest the prefect. When this became known, Montius, who was then quaestor,⁵⁶ a spirited man but somewhat inclined to moderate measures, having in view the public welfare, sent for the foremost members of the palace troops and addressed them in mild terms, pointing out that such conduct was neither seemly nor expedient and adding in a tone of reproof that if they approved of this course, it would be fitting first to overthrow the statues of Constantius and then plan with less anxiety for taking the life of the prefect.^[13] On learning this, Gallus, like a serpent attacked by darts or stones, waiting now for a last expedient and trying to save his life by any possible means, ordered all his troops to be assembled under arms, and while they stood in amazement, he said, baring and gnashing his teeth, "Stand by me, my brave men, who are like myself in danger.^[14] Montius with a kind of strange and unprecedented arrogance in this loud harangue of his accuses us of being rebels and as resisting the majesty of Augustus, no doubt in anger because I ordered an insolent prefect, who presumes to ignore what proper conduct requires, to be imprisoned, merely to frighten him."^[15] With no further delay the soldiers, as often eager for disturbance, first attacked Montius, who lodged close by, an old man frail of body and ill besides, bound coarse ropes to his legs, and dragged him spread-eagle fashion without any breathing-space all the way to Caesar's headquarters.^[16] And in the same access of rage they threw Domitianus down the steps, then bound him also with ropes, and tying the two together, dragged them at full speed through the broad streets of the city. And when finally their

joints and limbs were torn asunder, leaping upon their dead bodies, they mutilated them in a horrible manner, and at last, as if glutted, threw them into the river. [17] Now these men, reckless to the point of madness, were roused to such atrocious deeds as they committed by a certain Luscus, curator of the city. He suddenly appeared and with repeated cries, like a bawling leader of porters, urged them to finish what they had begun. And for that not long afterwards he was burned alive.

[18] And because Montius, when about to breathe his last in the hands of those who were rending him, cried out upon Epigonus and Eusebius, but without indicating their profession or rank, men of the same name were sought for with great diligence. And in order that the excitement might not cool, a philosopher Epigonus from Cilicia was arrested, and a Eusebius, surnamed Pittacas, a vehement orator, from Edessa, although it was not these that the quaestor had implicated, but some tribunes of forges, ⁵⁷ who had promised arms in case a revolution should be set on foot. [19] In those same days Apollinaris, son-in-law of Domitianus, who a short time before had been in charge of Caesar's palace, being sent to Mesopotamia by his father-in-law, inquired with excessive interest among the companies of soldiers whether they had received any secret messages from Gallus which indicated that he was aiming higher; but when he heard what had happened at Antioch, he slipped off through Lesser Armenia and made for Constantinople, but from there he was brought back by the guards and kept in close confinement.

[20] Now, while these things were happening, attention was drawn at Tyre to a royal robe that had been made secretly, but it was uncertain who had ordered it or for whose use it was made. Consequently the governor of the province at that time, who was the father of Apollinaris and of the same name, was brought to trial as his accomplice; and many others were gathered together from various cities and were bowed down by the weight of charges of heinous crimes.

[21] And now, when the clarions of internal disaster were sounding, the disordered mind of Caesar, turned from consideration of the truth, and not secretly as before, vented its rage; and since no one conducted the usual examination of the charges either made or invented, or distinguished the innocent from association with the guilty, all justice vanished from the courts as though driven out. And while the legitimate defence of cases was put to silence, the executioner (trustee of plunderings), hoodwinking for execution, and confiscation of property ranged everywhere throughout the eastern provinces. These I think it now a suitable time to review, excepting Mesopotamia, which has already been described in connection with the account of the Parthian wars, ⁵⁸ and Egypt, which we will necessarily postpone to another time. ⁵⁹

Description of the Eastern Provinces.

After one passes the summits of Mount Taurus, which on the east rise to a

lofty height, Cilicia spreads out in widely extended plains, a land abounding in products of every kind; and adjoining its right side is Isauria, equally blest with fruitful vines and abundant grain, being divided in the middle by the navigable river Calycadnus. [2] This province too, in addition to many towns, is adorned by two cities; Seleucia, the work of king Seleucus, and Claudiopropolis, which Claudius Caesar⁶⁰ founded as a colony. For Isaura, which was formerly too powerful, was long ago overthrown as a dangerous rebel, and barely shows a few traces of its former glory. [3] Cilicia, however, which boasts of the river Cydnus, is ennobled by Tarsus, a fair city; this is said to have been founded by Perseus, son of Jupiter, and Danaë, or else by a wealthy and high-born man, Sandan by name, who came from Ethiopia. There is also Anazarbus, bearing the name of its founder, and Mobsuestia, the abode of that famous diviner Mobsus. He, wandering from his fellow-warriors the Argonauts when they were returning after carrying off the golden fleece, and being borne to the coast of Africa, met a sudden death. Thereafter his heroic remains, covered with Punic sod, have been for the most part effective in healing a variety of diseases. [4] These two provinces, crowded with bands of brigands, were long ago, during the war with the pirates, sent under the yoke by the proconsul Servilius⁶¹ and made to pay tribute. And these regions indeed, lying, as it were, upon a promontory, are separated from the eastern continent by Mount Amanus. [5] But the frontier of the East, extending a long distance in a straight line, reaches from the banks of the Euphrates to the borders of the Nile, being bounded on the left by the Saracenic races and on the right exposed to the waves of the sea. Of this district Nicator Seleucus took possession and greatly increased it in power, when by right of succession he was holding the rule of Persia after the death of Alexander of Macedon; and he was a successful and efficient king, as his surname Nicator indicates. [6] For by taking advantage of the great number of men whom he ruled for a long time in peace, in place of their rustic dwellings he built cities of great strength and abundant wealth; and many of these, although they are now called by the Greek names which were imposed upon them by the will of their founder, nevertheless have not lost the old appellations in the Assyrian tongue which the original settlers gave them.

[7] And first after Osdroene, which, as has been said, I have omitted from this account, Commagene, now called Euphratensis, gradually lifts itself into eminence; ⁶² it is famous for the great cities of Hierapolis, the ancient Ninus, and Samosata.

[8] Next Syria spreads for a distance over a beautiful plain. This is famed for Antioch, a city known to all the world, and without a rival, so rich is it in imported and domestic commodities; likewise for Laodicia, Apamia, and also Seleucia, most flourishing cities from their very origin.

[9] After this comes Phoenicia, lying at the foot of Mount Libanus, ⁶³ a region full of charm and beauty, adorned with many great cities; among these in attractiveness and the renown of their names Tyre, Sidon and Berytus are

conspicuous, and equal to these are Emissa and Damascus, founded in days long past. [10] Now these provinces, encircled by the river Orontes, which, after flowing past the foot of that lofty mountain Cassius, empties into the Parthenian Sea, ⁶⁴ were taken from the realms of the Armenians by Gnaeus Pompeius, after his defeat of Tigranes, ⁶⁵ and brought under Roman sway.

[11] The last region of the Syrias is Palestine, extending over a great extent of territory and abounding in cultivated and well-kept lands; it also has some splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb-line. ⁶⁶ These are Caesarea, which Herodes ⁶⁷ built in honour of the emperor Octavianus, ⁶⁸ Eleutheropolis, and Neapolis, along with Ascalon and Gaza, built in a former age. [12] In these districts no navigable river is anywhere to be seen, but in numerous places natural warm springs gush forth, adapted to many medicinal uses. But these regions also met with a like fate, being formed into a province by Pompey, after he had defeated the Jews and taken Jerusalem, ⁶⁹ but left to the jurisdiction of a governor.

[13] Adjacent to this region is Arabia, which on one side adjoins the country of the Nabataei, a land producing a rich variety of wares and studded with strong castles and fortresses, which the watchful care of the early inhabitants reared in suitable and readily defended defiles, to check the inroads of neighbouring tribes. This region also has, in addition to some towns, great cities, Bostra, Gerasa and Philadelphia, all strongly defended by mighty walls. It was given the name of a province, assigned a governor, and compelled to obey our laws by the emperor Trajan, ⁷⁰ who, by frequent victories crushed the arrogance of its inhabitants when he was waging glorious war with Media and the Parthians.

[14] Cyprus, too, an island far removed from the mainland, and abounding in harbours, besides having numerous towns, is made famous by two cities, Salamis and Paphos, the one celebrated for its shrines of Jupiter, the other for its temple of Venus. This Cyprus is so fertile and so abounds in products of every kind, that without the need of any help from without, by its native resources alone it builds cargo ships from the very keel to the topmast sails, and equipping them completely entrusts them to the deep. [15] Nor am I loth to say that the Roman people in invading that island showed more greed than justice; for King Ptolemy, ⁷¹ our ally joined to us by a treaty, without any fault of his, merely because of the low state of our treasury was ordered to be proscribed, and in consequence committed suicide by drinking poison; whereupon the island was made tributary and its spoils, as though those of an enemy, were taken aboard our fleet and brought to Rome by Cato. ⁷² I shall now resume the thread of my narrative.

Of Constantius Gallus Caesar.

Amid this variety of disasters Ursicinus, to whose attendance the imperial command had attached me, was summoned from Nisibis, of which he was in

charge, and was compelled, in spite of his reluctance and his opposition to the clamorous troops of flatterers, to investigate the accusations in the deadly strife. He was in fact a warrior, having always been a soldier and a leader of soldiers, but far removed from the wranglings of the forum; accordingly, worried by fear of the danger which threatened him, seeing the corrupt accusers and judges with whom he was associated all coming forth from the same holes, he informed Constantius by secret letters of what was going on furtively or openly, and begged for aid, that through fear of it the well-known arrogance of the Caesar might subside. [2] But by too great caution he had fallen into worse snares, as we shall show later, since his rivals patched up dangerous plots with Constantius, who was in other respects a moderate emperor, but cruel and implacable if anyone, however obscure, had whispered in his ear anything of that kind, and in cases of that nature unlike himself.

[3] Accordingly, on the day set for the fatal examinations the master of the horse took his seat, ostensibly as a judge, attended by others who had been told in advance what was to be done; and here and there shorthand writers were stationed who reported every question and every answer posthaste to Caesar; and by his cruel orders, instigated by the queen, who from time to time poked her face through a curtain, many were done to death without being allowed to clear themselves of the charges or to make any defence. [4] First of all, then, Epigonus and Eusebius were brought before them and ruined by the affinity of their names; for Montius, as I have said,⁷³ at the very end of his life had accused certain tribunes of forging called by those names of having promised support to some imminent enterprise. [5] And Epigonus, for his part, was a philosopher only in his attire, as became evident; for when he had tried entreaties to no purpose, when his sides had been furrowed and he was threatened with death, by a shameful confession he declared that he was implicated in plans which never existed, whereas he had neither seen nor heard anything; he was wholly unacquainted with legal matters. Eusebius on the contrary, courageously denied the charges, and although he was put upon the rack, he remained firm in the same degree of constancy, crying out that it was the act of brigands and not of a court of justice. [6] And when, being acquainted with the law, he persistently called for his accuser and the usual formalities, Caesar, being informed of his demand and regarding his freedom of speech as arrogance, ordered that he be tortured as a reckless traducer. And when he had been so disembowelled that he had no parts left to torture, calling on Heaven for justice and smiling sardonically, he remained unshaken, with stout heart, neither deigning to accuse himself nor anyone else; and at last, without having admitted his guilt or been convicted, he was condemned to death along with his abject associate. And he was led off to execution unafraid, railing at the wickedness of the times and imitating the ancient stoic Zeno, who, after being tortured for a long time, to induce him to give false witness, tore his tongue from its roots and hurled it with its blood and spittle into the eyes of the king of Cyprus, who was putting him to the question.

[7] After this, the matter of the royal robe was investigated, and when those who were employed in dyeing purple were tortured and had confessed to making a short sleeveless tunic to cover the chest, a man named Maras was brought in, a deacon, as the Christians call them. A letter of his was presented, written in Greek to the foreman of a weaving plant in Tyre, strongly urging him to speed up a piece of work; but what it was the letter did not say. But although finally Maras also was tortured within an inch of his life, he could not be forced to make any confession. [8] So when many men of various conditions had been put to the question, some things were found to be doubtful and others were obviously unimportant. And after many had been put to death, the two Apollinares, father and son, were exiled; but when they had come to a place called Craterae, namely, a villa of theirs distant twenty-four miles from Antioch, their legs were broken, according to orders, and they were killed. [9] After their death Gallus, no whit less ferocious than before, like a lion that had tasted blood, tried many cases of the kind; but of all of these it is not worth while to give an account, for fear that I may exceed the limits which I have set myself, a thing which I certainly ought to avoid.

The Alamanni sue for peace, which is granted by Constantius Augustus.

While the East was enduring this long tyranny, as soon as the warm season began, Constantius, being in his seventh consulship with Gallus in his second, ⁷⁴ set out from Arelate for Valentia, to make war upon the brothers Gundomadus and Valomarius, kings of the Alamanni, whose frequent raids were devastating that part of Gaul which adjoined their frontiers. [2] And while he delayed there for a long time, waiting for supplies, the transport of which from Aquitania was hindered by spring rains of unusual frequency and by rivers in flood, Herculanus came there, one of his body-guard, the son of Hermogenes, formerly commander of the cavalry and, as we have before related, ⁷⁵ torn to pieces in a riot of the people at Constantinople. When this man gave a true account of what Gallus and his wife had done, the emperor, grieving over the past disasters and made anxious by fear of those to come, concealed the distress that he felt as long as he could. [3] The soldiers, however, who in the meantime had been assembled at Châlon, ⁷⁶ began to rage with impatience at the delay, being the more incensed because they lacked even the necessities of life, since the usual supplies had not yet been brought. [4] Therefore Rufinus, who was at that time praetorian prefect, ⁷⁷ was exposed to extreme danger; for he was forced to go in person before the troops, who were aroused both by the scarcity and by their natural savage temper, and besides were naturally inclined to be harsh and bitter towards men in civil positions, ⁷⁸ in order to pacify them and explain why the convoy of provisions was interrupted. [5] This was a shrewd plan, cunningly devised with set purpose, in order that by a plot of that kind the uncle of Gallus ⁷⁹ might perish, for fear that so very powerful a man might whet the boldness of his nephew

and encourage his dangerous designs. But great precautions were taken, and when the design was postponed, Eusebius, the grand chamberlain,⁸⁰ was sent to Châlon taking gold with him; when this had been secretly distributed among the turbulent inciters of rebellion, the rage of the soldiers abated and the safety of the prefect was assured. Then an abundant supply of food arrived and the camp was moved on the appointed day. [6] And so, after surmounting many difficulties, over paths many of which were heaped high with snow, they came near to Rauracum⁸¹ on the banks of the river Rhine. There a great force of the Alamanni opposed them, and hurling weapons from all sides like hail, by their superior numbers prevented the Romans from making a bridge by joining boats together. And when that was obviously impossible, the emperor was consumed with anxious thought and in doubt what course to take. [7] But lo! a guide acquainted with the region unexpectedly appeared, and, in return for money, pointed out by night a place abounding in shallows, where the river could be crossed. And there the army might have been led over, while the enemy's attention was turned elsewhere, and devastated the whole country without opposition, had not a few men of that same race, who held military positions of high rank, informed their countrymen of the design by secret messengers, as some thought. [8] Now the shame of that suspicion fell upon Latinus, count in command of the bodyguard,⁸² Agilo, tribune⁸³ in charge of the stable, and Scudilo, commander of the targeteers,⁸⁴ who were then highly regarded as having in their hands the defence of the state.⁸⁵ [9] But the savages, taking such counsel as the immediate circumstances demanded, since the obstinacy which inspired a bold resistance was diminished perhaps because the auspices were unfavourable or because the authority of the sacrifices forbade an engagement, sent their chiefs to sue for peace and pardon for their offences. [10] Therefore the envoys of both kings were detained and the matter was discussed for a long time in secret; and since there was general agreement in the opinion that peace which was asked for on reasonable conditions ought to be granted, and that it would be expedient to do so under the present circumstances, the emperor summoned an assembly of the army, intending to say a few words appropriate to the occasion; and taking his place upon a tribunal, surrounded by a staff of high officials, he spoke after this fashion:

[11] "Let no one, I pray, be surprised, if after going through the toil of long marches and getting together great quantities of supplies, I now, when approaching the abode of the savages, with my confidence in you leading the way, as if by a sudden change of plan have turned to milder designs. [12] For each one of you, according to his rank and judgment, upon consideration will find it to be true, that the soldier in all instances, however strong and vigorous of body, regards and defends only himself and his own life. The commander, on the other hand, has manifold duties, since he aims at fairness to all; and being the guardian of others' safety, he realises that the interests of the people look to him wholly for protection and that therefore he ought eagerly to seize

upon all remedies which the condition of affairs allows, as though offered to him by the favour of Heaven. [13] To put the matter, then, in a few words, and to explain why I have wished you all to be present here together, my loyal fellow-soldiers, receive with favourable ears what I shall briefly set forth; for perfect truth is always simple. [14] The kings and peoples of the Alamanni, in dread of the rising progress of your glory, which fame, growing greatly, has spread abroad even among the dwellers in far off lands, through the envoys whom you see with bowed heads ask for peace and indulgence for past offences. This I, being cautious, prudent, and an advisor of what is expedient, think ought to be granted them (if I have your consent), for many reasons. First, to avoid the doubtful issue of war; then, that we may gain friends in place of enemies, as they promise; again, that without bloodshed we may tame their haughty fierceness, which is often destructive to the provinces; finally, bearing in mind this thought, that not only is the enemy vanquished who falls in battle, borne down by weight of arms and strength, but much more safely he who, while the trumpet is silent, of his own accord passes under the yoke and learns by experience that Romans lack neither courage against rebels nor mildness towards suppliants. [15] In short, I await your decision as arbiters, as it were, being myself convinced as a peace-loving prince, that it is best temperately to show moderation while prosperity is with us. For, believe me, such righteous conduct will be attributed, not to lack of spirit, but to discretion and humanity.⁸⁶

[16] No sooner had he finished speaking than the whole throng, fully in agreement with the emperor's wish, praised his purpose and unanimously voted for peace. They were influenced especially by the conviction, which they had formed from frequent campaigns, that his fortune watched over him only in civil troubles, but that when foreign wars were undertaken, they had often ended disastrously. After this a treaty was struck in accordance with the rites of the Alamanni, and when the ceremony had been concluded, the emperor withdrew to Mediolanum for his winter quarters.

Constantius Gallus Caesar is summoned by Constantius Augustus and executed.

There having laid aside the burden of other cares, Constantius began to consider, as his most difficult knot and stumbling-block, how to uproot the Caesar by a mighty effort. And as he deliberated with his closest friends, in secret conferences and by night, by what force or by what devices that might be done before the Caesar's assurance should be more obstinately set upon throwing everything into disorder, it seemed best that Gallus should be summoned by courteous letters, under pretence of very urgent public business, to the end that, being deprived of support, he might be put to death without hindrance. [2] But this view was opposed by the groups of fickle flatterers, among whom was Arbitio, a man keen and eager in plotting treachery, and

Eusebius, at that time grand chamberlain,⁸⁷ who was sufficiently inclined to mischief, and it occurred to them to say that, if Caesar left the East, it would be dangerous to leave Ursicinus there, since he would be likely to think of a loftier station, if there were one to restrain him. [3] And this faction was supported by the other royal eunuchs, whose love of gain at that time was growing beyond mortal limits. These, while performing duties of an intimate nature, by secret whispers supplied fuel for false accusations. They overwhelmed that most gallant man with the weight of a grave suspicion, muttering that his sons, who were now grown up, were beginning to have imperial hopes, being popular because of their youth and their handsome persons and through their knowledge of many kinds of weapons, and bodily activity gained amidst daily army exercises, besides being known to be of sound judgment; that Gallus, while naturally savage, had been incited to deeds of cruelty by persons attached to his person, to the end that, when he had incurred the merited detestation of all classes, the emblems of empire might be transferred to the children of the master of the horse.

[4] When these and similar charges were dinned into the emperor's anxious ears, which were always attentive and open to such gossip, the turmoil of his mind suggesting many plans, he at last chose the following as the best. First, in the most complimentary terms he directed Ursicinus to come to him, under pretence that, because of the urgent condition of affairs at the time, they might consult together and decide what increase of forces was necessary in order to crush the attacks of the Parthian tribes, which were threatening war. [5] And that Ursicinus might not suspect any unfriendly action, in case he should come, Count Prosper was sent to be his substitute until his return. So, when the letter was received and abundant transportation facilities were furnished, we⁸⁸ hastened at full speed to Mediolanum.

[6] After this the next thing was to summon Caesar and induce him to make equal haste, and in order to remove suspicion, Constantius with many feigned endearments urged his sister, the Caesar's wife, at last to satisfy his longing and visit him. And although she hesitated, through fear of her brother's habitual cruelty, yet she set forth, hoping that, since he was her own brother, she might be able to pacify him. But after she had entered Bithynia, at the station called Caeni Gallicani, she was carried off by a sudden attack of fever. After her death the Caesar, considering that the support on which he thought he could rely had failed him, hesitated in anxious deliberation what to do. [7] For in the midst of his embarrassments and troubles his anxious mind dwelt on this one thought, that Constantius, who measured everything by the standard of his own opinion, was not one to accept any excuse or pardon mistakes; but, being especially inclined to the ruin of his kin, would secretly set a snare for him and punish him with death, if he caught him off his guard. [8] But in such a critical situation and anticipating the worst if he were not on the watch, he secretly aimed at the highest rank, if any chance should offer; but for a twofold reason he feared treachery on the part of those nearest to his

person, both because they stood in dread of him as cruel and untrustworthy, and because they feared the fortune of Constantius which in civil discords usually had the upper hand.⁸⁹ [9] Amid this huge mass of anxieties he received constant letters from the emperor, admonishing and begging him to come to him and covertly hinting that the commonwealth could not be divided and ought not to be, but that each ought to the extent of his powers to lend it aid when it was tottering, doubtless referring to the devastation of Gaul. [10] To this he added an example of not so very great antiquity, that Diocletian and his colleague⁹⁰ were obeyed by their Caesars as by attendants, who did not remain in one place but hastened about hither and thither, and that in Syria Galerius, clad in purple, walked for nearly a mile before the chariot of his Augustus⁹¹ when the latter was angry with him.

[11] After many other messengers came Scudilo, tribune of the targeteers, a skilled artist in persuasion, under the cloak of a somewhat rough nature. He alone of all, by means of flattering words mingled with false oaths, succeeded in persuading Gallus to set out, constantly repeating with hypocritical expression that his cousin would ardently wish to see him, that being a mild and merciful prince he would overlook anything that was done through inadvertence; that he would make him a sharer in his rank, to be a partner also in the labours which the northern provinces, for a long time wearied, demanded. [12] And since, when the fates lay hands upon men, their senses are apt to be dulled and blunted, Gallus was roused by these blandishments to the hope of a better destiny, and leaving Antioch under the lead of an unpropitious power, he proceeded to go straight from the smoke into the fire, as the old proverb has it; and entering Constantinople as if in the height of prosperity and security, he exhibited horse-races and crowned Thorax the charioteer as victor.

[13] On learning this Constantius was enraged beyond all human bounds, and lest by any chance Gallus should become uncertain as to the future and should try in the course of his journey to take measures for his own safety, all the soldiers in the towns through which he would pass were purposely removed. [14] And at that time Taurus, who had been sent to Armenia as quaestor, boldly passed that way without addressing him or going to see him. Others, however, visited him by the emperor's orders, under pretext of various matters of business, but really to take care that he should not be able to make any move or indulge in any secret enterprise; among these was Leontius, then quaestor and later prefect of the city, Lucillianus, as count commander of the household troops, and a tribune of the targeteers called Bainobaudes. [15] Thus, after covering long distances over level country, he had entered Hadrianopolis, a city in the region of Mt. Haemus, formerly called Uscudama, and for twelve days was recovering his strength, exhausted by his exertions. There he learned that certain Theban legions that were passing the winter in near-by towns had sent some of their comrades to encourage him by faithful and sure promises to remain there, since they were full of confidence in their

strength and were posted in large numbers in neighbouring encampments; but owing to the watchful care of those about him, he could not steal an opportunity of seeing them or hearing the message that they brought. [16] Then, as letter followed letter, urging him to leave, making use of ten public vehicles, as was directed, and leaving behind all his attendants with the exception of a few whom he had brought with him to serve in his bedroom and at his table, he was driven to make haste, being without proper care of his person and urged on by many, railing from time to time at the rashness which had reduced him, now mean and abject, to submit to the will of the lowest of mankind. [17] Yet all this time, whenever nature allowed him sleep, his senses were wounded by frightful spectres that shrieked about him, and throngs of those whom he had slain, led by Domitianus and Montius, would seize him and fling him to the claws of the Furies, as he imagined in his dreams. [18] For the mind, when freed from the bonds of the body, being always filled with tireless movement, from the underlying thoughts and worries which torment the minds of mortals, conjures up the nocturnal visions to which we⁹² give the name of phantasies.

[19] And thus with the way opened by the sad decree of fate, by which it was ordained that he should be stripped of life and rank, he hurried by the most direct way and with relays of horses and came to Petobio, a town of Noricum. There all the secret plots were revealed and Count Barbatio suddenly made his appearance — he had commanded the household troops under Gallus — accompanied by Apodemius, of the secret service,⁹³ and at the head of soldiers whom Constantius had chosen because they were under obligation to him for favours and could not, he felt sure, be influenced by bribes or any feeling of pity.

[20] And now the affair was being carried on with no disguised intrigue, but where the palace stood without the walls Barbatio surrounded it with armed men. And entering when the light was now dim and removing the Caesar's royal robes, he put upon him a tunic and an ordinary soldier's cloak, assuring him with frequent oaths, as if by the emperor's command, that he would suffer no further harm. Then he said to him: "Get up at once," and having unexpectedly placed him in a private carriage, he took him to Histria, near the town of Pola, where in former times, as we are informed, Constantine's son Crispus was killed. [21] And while he was kept there in closest confinement, already as good as buried by fear of his approaching end, there hastened to him Eusebius, at that time grand chamberlain, Pentadius, the secretary, and Mallobaudes, tribune of the guard,⁹⁴ to compel him by order of the emperor to inform them, case by case, why he had ordered the execution of all those whom he had put to death at Antioch. [22] At this, o'erspread with the pallor of Adrastus,⁹⁵ he was able to say only that he had slain most of them at the instigation of his wife Constantina,⁹⁶ assuredly not knowing that when the mother of Alexander the Great urged her son to put an innocent man to death and said again and again, in the hope of later gaining what she desired, that

she had carried him for nine months in her womb, the king made this wise answer: "Ask some other reward, dear mother, for a man's life is not to be weighed against any favour." [23] On hearing this the emperor, smitten with implacable anger and resentment, rested all his hopes of securing his safety on destroying Gallus; and sending Serenianus, who, as I have before shown, had been charged with high treason and acquitted by some jugglery or other, and with him Pentadius the secretary and Apodemius of the secret service, he condemned him to capital punishment. Accordingly his hands were bound, after the fashion of some guilty robber, and he was beheaded. Then his face and head were mutilated, and the man who a little while before had been a terror to cities and provinces was left a disfigured corpse. [24] But the justice of the heavenly power was everywhere watchful; for not only did his cruel deeds prove the ruin of Gallus, but not long afterwards a painful death overtook both of those whose false blandishments and perjuries led him, guilty though he was, into the snares of destruction. Of these Scudilo, because of an abscess of the liver, ⁹⁷ vomited up his lungs and so died; Barbatio, who for a long time had invented false accusations against Gallus, charged by the whispers of certain men of aiming higher than the mastership of the infantry, was found guilty and by an unwept end made atonement to the shades of the Caesar, whom he had treacherously done to death.

[25] These and innumerable other instances of the kind are sometimes (and would that it were always so!) the work of Adrastia, ⁹⁸ the chastiser of evil deeds and the rewarder of good actions, whom we also call by the second name of Nemesis. She is, as it were, the sublime jurisdiction of an efficient divine power, dwelling, as men think, above the orbit of the moon; or as others define her, an actual guardian presiding with universal sway over the destinies of individual men. The ancient theologians, regarding her as the daughter of Justice, say that from an unknown eternity she looks down upon all the creatures of earth. [26] She, as queen of causes and arbiter and judge ⁹⁹ of events, controls the urn with its lots and causes the changes of fortune, ¹⁰⁰ and sometimes she gives our plans a different result than that at which we aimed, changing and confounding many actions. She too, binding the vainly swelling pride of mortals with the indissoluble bond of fate, and tilting changeably, as she knows how to do, the balance of gain and loss, now bends and weakens the uplifted necks of the proud, and now, raising the good from the lowest estate, lifts them to a happy life. Moreover, the storied past has given her wings in order that she might be thought to come to all with swift speed; and it has given her a helm to hold and has put a wheel beneath her feet, in order that none may fail to know that she runs through all the elements and rules the universe. ¹⁰¹

[27] By this untimely death, although himself weary of his existence, the Caesar passed from life in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a rule of four years. He was born in Etruria at Massa in the district of Veternum, being the son of Constantius, the brother of the emperor Constantine, and Galla, the

sister of Rufinus and Cerealis, who were distinguished by the vesture ¹⁰² of consul and prefect. ^[28] He was conspicuous for his handsome person, being well proportioned, with well-knit limbs. He had soft golden hair, and although his beard was just appearing in the form of tender down, yet he was conspicuous for the dignity of greater maturity. But he differed as much from the disciplined character of his brother Julian as did Domitian, son of Vespasian, from his brother Titus. ^[29] Raised to the highest rank in Fortune's gift, he experienced her fickle changes, which make sport of mortals, now lifting some to the stars, now plunging them in the depths of Cocytus. But although instances of this are innumerable, I shall make cursory mention of only a few. ^[30] It was this mutable and fickle Fortune that changed the Sicilian Agathocles from a potter to a king, and Dionysius, once the terror of nations, to the head of an elementary school, at Corinth. ^[31] She it was that raised Andriscus ¹⁰³ of Adramyttium, who was born in a fullery, to the title of the Pseudo-Philip, and taught the legitimate son of Perseus the blacksmith's trade as a means of livelihood. ¹⁰⁴ ^[32] She, too, delivered Mancinus, after his supreme command, to the Numantians, Veturius to the cruelty of the Samnites, and Claudius to the Corsicans, and she subjected Regulus to the savagery of the Carthaginians. Through her injustice Pompey, after he had gained the surname Great by his glorious deeds, was butchered in Egypt to give the eunuchs' pleasure. ^[33] Eunus, too, a workhouse slave, commanded an army of runaways in Sicily. How many Romans of illustrious birth at the nod of that same arbiter of events embraced the knees of a Viriathus ¹⁰⁵ or a Spartacus! ¹⁰⁶ How many heads dreaded by all nations has the fatal executioner lopped off! One is led to prison, another is elevated to un-looked-for power, a third is cast down from the highest pinnacle of rank. ^[34] But if anyone should desire to know all these instances, varied and constantly occurring as they are, he will be mad enough to think of searching out the number of the sands and the weight of the mountains.

NOTES.

¹ Flavius Claudius (Julius) Constantius Gallus, nephew of Constantine the Great and half-brother of Julian. He was made Caesar by Constantius II. in 351.

² Against Magnentius, who in 350 had assumed the rank of an Augustus in the west, with Veteranio; but was defeated, in 351, by Constantius at Mursa, on the river Drave, a tributary of the Danube and in the passes of the Cottian Alps in 353. His followers then abandoned him and he committed suicide. See Index.

³ The title of Augustus was lawfully held only by the reigning emperor, or emperors. Caesar was the title next in rank and was conferred by the emperor on one or more of the imperial family; see Introd. p. xxiv.

⁴ He was married to Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great and Fausta, wrongly called Constantina, XIV. 7, 4, etc.

⁵ Constantine had given him the rule of Pontus, Armenia Minor, and Cappadocia, but Constantius II., soon after his accession, had caused his assassination.

⁶ One of the Furies.

⁷ *Comites* originally were companions of an official on his travels, as Catullus accompanied Memmius to Bithynia; cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 8, 2, etc. They gradually became his advisers, and later they were appointed to various duties as his deputies. They differed in rank; the *Comes Orientis* was of the second grade *spectabiliss*), see Introd., p. xviii.

⁸ Amphiaraus was a famous seer of the heroic age, who took part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, the expedition of the Argonauts, and unwillingly, because he saw the outcome, in the war of the Seven against Thebes, in which he lost his life. The prophecies of Marcius, or as some say, of two brothers of that name, were discovered in 213; B.C. According to Livy, xxv. 12, 5, they foretold the defeat at Cannae. Cf. also Pausanias, I. 34. 4 ff. and II. 13. 7. At a later time these prophetic writings were preserved on the Capitol at Rome with the Sibylline books.

⁹ Her name is unknown; she was perhaps the *diva Paulina* whose name appears on a silver coin of the period.

¹⁰ That is, Anitioch. The brilliant lighting of the city is mentioned also by Lisbanus and Hieronymus.

¹¹ This office was originally a military one, but the *praefectus praetorio* under Constantine became the highest civil servant of the emperor. On *praesens*, see Introd. p. xxxiii. In this case the court of Gallus is referred to, and there would also be a *praefectus praetorio praesens* at the court of Constantius.

¹² A people dwelling in the mountains of Pisida in southern Asia Minor.

¹³ *Pro Cluentio*, 25, 67.

¹⁴ A notorious robber slain by Theseus; he haunted the cliffs between Attica and Megara. He

not only robbed travellers who came that way, but forced them to wash his feet, and while they were obeying kicked their off into the sea.

¹⁵ See *Introd.*, pp. xxxiv f.

¹⁶ See *Introd.*, pp. xxviii f.

¹⁷ Sapor, see *Index*.

¹⁸ In one of the lost books.

¹⁹ This dates his reign from A.D. 323, when he and his brothers Constantine and Crispus were appointed Caesars by Constantine the Great. He became an Augustus with Constantine II. and Constans in 337, and reigned alone, after the death of Magnentius, from 353 to 361. The actual date seems to have been November 8th, 323; see Dessau, *Inscr. Lat.* 708, note 2, and cf. De Jonge, , citing Seeck.

²⁰ See note, and *Index*.

²¹ Over Magnentius. See note, .

²² The *honorati* were former civil officials; cf. xxix 1, 9, *abunde honoratum; Asiam quippe rexerat pro praefectis*.

²³ That is, a tablet on which the charge and the punishment were recorded. This was sometimes handed to the emperor by a judge, cf. Suet., *Calig.* 27, 1, sometimes issued by the emperor himself; see *Amm.* xiv. 7, 2; xix. 12, 9.

²⁴ See *Introd.*, p. xxx.

²⁵ Here Ammianus, writing his *History* at Rome, classes himself as a Roman; see note on 6, 12, below, and *Introd.*, p. xiv.

²⁶ The same figure is used by Florus, *Introd.* 4 ff. (*L.C.L.*, p ff.).

²⁷ The thirty-five tribes into which the Roman citizens were divided.

²⁸ The *comitia centuriata*.

²⁹ The passage does not occur in the surviving fragments. Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 1, attributes the same saying to Euripides, “or whoever it was.”

³⁰ See Livy, xl. 34, 5.

³¹ At Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

³² Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289 ff. τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν | 'αἰθάντοιοι : μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν, | καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον : ἐπὶ δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, | 'ρηιδίη δὲ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ' ἐοῦσα.

³³ Probably to display their rings; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 9, *manus et prorsus sinistrae maximam auctoritatem conciliare auro*.

³⁴ In 503 B.C.; see Livy, ii. 16, 7.

³⁵ Valerius Maximus, iv. 4, 6, says that it was the senate that came to their aid.

³⁶ Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who wrote from Spain in the second Punic war, asking to be recalled, that he might provide a dowry for his daughter; see Valerius Maximus, iv. 4, 10.

³⁷ Ensslin, (see Bibliography), refers this to Ammianus; cf. note on 6, 2, above.

³⁸ For *bene nummatum*, cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 6, 38.

³⁹ Referring to a plebeian (cf. xxviii. 4, 29), a partisan of one of the colours. Cf. also Suet., *Calig.* 55, 3.

⁴⁰ Terence, *Eun.*, 780, *solus Sannio servat domi*.

⁴¹ This happened in 383; see *Introd.*, p. xiii.

⁴² I.e. dancing on the mosaic pavements of great houses.

⁴³ *Odyssey*, ix. 84 ff.

⁴⁴ Originally, the line within the city wall, marking the limit within which the auspices could be taken; the term *pomerium* was soon transferred to the strip of land between this line and the actual city wall. Here it means merely the wall of the city.

⁴⁵ This "legacy hunting," by paying court to childless men and women, is satirized by Horace (*Sat.* ii. 5). The "art" was in vogue as early as Plautus' time (see *Miles*, 705 ff.), but became a "profession" at the end of the Republic (cf. Cic., *Paradoxa*, v. 39) and under the Empire, followed even by some of the emperors (see Suet., *Calig.* 38, 2; *Nero*, 32, 2).

⁴⁶ In Umbria. On *aurum* see Pliny, *Epist.* x. 116.

⁴⁷ See Index, and Val. Max. ii. 4. 6. *Q. Catulus primus spectantium cotnsestum velorum umbraculis textit*.

⁴⁸ The great Syrian city; see Index.

⁴⁹ See *Introd.*, pp. xviii f.

⁵⁰ In a lost book.

⁵¹ See ch. i. 10, above.

⁵² The *Scholae Palatinae* were the divisions of the household or court troops, a corps of 3500 men: *protectores*, *domestici*, *gentiles*, *scutarii* and *armaturae*. The *protectores*, guards, were a body of troops with the rank of officers, also called *domestici*. The *scutarii* (targeteers) took their name from their equipment. The *gentiles* were a cavalry troop enlisted from foreigners: Scythians, Goths, Franks, Germans, etc.

⁵³ See *Introd.*, p. xl.

⁵⁴ I.e. the local *consistorium* of Gallus.

⁵⁵ See note, .

⁵⁶ Corresponding in the court of Gallus to the *quaestor sacri palatii* of the emperor.

⁵⁷ I.e. in charge of workshops for making arms. *Fabric* is applied to Vulcan's forge in Cic., *De Nat. Deo*. iii. 22, 55.

⁵⁸ In a lost book.

⁵⁹ See xxii. 15–16.

⁶⁰ The Emperor Claudius, A.D. 41–54.

⁶¹ P. Servilius Isauricus, in 74 B.C.

⁶² Above the surrounding country.

⁶³ Lebanon.

⁶⁴ Near the Gulf of Issos, in south-eastern Cilicia.

⁶⁵ In 64 B.C.

⁶⁶ I.e. exactly.

⁶⁷ Herod the Great.

⁶⁸ Augustus.

⁶⁹ In 63 B.C.

⁷⁰ In A.D. 105.

⁷¹ Brother of Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt from 80 B.C.

⁷² Cato Uticensis in 58 B.C.

⁷³ See 7, 18, with note.

⁷⁴ It was Gallus' third Consulship; Valesius proposed to read *tertium* or *ter*.

⁷⁵ In a lost book.

⁷⁶ Châlon *sar* Saône.

⁷⁷ That is, praetorian prefect in Gaul.

⁷⁸ *Praefectus praetorio* at this time was a civil, not a military, official.

⁷⁹ In charge of the imperial household. At this time a very important official; see Introd. pp. xxxv f.

⁸⁰ Rufinus was his mother's brother.

⁸¹ Augusta Rauricorum, modern Augst.

⁸² See Introd. p. xlii, and note 3, .

⁸³ See Introd., pp. xliii f.

⁸⁴ See note 3, .

⁸⁵ Cf. Val. Max. ii. 8, 5, *humeris suis salutem patriae gestantes* (of Scipio and Marcellus).

⁸⁶ Cf. Cic., *De Fin.* v. 14, 38, *ex qua virtutes est, quae rationis absolutio definitur*, "virtue which is defined as the perfection of reason" (*L.C.L.*).

⁸⁷ See Ch. 10, 5, and note 6.

⁸⁸ Ammianus was attached to the suite of Ursicinus; see ch. 9. 1.

⁸⁹ Cf. ch. 10, 16, above.

⁹⁰ Maximianus.

⁹¹ Diocletian.

⁹² I.e. we Greeks.

⁹³ The *agentes in rebus* constituted the imperial secret service under the direction of the *magister officiorum*. These were the original *frumentarii*, who at first had charge of the grain supply of the troops, but towards the beginning of the second century A.D. became secret police agents. It was Diocletian who changed the name *frumen. tarii* to *agentes in rebus*.

⁹⁴ See note 3, .

⁹⁵ Proverbial; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 480, *Adrasti pallentis imago*. Adrastus turned pale at the death of his sons-in-law Tydeus and Polynices (when the seven champions attacked Thebes), and never recovered his colour.

⁹⁶ See note 1, .

⁹⁷ Augustus was cured of this disease by Antonius Musa (Suet., *Aug.* 81, 1).

⁹⁸ See Index.

⁹⁹ Cf. Cic., *Acad.* ii. 28, 91, *veri et falsi quasi disceptatricem et iudicem*.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 409, *alternare vices*.

¹⁰¹ With this description cf. that of Fortune in Pacuvius, inc. xiv., Ribbeck (), and Horace, *Odes*, i. 34.

¹⁰² The *trabea* was a toga, or robe, in white, ornamented with horizontal stripes of purple. It was worn by the knights on public occasions and by the early kings and consuls. In the classical period it was, in that form, the distinctive garb of the *equites* (see Tac., *Ann.* iii. 2; Val. Max., ii. 2, 9), but it varied in its colour and its use at different periods. One form, wholly

of purple, was worn by the kings and later emperors; another, of purple and saffron, by the augurs.

¹⁰³ For Andriscus and other names in 31–33, see Index.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Plutarch, *Aem.* 37.

¹⁰⁵ Flor., i. 33, 15 ff.

¹⁰⁶ Flor., ii. 8, 3 ff.

BOOK XV

The death of Gallus Caesar is reported to the Emperor.

So far as I could investigate the truth, I have, after putting the various events in clear order, related what I myself was allowed to witness in the course of my life, or to learn by meticulous questioning of those directly concerned. The rest, which the text to follow will disclose, we shall set forth to the best of our ability with still greater accuracy, feeling no fear of critics of the prolixity of our work, as they consider it; for conciseness is to be praised only when it breaks off ill-timed discursiveness, without detracting at all from an understanding of the course of events.

[2] Hardly had Gallus been wholly stripped in Noricum, when Apodemius, a fiery inciter of disorder so long as he lived, seized and carried off Caesar's shoes, and with such swift relays of horses that he killed some of them by over-driving, was the first to arrive in Milan as an advance informer. Entering the palace, he cast the shoes at Constantius' feet, as if they were the spoils of the slain Parthian king. And on the arrival of the sudden tidings, which showed that an apparently hopeless and difficult enterprise had been carried out to their satisfaction with perfect ease, the highest court officials, as usual turning all their desire to please into flattery, extolled to the skies the emperor's valour and good fortune, since at his beck two princes, though at different times, Veteranio¹ to wit and Gallus, had been cashiered like common soldiers. [3] So Constantius, elated by this extravagant passion for flattery, and confidently believing that from now on he would be free from every mortal ill, swerved swiftly aside from just conduct so immoderately that sometimes in dictation he signed himself "My Eternity," and in writing with his own hand called himself lord of the whole world — an expression which, if used by others, ought to have been received with just indignation by one who, as he often asserted, laboured with extreme care to model his life and character in rivalry with those of the constitutional emperors. [4] For even if he ruled the infinity of worlds postulated by Democritus, of which Alexander the Great dreamed under the stimulus of Anaxarchus, yet from reading or hearsay he should have considered that (as the astronomers unanimously teach) the circuit of the whole earth, which to us seems endless, compared with the greatness of the universe has the likeness of a mere tiny point.

Ursicinus, commander of the cavalry in the Orient, Julian, brother of Gallus Caesar, and Gorgonius, his grand chamberlain, are accused of treason.

And now, after the pitiful downfall of the murdered Caesar, the trumpet of court trials sounded and Ursicinus was arraigned for high treason, since jealousy, the foe of all good men, grew more and more dangerous to his life.

[2] For he fell victim to this difficulty, that the emperor's ears were closed for receiving any just and easily proved defence, but were open to the secret whispers of plotters, who alleged that Constantius' name was got rid of throughout all the eastern provinces and that the above-mentioned general was longed for both at home and abroad as being formidable to the Persian nation. [3] Yet in the face of events this high-souled hero stood immovable, taking care not to abase himself too abjectly, but lamenting from his heart that uprightness was so insecure, and the more depressed for the single reason that his friends, who had before been numerous, had deserted him for more powerful men, just as lictors are in the habit of passing, as custom requires, from magistrates to their successors. [4] Furthermore, he was attacked with the blandishments of counterfeit courtesy by Arbitio, who kept openly calling him his colleague and a brave man, but who was exceedingly shrewd in devising deadly snares for a straightforward character and was at that time altogether too powerful. For just as an underground serpent, lurking below the hidden entrance to its hole, watches each passer-by and attacks him with a sudden spring, so he, through envy of others' fortune even after reaching the highest military position, without ever being injured or provoked kept staining his conscience from an insatiable determination to do harm. [5] So, in the presence of a few accomplices in the secret, after long deliberation it was privately arranged with the emperor that on the following night Ursicinus should be carried off far from the sight of the soldiers and slain without a trial, just as in days gone by it is said that Domitius Corbulo was murdered, a man who had been a loyal and prudent defender of the provinces amid the notorious corruption of Nero's time. [6] When this had been so arranged and the persons appointed for it were awaiting the allotted time, the emperor changed his mind in the direction of mercy, and orders were given to postpone the wicked deed until after a second consultation.

[7] But then the artillery of slander was turned against Julian, the future famous emperor, lately brought to account, and he was involved, as was unjustly held, in a two-fold accusation: first, that he had moved from the estate of Macellum, ² situated in Cappadocia, into the province of Asia, in his desire for a liberal education; ³ and, second, that he had visited his brother Gallus as he passed through Constantinople. [8] And although he cleared himself of these implications and showed that he had done neither of these things without warrant, yet he would have perished at the instigation of the accursed crew of flatterers, had not, through the favour of divine power, Queen Eusebia befriended him; so he was brought to the town of Comum, near Milan, and after abiding there for a short time, he was allowed to go to Greece for the sake of perfecting his education, as he earnestly desired. [9] Nor were there wanting later actions arising from these occurrences which one might say had a happy issue, since the accusers were justly punished, or their charges came to naught as if void and vain. But it sometimes happened that rich men, knocking at the strongholds of the mighty, and clinging to them as

ivy does to lofty trees, bought their acquittal at monstrous prices; but poor men, who had little or no means for purchasing safety, were condemned out of hand. And so both truth was masked by lies and sometimes false passed for true.

[10] At that same time Gorgonius also, who had been appointed the Caesar's head chamberlain, was brought to trial; and although it was clear from his own confession that he had been a party in his bold deeds, and sometimes their instigator, yet through a plot of the eunuchs justice was overshadowed with a clever tissue of lies, and he slipped out of danger and went his way.

Punishment is inflicted on the friends and tools of Gallus Caesar.

While these events were taking place at Milan, troops of soldiers were brought from the East to Aquileia together with several courtiers, their limbs wasting in chains as they drew feeble breaths and prayed to be delivered from longer life amid manifold miseries. For they were charged with having been tools of the savagery of Gallus, and it was through them, it was believed, that Domitianus and Montius were torn to pieces and others after them were driven to swift destruction. [2] To hear their defence were sent Arbetio and Eusebius, then grand chamberlain, both given to inconsiderate boasting, equally unjust and cruel. They, without examining anyone carefully or distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty, scourged and tortured some and condemned them to banishment, others they thrust down to the lowest military rank, the rest they sentenced to suffer death. And after filling the tombs with corpses, they returned as if in triumph and reported their exploits to the emperor, who in regard to these and similar cases was openly inflexible and severe. [3] Thereupon and henceforth Constantius, as if to upset the predestined order of the fates, more eagerly opened his heart and laid it bare to the plotters, many in number. Accordingly, numerous gossip - hunters suddenly arose, snapping with the jaws of wild beasts at even the highest officials, and afterwards at poor and rich indifferently, not like those Cibyrate hounds of Verres ⁴ fawning upon the tribunal of only one governor, but afflicting the members of the whole commonwealth with a visitation of evils.

[4] Among these Paulus and Mercurius were easily the leaders, the one a Persian by origin, the other born in Dacia; Paulus was a notary, Mercurius, a former imperial steward, was now a treasurer. And in fact this Paulus, as was told before, ⁵ was nicknamed "the Chain," because he was invincible in weaving coils of calumny, exerting himself in a wonderful variety of schemes, just as some expert wrestlers are in the habit of showing excessive skill in their contests. [5] But Mercurius was dubbed "Count of Dreams," because, like a slinking, biting cur, savage within but peacefully wagging its tail, he would often worm his way into banquets and meetings, and if anyone had told a friend that he had seen anything in his sleep, when nature roams more freely, Mercurius would give it a worse colour by his venomous skill and pour it into

the open ears of the emperor; and on such grounds a man, as though really chargeable with inexpiable guilt, would be beaten down by a heavy burden of accusation. [6] Since rumour exaggerated these reports and gave them wide currency, people were so far from revealing their nightly visions, that on the contrary they would hardly admit in the presence of strangers that they had slept at all, and certain scholars lamented that they had not been born near Mount Atlas, where it is said that dreams are not seen ⁶ ; but how that happens we may leave to those who are most versed in natural science.

[7] Amid these dire aspects of trials and tortures there arose in Illyricum another disaster, which began with idle words and resulted in peril to many. At a dinner-party given by Africanus, governor of Pannonia Secunda, at Sirmium, ⁷ certain men who were deep in their cups and supposed that no spy was present freely criticized the existing rule as most oppressive; whereupon some assured them, as if from portents, that the desired change of the times was at hand; others with inconceivable folly asserted that through auguries of their forefathers it was meant for them. [8] One of their number, Gaudentius, of the secret service, ⁸ a dull man but of a hasty disposition, had reported the occurrence as serious to Rufinus, who was then chief steward of the praetorian prefecture, a man always eager for extreme measures and notorious for his natural depravity. [9] Rufinus at once, as though upborne on wings, flew to the emperor's court and inflamed him, since he was easily influenced by such suspicions, to such excitement that without any deliberation Africanus and all those present at the fatal table were ordered to be quickly hoisted up and carried out. That done, the dire informer, more strongly desirous of things forbidden, as is the way of mankind, was directed to continue for two years in his present service, as he had requested. [10] So Teutomeres, of the emperor's bodyguard, ⁹ was sent with a colleague to seize them, and loading them with chains, as he had been ordered, he brought them all in. But when they came to Aquileia, Marinus, an ex-drillmaster ¹⁰ and now a tribune, ¹¹ who was on furlough at the time, the originator of that mischievous talk and besides a man of hot temper, being left in a tavern while things necessary for their journey were preparing, and chancing upon a long knife, stabbed himself in the side, at once plucked forth his vitals, and so died. [11] The rest were brought to Milan and cruelly tortured; and since they admitted that while feasting they had uttered some saucy expressions, it was ordered that they be kept in close confinement ¹² with some hope (though doubtful) of acquittal. But the members of the emperor's guard, after being sentenced to leave the country for exile, since Marinus with their connivance had been allowed to die, at the suit of Arbetio obtained pardon.

Of the Lentienses, a tribe of the Alamanni, a part were slain and a part put to flight by Constantius Augustus.

The affair thus ended, war was declared on the . . . ¹³ and Lentienses, ¹⁴

tribes of the Alamanni, who often made extensive inroads through the Roman frontier defences. On that expedition the emperor himself set out and came to Raetia and the Campi Canini;¹⁵ and after long and careful deliberation it seemed both honorable and expedient that, while he waited there with a part of the soldiers, Arbetio, commander of the cavalry, with the stronger part of the army should march on, skirting the shores of Lake Brigantia,¹⁶ in order to engage at once with the savages. Here I will describe the appearance of this place as briefly as my project allows.

[2] Between the defiles of lofty mountains the Rhine rises and pours with mighty current over high rocks, without receiving tributary streams, just as the Nile with headlong descent pours over the cataracts. And it could be navigated from its very source, since it overflows with waters of its own, did it not run along like a torrent rather than a quietly flowing river. [3] And now rolling to level ground and cutting its way between high and widely separated banks, it enters a vast round lake, which its Raetian neighbour calls Brigantia;¹⁷ this is four hundred and sixty stades long and in breadth spreads over an almost equal space; it is inaccessible through the bristling woods of the gloomy forest except where that old-time practical Roman ability, in spite of the opposition of the savages, the nature of the region, and the rigour of the climate, constructed a broad highroad. [4] Into this pool, then, the river bursts roaring with frothing eddies, and cleaving the sluggish quiet of the waters, cuts through its midst as if with a boundary line. And as if the element were divided by an everlasting discord, without increasing or diminishing the volume which it carried in, it emerges with name and force unchanged, and without thereafter suffering any contact it mingles with Ocean's flood. [5] And what is exceeding strange, neither is the lake stirred by the swift passage of the waters nor is the hurrying river stayed by the foul mud of the lake, and though mingled they cannot be blended into one body; but if one's very sight did not prove it to be so, one would not believe it possible for them to be kept apart by any power. [6] In the same way the river Alpheus, rising in Arcadia and falling in love with the fountain Arethusa, cleaves the Ionian Sea, as the myth tells us, and hastens to the retreat¹⁸ of the beloved nymph. [7] Arbetio did not wait for the coming of messengers to announce the arrival of the savages, although he knew that a dangerous war was on foot, and when he was decoyed into a hidden ambushade, he stood immovable, overwhelmed by the sudden mischance. [8] For the enemy sprang unexpectedly out of their lurking-places and without sparing pierced with many kinds of weapons everything within reach; and in fact not one of our men could resist, nor could they hope for any other means of saving their lives than swift flight. Therefore the soldiers, bent on avoiding wounds, straggled here and there in disorderly march, exposing their backs to blows. Very many however, scattering by narrow by-paths and saved from danger by the protecting darkness of the night, when daylight returned recovered their strength and rejoined each his own company. In this mischance, so heavy and so unexpected, an excessive

number of soldiers and ten tribunes were lost. [9] As a result the Alamanni, elated in spirit, came on more boldly the following day against the Roman works; and while the morning mist obscured the light they rushed about with drawn swords, gnashing their teeth and giving vent to boastful threats. But the targeteers ¹⁹ suddenly sallied forth, and when they were driven back by the opposition of the enemy's battalions, and were at a standstill, with one mind they called out all their comrades to the fight. [10] But when the majority were terrified by the evidence of the recent disaster, and Arbetio hesitated, believing that the sequel would be dangerous, three tribunes sallied forth together: Arintheus, lieutenant-commander of the heavy-armed bodyguard, Seniauchus, leader of a squadron of the household cavalry, ²⁰ and Bappo, an officer of the veterans. ²¹ [11] They with the soldiers under their command, devoting themselves on behalf of the common cause, like the Decii of old, ²² poured like a torrent upon the enemy, and not in a pitched battle, but in a series of swift skirmishes, put them all to most shameful flight. And as they scattered with broken ranks and encumbered by their haste to escape, they exposed themselves unprotected, and by many a thrust of swords and spears were cut to pieces. [12] And many, as they lay there, slain horse and man together, seemed even then to be sitting fast upon the back of their mounts. On seeing this, all who had been in doubt about going into battle with their comrades poured forth from the camp, and careless of all precaution trod under foot the horde of savages, except those whom flight had saved from death, trampling on heaps of dead bodies and drenched with the blood of the slain. [13] The battle thus done and ended, the emperor returned in triumph and joy to Milan, to pass the winter.

Silvanus the Frank, commander of the infantry in Gaul, is hailed as Augustus at Cologne, but is treacherously slain on the twenty-eighth day of his reign.

Now there arises in this afflicted state of affairs a storm of new calamities, with no less mischief to the provinces; and it would have destroyed everything at once, had not Fortune, arbitress of human chances, brought to an end with speedy issue a most formidable uprising. [2] Since through long neglect Gaul was enduring bitter massacres, pillage, and the ravages of fire, as the savages plundered at will and no one helped, Silvanus, an infantry commander thought capable of redressing these outrages, came there at the emperor's order; and Arbetio urged by whatever means he could that this should be hastened, in order that the burden of a perilous undertaking might be imposed upon an absent rival, whose survival even to this time he looked upon as an affliction.

[3] A certain Dynamius, superintendent of the emperor's pack-animals, ²³ had asked Silvanus for letters of recommendation to his friends, in order to make himself very conspicuous, as if he were one of his intimates. On obtaining this request, for Silvanus, suspecting nothing, had innocently

granted it, he kept the letters, intending to work some mischief at the proper time. [4] So when the abovementioned commander was traversing Gaul in the service of the government and driving forth the savages, who had now lost their confidence and courage, this same Dynamius, being restless in action, like the crafty man he was and practised in deceit, devised a wicked plot. He had as abettors and fellow conspirators, as uncertain rumours declared, Lampadius, ²⁴ the praetorian prefect, and Eusebius, former keeper of the privy purse, ²⁵ who had been nicknamed Mattyocopus, ²⁶ and Aedesius, late master of the rolls, ²⁷ all of whom the said prefect had arranged to have called to the consulship as his nearest friends. With a sponge he effaced the lines of writing, leaving only the signature intact, and wrote above it another text far different from the original, indicating that Silvanus in obscure terms was asking and urging his assistants within the palace or without official position, including both Tuscus Albinus and many more, to help him, aiming as he was at a loftier position and soon to mount to the imperial throne. [5] This packet of letters, thus forged at his pleasure to assail the life of an innocent man, the prefect received from Dynamius, and coming into the emperor's private room at an opportune time and finding him alone, secretly handed it to him, accustomed as he was eagerly to investigate these and similar charges. Thereby the prefect hoped that he would be rewarded by the emperor, as a most watchful and careful guardian of his safety. And when these letters, patched together with cunning craft, were read to the consistory, ²⁸ orders were given that those tribunes whose names were mentioned in the letters should be imprisoned, and that the private individuals should be brought to the capital from the provinces. [6] But Malarichus, commander of the gentiles, ²⁹ was at once struck with the unfairness of the procedure, and summoning his colleagues, vigorously protested, exclaiming that men devoted to the empire ought not to be made victims of cliques and wiles. And he asked that he himself — leaving as hostages his relatives and having Mallobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard, as surety for his return — might be commissioned to go quickly and fetch Silvanus, who was not entering upon any such attempt as those most bitter plotters had trumped up. Or as an alternative, he asked that he might make a like promise and that Mallobaudes be allowed to hurry there and perform what he himself had promised to do. [7] For he declared that he knew beyond question that, if any outsider should be sent, Silvanus, being by nature apprehensive, even when there was nothing alarming, would be likely to upset the peace.

[8] But although his advice was expedient and necessary, yet he was talking vainly to the winds. For by Arbetio's advice Apodemius, an inveterate and bitter enemy of every patriot, was sent with a letter to recall Silvanus. He, caring little for what might happen, on arriving in Gaul, departed from the instructions given him on his setting out and remained there without either interviewing Silvanus or citing him to come to court by delivering the letter; and associating with himself the fiscal agent of the province, as if the said

infantry commander were proscribed and now to be executed, he abused his dependents and slaves with the arrogance of an enemy. [9] In the meantime, however, while Silvanus' presence was awaited and Apodemius was disturbing the peace, Dynamius, in order to maintain the credibility of his wicked inventions with a stronger argument, had made up a letter tallying with the one which he had presented to the emperor through the prefect, and sent it to the tribune of the Cremona armory, in the name of Silvanus and Malarichus; in this letter the tribune, as one privy to their secret designs, was admonished to prepare everything with speed. [10] When the tribune had read this, hesitating for a long time and puzzling as to what in the world it meant (for he did not remember that the men whose letter he had received had ever talked with him about any confidential business), he sent the identical letter back to Malarichus by the carrier who had brought it, and with him a soldier, begging Malarichus to explain openly what he wanted, and not so enigmatically. For he declared that, being a somewhat rude and plain man, he had not understood what had been obscurely intimated. [11] Malarichus, on unexpectedly receiving this, being even then troubled and sad, and grievously lamenting his own lot and that of his fellow-countryman Silvanus, called together the Franks, who at that time were numerous and influential in the palace, and now spoke more boldly, raising an outcry over the disclosure of the plot and the unveiling of the deceit by which their lives were avowedly aimed at. [12] And on learning this, the emperor decided that the matter should be investigated searchingly through the medium of his council and all his officers. And when the judges had taken their seats, Florentius, son of Nigrinianus, at the time deputy master of the offices, ³⁰ on scrutinizing the script with greater care, and finding a kind of shadow, as it were, of the former letters, ³¹ perceived what had been done, namely, that the earlier text had been tampered with and other matter added quite different from what Silvanus had dictated, in accordance with the intention of this patched-up forgery. [13] Accordingly, when this cloud of deceit had broken away, the emperor, learning of the events from a faithful report, deprived the prefect of his powers, and gave orders that he should be put under examination; but he was acquitted through an energetic conspiracy of many persons. Eusebius, however, former count of the privy purse, ³² on being put upon the rack, admitted that this had been set on foot with his cognizance. [14] Aedesius, who maintained with stout denial that he had known nothing of what was done, got off scot-free. And so at the close of the business all those were acquitted whom the incriminating report had forced to be produced for trial; in fact Dynamius, as if given distinction by his illustrious conduct, was bidden to govern Etruria and Umbria with the rank of corrector. ³³

[15] Meanwhile Silvanus, stationed at Cologne and learning from his friends' constant messages what Apodemius was undertaking to the ruin of his fortunes, knowing the pliant mind of the fickle emperor, and fearing lest he should be condemned to death absent and unheard, was put in a most

difficult position and thought of entrusting himself to the good faith of the savages. [16] But he was prevented by Laniogaisus, at that time a tribune, whom I have earlier stated to have been the sole witness of Constans' death, while he was serving as a subaltern. ³⁴ He assured Silvanus that the Franks, whose fellow-countryman he was, would kill him or on receipt of a bribe betray him. So Silvanus, seeing no safety under present conditions, was driven to extreme measures, and having gradually spoken more boldly with the chief officers, he aroused them by the greatness of the reward he promised; then as a temporary expedient he tore the purple decorations from the standards of the cohorts and the companies, and so mounted to the imperial dignity.

[17] And while this was going on in Gaul, as the day was already drawing to its close, an unexpected messenger reached Milan, openly declaring that Silvanus, aiming higher than the command of the infantry, had won over his army and risen to imperial eminence. [18] Constantius, struck down by the weight of this unexpected mischance as by a thunderbolt of Fate, called a council at about midnight, and all the chief officials hastened to the palace. And when no one's mind or tongue was equal to showing what ought to be done, mention in subdued tones was made of Ursicinus, as a man conspicuous for his sagacity in the art of war, and one who had been without reason provoked by serious injustice. And when he had been summoned by the master of ceremonies ³⁵ (which is the more honourable way) and had entered the council chamber, he was offered the purple to kiss much more graciously than ever before. Now it was the emperor Diocletian who was the first to introduce this foreign and royal form of adoration, whereas we have read that always before our emperors were saluted like the higher officials. ³⁶ [19] So the man who shortly before with malicious slander was called the maelstrom of the East and a seeker after acquisition of imperial power through his sons, then became a most politic leader and mighty fellow-soldier of Constantine's, and the only person to extinguish the fire; but he was really being attacked under motives honourable, to be sure, but yet insidious. For great care was being taken that Silvanus should be destroyed as a very brave rebel; or, if that should fail, that Ursicinus, already deeply gangrened, should be utterly annihilated, in order that a rock ³⁷ so greatly to be dreaded should not be left.

[20] Accordingly, when arrangements were being made for hastening his departure, and the general undertook the refutation of the charges brought against him, the emperor, forestalling him by a mild address, forbade it, declaring that it was not the time for taking up the defence of a disputed case, when the urgency of pressing affairs which should be mitigated before it grew worse, demanded that parties should mutually be restored to their old-time harmony. [21] Accordingly, after a many-sided debate, this point was chiefly discussed, namely, by what device Silvanus might be led to think that the emperor even then had no knowledge of his action. And they invented a plausible means of strengthening his confidence, advising him in a complimentary letter to receive Ursicinus as his successor and return with his

dignities unimpaired. [22] After this had been thus settled, Ursicinus was ordered to set forth at once, accompanied (as he had requested) by some tribunes and ten of the body-guard, to assist the exigencies of the state. Among these I myself was one, with my colleague Verinianus; all the rest were relatives and friends. [23] And when he left, each of us attended him for a long distance in fear only for our own safety. But although we were, like gladiators,³⁸ cast before ravening wild beasts, yet reflecting that melancholy events after all have this good sequel, that they give way to good fortune, we admired that saying of Tully's, delivered even from the inmost depths of truth itself, which runs as follows: "And although it is most desirable that our fortune always remain wholly favourable, yet that evenness of life does not give so great a sense of satisfaction as when, after wretchedness and disaster, fortune is recalled to a better estate."³⁹

[24] Accordingly, we hastened by forced marches, since the commander-in-chief of the army, in his zeal, wished to appear in the suspected districts before any report of the usurpation had made its way into Italy. But for all our running haste, Rumour had flown before us by some aerial path and revealed our coming; and on arriving at Cologne we found everything above our reach.

[25] For since a great crowd assembled from all sides gave a firm foundation to the enterprise so timidly begun, and large forces had been mustered, it seemed, in view of the state of affairs, more fitting that our general⁴⁰ should complaisantly favour the upstart⁴¹ emperor's purpose and desire to be strengthened in the growth of his power by deceptive omens; to the end that by means of manifold devices of flattery his feeling of security might be made more complete, and he might be caught off his guard against anything hostile.

[26] But the issue of this project seemed difficult; for special care had to be observed that the onsets should take advantage of the right moment, neither anticipating it nor falling short of it. Since if they should break out prematurely, we were all sure to suffer death under a single sentence.

[27] However, our general, being kindly received and forcing himself-since our very commission bent our necks-formally to reverence the high-aiming wearer of the purple, was welcomed as a distinguished and intimate friend. In freedom of access and honourable place at the royal table he was so preferred to others that he came to be confidentially consulted about the most important affairs. [28] Silvanus took it ill that while unworthy men were raised to the consulship and to high positions, he and Ursicinus alone, after having toiled through such heavy and repeated tasks for the government, had been so scorned that he himself had been cruelly harassed in an unworthy controversy through the examination of friends of his, and summoned to trial for treason, while Ursicinus, haled back from the East, was delivered over to the hatred of his enemies; and these continual complaints he made both covertly and openly. [29] We however were alarmed, in spite of these and similar speeches, at the uproarious complaints of the soldiers on every hand, pleading their destitution and eager to burst through the passes of the Cottian Alps⁴² with all

speed.

[30] Amid this perplexing distress of spirit we kept casting about in secret investigation for some plan likely to have results; and in the end, after often changing our minds through fear, we resolved to search with the greatest pains for discreet representatives, to bind our communication with solemn oaths, and try to win over the Bracchiati and Cornuti, troops wavering in their allegiance and ready to be swayed by any influence for an ample bribe. [31] Accordingly, the matter was arranged through some common soldiers as go-betweens, men who through their very inconspicuousness were suited to accomplish it; and just as sunrise was reddening the sky, a sudden group of armed men, fired by the expectation of rewards, burst forth; and as usually happens in critical moments, made bolder by slaying the sentinels, they forced their way into the palace, dragged Silvanus from a chapel where he had in breathless fear taken refuge, while on his way to the celebration of a Christian service, and butchered him with repeated sword-thrusts.

[32] So fell by this manner of death a general of no slight merits, who through fear due to the slanders in which he was ensnared during his absence by a clique of his enemies, in order to save his life had resorted to the uttermost measures of defence. [33] For although he held Constantius under obligation through gratitude for that timely act of coming over to his side with his soldiers before the battle of Mursa,⁴³ yet he feared him as variable and uncertain, although he could point also to the valiant deeds of his father Bonitus, a Frank it is true, but one who in the civil war often fought vigorously on the side of Constantine against the soldiers of Licinius. [34] Now it had happened that before anything of the kind was set on foot in Gaul, the people at Rome in the Great Circus (whether excited by some story or by some presentiment is uncertain) cried out with a loud voice: "Silvanus is vanquished."⁴⁴

[35] Accordingly, when Silvanus had been slain at Cologne, as has been related, the emperor learned of it with inconceivable joy, and swollen with vanity and pride, ascribed this also to the prosperous course of his own good fortune, in accordance with the way in which he always hated brave and energetic men, as Domitian did in times gone by, yet tried to overcome them by every possible scheme of opposition. [36] And so far was he from praising conscientious service, that he actually wrote that Ursicinus had embezzled funds from the Gallic treasury, which no one had touched. And he had ordered the matter to be closely examined, questioning Remigius, who at that time was already auditor of the general's office of infantry supplies, and whose fate it was, long afterwards, in the days of Valentinian, to take his life with the halter because of the affair of the embassy from Tripoli.⁴⁵ [37] After this turn of affairs, Constantius, as one that now touched the skies with his head and would control all human chances, was puffed up by the grandiloquence of his flatterers, whose number he himself increased by scorning and rejecting those who were not adepts in that line; as we read of

Croesus, ⁴⁶ that he drove Solon headlong out of his kingdom for the reason that he did not know how to flatter; and of Dionysius, that he threatened the poet Philoxenus ⁴⁷ with death, because when the tyrant was reading aloud his own silly and unrhythmical verses, and every one else applauded, the poet alone listened unmoved. [38] But this fault is a pernicious nurse of vices. For praise ought to be acceptable in high places only when opportunity is also sometimes given for reproach of things ill done.

The friends and accomplices of Silvanus are put to death.

And now after this relief the usual trials were set on foot, and many men were punished with bonds and chains, as malefactors. For up rose that diabolical informer Paulus, bubbling over with joy, to begin practising his venomous arts more freely; and when the councillors and officers (as was ordered) inquired into the matter, Proculus, Silvanus' adjutant, was put upon the rack. Since he was a puny and sickly man, every one feared that his slight frame would yield to excessive torture, and that he would cause many persons of all conditions to be accused of heinous crimes. But the result was not at all what was expected. [2] For mindful of a dream, in which he was forbidden while asleep, as he himself declared, to strike a certain innocent person, although tortured to the very brink of death, he neither named nor impeached anyone, but steadfastly defended the action of Silvanus, proving by credible evidence that he had attempted his enterprise, not driven on from ambition, but compelled by necessity. [3] For he brought forward a convincing reason, made clear by the testimony of many persons, namely, that four days before Silvanus assumed the badges ⁴⁸ of empire, he paid the soldiers and in Constantius' name exhorted them to be brave and loyal. From which it was clear that if he were planning to appropriate the insignia of a higher rank, he would have bestowed so great a quantity of gold as his own gift. [4] After him Poemenius, doomed like evil doers, was haled to execution and perished; he was the man (as we have told above) ⁴⁹ who was chosen to protect his fellow-citizens when Treves closed its gates against Decentius Caesar. ⁵⁰ Then the counts Asclepiodotus, Lutto and Maudio were put to death, and many others, since the obduracy of the times made an intricate investigation into these and similar charges.

Riots of the Roman people are suppressed by Leontius, prefect of the City. The Bishop Liberius is deposed.

While the dire confusion was causing these calamities of general destruction, Leontius, governor of the Eternal City, gave many proofs of being an excellent judge; for he was prompt in hearing cases, most just in his decisions, by nature kindly, although for the sake of maintaining his authority he seemed to some to be severe and too apt to condemn. [2] Now the first device for stirring up rebellion against him was very slight and trivial. For

when the arrest of the charioteer Philoromus was ordered, all the commons followed, as if to defend their own darling, and with a formidable onslaught set upon the governor, thinking him to be timid. But he, firm and resolute, sent his officers among them—seized some and put them to the torture, and then without anyone protesting or opposing him he punished them with exile to the islands. [3] And a few days later the people again, excited with their usual passion, and alleging a scarcity of wine, assembled at the Septemzodium,⁵¹ a much frequented spot, where the emperor Marcus Aurelius erected a Nymphaeum⁵² of pretentious style. Thither the governor resolutely proceeded, although earnestly entreated by all his legal and official suite not to trust himself to the self-confident and threatening throng, which was still angry from the former disturbance; but he, hard to frighten, kept straight on, so boldly that a part of his following deserted him, though he was hastening into imminent danger. [4] Then, seated in his carriage, with every appearance of confidence he scanned with keen eyes the faces of the crowds in their tiers, raging on all sides of him like serpents, and allowed many insults to be hurled at him; but recognising one fellow conspicuous among the rest, of huge stature and redheaded, he asked him if he were not Peter, surnamed Valuomeres, as he had heard. And when the man had replied in insolent tones that he was none other, the governor, who had known him of old as the ringleader of the malcontents, in spite of the outcries of many, gave orders to bind his hands behind him and hang him up.⁵³ [5] On seeing him aloft, vainly begging for the aid of his fellows, the whole mob, until then crowded together, scattered through the various arteries of the city and vanished so completely that this most doughty promoter of riots had his sides well flogged, as if in a secret dungeon, and was banished to Picenum. There later he had the hardihood to offer violence to a maiden of good family, and, under sentence of the governor Patruinus, suffered capital punishment.

[6] During the administration of this Leontius, a priest of the Christian religion, Liberius by name, by order of Constantius⁵⁴ was brought before the privy council on the charge of opposing the emperor's commands and the decrees of the majority of his colleagues in an affair which I shall run over briefly. [7] Athanasius, at that time bishop of Alexandria, was a man who exalted himself above his calling and tried to pry into matters outside his province, as persistent rumours revealed; therefore an assembly which had been convoked of members of that same sect — a synod, as they call it — deposed him from the rank that he held. [8] For it was reported that, being highly skilled in the interpretation of prophetic lots or of the omens indicated by birds, he had sometimes foretold future events; and besides this he was also charged with other practices repugnant to the purposes of the religion over which he presided. [9] Liberius, when directed by the emperor's order to depose him from his priesthood by endorsing the official decree, though holding the same opinion as the rest strenuously objected, crying out that it was the height of injustice to condemn a man unseen and unheard, thus, of

course, openly defying the emperor's will. [10] For although Constantius, who was always hostile to Athanasius, knew that the matter had been carried out, yet he strove with eager desire to have it ratified also by the higher power of the bishop of the Eternal City;⁵⁵ and since he could not obtain this, Liberius was spirited away, but only with the greatest difficulty and in the middle of the night, for fear of the populace, who were devotedly attached to him.

Julian, brother of Gallus, is appointed Caesar by his cousin Constantius Augustus, and given command over Gaul.

This, then, was the situation at Rome, as the preceding text has shown. But Constantius was disquieted by frequent messages reporting that Gaul was in desperate case, since the savages were ruinously devastating everything without opposition. And after worrying for a long time how he might forcibly avert these disasters, while himself remaining in Italy as he desired — for he thought it risky to thrust himself into a far — distant region he at length hit upon the right plan and thought of associating with himself in a share of the empire his cousin Julian,⁵⁶ who not so very long before had been summoned from the district of Achaia and still wore his student's cloak.⁵⁷

[2] When Constantius, driven by the weight of impending calamities, admitted his purpose to his intimates, openly declaring (what he had never done before) that in his lone state he was giving way before so many and such frequent crises, they, being trained to excessive flattery, tried to cajole him, constantly repeating that there was nothing so difficult that his surpassing ability and a good fortune so nearly celestial could not overcome as usual. And several, since the consciousness of their offences⁵⁸ pricked them on, added that the title of Caesar ought henceforth to be avoided, rehearsing what had happened under Gallus. [3] To them in their obstinate resistance the queen alone opposed herself, whether she dreaded journeying to a far country or with her native intelligence took counsel for the common good, and she declared that a kinsman ought to be preferred to every one else. So, after much bandying the matter to and fro in fruitless deliberations, the emperor's resolution stood firm, and setting aside all bootless discussion, he decided to admit Julian to a share in the imperial power. [4] So when he had been summoned and had arrived, on an appointed day all his fellow-soldiers there present were called together, and a platform was erected on a lofty scaffolding, surrounded by the eagles and the standards. On this Augustus stood, and holding Julian by the right hand, in a quiet tone delivered the following address:

[5] "We stand before you, valiant defenders of our country, to avenge the common cause with one all but unanimous spirit; and how I shall accomplish this I shall briefly explain to you, as impartial judges. [6] After the death of those rebellious tyrants whom mad fury drove to attempt the designs which they projected, the savages, as if sacrificing to their wicked Manes with

Roman blood, have forced our peaceful frontier and are over-running Gaul, encouraged by the belief that dire straits beset us throughout our far-flung empire. [7] If this evil therefore, which is already creeping on beyond set bounds, is met by the accord of our and your wills while time permits, the necks of these proud tribes will not swell so high, and the frontiers of our empire will remain inviolate. It remains for you to confirm with happy issue the hope of the future which I cherish. [8] This Julian, my cousin as you know, rightly honoured for the modesty through which he is as dear to us as through ties of blood, a young man of ability which is already conspicuous, I desire to admit to the rank of Caesar, and that this project, if it seems advantageous, may be confirmed also by your assent.”

[9] As he was attempting to say more to this effect, the assembly interrupted and gently prevented him, declaring as if with foreknowledge of the future that this was the will of the supreme divinity rather than of any human mind. [10] And the emperor, standing motionless until they became silent, went on with the rest of his speech with greater assurance: “Since, then,” said he, “your joyful acclaim shows that I have your approval also, let this young man of quiet strength, whose temperate behaviour is rather to be imitated than proclaimed, rise to receive this honour conferred upon him by God’s favour. His excellent disposition, trained in all good arts, I seem to have fully described by the very fact that I have chosen him. Therefore with the immediate favour of the God of Heaven I will invest him with the imperial robes.”

[11] This he said and then, after having clothed Julian in the ancestral purple and proclaimed him Caesar to the joy of the army, he thus addressed him, somewhat melancholy in aspect as he was, and with careworn countenance:

[12] “My brother, dearest to me of all men, you have received in your prime the glorious flower of your origin; with increase of my own glory, I admit, since I seem to myself more truly great in bestowing almost equal power on a noble prince who is my kinsman, than through that power itself. [13] Come, then, to share in pains and perils, and undertake the charge of defending Gaul, ready to relieve the afflicted regions with every bounty. And if it becomes necessary to engage with the enemy, take your place with sure footing amid the standard-bearers themselves; be a thoughtful advisor of daring in due season, animate the warriors by taking the lead with utmost caution, strengthen them when in disorder with reinforcements, modestly rebuke the slothful, and be present as a most faithful witness at the side of the strong, as well as of the weak. [14] Therefore, urged by the great crisis, go forth, yourself a brave man, ready to lead men equally brave. We shall stand by each other in turn with firm and steadfast affection, we shall campaign at the same time, and together we shall rule over a pacified world, provided only God grants our prayers, with equal moderation and conscientiousness. You will seem to be present with me everywhere, and I shall not fail you in whatever you undertake. In fine, go, hasten, with the united prayers of all, to defend with

sleepless care the post assigned you, as it were, by your country herself.”

[15] After this address was ended, no one held his peace, but all the soldiers with fearful din struck their shields against their knees (this is a sign of complete approval; for when, on the contrary, they smite their shields with their spears it is an indication of anger and resentment), ⁵⁹ and it was wonderful with what great joy all but a few approved Augustus’ choice and with due admiration welcomed the Caesar, brilliant with the gleam of the imperial purple. [16] Gazing long and earnestly on his eyes, at once terrible and full of charm, and on his face attractive in its unusual animation, they divined what manner of man he would be, as if they had perused those ancient books, the reading of which discloses from bodily signs the inward qualities of the soul. ⁶⁰ And that he might be regarded with the greater respect, they neither praised him beyond measure nor less than was fitting, and therefore their words were esteemed as those of censors, not of soldiers. [17] Finally, he was taken up to sit with the emperor in his carriage and conducted to the palace, whispering this verse from the Homeric song ⁶¹ :

“By purple death I’m seized and fate supreme.”

This happened on the sixth of November of the year when Arbetio and Lollianus were consuls. [18] Then, within a few days, Helena, the maiden sister of Constantius, was joined in the bonds of wedlock to the Caesar; and when everything had been prepared which the imminence of his departure demanded, taking a small suite, he set out on the first of December, escorted by Augustus as far as the spot marked by two columns, lying between Laumello and Pavia, and came by direct marches to Turin. There he was staggered by serious news, which had lately been brought to the emperor’s court but had purposely been kept secret, for fear that the preparations might come to nothing. [19] The news stated that Cologne, a city of great renown in Lower Germany, after an obstinate siege by the savages in great force, had been stormed and destroyed. [20] Overwhelmed by sorrow at this, the first omen, as it were, of approaching ills, he was often heard to mutter in complaining tones that he had gained nothing, except to die with heavier work. [21] But when he reached Vienne and entered the city, all ages and ranks flocked together to receive him with honour, as a man both longed for and efficient; and when they saw him afar off, the whole populace with the immediate neighbourhood, saluted him as a commander gracious and fortunate, and marched ahead of him with a chorus of praise, the more eagerly beholding royal pomp in a legitimate prince. And in his coming they placed the redress of their common disasters, thinking that some helpful spirit had shone upon their desperate condition. [22] Then an old woman, who had lost her sight, on inquiring who had entered and learning that it was the Caesar Julian, cried out that he would repair the temples of the Gods.

Of the origin of the Gauls; and why the Celts and Galatians were so called;

and of their learned men.

Now, since — as the lofty bard of Mantua said of old — a greater work ⁶² undertake, a greater train of events ariseth before me, I think now a suitable time to describe the regions and situation of the Gauls, for fear that amid fiery encounters and shifting fortunes of battle I may treat of matters unknown to some and seem to follow the example of slovenly sailors, who are forced amid surges and storms to mend their worn sails and rigging, which might have been put in order with less danger. [2] The ancient writers, in doubt as to the earliest origin of the Gauls, have left an incomplete account of the matter, but later Timagenes, ⁶³ a true Greek in accuracy as well as language, collected out of various books these facts that had been long forgotten; which, following his authority, and avoiding any obscurity, I shall state clearly and plainly. [3] Some asserted that the people first seen in these regions were Aborigines, called Celts from the name of a beloved king, and Galatae (for so the Greek language terms the Gauls) from the name of his mother. Others stated that the Dorians, following the earlier Hercules, ⁶⁴ settled in the lands bordering on the Ocean. [4] The Drysidæ ⁶⁵ say that a part of the people was in fact indigenous, but that others also poured in from the remote islands and the regions across the Rhine, driven from their homes by continual wars and by the inundation of the stormy sea. [5] Some assert that after the destruction of Troy a few of those who fled from the Greeks and were scattered everywhere occupied those regions, which were then deserted. [6] But the inhabitants of those countries affirm this beyond all else, and I have also read it inscribed upon their monuments, that Hercules, the son of Amphytrion, hastened to destroy the cruel tyrants Geryon and Tauriscus, of whom one oppressed Spain, the other, Gaul; and having overcome them both that he took to wife some high-born women and begat numerous children, who called by their own names the districts which they ruled. [7] But in fact a people of Asia from Phocæa, to avoid the severity of Harpalus, ⁶⁶ prefect of king Cyrus, set sail for Italy. A part of them founded Velia ⁶⁷ in Lucania, the rest, Massilia ⁶⁸ in the region of Vienne. Then in subsequent ages they established no small number of towns, as their strength and resources increased. But I must not discuss varying opinions, which often causes satiety. [8] Throughout these regions men gradually grew civilised and the study of the liberal arts flourished, initiated by the Bards, the Euhages and the Druids. ⁶⁹ Now, the Bards sang to the sweet strains of the lyre the valorous deeds of famous men composed in heroic verse, but the Euhages, ⁷⁰ investigating the sublime, attempted to explain the secret laws of nature. The Druids, being loftier than the rest in intellect, and bound together in fraternal organisations, as the authority of Pythagoras determined, were elevated by their investigation of obscure and profound subjects, and scorning all things human, pronounced the soul immortal.

Of the Gallic Alps and the various passes through them.

This country of Gaul, because of its lofty chains of mountains always covered with formidable snows, was formerly all but unknown to the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, except where it borders on the coast; and bulwarks enclose it on every side, surrounding it naturally, as if by the art of man. [2] Now on the southern side it is washed by the Tuscan and the Gallic Sea; where it looks up to the heavenly Wain,⁷¹ it is separated from the wild nations by the channels⁷² of the Rhine. Where it lies under the west-sloping sun⁷³ it is bounded by the Ocean and the Pyrenaean heights; and where it rises towards the East it gives place to the bulk of the Cottian Alps. There King Cottius, after the subjugation of Gaul, lay hidden alone in their defiles, trusting to the pathless ruggedness of the region; finally, when his disaffection was allayed, and he was admitted to the emperor Octavian's friendship, in lieu of a remarkable gift he built with great labour short cuts convenient to travellers, since they were midway between other ancient Alpine passes, about which I shall later tell what I have learned. [3] In these Cottian Alps, which begin at the town of Susa, there rises a lofty ridge, which scarcely anyone can cross without danger. [4] For as one comes from Gaul it falls off with sheer incline, terrible to look upon because of overhanging cliffs on either side, especially in the season of spring, when the ice melts and the snows thaw under the warmer breath of the wind; then over precipitous ravines on either side and chasms rendered treacherous through the accumulation of ice, men and animals descending with hesitating step slide forward, and waggons as well. And the only expedient that has been devised to ward off destruction is this: they bind together a number of vehicles with heavy ropes and hold them back from behind with powerful efforts of men or oxen at barely a snail's pace; and so they roll down a little more safely. And this, as we have said, happens in the spring of the year. [5] But in winter the ground, caked with ice, and as it were polished and therefore slippery, drives men headlong in their gait and the spreading valleys in level places, made treacherous by ice, sometimes swallow up the traveller. Therefore those that know the country well drive projecting wooden stakes along the safer spots, in order that their line may guide the traveller in safety. But if these are covered with snow and hidden, or are overturned by the streams running down from the mountains, the paths are difficult to traverse even with natives leading the way. [6] But from the peak of this Italian slope a plateau extends for seven miles, as far as the post named from Mars⁷⁴; from there on another loftier height, equally difficult to surmount, reaches to the peak of the Matrona,⁷⁵ so called from an accident to a noble lady. After that a route, steep to be sure, but easier to traverse extends to the fortress of Briançon. [7] The tomb of the prince, who, as we said, built these roads, is at Susa next to the walls, and his shades are devoutly venerated for a double reason: because he had ruled his subjects with a just government, and when admitted to alliance with the Roman state, procured eternal peace for his nation. [8] And although this road which I have described is the middle one, the short cut, and the more frequented, yet there are also others,

constructed long before at various times. [9] Now the first of these the Theban Hercules, ⁷⁶ when travelling leisurely to destroy Geryon and Tauriscus, constructed near the Maritime Alps and gave them the name of the Graian ⁷⁷ Alps. And in like manner he consecrated the castle and harbour of Monaco to his lasting memory. Then, later, after the passage of many centuries, the name Pennine was devised for these Alps for the following reason. [10] Publius Cornelius Scipio, father of the elder Africanus, when the Saguntines, famous both for their catastrophies and their loyalty, were besieged by the Africans ⁷⁸ with persistent obstinacy, wishing to help them, crossed to Spain with a fleet manned by a strong army. But as the city had been destroyed by a superior force, ⁷⁹ and he was unable to overtake Hannibal, who had crossed the Rhone three days before and was hastening to the regions of Italy, by swift sailing he crossed the intervening space-which is not great-and watched at Genoa, a town of Liguria, for Hannibal's descent from the mountains, so that if chance should give him the opportunity, he might fight with him in the plain while exhausted by the roughness of the roads. [11] At the same time, having an eye to the common welfare, he advised his brother, Gnaeus Scipio, to proceed to Spain and hold off Hasdrubal, who was planning to burst forth in like manner from that quarter. But Hannibal learned of this from deserters, and being of a nimble and crafty wit, came, under the guidance of natives from among the Taurini, through the Tricasini and the extreme edge of the Vocontii to the passes of the Tricorii. Starting out from there, he made another road, where it hitherto had been impassable; he hewed out a cliff which rose to a vast height by burning it with flames of immense power and crumbling it by pouring on vinegar; ⁸⁰ then he marched along the river Druentia, dangerous with its shifting eddies, and seized upon the district of Etruria. So much about the Alps; let us now turn to the rest of the country.

A brief description of the various parts of Gaul and of the course of the Rhone.

In early times, when these regions lay in darkness as savage, they are thought to have been threefold, ⁸¹ divided into Celts (the same as the Gauls), the Aquitanians, and the Belgians, differing in language, habits and laws. [2] Now the Gauls (who are the Celts) are separated from the Aquitanians by the Garonne river, which rises in the hills of the Pyrenees, and after running past many towns disappears in the Ocean. [3] But from the Belgians this same nation is separated by the Marne and the Seine, rivers of identical size; they flow through the district of Lyons, and after encircling in the manner of an island a stronghold of the Parisii called Lutetia, ⁸² they unite in one channel, and flowing on together pour into the sea not far from Castra Constantia. ⁸³ [4] Of all these nations the Belgae had the reputation in the ancient writers of being the most valiant, for the reason that being far removed from civilised

life and not made effeminate by imported luxuries, they warred for a long time with the Germans across the Rhine. [5] The Aquitanians, on the contrary, to whose coasts, as being near at hand and peaceable, imported wares are conveyed, had their characters weakened to effeminacy and easily came under the sway of Rome. [6] All the Gauls, ever since under the perpetual pressure of wars ⁸⁴ they yielded to the dictator Julius, have been governed by an administration divided into four parts. Of these Gallia Narbonensis by itself comprised the districts of Vienne and Lyons; the second had control of all Aquitania; Upper and Lower Germany, as well as the Belgians, were governed by two administrations at that same time. [7] But now the provinces over the whole extent of Gaul are reckoned as follows: The first province (beginning on the western front) is Lower, or Second, Germany, fortified by the wealthy and populous cities of Cologne and Tongres. [8] Next comes First, or Upper, Germany where besides other free towns are Mayence and Worms and Spires and Strasburg, famous for the disasters of the savages. ⁸⁵ [9] After these the First province of Belgium displays Metz and Treves, splendid abode of the emperors. ⁸⁶ [10] Adjoining this is the Second province of Belgium, in which are Amiens, a city eminent above the rest, and Chalons ⁸⁷ and Rheims. [11] In the Seine province we see Besançon and Augst, more important than its many other towns. The first Lyonnese province is made famous by Lyons, Châlon-sur-Saône, Sens, Bourges, and Autun with its huge ancient walls. [12] As for the second Lyonnese province, Rouen and Tours make it distinguished, as well as Evreux and Troyes. The Graian and Pennine Alps, not counting towns of lesser note, have Avenche, a city now abandoned, to be sure, but once of no slight importance, as is even yet evident from its half-ruined buildings. These are the goodly provinces and cities of Gaul. [13] In Aquitania, which trends towards the Pyrenees mountains and that part of the Ocean which extends towards Spain, the first province is Aquitania, much adorned by the greatness of its cities; leaving out numerous others, Bordeaux and Clermont are conspicuous, as well as Saintorige and Poitiers. [14] The “Nine Nations” ⁸⁸ are ennobled by Auch and Bazas. In the Narbonese province Eauze, Narbonne, and Toulouse hold the primacy among the cities. The Viennese province rejoices in the distinction conferred by many cities, of which the most important are Vienne itself, Aries and Valence; and joined to these is Marseilles, by whose alliance and power we read that Rome was several times supported in severe crises. [15] Near these are Aix-en-Provence, Nice, Antibes, and the Isles d’Hyères. [16] And since we have reached these parts in the course of our work, it would be unfitting and absurd to say nothing of the Rhone, a river of the greatest celebrity. Rising in the Pennine Alps from a plenteous store of springs, the Rhone flows in headlong course towards more level places. It hides its banks with its own stream ⁸⁹ and bursts into the lagoon called Lake Lemman. This it flows through, nowhere mingling with the water outside, but gliding along the surface of the less active water on either hand, it seeks an outlet and forces a way for itself by its swift onset. [17] From

there without any loss of volume it flows through ⁹⁰ Savoy and the Seine Province, ⁹¹ and, after going on for a long distance, it grazes the Viennese Province on the left side and the Lyonnese on the right side. Next, after describing many meanders, it receives the Arar, which they call the Sauconna, ⁹² flowing between Upper Germany and the Seine Province, and gives it its own name. This point is the beginning of Gaul, and from there they measure distances, not in miles but in leagues. [18] After this the Rhone, enriched by the tributary waters of the Isère, carries very large craft, which are frequently wont to be tossed by gales of wind, and having finished the bounds which nature has set for it, its foaming waters are mingled with the Gallic Sea through a broad bay which they call Ad Gradus ⁹³ at about the eighteenth milestone distant from Arles. Let this suffice for the topography of the region; I shall now describe the appearance and manners of its people.

The Manners and Customs of the Gauls.

Almost all the Gauls are of tall stature, fair and ruddy, terrible for the fierceness of their eyes, fond of quarrelling, and of overbearing insolence. In fact, a whole band of foreigners will be unable to cope with one of them in a fight, if he call in his wife, stronger than he by far and with flashing eyes; least of all when she swells her neck and gnashes her teeth, and poisoning her huge white arms, proceeds to rain punches mingled with kicks, like shots discharged by the twisted cords of a catapult. [2] The voices of most of them are formidable and threatening, alike when they are good-natured or angry. But all of them with equal care keep clean and neat, and in those districts, particularly in Aquitania, no man or woman can be seen, be she never so poor, in soiled and ragged clothing, as elsewhere. [3] All ages are most fit for military service, and the old man marches out on a campaign with a courage equal to that of the man in the prime of life; since his limbs are toughened by cold and constant toil, and he will make light of many formidable dangers. Nor does anyone of them, for dread of the service of Mars, cut off his thumb, as in Italy ⁹⁴ : there they call such men “murci,” or cowards. [4] It is a race greedy for wine, devising numerous drinks similar to wine, and some among them of the baser sort, with wits dulled by continual drunkenness (which Cato’s saying pronounced a voluntary kind of madness) rush about in aimless revels, so that those words seem true which Cicero spoke when defending Fonteius ⁹⁵ : “The Gauls henceforth will drink wine mixed with water, which they once thought poison.”

[5] These regions, and especially those bordering on Italy, came gradually and with slight effort under the dominion of Rome; they were first essayed by Fulvius, ⁹⁶ then undermined in petty battles by Sextius, ⁹⁷ and finally subdued by Fabius Maximus, ⁹⁸ on whom the full completion of this business (when he had vanquished the formidable tribe of the Allobroges) ⁹⁹ conferred that surname. ¹⁰⁰ 6. Now the whole of Gaul (except where, as the authority of Sallust ¹⁰¹ informs us, it was impassable with marshes), after losses on both

sides during ten years of war the dictator Caesar subdued and joined to us in an everlasting covenant of alliance. I have digressed too far, but I shall at last return to my subject.

The doings of the praetorian prefect, Musonianus, in the Orient.

After Domitianus was dispatched by a cruel death, ¹⁰² his successor Musonianus governed the East with the rank of pretorian prefect, a man famed for his command of both languages, ¹⁰³ from which he won higher distinction than was expected. [2] For when Constantine was closely investigating the different religious sects, Manichaeans and the like, and no suitable interpreter could be found, he chose him, as a person recommended to him as competent; and when he had done that duty skilfully, he wished him to be called Musonianus, whereas he had hitherto had the name of Strategius. From that beginning, having run through many grades of honour, he rose to the prefecture, a man intelligent in other respects and satisfactory to the provinces, mild also and well-spoken, but on any and every occasion, and especially (which is odious) in hard-fought lawsuits and under all circumstances greedily bent upon filthy lucre. This became clearly evident (among many other instances) in the investigations set on foot regarding the death of Theophilus, governor of Syria, who, because of the betrayal of Gallus Caesar, was torn to pieces in an onslaught of the rabble upon him; on which occasion sundry poor men were condemned, although it was known that they had been away when this happened, while the wealthy perpetrators of the foul crime were set free after being stripped of their property.

[3] He was matched by Prosper, who was at that time still representing the cavalry commander ¹⁰⁴ in Gaul and held military authority there, an abject coward and, as the comic poet says, ¹⁰⁵ scorning artifice in thieving and plundering openly.

[4] While these men were in league and enriching themselves by bringing mutual gain one to the other, the Persian generals stationed by the rivers, while their king was busied in the farthest bounds of his empire, kept raiding our territories with predatory bands, now fearlessly invading Armenia and sometimes Mesopotamia, while the Roman officers were occupied in gathering the spoils of those who paid them obedience.

NOTES.

- ¹ He joined in the attempt of Magnentius; see note 2, . The name seems really to be Vetrano.
- ² A villa or castle near Caesarea, where Gallus and Julian were brought up.
- ³ Julian was devoted to the study of Greek literature and philosophy. He wrote a great many books, some of which have been preserved: orations, letters, satires, and a few epigrams.
- ⁴ Two brothers from Cibyra, in Phrygia, Tlepolemus and Hiero, tools of Verres; cf. Cic., *Verr.*, iv. 21, 47; iv. 13, 30.
- ⁵ xiv. 5, 8.
- ⁶ Cf. Herodotus, iv. 184.
- ⁷ The principal city of Pannonia; see Index.
- ⁸ See note 2, .
- ⁹ See note 3, .
- ¹⁰ His office was to drill and exercise the soldiers.
- ¹¹ See Introd., pp. xliii f.
- ¹² Cf. Cod. Just., x. 19, 2, *carcer poenaliū*.
- ¹³ See critical note.
- ¹⁴ Dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lentia, modern Lenze.
- ¹⁵ Plains in Raetia, round about Bellinzona.
- ¹⁶ The Lake of Constance.
- ¹⁷ The Lake Constance.
- ¹⁸ The spring of Ortygia, at Syracuse in Sicily.
- ¹⁹ See note 3, .
- ²⁰ A picked body of troops, perhaps the same as the *comitatense* s; they were divided into several bodies, distinguished by various names.
- ²¹ Soldiers who were given a higher rank on account of good service or favour; cf. Vegetius, ii. 3, *legionum robur infractum est, cum per gratiam promoverentur milites, qui promoveri consueverant per labores*.
- ²² See Index.

²³ He had charge during campaigns and journeys of the transportation of the emperor's baggage; other *actuarii* are mentioned in xx. 5, 9 (see note), and *actuarii a rationibus scrutandis* in xxv. 10, 7. *Actuarius* is an adjective, sc. *scriba*.

²⁴ See Dessau, Inscr. 4154, note 3.

²⁵ See Introd., pp. xli. f.

²⁶ "Glutton," from -κοπέω, "cut," and ματρία, "delicacies," "delicate food."

²⁷ The *magister memoriae* was a subordinate of the *magister officiorum*, and head of the *scrinium memoriae* (first established by Caracalla) consisting of 62 clerks and 12 *adiutores*. They sent out the *acta* prepared by the *scrinia epistularum et libellorum*, and kept on record answers to petitions.

²⁸ The emperor's council, or secret cabinet; see Introd., pp. xxix. f.

²⁹ The foreign contingent of the household troops; see note 3, .

³⁰ The *magister officiorum* was a very important official, to whom many of the former functions of the praetorian prefect had been transferred (or shared with the prefect). Along with his many duties was complete charge of the discipline of the palace. See Introd., pp. xxxvii. f.

³¹ For the meaning of *apices*, see *Amer. Jour. of Philol.*, xlviii. (1927), p ff. The word is wrongly translated by Holland, "pricks or accents over the letters," and by Yonge, "some vestiges of the *tops* of former words"; rightly by Tross, "einige Spuren der früheren Buchstaben."

³² See Introd., pp. xli. f.

³³ *Correctores* in the fourth century were governors of smaller provinces, ranking between the highest (*consulares*) and the lowest (*praesides*). Originally a *corrector* governed the whole of Italy. The title gradually died out, being replaced by *consulares* or *praesides*. See Index II.

³⁴ See Index II, s.v. *candidatus*.

³⁵ The *magister admissionum* was a subordinate of the *magister officiorum*; imperial audiences were obtained through the latter, and the actual entrance into the audience chamber was under the direction of the former.

³⁶ For this meaning of *iudices*, see Index of Officials, s.v.

³⁷ Cf. Florus, iv. 9, 1; *cum scopulus et nodus et mora publicae securitatis superesset Antonius*, "a rock in his path" (*L.C.L.*,).

³⁸ The *bestiarii* were matched against wild beasts.

³⁹ This passage does not occur in Cicero's extant works. A similar one appears in *Ad Quir. post Reditum*, i. 2.

⁴⁰ Ursicinus.

- ⁴¹ *Novelli* is contemptuous; cf. xxvi. 6, 15.
- ⁴² In order to march to Italy against Constantius himself.
- ⁴³ Against Magnentius; see note 2, .
- ⁴⁴ Cf. Gellius, xv. 18, for a similar prophecy.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. xxviii. 6, 7 and xxx. 2, 9.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Herodotus, i. 33.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. Diod. Sic. xv. 6, and see Index.
- ⁴⁸ These were improvised for the occasion; see 5, 16, at the end.
- ⁴⁹ In one of the lost books.
- ⁵⁰ Decentius had been given the rank of Caesar by his brother Magnentius.
- ⁵¹ Probably the well-known building of Severus at the south-eastern corner of the Palatine, named from the seven planets; see Suet., *L.C.L.* ii. .
- ⁵² Referring probably to the Septemzodium. See preceding note, and index, s.v. Marcus.
- ⁵³ To be flogged.
- ⁵⁴ At Mediolanum, where Constantius then was.
- ⁵⁵ One of the earliest indications of the growing importance of the Roman bishops.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. Zosimus, iii. 1 ff.
- ⁵⁷ The *pallium* was the characteristic Greek cloak, worn among others by students.
- ⁵⁸ I.e. their offences against Julian, which made them fear his rise to greater power.
- ⁵⁹ See critical note.
- ⁶⁰ Cf. Gellius, i. 9, 2, (*Pythagoras*) *iam a principio adules. centes* ἐφυσιογνωμόνει. *Id verbum significat, mores... de oris et vultus ingenio . . . sciscitari.*
- ⁶¹ *Iliad*, v. 83; of. § 20; a play on πορφύρεος as the colour of blood and of royalty.
- ⁶² *Aen.* vii. 44 f, *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, Maius opus moveo.*
- ⁶³ Timagenes of Alexandria, who, according to Suidas, was brought to Rome as a prisoner of war by Pompey. He wrote a *History of Alexander* and a *History of the Gauls*. Cf. Hor., *Epist.* i. 19, 15; Quint., i. 10, 10; x. i. 75.
- ⁶⁴ “Earlier” seems to be contrasted with “the son of Amphytrion” in 9, 6, below and “the Theban Hercules” in 10, 9, whom Ammianus identifies with the son of Amphytrion. The story of a hero similar to Hercules is found in Greece, Italy, Egypt, the Orient, and among the

Celts and Germans. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 16, 42, names six Herculesees, Serv., *ad Aen.* viii. 564, four: the Tirynthian, Argive, Theban, and Libyan. The Theban Hercules is generally regarded as the son of Amphytryon, but the one here referred to seems to have been the Italic hero, locally called Recaranus and Garanus, who was later identified with the Greek Heracles.

⁶⁵ Druids

⁶⁶ An error for Harpagus, see Index.

⁶⁷ Modern Castellamare della Bruca.

⁶⁸ Marseilles.

⁶⁹ The three are connected also by Strabo (iv. 4. 4), who says that the *bards* were poets; the *euhaiges* (οὐῤῥαίεις), diviners and natural philosophers; while the Druids studied both natural and moral philosophy. *L.C.L.* ii. .

⁷⁰ Properly, Vates (οὐῤῥαίεις).

⁷¹ The *septriones*, the constellation of *ursa major*, representing the north.

⁷² As it enters the sea, the Rhine divides into several branches.

⁷³ As there is no specific western constellation, *sidus* seems to mean “sun”; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 12; etc., and *solis ortus*, below, of the east.

⁷⁴ Modern Oulx, in the *Ant. Itin.* called *mansio Martis*; in the *Itin. Burdigalense, ad Martis*. Amm. uses *statio* both of a military post, and of a station on the *cursus publicus*, but see Hyde, *R. Alp. Routes*, .

⁷⁵ Mont Genève.

⁷⁶ See note, .

⁷⁷ “Grecian,” but see Hyde, *R. Alpine Routes*, .

⁷⁸ That is, the Carthaginians, in 218 B.C. See Hyde, p ff.

⁷⁹ After a siege of eight months.

⁸⁰ Cf. Livy, xxi. 37, 1–3; Juvenal, x. 153; etc. Pliny, *N.H.* xxiii. 57, attributes this power to vinegar, but Polybius does not mention the story, which is doubted for various reasons.

⁸¹ With this part of the account, cf. Caesar, *B.G.*, i. 1.

⁸² Paris.

⁸³ The site of Harfleur.

⁸⁴ Referring to Cæsar’s campaigns, 58–49 B.C.

⁸⁵ At the battle of Argentoratus (Strasbourg); see xvi. 12.

⁸⁶ Augusta Trevirorum was the headquarters of the Roman commanders on the Rhine, and a frequent residence of the Roman emperors; Ausonius, in his *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* gives it sixth place.

⁸⁷ Châlons-sur-Marne.

⁸⁸ The country between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, Aquitania in the narrower sense. The names of the nine nations are not known.

⁸⁹ That is, it receives no tributaries, yet fills its channel full.

⁹⁰ Really “between.”

⁹¹ Maxima Sequanorum.

⁹² Saône.

⁹³ The Gulf of Lyons; of. Grau-du-Roi.

⁹⁴ Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 24, 1.

⁹⁵ Ammianus is the only source for these words.

⁹⁶ M. Fulvius Flaccus; see Index and cf. Livy, *Periochae*, lx. and lxi.

⁹⁷ C. Sextius Calvinus; see Index and cf. Livy, *Periocha*, lxi.

⁹⁸ In 121 B.C.

⁹⁹ In 121 B.C.

¹⁰⁰ Allobrogicus.

¹⁰¹ *Hist. i.* 11, Maurenbrecher.

¹⁰² Cf. xiv. 7, 16.

¹⁰³ Greek and Latin; cf. Suet., *Claud.* 42, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ursicinus (see xiv. 11, 5).

¹⁰⁵ Plautus, *Epidicus*, 12, *minus iam furtificus sum quam antehac. Quid ita? Rapio propalam.*

BOOK XVI

Praise of Julianus Caesar.

While the linked course of the fates was bringing this to pass in the Roman world, Julian Caesar at Vienne was admitted by Augustus, ¹ then consul for the eighth time, into the fellowship of the consular fasti. Urged on by his native energy, he dreamed of the din of battle and the slaughter of savages, already preparing to gather up the broken fragments of the province, if only fortune should at last aid him with her favouring breeze. ^[2] Accordingly, since the great deeds that he had the courage and good fortune to perform in Gaul surpass many valiant achievements of the ancients, I shall describe them one by one in progressive order, endeavouring to put in play all the resources of my modest ability, if only they will suffice. ^[3] Now whatever I shall tell (and no wordy deceit adorns my tale, but untrammelled faithfulness to fact, based upon clear proofs, composes it) will almost belong to the domain of the panegyric. ^[4] For some law of a higher life seems to have attended this youth from his noble cradle even to his last breath. For with rapid strides he grew so conspicuous at home and abroad that in his foresight he was esteemed a second Titus, son of Vespasian, in the glorious progress of his wars as very like Trajan, mild as Antoninus Pius, and in searching out the true and perfect reason of things in harmony with Marcus Aurelius, in emulation of whom he moulded his conduct and his character. ² 5. And since (as the authority of Cicero informs us) ³ “we take delight in the loftiness of all noble arts, as we do of trees, but not so much in their roots and stumps,” just so the beginnings of his surpassing ability were then veiled by many overshadowing features. Yet they ought to be preferred to his many admirable later achievements, for the reason that while still in early youth, educated like Erechtheus ⁴ in Minerva’s retreat, and drawn from the peaceful shades of the Academy, not from a soldier’s tent, to the dust of battle, he vanquished Germany, subdued the meanders of the freezing Rhine, here shed the blood of kings breathing cruel threats, and there loaded their arms with chains.

Julianus Caesar attacks the Alamanni, slaughters, captures, and vanquishes them.

Accordingly, while he was passing a busy winter in the above-mentioned town, ⁵ in the thick of rumours which kept persistently flying about, he learned that the walls of the ancient city of Autun, of wide circuit, to be sure, but weakened by the decay of centuries, had been besieged by a sudden onset of the savages; and then, though the force of soldiers garrisoned there was paralysed, it had been defended by the watchfulness of veterans who hurried

together for its aid, as it often happens that the extreme of desperation wards off imminent danger of death. [2] Therefore, without putting aside his cares, and disregarding the servile flattery with which his courtiers tried to turn him to pleasure and luxury, after making adequate preparation he reached Autun on the 24th of June, like some experienced general, distinguished for power and policy, intending to fall upon the savages, who were straggling in various directions, whenever chance should give opportunity. [3] Accordingly, when he held a council, with men present who knew the country, to decide what route should be chosen as a safe one, there was much interchange of opinion, some saying that they ought to go by Arbor⁶ others by way of Saulieu⁷ and Cora.⁸

4. But when some remarked that Silvanus, commander of the infantry, with 8000 reserve troops had shortly before passed (though with difficulty) by roads shorter but mistrusted because of the heavy shade of the branches, the Caesar with the greater confidence made a strong resolve to emulate the daring of that hardy man. [5] And to avoid any delay, he took only the cuirassiers⁹ and the crossbowmen,¹⁰ who were far from suitable to defend a general, and traversing the same road, he came to Auxerre. [6] There with but a short rest (as his custom was) he refreshed himself and his soldiers and kept on towards Troyes; and when troops of savages kept making attacks on him, he sometimes, fearing that they might be in greater force, strengthened his flanks and reconnoitered; sometimes he took advantage of suitable ground, easily ran them down and trampled them under foot, capturing some who in terror gave themselves up, while the remainder exerted all their powers of speed in an effort to escape. These he allowed to get away unscathed, since he was unable to follow them up, encumbered as he was with heavy-armed soldiers. [7] So, as he now had firmer hope of success in resisting their attacks, he proceeded among many dangers to Troyes, reaching there so unlooked for, that when he was almost knocking at the gates, the fear of the widespread bands of savages was such, that entrance to the city was vouchsafed only after anxious debate. [8] And after staying there a short time, out of consideration for his tired soldiers, he felt that he ought not to delay, and made for the city of Rheims. There he had ordered the whole army to assemble with provisions for a month and to await his coming; the place was commanded by Ursicinus' successor Marcellus, and Ursicinus himself was directed to serve in the same region until the end of the campaign. [9] Accordingly, after the expression of many various opinions, it was agreed to attack the Alamannic horde by way of the Ten Cantons¹¹ with closed ranks; and the soldiers went on in that direction with unusual alacrity. [10] And because the day was misty and overcast, so that even objects close at hand could not be seen, the enemy, aided by their acquaintance with the country, went around by way of a crossroad and made an attack on the two legions bringing up the rear of the Caesar's army. And they would nearly have annihilated them, had not the shouts that they suddenly raised brought up the reinforcements of our allies. [11] Then and thereafter, thinking that he could cross neither roads nor rivers without

ambuscades, Julian was wary and hesitant, which is a special merit in grett commanders, and is wont both to help and to save their armies. [12] Hearing therefore that Strasburg, Brumath, Saverne, Seltz, Speyer, Worms, and Mayence were held by the savages, who were living on their lands (for the towns themselves they avoid as if they were tombs surrounded by nets), ¹² he first of all seized Brumath, but while he was still approaching it a band of Germans met him and offered battle. [13] Julian drew up his forces in the form of a crescent, and when the fight began to come to close quarters, the enemy were overwhelmed by a double danger; some were captured, others were slain in the very heat of the battle, and the rest got away, saved by recourse to speed.

Julian recovers Cologne, which had been captured by the Franks, and there makes peace with the kings of the Franks.

Accordingly, as after this no one offered resistance, Julian decided to go and recover Cologne, which had been destroyed before his arrival in Gaul. ¹³ In all that region there is no city to be seen and no stronghold, except that at the Confluence, a place so called because there the river Moselle mingles with the Rhine, there is the town of Remagen ¹⁴ and a single tower near Cologne itself. [2] So, having entered Cologne, he did not stir from there until he had overawed the Frankish kings and lessened their pugnacity, had made a peace with them which would benefit the state meanwhile, and had recovered that very strongly fortified city. [3] Pleased with these first-fruits of victory, he passed through the land of the Treveri, and went to winter at Sens, a town which was then convenient. There, bearing on his shoulders, as the saying is, the burden of a flood of wars, ¹⁵ he was distracted by manifold cares — how the soldiers who had abandoned their usual posts might be taken back to danger-points, how he might scatter the tribes that had conspired to the hurt of the Roman cause, and how to see to it that food should not fail his army as it was about to range in different directions.

Julian is besieged by the Alemanni in the town of Sens.

As he was anxiously weighing these problems, a host of the enemy attacked, fired with increased hope of taking the town, and full of confidence because they had learned from the statements of deserters that neither the targeteers nor the gentiles ¹⁶ were at hand; for they had been distributed in the towns, so as to be more easily provisioned than before. [2] So, having shut the city gates and strengthened a weak section of the walls, Julian could be seen day and night with his soldiers among the bulwarks and battlements, boiling over with rage and fretting because however often he tried to sally forth, he was hampered by the scanty numbers of the troops at hand. Finally, after a month

the savages withdrew crestfallen, muttering that they had been silly and foolish to have contemplated the blockade of the city. [3] But — a thing to be regarded as a shameful situation ¹⁷ — while Caesar was in jeopardy, Marcellus, master of the horse, although he was stationed in neighbouring posts, postponed sending him reinforcements; whereas even if the city alone was endangered, to say nothing of the prince's presence there, it ought to have been saved from the hardships of blockade by the intervention of a large force. [4] Once relieved of this fear, Caesar provided with the greatest efficiency and with unfailing solicitude that some rest should follow the long continued toil of the soldiers, a short one perhaps, but enough, at least, to restore their strength; and yet that region, a wilderness in its extreme destitution through having often been ravaged, provided very little suitable for rations. [5] But when this too had been provided for by his ever-watchful care, a happier hope of success was shed upon him, and with spirits revived he rose to the achievement of numerous enterprises.

The merits of Julianus Caesar.

First, then (and a hard thing to accomplish) he imposed moderation on himself, and kept to it, as if he were living bound by the sumptuary laws which were brought to Rome from the Edicts, ¹⁸ that is, the wooden tablets, ¹⁹ of Lycurgus; and when they had long been observed, but were going out of use, the dictator Sulla gradually renewed them, ²⁰ taking account of one of the sayings of Democritus, that a pretentious table is set by Fortune, a frugal one by Virtue. [2] Furthermore, Cato of Tusculum, whose austere manner of living conferred upon him the surname Censorius, wisely defined that point, saying: "Great care about food implies great neglect of virtue." ²¹ [3] Lastly, though he constantly read the booklet which Constantius, as it sending a stepson to the university, had written with his own hand, making lavish provision for what should be spent on Caesar's table, he forbade the ordering and serving of pheasants and of sow's matrix and udders, contenting himself with the coarse and ordinary rations of a common soldier.

[4] So it came about that he divided his nights according to a threefold schedule — rest, affairs of state, and the Muses, a course which Alexander the Great, as we read, used to practise; but Julian was far more self-reliant. For Alexander used to set a bronze basin beside his couch and with outstretched arm hold a silver ball over it, so that when the coming of sleep relaxed the tension of his muscles, the clanging of the ball as it fell might break off his nap. [5] But Julian could wake up as often as he wished, without any artificial means. And when the night was half over, he always got up, not from a downy couch or silken coverlets glittering with varied hues, but from a rough blanket and rug, which the simple common folk call *susurna*. ²² Then he secretly prayed to Mercury, whom the teaching of the theologians stated to be the swift intelligence of the universe, arousing the activity of men's minds; and in spite of such great lack of material things he paid diligent heed to all

his public duties. [6] And after bringing these (as his lofty and serious tasks) to an end, he turned to the exercise of his intellect, and it is unbelievable with what great eagerness he sought out the sublime knowledge of all chiefest things, and as if in search of some sort of sustenance for a soul soaring to loftier levels, ran through all the departments of philosophy in his learned discussions. [7] But yet, though he gained full and exhaustive knowledge in this sphere, he did not neglect more humble subjects, studying poetry to a moderate degree, and rhetoric (as is shown by the undefiled elegance and dignity of his speeches and letters) as well as the varied history of domestic and foreign affairs. Besides all this he had at his command adequate fluency also in Latin conversation. [8] If, then, it is true (as divers writers report) that King Cyrus and the lyric poet Simonides, and Hippias of Elis, keenest of the sophists, had such powerful memories because they had acquired that gift by drinking certain potions, we must believe that Julian, when only just arrived at manhood, had drained the entire cask of memory, if such could be found anywhere. These, then, were the nightly evidences of his self-restraint and his virtues.

[9] But how he passed his days in brilliant and witty conversation, in preparation for war or in the actual clash of battle, or in lofty and liberal improvements in civil administration, shall later be shown in detail, each in its proper place. [10] When this philosopher, being a prince, was forced to practise the rudiments of military training and learn the art of marching rhythmically in pyrrhic measure to the harmony of the pipes, he often used to call on Plato's name, quoting that famous old saying: ²³ "A pack-saddle is put on an ox; that is surely no burden for me." [11] When the agents ²⁴ had been summoned by his order on a festal day to his council chamber, to receive their gold with the rest, one of the company took it, not (as the custom is) in a fold of his mantle, but in both his open hands. Whereupon the emperor said, "It is seizing, not accepting, that agents understand." [12] When approached by the parents of a girl who had been assaulted, he ordered that her ravisher, if convicted, should be banished; and when they complained of the indignity suffered in that he was not punished with death, the emperor merely replied: "The laws may censure my clemency, but it is right for an emperor of very merciful disposition to rise above all other laws." [13] When he was on the point of leaving on a campaign, many persons would appeal to him, as having grievances; but he used to recommend them to the provincial governors for their hearings. On his return he would inquire what had been decided in each case, and with his native kindness would mitigate the punishment of the offences. [14] Last of all, not to speak of the victories in which he routed the savages, who often fell with spirits unbroken, what good he did to Gaul, labouring as it was in utmost destitution, appears most clearly from this fact: when he first entered those parts, he found that twenty-five pieces of gold ²⁵ were demanded by way of tribute from every one as a poll- and land-tax; but when he left, seven only for full satisfaction of all duties. And on account of

this (as if clear sunshine had beamed upon them after ugly darkness), they expressed their joy in gaiety and dances. [15] To conclude, we know that to the very end of his reign, and of his life, he observed this rule profitably, not to remit arrears of tribute by so-called “indulgencies.” For he had learned that by so doing he would somewhat better the condition of the rich, since it is generally known that poor people at the very beginning of the tax-levying are forced to pay in full without easement.

[16] However, in the midst of these courses of wise governing, worthy of the imitation of good emperors, the fury of the savages had blazed forth again more than ever. [17] And as wild beasts accustomed to live by plundering when their guards are slack do not cease even when these guards are removed and stronger ones put in their place, but ravening with hunger rush upon flocks or herds without regard for their own lives: so they too, when they had used up all that they had seized by pillage, urged on by hunger, were continually driving off booty, and sometimes perishing of want before finding anything.

Arbetio, a man of consular rank, is accused and acquitted.

These were the events in Gaul during that year dubious in prospect, but successful in outcome. But in the court of the Augustus envy kept barking on every side at Arbetio, as one that would soon attain the highest rank and had already prepared the insignia of imperial dignity; and a certain count, Verissimus by name, assailed him with unbridled outcry, openly charging that although he had risen from the common soldiery to the chief military command, he was not satisfied even with this, but thinking it was a slight thing, was aiming at the imperial position. [2] But in particular one Dorus, ex-surgeon of the targeteers, kept pursuing him; he it was who (as I stated) ²⁶ when promoted under Magnentius to be centurion in charge of works of art at Rome, ²⁷ accused Adelphius, prefect of the city, of aiming at a higher station. [3] And when the matter came to an investigation, and everything needful for the business was at hand, a proof of the charges was looked for; when suddenly, as if by an irregular vote, ²⁸ at the instance of the chamberlains (as persistent rumour reported) both those persons under restraint as implicated were released from their fetters; Dorus disappeared, and Verissimus at once held his peace, just as when on the stage the curtain is lowered and put away.

²⁹

Julianus Caesar is defended against Marcellus before the emperor by Eutherius, his chief chamberlain; and praise of Eutherius.

At that same time Constantius, apprised by approaching rumour that when Caesar was blockaded at Sens, Marcellus had not brought aid, ³⁰ discharged the latter from the army and commanded him to depart to his home. Whereupon Marcellus, as if staggered by a grievous insult, began to contrive a plot against Julian, presuming on Augustus, whose ears were open to every

slander. [2] And so, when Marcellus was on his way, Eutherius, the head chamberlain, was sent immediately after him, to confute him in case he should trump up anything. But Marcellus, unaware of this, presently came to Milan, blustering and making trouble, being a vain talkative fool and all but mad; and when admitted to the council, he charged Julian with being arrogant and already fitting himself with stronger pinions, so as to soar up higher; for thus he spoke with a mighty movement of his body to match his words. [3] While he was freely forging these accusations, Eutherius (as he requested) was brought in, and being commanded to say what he wished, modestly and in few words showed that the truth was veiled with lies. For while the commander of the heavy-armed infantry (as was believed) deliberately held back, Caesar, who had long been blockaded in Sens, had by his watchful energy driven back the barbarians; and Eutherius staked his own head on the promise that Julian would be a loyal servitor to his superior, so long as he should live.

[4] The subject prompts me to add a few facts about this same Eutherius, perhaps hardly to be credited, for the reason that if a Numa Pompilius or a Socrates should give any good report of a eunuch, and should back their statements by a solemn oath, they would be charged with having departed from the truth. But among brambles roses spring up, and among savage beasts some are tamed. Accordingly, I shall give a brief summary of the chief facts known about him. [5] He was born in Armenia of free parents, but when still very young he was kidnapped by hostile tribesmen in that neighbourhood, who gelded him and sold him to some Roman traders, who brought him to Constantine's palace. There, as he grew up, he gradually gave evidence of virtuous living and intelligence. He received as much training in letters as might suffice for one of that station; conspicuous for his remarkable keenness in devising and solving difficult and knotty problems, he had extraordinary powers of memory; he was eager to do kindnesses and full of sound counsel. And if the emperor Constans had listened to him in times past, when Eutherius had grown up and was already mature, and urged honourable and upright conduct upon him, he would have been guilty of no faults, or at least of only pardonable ones. ³¹ [6] When he had become head chamberlain, ³² he would sometimes criticise even Julian, as trained in the manners of Asia and therefore inconstant. Finally going into retirement, but afterwards summoned to the palace, always temperate and especially consistent, he so cultivated the noble virtues of loyalty and self-restraint that he was never charged, as the rest have been, with having disclosed a secret, unless it were to save another's life, or to have been kindled with a desire to increase his wealth. [7] The result was, that when he presently retired to Rome and grew old there in a permanent home, he carried about with him a good conscience as his companion; he was honoured and loved by all classes, whereas that type of man, after amassing wealth by iniquitous means, usually seeks out secret lurking-places, like creatures of darkness shunning the sight of the multitude they have wronged. [8] In unrolling many records of the past, to see to which of the eunuchs of old

I ought to compare him, I could find none. True, there were in times gone by those that were loyal and virtuous (although very few), but they were stained with some vice or other. For along with the excellent qualities which anyone of them had acquired by studious endeavour or natural ability he was either extortionate or despicable for his cruelty, or prone to do mischief, or too subservient to the rulers, or insolent through pride of power; but of one so well equipped in every direction I confess I have neither read nor heard, although I have relied on the abundant testimony of our age. ^[9] But if haply any curious student of ancient history should confront me with Menophilus, the eunuch of Mithridates, king of Pontus, let this reminder recall to him that nothing was recorded of Menophilus save this one fact, that in the supreme crisis he made a glorious showing. ^[10] The aforesaid king, after having been defeated in a mighty battle by Pompey and the Romans, fled to the kingdom of Colchis; he left his grown daughter, Dryptina by name, who was afflicted with a grievous disease, in the fortress of Sinhorium under the charge of this Menophilus. He, resorting to every healing remedy, entirely cured the girl and was guarding her in complete security for her father, when the fortress in which he was beleaguered began to be blockaded by Mallius Priscus, the Roman commander's lieutenant-general; and when Menophilus learned that its defenders were thinking of surrender, fearing lest, to her father's reproach, the high-born girl might be taken alive and suffer outrage, he killed her and then plunged the sword into his own vitals. ³³ Now let me return to the point from which I digressed.

Slanders and calumnies in the camp of Constantius Augustus, and the greed of the courtiers.

After Marcellus had been worsted, as I have said, and had returned to Serdica, ³⁴ his native place, in the camp of Augustus, under pretext of upholding his imperial majesty, many abominable acts were committed. ^[2] For if anyone consulted a soothsayer about the squeaking of a shrew-mouse, the meeting with a weasel on the way, or any like portent, or used some old wife's charm to relieve pain (a thing which even medical authority allows), he was indicted (from what source he could not guess), was haled into court, and suffered death as the penalty.

^[3] At about that time a certain slave, Danus by name, was accused by his wife on trifling charges merely to intimidate him; this woman was approached by Rufinus, who had come to know her in some way or other. He was the man who had given certain information that he had learned through Gaudentius, one of the agents, ³⁵ and had caused the death of Africanus, then governor-general of Pannonia, along with his guests, as I have related; ³⁶ he was even then, because of his obsequiousness, chief steward of the praetorian prefecture. ^[4] This Rufinus (as he kept boastfully saying) led the fickle woman, first into shameful relations with him, and then into a dangerous

deceit; he induced her by a tissue of lies to charge her guiltless husband with high treason, and to allege that he had stolen a purple robe from Diocletian's tomb and with several accomplices was concealing it. [5] And having thus framed these matters to the destruction of many persons, Rufinus himself, in hope of greater profit, flies to the emperor's camp, to stir up his customary scandals. And when the fact was divulged, Mavortius, then praetorian prefect, a man of high resolution, was bidden to look into the charge with a keen investigation, having associated with him, to hear the case in common, Ursulus, count of the largesses, ³⁷ likewise a man of praiseworthy severity. [6] So when the affair had been exaggerated, after the standard of the times, and after the torture of many persons nothing was discovered, and the judges were hesitating in perplexity, at last truth, crushed to earth, breathed again, and at the point of necessity the woman confessed that Rufinus was the contriver of the whole plot, and did not even keep back the shame of her adultery. And at once the laws were consulted and the judges, unanimous in their love of right and justice, condemned them both to death. [7] Constantius, on learning this, raged and lamented, as if the defender of his own life had perished; he sent fast horsemen and commanded Ursulus in threatening terms to return to the court. And when he had come there and wished to approach the emperor, the courtiers tried to keep him from being able to appear in defence of the truth. But he, scorning those who would hold him back, burst through fearlessly and, entering the council-chamber, with frank speech and bold heart told what had been done; and by this confidence having stopped the mouths of the flatterers, he delivered both the prefect and himself from a grave danger.

[8] Then a thing happened in Aquitania which fame bruited more widely abroad. A crafty old fellow who was invited to a sumptuous and elegant banquet, such as are very frequent in that country, noticed that the purple borders of the linen couch-covers were so very broad that the skill of the attendants made them seem all one piece, and that the table was covered with similar cloths; and by turning the front part of his cloak inward with both hands, he so adorned its whole structure, that it resembled an emperor's garment ³⁸ ; and this action ruined a rich estate.

[9] With like malice a certain member of the secret service in Spain, who also was invited to a dinner, when he heard the slaves who were bringing in the evening lights cry (as the manner is): "May we conquer," ³⁹ gave the expression a serious meaning, and wickedly destroyed a noble house. ⁴⁰

[10] These and similar actions kept growing more and more common, for the reason that Constantius, who was excessively timid and fearful for his life, always anticipated that a knife was at his throat, like that famous Sicilian despot, Dionysius, who because of that same infirmity actually taught his daughters to be barbers, in order that he might not trust the shaving of his cheeks to an outsider; and he surrounded the little house in which he used to sleep, with a deep trench and spanned it with a knockdown bridge, ⁴¹ the planks and pins of which he took apart and carried with him when he went off

to bed; and reassembled them at daybreak, when he was on his way out. [11] These trumpet-blasts of internal revolt⁴² were likewise increased by powerful courtiers, to the end that they might lay claim to the property of condemned persons and incorporate it with their own, and thus have the means of encroaching widely on their neighbours. [12] For as clear proofs bore witness, the first of all to open the jaws of those nearest to him was Constantine, but it was Constantius who fattened them with the marrow of the provinces. [13] For under him the leading men of every rank were inflamed with a boundless eagerness for riches, without consideration for justice or right; among the civil functionaries first came Rufinus, the praetorian prefect; among the military, Arbetio, master of the horse, and the head-chamberlain Eusebius, . . . anus,⁴³ the quaestor, and in Rome itself the members of the Anician family, whose younger generation, striving to outdo their forefathers, could never be satisfied with even much greater possessions.

Negotiations for peace with the Persians.

But the Persians in the East, rather by thieving and robbery than (as their former manner was) in set battles, kept driving off booty of men and animals; sometimes they got away with their loot, being unexpected; often they lost it, over-marched by the great number of our soldiers; occasionally they were not allowed to see anything at all which could be carried off. [2] None the less, Musonianus, the praetorian prefect, a man (as I have said before) gifted with many excellent accomplishments, but corrupt and easy to turn from the truth by a bribe, inquired into the designs of the Persians through emissaries of his who were adepts in deceit and incrimination; and he took into his counsels on this subject Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, who had been toughened by various campaigns and dangers. [3] When the two had certain knowledge from the unanimous reports of their scouts that Sapor, on the remotest frontiers of his realm, was with difficulty and with great bloodshed of his troops driving back hostile tribesmen, they made trial of Tamsapor, the commander nearest to our territory, in secret interviews through obscure soldiers, their idea being that, if chance gave an opportunity, he should by letter advise the king finally to make peace with the Roman emperor, in order that by so doing he might be secure on his whole western frontier and could rush upon his persistent enemies. [4] Tamsapor consented and relying on this information, reported to the king that Constantius, being involved in very serious wars, entreated and begged for peace. But while these communications were being sent to the Chionitae and Euseni, in whose territories Sapor was passing the winter, a long time elapsed.

Constantius Augustus in military attire and like a triumphator arrives in Rome.

While these events were so being arranged in the Orient and in Gaul in accordance with the times, Constantius, as if the temple of Janus had been closed and all his enemies overthrown, was eager to visit Rome and after the death of Magnentius to celebrate, without a title, a triumph over Roman blood. [2] For neither in person did he vanquish any nation that made war upon him, nor learn of any conquered by the valour of his generals; nor did he add anything to his empire; nor at critical moments was he ever seen to be foremost, or among the foremost; but he desired to display an inordinately long procession, banners stiff with gold work, and the splendour of his retinue, to a populace living in perfect peace and neither expecting nor desiring to see this or anything like it. [3] Perhaps he did not know that some of our ancient commanders in time of peace were satisfied with the attendance of their lictors; but when the heat of battle could tolerate no inaction, one, with the mad blast of the winds shrieking, entrusted himself to a fisherman's skiff; ⁴⁴ another, after the example of the Decii, vowed his life for the commonwealth; ⁴⁵ a third in his own person together with common soldiers explored the enemy's camp; ⁴⁶ in short, various among them became famous through splendid deeds, so that they commended their glories to the frequent remembrance of posterity.

[4] So soon, then, as much had been disbursed in regal preparation, and every sort of man had been rewarded according to his services, in the second prefecture of Orfitus he passed through Ocriculi, elated with his great honours and escorted by formidable troops; he was conducted, so to speak, in battle array and everyone's eyes were riveted upon him with fixed gaze. [5] And when he was nearing the city, as he beheld with calm countenance the dutiful attendance of the senate and the august likenesses of the patrician stock, he thought, not like Cineas, the famous envoy of Pyrrhus, that a throng of kings was assembled together, but that the sanctuary of the whole world was present before him. [6] And when he turned from them to the populace, he was amazed to see in what crowds men of every type had flocked from all quarters to Rome. And as if he were planning to overawe the Euphrates with a show of arms, or the Rhine, while the standards preceded him on each side, he himself sat alone upon a golden car in the resplendent blaze of shimmering precious stones, whose mingled glitter seemed to form a sort of shifting light. [7] And behind the manifold others that preceded him he was surrounded by dragons, ⁴⁷ woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused by anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind. [8] And there marched on either side twin lines of infantrymen with shields and crests gleaming with glittering rays, clad in shining mail; and scattered among them were the full-armoured cavalry (whom they call *clibanarii*), ⁴⁸ all masked, furnished with protecting breastplates and girt with iron belts, so that you might have supposed them statues polished by the hand of Praxiteles, not men. Thin circles of iron plates, fitted to the curves of their bodies, completely covered

their limbs; so that whichever way they had to move their members, their garment fitted, so skilfully were the joinings made. [9] Accordingly, being saluted as Augustus with favouring shouts, while hills and shores thundered out the roar, he never stirred, but showed himself as calm and imperturbable as he was commonly seen in his provinces. [10] For he both stooped when passing through lofty gates (although he was very short), and as if his neck were in a vice, he kept the gaze of his eyes straight ahead, and turned his face neither to right nor to left, but (as if he were a lay figure) neither did he nod when the wheel jolted nor was he ever seen to spit, or to wipe or rub his face or nose, or move his hands about. [11] And although this was affectation on his part, yet these and various other features of his more intimate life were tokens of no slight endurance, granted to him alone, as was given to be understood. [12] Furthermore, that during the entire period of his reign he neither took up anyone to sit beside him in his car, nor admitted any private person to be his colleague in the insignia of the consulship, as other anointed princes did, and many like habits which in his pride of lofty conceit he observed as though they were most just laws, I pass by, remembering that I set them down when they occurred.

[13] So then he entered Rome, the home of empire and of every virtue, and when he had come to the Rostra, the most renowned forum of ancient dominion, he stood amazed; and on every side on which his eyes rested he was dazzled by the array of marvellous sights. He addressed the nobles in the senate-house and the populace from the tribunal, and being welcomed to the palace with manifold attentions, he enjoyed a longed-for pleasure; and on several occasions, when holding equestrian games, he took delight in the sallies of the commons, who were neither presumptuous nor regardless of their old-time freedom, while he himself also respectfully observed the due mean. [14] For he did not (as in the case of other cities) permit the contests to be terminated at his own discretion, but left them (as the custom is) to various chances. Then, as he surveyed the sections of the city and its suburbs, lying within the summits of the seven hills, along their slopes, or on level ground, he thought that whatever first met his gaze towered above all the rest: the sanctuaries of Tarpeian Jove so far surpassing as things divine excel those of earth; the baths built up to the measure of provinces; the huge bulk of the amphitheatre, strengthened by its framework of Tiburtine stone, ⁴⁹ to whose top human eyesight barely ascends; the Pantheon like a rounded city-district, ⁵⁰ vaulted over in lofty beauty; and the exalted heights which rise with platforms to which one may mount, and bear the likenesses of former emperors; ⁵¹ the Temple of the City, ⁵² the Forum of Peace, ⁵³ the Theatre of Pompey, ⁵⁴ the Oleum, ⁵⁵ the Stadium, ⁵⁶ and amongst these the other adornments of the Eternal City. [15] But when he came to the Forum of Trajan, a construction unique under the heavens, as we believe, and admirable even in the unanimous opinion of the gods, he stood fast in amazement, turning his attention to the gigantic complex about him, begging description and never

again to be imitated by mortal men. Therefore abandoning all hope of attempting anything like it, he said that he would and could copy Trajan's steed alone, which stands in the centre of the vestibule, carrying the emperor himself. [16] To this prince Ormisda, who was standing near him, and whose departure from Persia I have described above, ⁵⁷ replied with native wit: "First, Sire," said he, "command a like stable to be built, if you can; let the steed which you propose to create range as widely as this which we see." When Ormisda was asked directly what he thought of Rome, he said that he took comfort ⁵⁸ in this fact alone, that he had learned that even there men were mortal. [17] So then, when the emperor had viewed many objects with awe and amazement, he complained of Fame as either incapable or spiteful, because while always exaggerating everything, in describing what there is in Rome, she becomes shabby. And after long deliberation what he should do there, he determined to add to the adornments of the city by erecting in the Circus Maximus an obelisk, the provenance and figure of which I shall describe in the proper place. ⁵⁹

[18] Meanwhile Constantius' sister Helena, wife of Julian Caesar, had been brought to Rome under pretence of affection, but the reigning queen, Eusebia, was plotting against her; she herself had been childless all her life, and by her wiles she coaxed Helena to drink a rare potion, so that as often as she was with child she should have a miscarriage. [19] For once before, in Gaul, when she had borne a baby boy, she lost it through this machination: a midwife had been bribed with a sum of money, and as soon as the child was born cut the umbilical cord more than was right, and so killed it; such great pains and so much thought were taken that this most valiant man might have no heir.

[20] Now the emperor desired to remain longer in this most majestic abode of all the world, to enjoy freer repose and pleasure; but he was alarmed by constant trustworthy reports, stating that the Suebi were raiding Raetia and the Quadi Valeria, ⁶⁰ while the Sarmatians, a tribe most accomplished in brigandage, were laying waste Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia. Excited by this news, on the thirtieth day after entering Rome he left the city on May 29th, and marched rapidly into Illyricum by way of Tridentum. ⁶¹ 21. From there he sent Severus, a general toughened by long military experience, to succeed Marcellus, and ordered Ursicinus to come to him. The latter received the letter with joy and came to Sirmium ⁶² with his companions; and after long deliberations about the peace which Musonianus had reported might be established with the Persians, Ursicinus was sent back to the Orient with the powers of commander-in-chief; the elder members of our company were promoted to the command of his soldiers, while we younger men were directed to escort him and be ready to perform whatever he should direct on behalf of the commonwealth.

Julianus Caesar attacks the Alamanni on the islands of the Rhine, to which they had fled with their belongings, and refits Tres Tabernae against them.

But Julianus Caesar, after having passed a troubled winter at Sens,⁶³ in the year when the emperor was consul for the ninth time and he for the second, with the threats from the Germans thundering on every side, stirred by favourable omens hastened to Rheims. He felt the greater eagerness and pleasure because Severus was commanding the army, a man neither insubordinate nor overbearing but well known for his long excellent record in the army, who had followed Julian as he advanced straight ahead, as an obedient soldier follows his general. [2] From another direction Barbatio, who had been promoted after Silvanus' death to the command of the infantry, came from Italy at the emperor's order with twenty-five thousand soldiers to Augst. [3] For it was planned and carefully arranged beforehand that the Alamanni, who were raging beyond their customary manner and ranging more afield, should be driven into straits as if with a pair of pliers⁶⁴ by twin forces of our soldiers, and cut to pieces. [4] But while these well-laid plans were being hurried on, the Laeti, a savage tribe skilled in seasonable raids, passed secretly between the encampments of both armies and made an unlooked for attack on Lyons; and with their sudden onset they would have sacked and burned the town, had they not been driven back from the closed gates but made havoc of whatever they could find outside the town. [5] This disaster was no sooner known than Caesar, with quick grasp of the situation, sent three squadrons of brave light cavalry and watched three roads, knowing that the raiders would doubtless burst forth by them; and his ambushade was not in vain. [6] For all who passed out by those roads were butchered and all their booty recovered intact, and only those escaped unharmed who made their way undisturbed past the rampart of Barbatio; being allowed so to slip by because Bainobaudes, the tribune, and Valentinian, afterwards emperor, who with the cavalry troops they commanded had been ordered to attend to that matter, were forbidden by Cella, tribune of the targeteers, who had come to the campaign as Barbatio's colleague, to watch the road over which they were informed that the Germans would return. [7] And not content with that, the infantry commander, who was a coward and a persistent detractor of Julian's reputation, knowing that what he had ordered was against the interests of the Roman cause (for when Cella was charged with this, he confessed it), deceived Constantius in his report and pretended that these same tribunes had come, under the pretext of public business, to tamper with the soldiers whom he had been commanding; and for that reason they were cashiered and returned to their homes in a private capacity.

[8] At that same time the savages who had established their homes on our side of the Rhine, were alarmed by the approach of our armies, and some of them skilfully blocked the roads (which are difficult and naturally of heavy grades) by barricades of felled trees of huge size; others, taking possession of the islands which are scattered in numbers along the course of the Rhine, with wild and mournful cries heaped insults upon the Romans and Caesar.

Whereupon he was inflamed with a mighty outburst of anger, and in order to catch some of them, asked Barbatio for seven of the ships which he had got ready for building bridges with the intention of crossing the river; but Barbatio burned them all, in order that he might be unable to give any help. [9] Finally Julian, learning from the report of some scouts just captured, that now in the heat of summer the river could be forded, with words of encouragement sent the light-armed auxiliaries with Bainobaudes, tribune of the Cornuti, to perform a memorable feat, if fortune would favour them; and they, now wading through the shallows, now swimming on their shields, which they put under them like canoes, ⁶⁵ came to a neighbouring island and landing there they butchered everyone they found, men and women alike, without distinction of age, like so many sheep. Then, finding some empty boats, they rowed on in these, unsteady as they were, and raided a large number of such places; and when they were sated with slaughter, loaded down with a wealth of booty (a part of which they lost through the force of the current) they all came back safe and sound. [10] And the rest of the Germans, on learning of this, abandoned the islands as an unsafe refuge and carried off into the interior their families, their grain, and their rude treasures. [11] From here Julian turned aside to repair the fortress called Tres Tabernae, ⁶⁶ destroyed not long before by the enemy's obstinate assault, the rebuilding of which ensured that the Germans could not approach the interior of Gaul, as they had been wont to do. And he both finished this work sooner than was expected and, for the garrison that was to be stationed there, he stored up food for the needs of a whole year, gathered together by the hands of the soldiers, not without fear of danger, from the savages' crops. [12] And not content with that alone, he gathered for himself also rations to serve for twenty days. For the warriors the more willingly made use of what they had won by their own right hands, being greatly incensed because from the supplies which had just been brought them they could get nothing, since Barbatio had arrogantly appropriated a part of them, when they were passing near him; and piled in a heap what remained over and burned it. Whether he did this like an empty-headed fool, or at the emperor's bidding brazenly perpetrated his many abominable acts, has remained obscure up to this time. [13] However, it was current rumour everywhere, that Julian was not chosen to relieve the distress of Gaul, but that he might meet his death in the cruellest of wars, being even then (as it was thought) inexperienced and one who could not stand even the clash of arms. [14] While the fortifications of the camp were rapidly rising and part of the soldiers were garrisoning the country posts, part gathering in grain warily for fear of ambush, a horde of savages, outstripping by their extraordinary speed any rumour of their coming, with a sudden attack set upon Barbatio and the army he commanded, which was (as has been said) separated from the Gallic camp; and they followed them in their flight as far as Augst, and as much farther as they could; then, after seizing the greater part of his baggage and pack-animals, together with the camp-followers, they returned home again. [15]

And Barbatio, as if he had ended the campaign successfully, distributed his soldiers in winter quarters and returned to the emperor's court, to frame some charge against Caesar, as was his custom.

Julianus Caesar attacks the seven kings of the Alamanni, who were oppressing the Gauls, and routs the savages in a battle at Argentoratum (Strasburg).

When this disgraceful panic had been spread abroad, the kings of the Alamanni, Chonodomarius and Vestralpus, as well as Urius and Ursicinus, together with Serapio and Suomarius and Hortarius, collected all the flower of their forces in one spot and having ordered the horns to sound the war note, approached the city of Strasburg, thinking that Caesar had retired through fear of the worst, whereas he was even then busily employed in his project of completing the fort. [2] Moreover, as they tossed their heads proudly, their confidence was increased by a deserter from the targeteers; who, in fear of punishment for a crime he had committed, went over to them after the departure of his defeated leader, and informed them that only thirteen thousand soldiers had stayed with Julian; and in fact that was the number of his followers, while savage ferocity was arousing the frenzy of battle on every side. [3] Through this deserter's frequent repetition of that statement their confidence was raised still higher; they sent delegates to Caesar and imperiously enough commanded him to depart from the lands which they had won by valour and the sword. But he, a stranger to fear, neither lost his temper nor felt aggrieved, but laughing at the presumption of the savages, he detained the envoys until the work of fortification was ended and remained steadfast in the same attitude of resolution.

[4] Now King Chonodomarius was raising general disturbance and confusion, making his presence felt everywhere without limit, a leader in dangerous enterprises, lifting up his brows in pride, being as he was conceited over frequent successes. [5] For he both met Decentius Caesar on equal terms and defeated him, and had destroyed and sacked many wealthy cities, and for a long time freely overran Gaul without opposition. To strengthen his confidence, there was added besides the recent rout of a general superior in numbers and strength. ⁶⁷ [6] For the Alamanni, on seeing the devices of their shields, realised that these soldiers, who had given ground before a few of their brigands, were the men in fear of whom they had at times in the past scattered and fled with heavy losses, before coming to close quarters. All this caused Julian worry and anxiety, because at the instance of urgent necessity, with the partner of his danger gone, he was forced with only a few (though brave) troops to meet swarming tribes.

[7] Already the beams of the sun were reddening the sky, and the blare of the trumpets was sounding in unison, when the infantry forces were led out at

a moderate pace, and to their flank were joined the squadrons of cavalry, among whom were the cuirassiers ⁶⁸ and the archers, a formidable branch of the service. [8] And since from the place where the Roman standards had begun advancing, the distance to the enemy's camp was figured to be fourteen leagues — that is, twenty-one miles — Caesar had proper regard for both advantage and security, and having recalled his outposts, who had already gone ahead, and having proclaimed silence by the usual announcements, with his native calmness of speech he addressed the soldiers, who stood about him in companies, as follows:

[9] "Regard for maintaining our common safety (to speak most sparingly) urges me, a Caesar far from pusillanimous, to urge and entreat you, fellow soldiers, to have confidence in our mature and sturdy courage, and to choose for all of us rather the path of caution, not the over-hasty and doubtful one, if we are to withstand or to repulse what we have to expect. [10] For in the midst of peril, while it is proper that young men should be energetic and daring, they should also (when occasion requires) be docile and circumspect. Let me therefore in few words detail what my opinion is and see if you will give me leave, and your just anger upholds it. [11] The day is already nearing noon; we are exhausted by the fatigue of the march; steep and blind paths will receive us; the moon is waning and the night will be relieved by no stars; the country is fairly ablaze with heat and relieved by no supply of water. If anyone should grant us the ability to pass through all this comfortably, what are we to do when the enemy's swarms rush upon us, refreshed as they will be with rest and food and drink? What strength can we have, when our limbs are enfeebled with hunger, thirst and toil, to offer resistance? [12] Therefore, since even the most difficult situations have often been met by timely arrangement, and when suitable advice has been taken in good part, heaven-sent remedies have frequently restored the condition of affairs which threatened ruin, here, I ask of you, protected by a rampart and a trench and with our sentinels picketed, let us rest and for the present enjoy sleep and food suitable to the occasion; and then (with God's leave be it spoken) let us advance our triumphant eagles and victorious standards at the first break of day."

[13] The soldiers did not allow him to finish what he was saying, but gnashed and ground their teeth and showed their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together, and besought him that they might be led against an enemy who was already in sight, trusting in the favour of God in Heaven, in their own self-confidence, and in the tried valour of their lucky general; and (as the event showed) a sort of helpful guardian spirit was urging them to the fray, so long as he could be at hand. [14] To add to this eagerness there was the full approval of the high command and especially of Florentius, the praetorian prefect, who judged that though it was risky, they must none the less fight with hope of success while the savages were standing massed together; but if they scattered, the resentment of our soldiers, who, he said, are inclined by their native hotness of temper towards insubordination, would be

impossible to withstand; for that victory (as they thought) should be wrested from their hands they would hardly endure without recourse to the last extremity. [15] Furthermore, our men's confidence had been increased by a twofold consideration, since they recalled that during the year just elapsed, when the Romans were ranging freely all through the country beyond the Rhine, not a man was seen to defend his own home or to make a stand against them; but after blocking the paths everywhere with a thick barricade of felled trees, the savages, frost-bitten by winter climate, had much ado to live, moving far out of the way; and once the emperor had entered into their country they did not dare either to resist or show themselves, and obtained peace by suppliant entreaties. [16] But no one noticed that now the state of the case was changed, since then they were threatened with ruin from three sides; the emperor was menacing them by way of Raetia, Caesar was near at hand and would not allow them to slip out anywhere, and their neighbours (whom civil strife had made their enemies) were all but treading on their necks while they were hemmed in on all sides. But later, peace was granted and the emperor had departed; the source of their quarrels having disappeared, the border tribes were now in agreement; and the shameful departure of the Roman commander had greatly increased the savageness implanted in them by nature. [17] In another way also the Roman situation was made worse in consequence of the following occurrence: there were two brothers of royal blood, who, bound by the obligation of the peace which they had obtained from Constantius the year before, dared neither to raise a disturbance nor to make any move; but a little later, when one of them, Gundomadus, who was the stronger of the two and truer to his promise, had been treacherously murdered, all his tribe made common cause with our enemies, and at once the subjects of Vadomarius (against his will, as he insisted) united with the armies of the savages who were clamouring for war.

[18] So, since the whole army, from the highest to the lowest, agreed that then was the suitable time to fight, and did not in the least abate their inflexibility of spirit, one of the standard bearers suddenly cried: "Forward, most fortunate of all Caesars, whither your lucky star guides you; in you at last we feel that both valour and good counsel are in the field. Leading the way for us like a lucky and valiant commander, you will find what the soldier will accomplish when his strength is called out to the full, under the eyes of a warlike general, the immediate witness of his achievements, if only the favour of the supreme deity be present." [19] On hearing this no delay was permitted, but the army moved forward and approached a hill of gentle slope, covered with grain already ripe, and not far distant from the banks of the Rhine. From its top three of the enemy's cavalry scouts galloped off and hastened to their troops, to bring speedy word of the Roman army's approach. But one infantryman, who could not keep up with them, was caught through the quickness of our men, and reported that the Germans had been crossing the river for three days and three nights. [20] When our leading officers espied

them, now near at hand, taking their places in close wedge-formation, they halted and stood fast, making a solid line, like an impregnable wall, of the vanguard, the standard bearers, and the staff-officers; ⁶⁹ and with like wariness the enemy held their ground in wedge-formation. ^[21] And when (just as the above mentioned deserter had told us) they saw all our cavalry opposite them on the right flank, they put all their strongest cavalry forces on their left flank in close order. And among them here and there they intermingled skirmishers and light-armed infantry, as safe policy certainly demanded. ^[22] For they realised that one of their warriors on horseback, no matter how skilful, in meeting one of our cavalry in coat-of-mail, must hold bridle and shield in one hand and brandish his spear with the other, and would thus be able to do no harm to a soldier hidden in iron armour; whereas the infantry soldier in the very hottest of the fight, when nothing is apt to be guarded against except what is straight before one, can creep about low and unseen, and by piercing a horse's side throw its unsuspecting rider headlong, whereupon he can be slain with little trouble. ^[23] Having made this arrangement, they provided their right flank with secret and puzzling ambuscades. Now all these warlike and savage tribes were led by Chonodomarius and Serapio, kings higher than all the rest in authority. ^[24] And Chonodomarius, who was in fact the infamous instigator of the whole disturbance, rode before the left wing with a flame-coloured plume on his helmet, a bold man, who relied upon his mighty muscular strength, a huge figure wherever the heat of battle was looked for; erect on his foaming steed, he towered with a lance of formidable size; made conspicuous above others by the gleam of his armour, he was both a doughty soldier and a skilful general beyond all the rest. ^[25] But the right wing was led by Serapio, who was still a young man with downy cheeks, but his ability outran his years; he was the son of Mederichus, Chonodomarius' brother, a man of the utmost treachery all his life; and he was so named because his father, who had for a long time been kept as a hostage in Gaul and had been taught certain Greek mysteries, changed his son's original native name of Agenarichus to that of Serapio. ⁷⁰ ^[26] These were followed by the kings next in power, five in number, by ten princes, with a long train of nobles, and 35,000 troops levied from various nations, partly for pay and partly under agreement to return the service.

^[27] And now as the trumpets blared ominously, Severus, the Roman general in command of the left wing, on coming near the trenches filled with soldiers, from which it had been arranged that the men in concealment should rise up suddenly and throw everything into confusion, halted fearlessly, and being somewhat suspicious of ambuscades, made no attempt either to draw back or to go further. ^[28] On seeing this, Caesar, who was courageous in the face of the greatest dangers, surrounded himself with an escort of two hundred horsemen, as the violence of this affair demanded, and with word and action urged the lines of infantry to deploy with swift speed. ^[29] And since to address them all at once was impossible, both on account of the wide extent of the field and the

great numbers of the multitude that had been brought together (and besides he avoided the heavy burden of jealousy, for fear of seeming to have affected that which the emperor supposed to be due to himself alone) without thought of his own safety he flew past the enemy's weapons and by these and similar speeches animated the soldiers, strangers as well as acquaintances, to deeds of valour. [30] "There has come now, comrades, the real time for fighting, which you and I have long since desired, and which you were just now demanding, when you were tumultuously calling for your weapons." [31] Also, when he had come to others, who were stationed behind the standards and in the extreme rear, he said: "Behold, fellow-soldiers, the long-hoped-for day is now here, forcing us all to wash away the old-time stains and restore its due honour to the majesty of Rome. These are the savages whom madness and excessive folly have driven on to the ruin of their fortunes, doomed as they are to be overwhelmed by our might." [32] In the same way, as he arranged in better order others who were experienced by long practice in warfare, he cheered them with such words of encouragement as these: "Let us bestir ourselves, brave soldiers, and by seasonable valour do away with the reproaches inflicted upon our cause, in consideration of which I have hesitatingly accepted the title of Caesar." [33] But whenever he saw any soldiers who were calling for the battle-signal out of season, and foresaw that they would by their riotous actions break discipline, he said: "I beg of you, do not mar the glory of our coming victory by following too eagerly the enemy whom you are about to put to flight; and let none yield ground before the extremity of need. For I shall surely abandon those who are likely to flee, but I shall be inseparably present with those who shall wound their foemen's backs, provided that it be done with regard for judgment and caution.

[34] While he kept often repeating these and other words to the same effect, he placed the greater part of his army opposite the forefront of the savages, and suddenly there was heard the outcry of the German infantry, mingled with indignation, as they shouted with one accord that their princes ought to leave their horses and keep company with them, for fear that they, if anything adverse should occur, abandoning the wretched herd, would easily make shift to escape. [35] On learning of this, Chonodomarius at once sprang down from his horse, and the rest, following his example, did the same without delay; for not one of them doubted that their side would be victorious.

[36] So, when the call to battle had been regularly given on both sides by the notes of the trumpeters, they began the fight with might and main; for a time missiles were hurled, and then the Germans, running forward with more haste than discretion, and wielding their weapons in their right hands, flew upon our cavalry squadrons; and as they gnashed their teeth hideously and raged beyond their usual manner, their flowing hair made a terrible sight, and a kind of madness shone from their eyes. Against them our soldiers resolutely protected their heads with the barriers of their shields, and with sword thrusts or by hurling darts threatened them with death and greatly terrified them. [37]

And when in the very crisis of the battle the cavalry formed massed squadrons valiantly and the infantry stoutly protected their flanks by making a front of their bucklers joined fast together, clouds of thick dust arose. Then there were various manœuvres, as our men now stood fast and now gave ground, and some of the most skilful warriors among the savages by the pressure of their knees tried to force their enemy back; but with extreme determination they came to hand-to-hand fighting, shield-boss pushed against shield, and the sky re-echoed with the loud cries of the victors or of the falling. And although our left wing, marching in close formation had driven back by main force the onrushing hordes of Germans and was advancing with shouts into the midst of the savages, our cavalry, which held the right wing, unexpectedly broke ranks and fled; but while the foremost of these fugitives hindered the hindmost, finding themselves sheltered in the bosom of the legions, they halted, and renewed the battle. [38] Now that had happened for the reason that while the order of their lines was being re-established, the cavalry in coat-of-mail, seeing their leader slightly wounded and one of their companions slipping over the neck of his horse, which had collapsed under the weight of his armour, scattered in whatever direction they could; the cavalry would have caused complete confusion by trampling the infantry under foot, had not the latter, who were packed close together and intertwined one with the other, held their ground without stirring. So, when Caesar had seen from a distance that the cavalry were looking for nothing except safety in flight, he spurred on his horse and held them back like a kind of barrier. [39] On recognising him by the purple ensign of a dragon, fitted to the top of a very long lance and spreading out like the slough of a serpent, the tribune of one of the squadrons stopped, and pale and struck with fear rode back to renew the battle. [40] Whereupon Caesar, as is the custom to do in times of panic, rebuked them mildly and said: "Whither are we fleeing, my most valiant men? Do you know not that flight never leads to safety, but shows the folly of a useless effort? Let us return to our companions, to be at least sharers in their coming glory, if it is without consideration that we are abandoning them as they fight for their country." [41] By his tactful way of saying this he recalled them all to perform their duty as soldiers, following (though with some difference) the example of Sulla of old. For when he had led out his forces against Mithradates' general Archelaus and was being exhausted by the heat of battle and deserted by all his men, he rushed to the front rank, caught up a standard, flung it towards the enemy, and cried: "Go your way, you who were chosen to be companions of my dangers, and to those who ask you where I, your general, was left, answer truthfully: 'Fighting alone in Boeotia, and shedding his blood for all of us.'"

[42] Then the Alamanni, having beaten and scattered our cavalry, charged upon the front line of the infantry, supposing that their courage to resist was now lost and that they would therefore drive them back. [43] But as soon as they came to close quarters, the contest continued a long time on equal terms. For the Cornuti and the Bracchiati, toughened by long experience in fighting,

at once intimidated them by their gestures, and raised their mighty battle-cry. This shout in the very heat of combat rises from a low murmur and gradually grows louder, like waves dashing against the cliffs. Then a cloud of hissing javelins flew hither and thither, the dust arose with steady motion on both sides and hid the view, so that weapon struck blindly on weapon and body against body. [44] But the savages, thrown into disorder by their violence and anger, flamed up like fire, and hacked with repeated strokes of their swords at the close-jointed array of shields, which protected our men like a tortoise-formation. ⁷¹ [45] On learning this, the Batavians, with the “Kings” ⁷² (a formidable band) came at the double quick to aid their comrades and (if fate would assist) to rescue them, girt about as they were, from the instant of dire need; and as their trumpets pealed savagely, they fought with all their powers. [46] But the Alamanni, who enter eagerly into wars, made all the greater effort, as if to destroy utterly everything in their way by a kind of fit of rage. Yet darts and javelins did not cease to fly, with showers of iron-tipped arrows, although at close quarters also blade clashed on blade and breastplates were cleft with the sword; the wounded too, before all their blood was shed, rose up to some more conspicuous deed of daring. [47] For in a way the combatants were evenly matched; the Alamanni were stronger and taller, our soldiers disciplined by long practice; they were savage and uncontrollable, our men quiet and wary, these relying on their courage, while the Germans presumed upon their huge size. [48] Yet frequently the Roman, seem to have been a select body of household troops. The Batavians had no kings at this time. driven from his post by the weight of armed men, rose up again; and the savage, with his legs giving way from fatigue, would drop on his bended left knee and even thus attack his foe, a proof of extreme resolution. [49] And so there suddenly leaped forth a fiery band of nobles, among whom even the kings fought, and with the common soldiers following they burst in upon our lines before the rest; and opening up a path for themselves they got as far as the legion of the Primani, ⁷³ which was stationed in the centre a strong feature called praetorian camp; there our soldiers, closely packed and in fully-manned lines. stood their ground fast and firm, like towers, ⁷⁴ and renewed the battle with greater vigour; and being intent upon avoiding wounds, they protected themselves like murmillons, ⁷⁵ and with drawn swords pierced the enemy’s sides, left bare by their frenzied rage. [50] But the enemy strove to lavish their lives for victory and kept trying to break the fabric of our line. But as they fell in uninterrupted succession, and the Romans now laid them low with greater confidence, fresh savages took the places of the slain; but when they heard the frequent groans of the dying, they were overcome with panic and lost their courage. [51] Worn out at last by so many calamities, and now being eager for flight alone, over various paths they made haste with all speed to get away, just as sailors and passengers hurry to be cast up on land out of the midst of the billows of a raging sea, no matter where the wind has carried them; and anyone there present will admit that it was a means of escape more prayed for than

expected. [52] Moreover, the gracious will of an appeased deity was on our side, and our soldiers slashed the backs of the fugitives; when sometimes their swords were bent, and no weapons were at hand for dealing blows, they seized their javelins from the savages themselves and sank them into their vitals; and not one of those who dealt these wounds could with their blood glut his rage or satiate his right hand by continual slaughter, or take pity on a suppliant and leave him. [53] And so a great number of them lay there pierced with mortal wounds, begging for death as a speedy relief; others half-dead, with their spirit already slipping away, sought with dying eyes for longer enjoyment of the light; some had their heads severed by pikes heavy as beams, so that they hung down, connected only by their throats; some had fallen in their comrades' blood on the miry, slippery ground, and although their persons were untouched by the steel, they were perishing, buried beneath the heaps of those who kept falling above them. [54] When all this had turned out so very successfully, our victorious troops pressed on with greater vigour, blunting the edges of their swords with stroke after stroke, while gleaming helms and shields rolled about under foot. At last the savages, driven on by the utmost extremity, since the heaps of corpses were so high as to block their passage, made for the only recourse left, that of the river, which now almost grazed their backs. [55] And since our indefatigable soldiers, running fast even under their armour, pressed upon them as they fled, some of them, thinking that by their skill in swimming they could save themselves from the dangers, committed their lives to the waves. Whereupon Caesar, with swift intelligence foreseeing what might happen, joined with the tribunes and higher officers in restraining shouts, forbidding any of our men in their over-eager pursuit of the enemy to entrust themselves to the eddying flood. [56] As a result it was seen that they stood on the banks and transfixed the Germans with various kinds of darts; and if any of them by his speed escaped this death, he would sink to the bottom of the river through the weight of his struggling body. [57] And just as in some theatrical scene, when the curtain displays many wonderful sights, so now one could without apprehension see how some who did not know how to swim clung fast to good swimmers; how others floated like logs when they were left behind by those who swam faster; and some were swept into the currents and swallowed up, so to speak, by the struggling violence of the stream; some were carried along on their shields, and by frequently changing their direction avoided the steep masses of the onrushing waves, and so after many a risk reached the further shores. And at last the reddened river's bed, foaming with the savages' blood, was itself amazed at these strange additions to its waters.

[58] While this was thus going on, King Chonodomarius found means to get away by slipping through the heaps of corpses with a few of his attendants, and hastened at top speed towards the camp which he had boldly pitched near the Roman fortifications of Tribunci⁷⁶ and Concordia,⁷⁷ his purpose being to embark in some boats which he had sometime before got ready for any

emergency, and hide himself away in some secret retreat. [59] And since he could not reach his own territories except by crossing the Rhine, he covered his face for fear of being recognised and slowly retired. But when he was already nearing the river-bank and was skirting a lagoon which had been flooded with marsh water, in order to get by, his horse stumbled on the muddy and sticky ground and he was thrown off; but although he was fat and heavy, he quickly escaped to the refuge of a neighbouring hill. But he was recognised (for he could not conceal his identity, being betrayed by the greatness of his former estate); and immediately a cohort with its tribune followed him with breathless haste and surrounded the wooded height with their troops and cautiously invested it, afraid to break in for fear that some hidden ambush might meet them among the dark shadows of the branches. [60] On seeing them he was driven to the utmost fear and surrendered of his own accord, coming out alone; and his attendants, two hundred in number, with three of his closest friends, thinking it a disgrace to survive their king, or not to die for their king if an emergency required it, gave themselves up to be made prisoners. [61] And as the savages are by nature humble in adversity and overbearing in success, subservient as he now was to another's will he was dragged along pale and abashed, tongue-tied by the consciousness of his crimes — how vastly different from the man who, after savage and woeful outrages, trampled upon the ashes of Gaul and threatened many dire deeds.

[62] So the battle was thus finished by the favour of the supreme deity; the day had already ended and the trumpet sounded; the soldiers, very reluctant to be recalled, encamped near the banks of the Rhine, protected themselves by numerous rows of shields, and enjoyed food and sleep. [63] Now there fell in this battle on the Roman side two hundred and forty-three soldiers and four high officers: Bainobaudes, tribune of the Cornuti, and also Laipso; and Innocentius, commander of the mailed cavalry, and one unattached tribune, whose name is not available to me. But of the Alamanni there were counted six thousand corpses lying on the field, and heaps of dead, impossible to reckon, were carried off by the waves of the river. [64] Thereupon, since Julian was a man of greater mark than his position, and more powerful in his deserts than in his command, he was hailed as Augustus by the unanimous acclamation of the entire army; but he rebuked the soldiers for their thoughtless action, and declared with an oath that he neither expected nor desired to attain that honour. [65] And to enhance their rejoicing over their success, he called an assembly and offered rewards, and then courteously gave orders that Chonodomarius should be brought before him; the king at first bowed down and then humbly prostrated himself on the ground; and when he begged for forgiveness in his native tongue, he was told to be of good courage. [66] And a few days later he was conducted to the emperor's court and thence sent to Rome; there in the *Castra Peregrina*, which is on the Caelian Hill, he died from senile decay.

[67] On the successful outcome of these exploits, so numerous and so

important, some of the courtiers in Constantius' palace found fault with Julian, in order to please the emperor himself, or facetiously called him Victorinus, on the ground that, although he was modest in making reports whenever he led the army in battle, he often mentioned defeats of the Germans. [68] And between piling on empty praise, and pointing to what was clearly evident, they as usual puffed up the emperor, who was naturally conceited, by ascribing whatever was done anywhere in the world to his favourable auspices. [69] As a consequence, he was elated by the grandiloquence of his sycophants, and then and later in his published edicts he arrogantly lied about a great many matters, frequently writing that he alone (although he had not been present at the action) had both fought and conquered, and had raised up the suppliant kings of foreign nations. If, for example, when he himself was then in Italy, one of his generals had fought bravely against the Persians, he would make no mention of him in the course of a very long account, but would send out letters wreathed in laurel to the detriment ⁷⁸ of the provinces, indicating with odious self-praise that he had fought in the front ranks. [70] In short, there are extant statements filed among the public records of this emperor, in which ostentatious reports are given, of his boasting and exalting himself to the sky. ⁷⁹ When this battle was fought near Strasburg, although he was distant forty days' march, in his description of the fight he falsely asserts that he arranged the order of battle, and stood among the standard-bearers, and drove the barbarians headlong, and that Chonodomarius was brought to him, saying nothing (Oh, shameful indignity!) of the glorious deeds of Julian, which he would have buried in oblivion, had not fame been unable to suppress his splendid exploits, however much many people would have obscured them.

NOTES.

¹ That is, Constantius Augustus.

² This is also stated by Eutropius, x. 16, 5, and by Julian himself in his *Letter to Themistius*, , 13; ii. , L.C.L.

³ *Orator*, 43, 147; a very free quotation.

⁴ One of the earliest kings of Athens, because of his discovery of many useful arts said to have been educated by Minerva; cf. *Iliad*, ii. 546 f.

⁵ I.e. Vienne

⁶ The name cannot be completed.

⁷ In the department Côte d'Or.

⁸ A small place in the neighbourhood of Autun.

⁹ The *cataphractarii* were mounted warriors; both horses and men were heavily clad in armour; see xvi. 10, 8.

¹⁰ The *ballistarii* had charge of the *ballistae*, which took the place of modern artillery; described in xxiii. 4, 1.

¹¹ Dieuse.

¹² In xxxi. 2, 4, a similar statement is made of the Huns, that they avoid houses as they would tombs. E. Maass, *Neue Jahrb.*, xlix. (1922) p ff., says that graves of women who died in childbed, and might return to get their offspring, were surrounded with nets.

¹³ See xv. 8, 19.

¹⁴ Near Coblenz, which gets its name from *Confluentes*.

¹⁵ See , n. 5.

¹⁶ See note 3, .

¹⁷ I.e. the ill-treatment of Julian.

¹⁸ The *rhetae* (ῥῆται) were oracular utterances which Lycurgus professed to have received directly from Apollo at Delphi; later the word was used generally for the laws of Lycurgus.

¹⁹ The laws of Solon were called ἄροιες because they could be revolved on pivots. Many ancient writers state that the tablets were originally of wood, and they retained this name after they were republished on marble slabs. R. Scholl was probably right in assuming a lacuna after *Lycurgi*, and Ammianus may have included a reference to Solon's ἄροιες for ῥῆται and ἄροιες were used through. out antiquity of the two lawgivers' works distinctively. For their history see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, iv. (1935), p ff.

²⁰ See Gellius, ii. 24, 11; i. 204 f. L.C.L., for details of this and other sumptuary laws.

²¹ P. 110, 22, Jordan.

²² A coarse blanket made from the fur or hide of an animal.

²³ Cic., *ad Att.* V. 15, 3.

²⁴ The *agentes in rebus* formed the imperial secret service under the *Magister Officiorum*; see note 2, .

²⁵ The *aureus* was the standard gold coin of Rome, equal to 100 sesterces.

²⁶ In one of the lost books.

²⁷ Commander of the night-patrol in charge of public buildings and monuments.

²⁸ Cf. Sallust, *Jug.*, xxix. 5, where the reference is to voting on several questions at once; *lex multis rebus con. ferta*, Festus, s.v.

²⁹ We might say "The curtain is dropped," but the lowering of the curtain revealed the stage of the Roman theatre. Here the reference is to putting the curtain away and closing the theatre, as in Juvenal, vi. 67 ff., *quotiens aulaea recondita cessant et vacuo clusoque sonant fora sola theatro*.

³⁰ Cf. xvi. 4, 3.

³¹ Text and meaning are uncertain. On the faults of Constans, cf. Aurel. Victor, 41, and Zosimus, ii. 42.

³² See *Intro.*, xxxv.

³³ This action is not mentioned elsewhere, not even by Val. Max., i. 8, 13, where he speaks of Drypetina.

³⁴ Modern Sophia, Bulgaria.

³⁵ See note 2, .

³⁶ xv. 3, 7.

³⁷ See *Intro.*, pp. xl f.

³⁸ The *veterator* showed that the table decorations could be used for an imperial cloak, and implied that they had been so used.

³⁹ I.e. the darkness, a formula at lighting up; cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vi. 4, *Graeci quoque, cum lumen affertur, solent dicere* φωὺς ἀγαθόν; *perun* (see crit. note) may possibly be for *pereundum est nocti*.

⁴⁰ *Vincamus* was interpreted as referring to some plot.

⁴¹ That is, a bridge which could be taken apart.

- ⁴² I.e. signs of coming disturbances in the state.
- ⁴³ Only the ending of the name has been preserved.
- ⁴⁴ Julius Caesar; see Lucan, v. 533 ff.
- ⁴⁵ Claudius II., in the Gothic war.
- ⁴⁶ Galerius Maximianus, who in person reconnoitred the Persian camp.
- ⁴⁷ The imperial standards.
- ⁴⁸ Cuirassiers; the word is derived from κλιβανον, "oven," and means entirely encased in iron; see Index of Officials, or Index II.
- ⁴⁹ Travertine.
- ⁵⁰ *Regio* here refers to one of the regions, or districts, into which the city was divided.
- ⁵¹ The columns of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. The platform at the top was reached by a stairway within the column.
- ⁵² The double temple of Venus and Roma, built by Hadrian and dedicated in A.D. 135
- ⁵³ The Forum Pacis, or Vespasiani, was begun by Vespasian in A.D. 71, after the taking of Jerusalem, and dedicated in 75. It lay behind the basilica Aemilia.
- ⁵⁴ Built in 55 B.C. in the Campus Martius.
- ⁵⁵ A building for musical performances, erected by Domitian, probably near his Stadium.
- ⁵⁶ The Stadium of Domitian in the Campus Martius, the shape and size of which is almost exactly preserved by the modern Piazza Navona.
- ⁵⁷ In 323 (Zosimus, ii. 27); hence in one of the lost books of Ammianus.
- ⁵⁸ Valesius read *displicuisse*, and was followed by Gibbon. Robert Heron (pseudonym of John Pinkerton) in *Letters of Literature* (London, 1789), xii., , discusses this remark at some length, disagreeing with Gibbon. He thinks that "the prince's envy at the pleasures of the inhabitants of Rome could only be moderated by the reflection that their pleasures were transitory."
- ⁵⁹ xvii. 4, 6 ff.
- ⁶⁰ A division of Pannonia, named from Valeria, daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius; see xix. 11, 4.
- ⁶¹ Trent.
- ⁶² See index.
- ⁶³ Cf. 7, 1, above.

⁶⁴ The *forceps* or *forfex* was a military formation with diverging wings for meeting and baffling a *cuneus*; cf. Vegetius, iii. 19, *nam ex lectissimis militibus in V litteram ordo componitur, et illum cuneum excipit atque utraque pars concludit*. The open part of the V of course faced the enemy. Here *forceps* is perhaps used in its literal sense.

⁶⁵ Cf. xiv. 2, 10, *cavatis arborum truncis*; xxxi. 4, 5, *navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis*.

⁶⁶ The Three Taverns; modern Savernes, Germ. Rheinzabern.

⁶⁷ Namely, Barbatio.

⁶⁸ See note 1, .

⁶⁹ The meaning is uncertain. The *antepilani* were the soldiers of the first two lines, the *hastati*, or spearmen, were also part of the first line, so that there seems to be a repetition. Büchele thought that the *hastati* were the standard-bearers (*signiferi* and *draconarii*), citing *Petulan. tium hastatus*, xx. 4, 18, where *hastatus* clearly has that sense, and that the *ordinum primi* were officers ranking between the centurions and the tribunes, citing Frontinus, *Strat.*, xx. 4, which seems probable.

⁷⁰ The name is connected with Serapis, as that of a god similar to Dis; cf. Caesar, *BG.* vi. 18; *Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant*.

⁷¹ In this formation the soldiers held their shields close together over their heads; here, before their bodies.

⁷² The *Reges* (cf. *regii* in *Notitia Imp. Occident.*,)

⁷³ The *Primani* formed a part of the household troops, under command of the *magister militum*. Here, probably, a select legion forming a reserve corps.

⁷⁴ *Turres* was also a military formation (Gell., x, 9, 1), but here the word is clearly used in its literal sense; see note on *forceps*, xvi. 11, 3.

⁷⁵ The *murmillones*, a kind of gladiator, so called from a fish which they wore on their helmets, were armed in Gallic fashion. They were matched against the *retiarii*, who tried to throw a net over them; Festus, , Lind (, M.).

⁷⁶ Near Strasburg.

⁷⁷ Drusenheim.

⁷⁸ They were a detriment because of the expense they caused for celebrations, and “graft” by the *agentes in rebus*.

⁷⁹ The text is uncertain, but the general sense is clear.

BOOK XVII

Julianus Caesar, having crossed the Rhine, sacks and burns the villages of the Alamanni; he repairs a fortress of Trajan and grants the barbarians a truce of ten months.

After this conclusion of the variety of events which I have now summarised the young warrior, with mind at ease, since the Rhine flowed on peacefully after the battle of Strasburg, took care to keep birds of prey from devouring the bodies of the slain; and he gave orders that they should all be buried without distinction. Then, having dismissed the envoys, who (as we have related) had brought some insolent messages before the battle, he returned to Savernes. [2] From there he ordered the booty, with all the captives, to be taken to Metz and kept there until his return; he was himself planning to go to Mayence with the purpose of building a bridge, crossing the Rhine, and searching out the savages on their own ground, since he had left none of them in our territory; but he was opposed by the protests of the army. However, by his eloquence and the charm of his language he won them over and converted them to his will. For their affection, warmer after their experiences with him, prompted them to follow willingly one who was a fellow-soldier in every task, a leader brilliant in his prestige, and accustomed to prescribe more drudgery for himself than for a common soldier, as was clearly evident. And as soon as they came to the place above mentioned, crossing the river on the bridges which they made, they possessed themselves of the enemy's country. [3] But the savages, thunderstruck at the vastness of the feat, since they little expected that they could be molested, settled as they were amid undisturbed peace, gave anxious thought to what might threaten their own fortunes, in view of the destruction of the others; and so under pretence of a prayer for peace, with the purpose of avoiding the brunt of the first onslaught, they sent envoys with set speeches, to declare the harmonious validity of the treaties with them; but for some unknown design that they suddenly formed they changed their minds, and by other messengers whom they forced to come post haste, they threatened our men with most bitter warfare, unless they should withdraw from their territory.

[4] On learning this from a sure source, Caesar at the first quiet of nightfall embarked eight hundred soldiers on small, swift boats, so that they might go up the Rhine for a distance of twenty stadia, disembark, and with fire and sword lay waste whatever they could find. [5] This arrangement thus made, at the very break of day the savages were seen drawn up along the hill-tops, and the soldiers in high spirits were led up to the higher ground; but they found no one there (since the enemy, suspecting this, had hastily decamped), and then great columns of smoke were seen at a distance, revealing that our men had burst in and were devastating the enemy's territory. [6] This action broke the

Germans' spirit, and abandoning the ambushes which they had laid for our men in narrow and dangerous places, they fled across the river, Menus ¹ by name, to bear aid to their kinsfolk. [7] For, as is apt to happen in times of doubt and confusion, they were panic-stricken by the raid of our cavalry on the one side, and on the other by the sudden onset of our infantry, who had rowed up the river in their boats; and with their knowledge of the ground they had quick recourse to flight. Upon their departure our soldiers marched on undisturbed and plundered farms rich in cattle and crops, sparing none; and having dragged out the captives, they set fire to and burned down all the houses, which were built quite carefully in Roman fashion. [8] After having advanced approximately ten miles, they came to a forest formidable with its forbidding shade and their general stood in hesitation for some time, being informed by the report of a deserter that large forces were lurking in some hidden underground passages and wide-branching trenches, ready to burst forth when they saw an opportunity. [9] Yet they all ventured to draw near with the greatest confidence, but found the paths heaped with felled oak and ash-trees and a great quantity of fir. And so they warily retreated, their minds hardly containing their indignation, as they realised that they could not advance farther except by long and difficult detours. [10] And since the rigorous climate was trying to them and they struggled in vain with extreme difficulties (for the autumnal equinox had passed, and in those regions the fallen snows covered mountains and plains alike) they took in hand a memorable piece of work. [11] And while there was no one to withstand them, with eager haste they repaired a fortress which Trajan had built in the territory of the Alamanni and wished to be called by his name, and which had of late been very forcibly assaulted. There a temporary garrison was established and provisions were brought thither from the heart of the savages' country. [12] When the enemy saw these preparations rapidly made for their destruction, they quickly assembled, dreading the completion of the work, and with prayers and extreme abasement sent envoys and sued for peace. And Caesar granted this for the space of ten months, since it was recommended by every kind of consideration, and he could allege very many plausible reasons for it; for doubtless he appreciated with his keen mind that the stronghold which, beyond any possible hope, he had seized without opposition, ought to be fortified with artillery on the walls and powerful appliances of war. [13] Confiding in this peace, three very savage kings finally appeared, though still somewhat apprehensive since they were of the number of those who had sent aid to the vanquished at Strasburg; and they took oath in words formally drawn up after the native manner that they would not disturb the peace, but would keep the agreement up to the appointed day, since that was our pleasure, and leave the fortress untouched; and they would even bring grain in on their shoulders, in case the defenders would let them know that they needed any; both of which things they did, since fear curbed their treacherous disposition.

[14] In this memorable war, which in fact deserves to be compared with

those against the Carthaginians and the Teutons, but was achieved with very slight losses to the Roman commonwealth, Caesar took pride as a fortunate and successful general. And one might well believe his detractors, who pretended that he had acted so courageously on all occasions because he chose rather to perish fighting gloriously than to be put to death like a condemned criminal (as he expected), after the manner of his brother Gallus-had he not with equal resolution, even after Constantius' death, increased his renown by marvellous exploits.

Julianus Caesar besieges six hundred Franks, who were devastating Second Germany, and starves them into surrender.

Matters thus being firmly settled, so far as circumstances would permit, he returned to winter quarters and found the following sequel to his exertions. Severus, master of the horse, while on his way to Rheims by way of Cologne and Juliers, fell in with some very strong companies of Franks, to the number (as appeared later) of six hundred light-armed skirmishers, who were plundering the districts unprotected by garrisons; the favourable opportunity that had roused their boldness to the point of action was this, that they thought that while Caesar was busily employed among the retreats of the Alamanni, and there was no one to prevent them, they could load themselves with a wealth of booty. But in fear of the army, which had now returned, they possessed themselves of two strongholds, which had long since been left empty, and there defended themselves as well as they could. [2] Julian, disturbed by the novelty of the act, and guessing what might come of it if he passed by leaving them unmolested, halted his army and made his plans to surround the strongholds, which the river Meuse flows past; and for fifty-four days (namely in the months of December and January) the delays of the siege were dragged out, while the savages with stout hearts and incredible resolution withstood him. [3] Then Caesar, being very shrewd and fearing that the savages might take advantage of some moonless night and cross the frozen river, gave orders that every day, from near sunset to the break of dawn, soldiers should row up and down stream in scouting vessels, ² so as to break up the cakes of ice and let no one get an opportunity of easy escape. And because of this device, since they were worn out by hunger, sleeplessness, and extreme desperation, they surrendered of their own accord and were sent at once to Augustus' court. [4] A large troop of Franks had set out to rescue them from their danger; but on learning that they had been captured and carried off, without venturing on anything further they retired to their strongholds. And Caesar after these successes returned to Paris to pass the winter.

Julianus Caesar tries to relieve the Gauls of oppressive tributes.

Now since it was expected that a great number of tribes with greater forces would make head together, our cautious commander, weighing the doubtful

issue of wars, was perplexed with great burdens of anxiety. So, thinking that during the truce, short though it was and full of business, some remedy might be found for the calamitous losses incurred by the land-holders, he set in order the system of taxation. [2] And whereas Florentius, the praetorian prefect, after having reviewed the whole matter (as he asserted) stated that whatever was lacking in the poll-tax and land-tax accounts he supplied out of special levies, Julian, knowing about such measures, declared that he would rather lose his life than allow it to be done. [3] For he knew that the incurable wounds of such arrangements, or rather derangements ³ (to speak more truly) had often driven provinces to extreme poverty — a thing which (as will be shown later) was the complete ruin of Illyricum. ⁴ [4] For this reason, though the praetorian prefect exclaimed that it was unbearable that he should suddenly become distrusted, when Augustus had conferred upon him the supreme charge of the state; Julian calmed him by his quiet manner, and by an exact and accurate computation proved that the amount of the poll-tax and land-tax was not only sufficient, but actually in excess of the inevitable requirements for government provisions. [5] But when long afterwards an increase of taxation was nevertheless proposed to him, he could not bring himself to read it or sign it, but threw it on the ground. And when he was advised by a letter of Augustus, after the prefect's report, not to act so meticulously as to seem to discredit Florentius, he wrote back that it would be a cause for rejoicing if the provincials, harried as they were on every side, might at least have to furnish only the prescribed taxes, not the additional amounts, which no tortures could wring from the poverty-stricken. And so it came to pass then and thereafter, that through the resolution of one courageous spirit no one tried to extort from the Gauls anything beyond the normal tax. [6] Finally, contrary to precedent, Caesar by entreaty had obtained this favour from the prefect, that he should be entrusted with the administration of the province of Second Belgium, which was overwhelmed by many kinds of calamities, and indeed with the proviso that no agent either of the prefect or of the governor should force anyone to pay the tax. So every one whom he had taken under his charge was relieved by this comforting news, and without being dunned they brought in their dues before the appointed date.

By order of Constantius Augustus an obelisk is set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus; also an account of obelisks and hieroglyphics.

During these first steps towards the rehabilitation of Gaul, and while Orfitus was still conducting his second praefecture, an obelisk was set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus; and of it, since this is a suitable place, I shall give a brief account. [2] The city of Thebes, founded in primitive times and once famous for the stately structure of its walls and for the hundred approaches formed by its gates, was called by its builders from that feature

Hecatompylos,⁵ or Hundred-gated Thebes; and from this name⁶ the province is to this day called the Thebaid. [3] When Carthage was in its early career of wide expansion, Punic generals destroyed Thebes by an unexpected attack; and when it was afterwards rebuilt, Cambyses, that renowned king of Persia, all his life covetous of others' possessions, and cruel, overran Egypt and attacked Thebes, in the hope of carrying off therefrom its enviable wealth, since he did not spare even gifts made to the gods. [4] But while he was excitedly running about among the plundering troops, tripped by the looseness of his garments he fell headlong; and his own dagger, which he wore fastened to his right thigh, was unsheathed by the sudden force of the fall and wounded him almost mortally. [5] Again, long afterwards, when Octavian was ruling Rome, Cornelius Gallus, procurator⁷ of Egypt, drained the city by extensive embezzlements; and when on his return he was accused of peculation and the robbery of the province, in his fear of the bitterly exasperated nobility, to whom the emperor had committed the investigation of the case, he drew his sword and fell upon it. He was (if I am right in so thinking) the poet Gallus, whom Vergil laments in a way in the latter part of the *Bucolics*⁸ and celebrates in gentle verse.

[6] In this city, amid mighty shrines and colossal works of various kinds, which depict the likenesses of the Egyptian deities, we have seen many obelisks, and others prostrate and broken, which kings of long ago, when they had subdued foreign nations in war or were proud of the prosperous condition of their realms, hewed out of the veins of the mountains which they sought for even among the remotest dwellers on the globe, set up, and in their religious devotion dedicated to the gods of heaven. [7] Now an obelisk is a very hard stone, rising gradually somewhat in the form of a turning-post⁹ to a lofty height; little by little it grows slenderer, to imitate a sunbeam; it is four-sided, tapers to a narrow point, and is polished by the workman's hand. [8] Now the infinite carvings of characters called hieroglyphics, which we see cut into it on every side, have been made known by an ancient authority of primeval wisdom.¹⁰ [9] For by engraving many kinds of birds and beasts, even of another world, in order that the memory of their achievements might the more widely reach generations of a subsequent age, they registered the vows of kings, either promised or performed. [10] For not as nowadays, when a fixed and easy series of letters expresses whatever the mind of man may conceive, did the ancient Egyptians also write; but individual characters stood for individual nouns and verbs; and sometimes they meant whole phrases. [11] The principle of this thing for the time it will suffice to illustrate with these two examples: by a vulture they represent the word "nature," because, as natural history records, no males can be found among these birds;¹¹ and under the figure of a bee making honey they designate "a king," showing by this imagery that in a ruler sweetness should be combined with a sting as well;¹² and there are many similar instances.

[12] And because sycophants, after their fashion, kept puffing up

Constantius and endlessly dinning it into his ears that, whereas Octavianus Augustus had brought over two obelisks from the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, one of which was set up in the Circus Maximus, the other in the Campus Martius, as for this one recently brought in, he neither ventured to meddle with it nor move it, overawed by the difficulties caused by its size-let me inform those who do not know it that that early emperor, after bringing over several obelisks, passed by this one and left it untouched because it was consecrated as a special gift to the Sun God, and because being placed in the sacred part of his sumptuous temple, which might not be profaned, there it towered aloft like the peak of the world. ^[13] But Constantine, ¹³ making little account of that, tore the huge mass from its foundations; and since he rightly thought that he was committing no sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world, he let it lie for a long time, while the things necessary for its transfer were being provided. And when it had been conveyed down the channel of the Nile and landed at Alexandria, a ship of a size hitherto unknown was constructed, to be rowed by three hundred oarsmen. ^[14] After these provisions, the aforesaid emperor departed this life and the urgency of the enterprise waned, but at last the obelisk was loaded on the ship, after long delay, and brought over the sea and up the channel of the Tiber, which seemed to fear that it could hardly forward over the difficulties of its outward course to the walls of its foster-child the gift which the almost unknown Nile had sent. But it was brought to the vicus Alexandri ¹⁴ distant three miles from the city. There it was put on cradles ¹⁵ and carefully drawn through the Ostian Gate and by the Piscina Publica ¹⁶ and brought into the Circus Maximus. ^[15] After this there remained only the raising, which it was thought could be accomplished only with great difficulty, perhaps not at all. But it was done in the following manner: to tall beams which were brought and raised on end (so that you would see a very grove of derricks) were fastened long and heavy ropes in the likeness of a manifold web hiding the sky with their excessive numbers. To these was attached that veritable mountain engraved over with written characters, and it was gradually drawn up on high through the empty air, and after hanging for a long time, while many thousand men turned wheels ¹⁷ resembling millstones, it was finally placed in the middle of the circus ¹⁸ and capped by a bronze globe gleaming with gold-leaf; this was immediately struck by a bolt of the divine fire and therefore removed and replaced by a bronze figure of a torch, likewise overlaid with gold-foil and glowing like a mass of flame. ^[16] And subsequent generations have brought over other obelisks, of which one was set up on the Vatican, ¹⁹ another in the gardens of Sallust, ²⁰ and two at the mausoleum of Augustus. ²¹ ^[17] Now the text of the characters cut upon the ancient obelisk which we see in the Circus ²² I add below in its Greek translation, following the work of Hermapion. ²³ The translation of the first line, beginning on the South side, reads as follows: ^[18] “The Sun speaks to King Ramestes. I have granted to thee that thou shouldst

with joy rule over the whole earth, thou whom the Sun loveth — and powerful Apollo, lover of truth, son of Heron, god-born, creator of the world, whom the Sun hath chosen, the doughty son of Mars, King Ramestes. Unto him the whole earth is made subject through his valour and boldness. King Ramestes, eternal child of the Sun.”

SECOND LINE.

[19] “Mighty Apollo, seated upon truth, Lord of the Diadem, who hath gloriously honoured Egypt as his peculiar possession, who hath beautified Heliopolis, created the rest of the world, and adorned with manifold honours the Gods erected in Heliopolis — he whom the Sun loveth.”

THIRD LINE.

[20] “Mighty Apollo, child of the Sun, all-radiant, whom the Sun hath chosen and valiant Mars endowed; whose blessings shall endure forever; whom Ammon ²⁴ loveth, as having filled his temple with the good fruits of the date palm; unto whom the Gods have given length of life.

“Apollo, mighty son of Heron, Ramestes, ²⁵ king of the world, who hath preserved Egypt by conquering other nations; whom the Sun loveth; to whom the Gods have granted length of life; Lord of the world, Ramestes ever-living.”

WEST SIDE, SECOND LINE. ²⁶

[21] “The Sun, great God, Lord of Heaven; I have granted to thee life hitherto unforeseen. Apollo the mighty, Lord incomparable of the Diadem, who hath set up statues of the Gods in this kingdom, ruler of Egypt, and he adorned Heliopolis just as he did the Sun himself, Ruler of Heaven; he finished a good work, child of the Sun, the king ever-living.”

THIRD LINE.

[22] “The God Sun, Lord of Heaven, to Ramestes the king. I have granted to thee the rule and the authority over all men; whom Apollo, lover of truth, Lord of seasons, and Vulcan, father of the Gods, hath chosen for Mars. King all-gladdening, child of the Sun and beloved of the Sun.”

EAST SIDE, FIRST LINE.

[23] “The great God of Heliopolis, heavenly, mighty Apollo, son of Heron, whom the Sun hath loved, whom the Gods hath honoured, the ruler over all the earth, whom the Sun hath chosen, a king valiant for Mars, whom Ammon loveth, and he that is all-radiant, having set apart the king eternal”; and so on.

Constantius Augustus and Sapor, king of the Persians, negotiate for peace through letters and envoys; but to no purpose.

In the consulship of Datianus and Cerealis, while all provisions in Gaul were being made with very careful endeavour, and dismay due to past losses halted the raids of the savages, the king of Persia was still encamped in the confines of the frontier tribes; and having now made a treaty of alliance with

the Chionitae and Gelani, the fiercest warriors of all, he was on the point of returning to his own territories, when he received Tamsapor's letter, stating that the Roman emperor begged and entreated for peace. [2] Therefore, imagining that such a step would not be attempted unless the fabric of the empire were weakened, he swelled with still greater pride, embraced the name of peace, and proposed hard conditions; and dispatching one Narseus with gifts as his envoy, he sent a letter to Constantius, in no wise deviating from his native haughtiness, the tenor of which, as we have learned, was as follows:

[3] "I Sapor, King of Kings, partner with the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon, to my brother Constantius Caesar offer most ample greeting.

"I rejoice and at last take pleasure that you have returned to the best course and acknowledged the inviolable sanction of justice, having learned from actual experience what havoc has been caused at various times by obstinate covetousness of what belongs to others. [4] Since therefore the consideration of truth ought to be free and untrammelled, and it befits those in high station to speak as they feel, I shall state my proposal in brief terms, recalling that what I am about to say I have often repeated. [5] That my forefathers' empire reached as far as the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia even your own ancient records bear witness; these lands it is fitting that I should demand, since (and may what I say not seem arrogant) I surpass the kings of old in magnificence and array of conspicuous virtues. But at all times right reason is dear to me, and trained in it from my earliest youth, I have never allowed myself to do anything for which I had cause to repent. [6] And therefore it is my duty to recover Armenia with Mesopotamia, which double-dealing wrested from my grandfather. That principle shall never be brought to acceptance among us which you exultantly maintain, that without any distinction between virtue and deceit all successful events of war should be approved. [7] Finally, if you wish to follow my sound advice, disregard this small tract, always a source of woe and bloodshed, so that you may rule the rest in security, wisely recalling that even expert physicians sometimes cauterize, lance, and even cut away some parts of the body, in order to save the rest sound for use; and that even wild beasts do this: for when they observe for what possession they are being relentlessly hunted, they give that up of their own accord, so as afterwards to live free from fear. ²⁷ [8] This assuredly I declare, that if this embassy of mine returns unsuccessful, after the time of the winter reat is past I shall gird myself with all my strength and with fortune and the justice of my terms upholding my hope of a successful issue, I shall hasten to come on, so far as reason permits."

[9] After this letter had long been pondered, answer was made with upright heart, as they say, and circumspectly, as follows: —

[10] "I, Constantius, victor by land and sea, perpetual Augustus, to my brother King Sapor, offer most ample greeting.

"I rejoice in your health, and if you will, I shall be your friend hereafter;

but this covetousness of yours, always unbending and more widely encroaching, I vehemently reprobate. [11] You demand Mesopotamia as your own and likewise Armenia, and you recommend lopping off some members of a sound body, so that its health may afterwards be put upon a firm footing — advice which is rather to be refuted than to be confirmed by any agreement. Therefore listen to the truth, not obscured by any juggling, but transparent and not to be intimidated by any empty threats. [12] My praetorian prefect, thinking to undertake an enterprise conducing to the public weal, entered into conversations with a general of yours, through the agency of some individuals of little worth and without consulting me, on the subject of peace. This we neither reject nor refuse, if only it take place with dignity and honour, without at all prejudicing our self-respect or our majesty. [13] For at this time, when the sequence of events (may envy's breezes be placated!) has beamed in manifold form upon us, when with the overthrow of the usurpers the whole Roman world is subject to us, it is absurd and silly to surrender what we long preserved unmolested when we were still confined within the bounds of the Orient. ²⁸ [14] Furthermore, pray make an end of those intimidations which (as usual) are directed against us, since there can be no doubt that it was not through slackness, but through self-restraint that we have sometimes accepted battle rather than offered it, and that when we are set upon, we defend our territories with the most valiant spirit of a good conscience; for we know both by experience and by reading that while in some battles, though rarely, the Roman cause has stumbled, yet in the main issue of our wars it has never succumbed to defeat."

[15] This embassy having been sent back without obtaining anything — for no fuller answer could be made to the king's unbridled greed — after a very few days it was followed by Count Prosper, ²⁹ Spectatus, tribune and secretary, ³⁰ and likewise, at the suggestion of Musonianus, ³¹ the philosopher Eustathius, ³² as a master of persuasion; they carried with them letters of the emperor and gifts, and meanwhile planned by some craft or other to stay Sapor's preparations, so that his northern provinces might not be fortified beyond the possibility of attack.

The Juthungi, a tribe of the Alamanni, who were devastating Raetia, were defeated and put to flight by the Romans.

In the midst of these uncertainties the Juthungi, a branch of the Alamanni bordering on Italian territory, forgetful of the peace and the treaty which they had obtained by their prayers, were laying waste Raetia with such violence as even to attempt the besieging of towns, contrary to their habit. [2] To drive them back Barbatio was sent with a strong force; he had been promoted in place of Silvanus to be infantry commander. He was a coward but a fluent speaker, and having thoroughly roused the enthusiasm of the soldiers he

utterly defeated a large number of the foe, so that only a small remnant, who for fear of danger had taken to flight, barely escaped and returned to their homes, not without tears and lamentations. [3] In this battle, we are assured, Nevitta, commander of a troop of cavalry and afterwards consul, ³³ was present and conducted himself manfully.

Nicomedia is destroyed by an earthquake; the different ways in which the earth is shaken.

At that same time fearful earthquakes throughout Asia, Macedonia, and Pontus with their repeated shocks shattered numerous cities and mountains. Now among the instances of manifold disaster was pre-eminent the collapse of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia; and of the misfortune of its destruction I shall give a true and concise account.

[2] On the twenty-fourth of August, at the first break of day, thick masses of darkling clouds overcast the face of the sky, which had just before been brilliant; the sun's splendour was dimmed, and not even objects near at hand or close by could be discerned, so restricted was the range of vision, as a foul, dense mist rolled up and settled over the ground. [3] Then, as if the supreme deity were hurling his fateful bolts ³⁴ and raising the winds from their very quarters, ³⁵ a mighty tempest of raging gales burst forth; and at its onslaught were heard the groans of the smitten mountains and the crash of the wave-lashed shore; these were followed by whirlwinds and waterspouts, which, together with a terrific earthquake, completely overturned the city and its suburbs. [4] And since most of the houses were carried down the slopes of the hills, they fell one upon another, while everything resounded with the vast roar of their destruction. Meanwhile the highest points re-echoed all manner of outcries, of those seeking their wives, their children, and whatever near kinsfolk belonged to them. [5] Finally, after the second hour, but well before the third, the air, which was now bright and clear, revealed the fatal ravages that lay concealed. For some who had been crushed by the huge bulk of the debris falling upon them perished under its very weight; some were buried up to their necks in the heaps of rubbish, and might have survived had anyone helped them, but died for want of assistance; others hung impaled upon the sharp points of projecting timbers. [6] The greater number were killed at one blow, and where there were just now human beings, were then seen confused piles of corpses. Some were imprisoned unhurt within slanting houseroofs, to be consumed by the agony of starvation. Among these was Aristaenetus, vice-governor of the recently created diocese which Constantius, in honour of his wife, Eusebia, had named Pietas; by this kind of mishap he slowly panted out his life amid torments. [7] Others, who were overwhelmed by the sudden magnitude of the disaster, are still hidden under the same ruins; some who with fractured skulls or amputated arms or legs hovered between life and death, imploring the aid of others in the same case, were abandoned, despite

their pleas and protestations. ³⁶ [8] And, the greater part of the temples and private houses might have been saved, and of the population as well, had not a sudden onrush of flames, sweeping over them for five days and nights, burned up whatever could be consumed.

[9] I think the time has come to say a few words about the theories which the men of old have brought together about earthquakes; for the hidden depths of the truth itself have neither been sounded by this general ignorance of ours, nor even by the everlasting controversies of the natural philosophers, which are not yet ended after long study. [10] Hence in the books of ritual ³⁷ and in those which are in conformity with the pontifical priesthood, ³⁸ nothing is said about the god that causes earthquakes, and this with due caution, for fear that by naming one deity instead of another, ³⁹ since it is not clear which of them thus shakes the earth, impieties may be perpetrated. [11] Now earthquakes take place (as the theories state, and among them Aristotle ⁴⁰ is perplexed and troubled) either in the tiny recesses of the earth, which in Greek we call οὐρύγγαι, ⁴¹ under the excessive pressure of surging waters; or at any rate (as Anaxagoras asserts) through the force of the winds, which penetrate the innermost parts of the earth; for when these strike the solidly cemented walls and find no outlet, they violently shake those stretches of land under which they crept when swollen. Hence it is generally observed that during an earthquake not a breath of wind is felt where we are, ⁴² because the winds are busied in the remotest recesses of the earth. [12] Anaximander says that when the earth dries up after excessive summer drought, or after soaking rainstorms, great clefts open, through which the upper air enters with excessive violence; and the earth, shaken by the mighty draft of air through these, is stirred from its very foundations. Accordingly such terrible disasters happen either in seasons of stifling heat or after excessive precipitation of water from heaven. And that is why the ancient poets and theologians call Neptune (the power of the watery element) Ennosigaeos ⁴³ and Sisichthon. ⁴⁴

[13] Now earthquakes take place in four ways; for they are either *brasmatiae*, ⁴⁵ or upheavings, which lift up the ground from far within, like a tide and force upward huge masses, as in Asia Delos came to the surface, and Hiera, Anaphe, and Rhodes, called in former ages Ophiusa and Pelagia, and once drenched with a shower of gold; ⁴⁶ also Eleusis ⁴⁷ in Boeotia, Vulcanus in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and many more islands. Or they are *climatiae* ⁴⁸ which rush along to one side and obliquely, levelling cities, buildings, and mountains. Or they are *chasmatae*, or gaping, which with their intensive movement suddenly open abysses and swallow up parts of the earth; as in the Atlantic Ocean an island more extensive than all Europe, ⁴⁹ and in the Crisaean Gulf, ⁵⁰ Helice and Bura; and in the Ciminian district of Italy the town of Saccumum; ⁵¹ these were all sunk into the deep abysses of Erebus, and lie hidden in eternal darkness. [14] Among these three sorts of earthquakes the *mycematae* ⁵² are heard with a threatening roar, when the elements break up into their component parts and clash of their own accord, or slide back

when the ground settles. For then of necessity the crashing and rumbling of the earth must resound like the bellowing of a bull. But to return to the episode which we began.

Julianus Caesar receives the surrender of the Salii, a Frankish people; he kills apart of the Chamavi, captures others, and grants peace to the rest.

Now Caesar, while wintering in Paris, hastened with the greatest diligence to forestall the Alamanni, who were not yet assembled in one body, but were all venturesome and cruel to the point of madness after the battle of Strasburg; and while waiting for the month of July, when the campaigns in Gaul begin, he was for a long time in much anxiety. For he could not leave until the grain supply was brought up from Aquitania during the mild summer season, after the breaking up of the cold weather and frost. [2] But as careful planning is victorious over nearly all difficulties, he turned over in his mind many various possibilities; and this at last he found to be the only one, namely, without waiting for the height of the season, to fall upon the savages before he was looked for. And having settled on this plan, he had the grain allowance for twenty days taken from what was to be consumed in the winter quarters, and baked up to serve for some time; he put this hard-tack (as they commonly call it) on the backs of his willing soldiers, and relying on this supply he set out under favourable auspices (as he did before), thinking that within the fifth or sixth month two urgent and inevitable campaigns might be brought to completion. [3] After these preparations he first of all aimed at the Franks, those namely whom custom calls the Salii, ⁵³ who once had the great assurance to venture to fix their abodes on Roman soil at Toxiandria. ⁵⁴ But when he had reached Tongres, ⁵⁵ a deputation of the aforesaid people met him, expecting to find the commander even then in winter quarters; and they offered peace on these terms, that while they remained quiet, as in their own territories, no one should attack or molest them. After having fully discussed the matter and proposed in reply some puzzling conditions, as if intending to remain in the same district until they returned, he gave these envoys gifts and dismissed them. [4] But quicker than a flash he followed them up after their departure, and sending his general Severus along the river bank, fell upon the whole troop suddenly and smote them like a thunderstorm; at once they took to entreaties rather than to resistance, and he turned the outcome of his victory into the timely direction of mercy by receiving them in surrender with their property and their children. [5] The Chamavi ⁵⁶ also had ventured to make a similar attempt; with the same rapidity he attacked these, killed a part of them, and a part, who resisted stoutly and were taken alive, he put in irons; others, who made tracks for home in headlong flight, he allowed for the time to get away unharmed, in order not to tire his soldiers by a long chase. A little later they sent delegates to make supplication and to provide for their safety, and as

they lay prostrate on the ground before his eyes he granted them peace on condition that they should return unmolested to their homes.

Julianus Caesar rebuilds three fortresses on the Meuse that had been destroyed by the savages, and is assailed with insults and threats by the soldiers, who are suffering from hunger.

So, as everything was proceeding in accordance with his prayers, he made haste with watchful solicitude to put the well-being of the provinces in every way on a firm footing; and he planned to repair (as time would permit) three forts situated in a straight line along the banks overhanging the river Meuse, which had long since been overthrown by the obstinate assaults of the savages; and they were immediately restored, the campaign being interrupted for a short time. [2] And to the end that speed might make his wise policy safe, he took a part of the seventeen days' provisions, which the soldiers, when they marched forward on their expedition carried about their necks, and stored it in those same forts, hoping that what had been deducted might be replaced from the harvests of the Chamavi. [3] But it turned out far otherwise; for the crops were not yet even ripe, and the soldiers, after using up what they carried, could find no food anywhere; and resorting to outrageous threats, they assailed Julian with foul names and opprobrious language, calling him an Asiatic, ⁵⁷ a Greekling ⁵⁸ and a deceiver, and a fool with a show of wisdom. And as some are usually to be found among the soldiers who are noteworthy for their volubility, they kept bawling out such words as these and many others to the same purport: [4] "Where are we being dragged, robbed of the hope of a better lot? We have long endured hardships of the bitterest kind to bear, in the midst of snows and the pinch of cruel frosts; but now (Oh shameful indignity!), when we are pressing on to the final destruction of the enemy it is by hunger, the most despicable form of death, that we are wasting away. [5] And let no man imagine us incitors to mutiny; we protest that we are speaking for our lives alone, asking for neither gold nor silver, which we have not been able to handle or even look upon for a long time, and which are denied us just as if it were against our country that we had been convicted of having undertaken so much toil and danger." [6] And they had good reason for their complaints. For through all their career of laudable achievements, and the critical moments of hazard, the soldiers, though worn out by their labours in Gaul, had received neither donative nor pay from the very day that Julian was sent there, for the reason that he himself had no funds available anywhere from which to give, nor did Constantius allow any to be expended in the usual manner. [7] And it was evident that this was done through malice rather than through niggardliness, from the fact that when this same Julian was asked by a common soldier, as they often do, for money for a shave, and had given him some small coin, he was assailed for it with slanderous speeches by

Gaudentius,⁵⁹ who was then a secretary. He had remained in Gaul for a long time to watch Julian's actions, and Caesar afterwards ordered that he be put to death, as will be shown in the proper place.⁶⁰

Suomarius and Hortarius, kings of the Alamanni, on giving back their prisoners are granted peace by Julianus Caesar.

At length, after the mutiny had been quelled, not without various sorts of fair words, they built a pontoon bridge and crossed the Rhine; but when they set foot in the lands of the Alamanni, Severus, master of the horse, who had previously been a warlike and energetic officer, suddenly lost heart.^[2] And he that had often encouraged one and all to brave deeds, now advised against fighting and seemed despicable and timid — perhaps through fear of his coming death, as we read in the books of Tages⁶¹ or of Vegoe⁶² that those who are shortly to be struck by lightning are so dulled in their senses that they can hear neither thunder nor any louder crashes whatsoever. And contrary to his usual custom, he had marched so lazily that he intimidated the guides, who were leading the way rapidly, and threatened them with death unless they would all agree, and unanimously make a statement, that they were wholly ignorant of the region. So they, being thus forbidden, and in fear of his authority, on no occasion went ahead after that.

^[3] Now in the midst of these delays Suomarius, king of the Alamanni, of his own initiative met the Romans unexpectedly with his troops, and although he had previously been haughty and cruelly bent upon harming the Romans, at that time on the contrary he thought it an unlooked-for gain if he were allowed to keep what belonged to him. And inasmuch as his looks and his gait showed him to be a suppliant, he was received and told to be of good cheer and set his mind at rest; whereupon he completely abandoned his own independence and begged for peace on bended knee.^[4] And he obtained it, with pardon for all that was past, on these terms: that he should deliver up his Roman captives and supply the soldiers with food as often as it should be needed, receiving security⁶³ for what he brought in just like any ordinary contractor. And if he did not present it on time, he was to know that the same amount would again be demanded of him.

^[5] When this, which was properly arranged, had been carried out without a hitch, since the territory of a second king, Hortarius by name, was to be attacked and nothing seemed to be lacking but guides, Caesar had given orders to Nestica, a tribune of the targeteers, and Charietto, a man of extraordinary bravery, to take great pains to seek out and catch one and bring him in captive. Quickly a young Alamann was seized and led in, and on condition of having his life spared he promised to show the way.^[6] He led and the army followed, but it was prevented from going forward by a barricade of tall felled trees. But when they finally, by long and circuitous detours, reached

the spot, every man in the army, ⁶⁴ wild with anger, joined in setting the fields on fire and raiding flocks and men; and if they resisted, they butchered them, without compunction. [7] The king was overwhelmed by these calamities, and when he saw the numerous legions and the ruins of his villages which they had burned down, now fully convinced that the final wreck of his fortunes was at hand, he too begged for pardon and under the solemn sanction of an oath promised that he would do what might be ordered. Being bidden to restore all prisoners — for that was insisted on with special earnestness — he did not keep faith but held back a large number and gave up only a few. [8] On learning this, Julian was roused to righteous indignation, and when the king came to receive presents, as was usual, he would not release his four attendants, on whose aid and loyalty he chiefly relied, until all the captives returned. [9] Finally the king was summoned by Caesar to an interview and revered him with trembling eyes; and overcome at the sight of the conqueror, he was forced to accept these hard terms, namely, that inasmuch as it was fitting that after so many successes the cities also should be rebuilt which the violence of the savages had destroyed, the king should furnish carts and timber from his own supplies and those of his subjects. And when he had promised this and taken oath that if he did any disloyal act, he should expiate it with his heart's blood, he was allowed to return to his own domains. For as to supplying grain, as Suomarius did, he could not be coerced, for the reason that his country had been ravaged to the point of ruin, and nothing to give to us could be found.

[10] So those kings, who in times past were inordinately puffed up with pride, and accustomed to enrich themselves with the spoils of our subjects, put their necks, now bowed down, under the yoke of Roman dominion, and ungrudgingly obeyed our commander, as if born and brought up among our tributaries. And after this conclusion of events the soldiers were distributed among their usual posts and Caesar returned to winter quarters.

Julianus Caesar, after these successful campaigns in Gaul, is derided by envious courtiers at the palace of Constantius, and called slothful and timid.

Presently, when all this became known at Constantius' court — for it was necessary that Caesar, like any subordinate, should render an account to Augustus of all his acts — all those who had the chief influence in the palace and were now past masters in flattery turned Julian's well-devised and successful achievements into mere mockery by endless silly jests of this sort: "This fellow, a nanny-goat and no man, is getting insufferable with his victories," jibing at him for being hairy, and calling him a "chattering mole" and "an ape in purple," and "a Greekish pedant," and other names like these; and by ringing bells, so to speak, in the ears of an emperor eager to hear these and similar things, they tried to bury his merits with shameless speeches, railing at him as a lazy, timid, unpractical person, and one who embellished

his ill success with fine words; all of which did not take place then for the first time. [2] For as the greatest glory is always habitually subject to envy, we read that even against the renowned leaders of ancient days faults and charges were trumped up, even if none could be discovered, by spiteful persons incensed by their brilliant exploits. [3] As, for example, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was accused of incest, although often before and particularly near the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia he annihilated a countless host of the Persians, and compelled a nation always swollen with pride to sue humbly for peace. Likewise Scipio Aemilianus was accused of inactivity by the malice of his rivals, although by his effective vigilance two most powerful cities, bent on the destruction of Rome, were razed to the ground. [4] And also even in the case of Pompey, some malevolent critics, who after much search found nothing for which he could be blamed, noted these two laughable and silly facts: that in a certain characteristic way he used to scratch his head with one finger, and that for some time, to cover up an ugly ulcer, he wore a white bandage tied around his leg; the one of these things he did, they affirmed, because he was dissipated, the other because he planned a revolution, snarling at him with the somewhat pointless reason, that it mattered not what part of his body he bound with the emblem of kingly majesty⁶⁵ — and this to a man than whom, as the clearest of proofs show; none was more valiant or circumspect with regard to his country.

[5] While these things were thus happening, at Rome Artemius, who held the office of vice-prefect, also succeeded Bassus,⁶⁶ who a short time after he had been promoted to be prefect of the city had died a natural death. His administration suffered from mutinous disturbances, but had no remarkable incident which is worth relating.

Constantius Augustus compels the Sarmatians, formerly rulers, but now exiles, and the Quadi, who were laying waste Pannonia and Moesia, to give hostages and return their prisoners; and over the exiled Sarmatians, whom he restored to freedom and their ancestral abode, he appointed a king.

As Augustus meanwhile was taking his winter rest at Sirmium, frequent serious reports showed that the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who were in agreement because they were neighbours and had like customs and armour, had united and were raiding the Pannonias⁶⁷ and Second Moesia in detached bands. [2] These people, better fitted for brigandage than for open warfare, have very long spears and cuirasses made from smooth and polished pieces of horn, fastened like scales to linen shirts;⁶⁸ most of their horses are made serviceable by gelding, in order that they may not at sight of mares become excited and run away, or when in ambush become unruly and betray their riders by loud neighing. [3] And they run over very great distances, pursuing others or themselves turning their backs, being mounted on swift and obedient horses and leading one, or sometimes even two, to the end that an exchange

may keep up the strength of their mounts and that their freshness may be renewed by alternate periods of rest.

[4] And so, when the spring equinox was past, the emperor mustered a strong force of soldiers and set out under the guidance of a more propitious fortune; and although the river Ister was in flood since the masses of snow and ice were now melted, having come to the most suitable place, he crossed it on a bridge built over the decks of ships and invaded the savages' lands with intent to lay them waste. They were outwitted by his rapid march, and on seeing already at their throats the troops of a fighting army, which they supposed could not yet be assembled owing to the time of year, they ventured neither to take breath nor make a stand, but to avoid unlooked-for destruction all took to precipitate flight. [5] The greater number, since fear clogged their steps, were cut down; if speed saved any from death, they hid in the obscure mountain gorges and saw their country perishing by the sword; and they might undoubtedly have protected her, had they resisted with the same vigour that had marked their flight. [6] This took place in that part of Sarmatia which faces Second Pannonia, and with equal courage our soldiers, like a tempest, laid waste the enemies possessions round about Valeria, ⁶⁹ burning and plundering everything before them. [7] Greatly disturbed by the vastness of this disaster, the Sarmatians abandoned their plan of hiding, and forming in three divisions, under pretence of suing for peace they planned to attack our soldiers with little danger, so that they could neither get their weapons ready nor parry the force of wounds, nor turn to flight, which is the last recourse in times of stress. [8] Furthermore the Quadi, who had often been their inseparable companions in raids, came at once to share the perils of the Sarmatians; but their ready boldness did not help them either, rushing as they were upon evident hazards. [9] For after very many of them had been cut down, the part that could save themselves escaped by paths familiar to them, and our army, their strength and courage aroused by this success, formed in closer order and hastened to the domain of the Quadi. They, dreading from their past disaster what impended, planned to sue suppliantly for peace and confidently presented themselves before the emperor, who was somewhat too lenient towards those and similar offences; and on the day named for settling the terms in like fashion, Zizais, a tall young man who was even then a royal prince, drew up the ranks of the Sarmatians in battle array to make their petition. And on seeing the emperor he threw aside his weapons and fell flat on his breast, as if lying lifeless. And since the use of his voice failed him from fear at the very time when he should have made his plea, he excited all the greater compassion; but after several attempts, interrupted by sobbing, he was able to set forth only a little of what he tried to ask. [10] At last, however, he was reassured and bidden to rise, and getting up on his knees and recovering the use of his voice, he begged that indulgence for his offences, and pardon, be granted him. Upon this the throng was admitted to make its entreaties, but mute terror closed their lips, so long as the fate of their superior

was uncertain. But when he was told to get up from the ground and gave the long awaited signal for their petition, all threw down their shields and spears, stretched out their hands with prayers, and succeeded in many ways in outdoing their prince in lowly supplication. [11] Their superior had also brought with therest of the Sarmatians Rumo, Zinafer and Fragiledus, who were petty kings, and a number of nobles, to make like requests, which they hoped would be granted. They, though overjoyed that their lives were spared, offered to make up for their hostile acts by burdensome conditions, and would have willingly submitted themselves with their possessions, their children, their wives, and the whole of their territories to the power of the Romans. However, kindness combined with equity prevailed, and when they were told to retain their homes without fear, they returned all their Roman prisoners. They also brought in the hostages that were demanded and promised from that time on to obey orders with the utmost promptness. [12] Encouraged by this instance of mercy, there hastened to the spot with all their subjects the prince Araharius, and Usafer, a prominent noble, who were leaders of the armies of their countrymen; one of them ruled a part of the Transiugitani and the Quadi, the other some of the Sarmatians, peoples closely united by the same frontiers and like savagery. Since the emperor feared their people, lest under pretence of striking a treaty they might suddenly rise to arms, he separated the united divisions and bade those who were interceding for the Sarmatians to withdraw for a time, while the case of Araharius and the Quadi was being considered. [13] When these presented themselves in the manner of criminals, standing with bended bodies, and were unable to clear themselves of serious misdeeds, in fear of calamities of the worst kind they gave the hostages which were demanded, although never before had they been forced to present pledges for a treaty. [14] When they had been justly and fairly disposed of, Usafer was admitted to make supplication, although Araharius stoutly objected and insisted that the terms which he himself had obtained ought to be valid also for the other as his partner, although Usafer was of inferior rank and accustomed to obey his commands. [15] But after a discussion of the question, orders were given that the Sarmatians (as permanent dependents of the Romans) should be freed from the domination of others and should present hostages as bonds for keeping the peace; an offer which they gladly accepted. [16] Moreover, after this there offered themselves a very great number of kings and nations, coming together in companies, and begged that swords be poised at their very throats,⁷⁰ as soon as they learned that Araharius had got off scot-free. And they too in the same way gained the peace which they sought, and sooner than was expected they summoned from the innermost parts of the kingdom and brought in as hostages the sons of eminent men, and also our prisoners (as had been stipulated), from whom they parted with as deep sighs as they did from their own countrymen.

[17] These affairs once set in order, his attention was turned to the Sarmatians, who were deserving rather of pity than of anger; and to them this

situation brought an incredible degree of prosperity; so that the opinion of some might well be deemed true, that fortune is either mastered or made by the power of a prince 18. The natives of this realm were once powerful and noble, but a secret conspiracy armed their slaves for rebellion; and since with savages all right is commonly might, they vanquished their masters, being their equals in courage and far superior in number. [19] The defeated, since fear prevented deliberation, fled to the Victohali, ⁷¹ who dwelt afar off, thinking that to submit to protectors (considering their evil plight) was preferable to serving slaves. Bewailing this situation, after they had gained pardon and been assured of protection they asked that their freedom be guaranteed; whereupon the emperor, deeply moved by the injustice of their condition, in the presence of the whole army called them together, and addressing them in gracious terms, bade them yield obedience to none save himself and the Roman generals. [20] And to give their restoration to freedom an increase of dignity, he set over them as their king Zizais, ⁷² a man even then surely suited for the honours of a conspicuous fortune and (as the result showed) loyal; but no one was allowed, after these glorious achievements, to leave the place, until (as had been agreed) the Roman prisoners should come back. [21] After these achievements in the savages' country, the camp was moved to Bregetio, ⁷³ to the end that there also tears or blood might quench what was left of the war of the Quadi, who were astir in those regions. Then their prince Vitrodorus, son of King Viduarius, and Agilimundus, his vassal, along with other nobles and officials ⁷⁴ governing various nations, seeing the army in the heart of their kingdom and native soil, prostrated themselves before the marching soldiers, and having gained pardon, did what was ordered, giving their children as hostages by way of pledge that they would fulfil the conditions imposed upon them. Then, drawing their swords, which they venerate as gods, they swore that they would remain loyal.

Constantius Augustus compels the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians, after inflicting great bloodshed upon them, to leave their abodes; then he addresses his soldiers.

When these events had been brought to a successful issue, as has been told, the public welfare required that the standards quickly be transported to the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians, ⁷⁵ for it was most shameful that they had with impunity committed many infamous outrages. For as if forgetting the past, when the free Sarmatians rebelled, those others also found the opportunity most favourable and broke over the Roman frontier, for this outrage alone making common cause with their masters and enemies. [2] Nevertheless, it was determined after driving out their former masters; according to others, the Limigantes were a tribe of the Sarmatians. after deliberation that this act also should be punished less severely than the heinousness of their crimes demanded, and vengeance was confined to

transferring them to remote places, where they would lose the opportunity of molesting our territories; yet the consciousness of their long series of misdeeds warned them to fear danger. [3] Accordingly, suspecting that the weight of war would be directed against them, they got ready wiles and arms and entreaties. But at the first sight of our army, as if smitten by a stroke of lightning and anticipating the utmost, after having pleaded for life they promised a yearly tribute, a levy of their able youth, and slavery; but they were ready, as they showed by gestures and expression, to refuse if they should be ordered to move elsewhere, trusting to the protection of the situation in which they had established themselves in security, after driving out their masters. [4] For the Parthiscus ⁷⁶ rushing into those lands with winding course, mingles with the Hister. ⁷⁷ But while it flows alone and unconfined, it slowly traverses a long expanse of broad plain; near its mouth, however, it compresses this into a narrow tract, thus protecting those who dwell there from a Roman attack by the channel of the Danube, and making them safe from the inroads of other savages by the opposition of its own stream; for the greater part of the country is of a marshy nature, and since it is flooded when the rivers rise, is full of pools and overgrown with willows, and therefore impassable except for those well acquainted with the region. Besides this the larger river, enclosing the winding circuit of an island, which almost reaches the mouth of the Parthiscus, separates it from connection with the land. [5] So, at the emperor's request, they came with their native arrogance to their bank of the river, not, as the event proved, intending to do what they were bidden, but in order not to appear to have feared the presence of the soldiers; and there they stood defiantly, thus giving the impression that they had come there to reject any orders that might be given. [6] But the emperor, suspecting that this might happen, had secretly divided his army into several bands, and with swift speed enclosed them, while they were delaying, within the lines of his own soldiers; then standing with a few followers on a loftier mound, protected by the defence of his guards, in mild terms he admonished them not to be unruly. [7] But they, wavering in uncertainty of mind, were distracted different ways, and with mingled craft and fury they thought both of entreaties and of battle; and preparing to sally out on our men where we lay near to them, they purposely threw forward their shields a long way, so that by advancing step by step to recover them they might without any show of treachery gain ground by stealth.

[8] When the day was now declining to evening and the waning light warned them to do away with delay, the soldiers lifted up their standards and rushed upon them in a fiery attack. Thereupon the foe massed themselves together, and, huddled in close order, directed all their attack against the emperor himself, who, as was said, stood on higher ground, charging upon him with fierce looks and savage cries. [9] The furious madness of this onset so angered our army that it could not brook it, and as the savages hotly menaced the emperor (as was said), they took the form of a wedge (an order which the

soldier's naive parlance calls "the pig's head,") ⁷⁸ and scattered them with a hot charge; then on the right our infantry slaughtered the bands of their infantry, while on the left our cavalry poured into the nimble squadrons of their cavalry. ^[10] The praetorian cohort, which stood before Augustus and was carefully guarding him, fell upon the breasts of the resisting foe, and then upon their backs as they took flight. And the savages with invincible stubbornness showed as they fell, by their awful shrieking, that they did not so much resent death as the triumph of our soldiers; and besides the dead many lay about hamstrung and thus deprived of the means of flight, others had their right hands cut off, some were untouched by any steel but crushed by the weight of those who rushed over them; but all bore their anguish in deep silence. ^[11] And amid their varied torments not a single man asked for pardon or threw down his weapon, or even prayed for a speedy death, but they tightly grasped their weapons, although defeated, and thought it less shameful to be overcome by an enemy's strength than by the judgement of their own conscience, ⁷⁹ while sometimes they were heard to mutter that what befell them was due to fortune, not to their deserts. Thus in the course of half an hour the decision of this battle was reached, and so many savages met a sudden death that the victory alone showed that there had been a fight.

^[12] Hardly yet had the hordes of the enemy been laid low, when the kinsfolk of the slain, dragged from their humble cots, were led forth in droves without regard to age or sex, and abandoning the haughtiness of their former life, were reduced to the abjectness of servile submission; and only a brief space of time had elapsed, when heaps of slain and throngs of captives were to be seen. ^[13] Then, excited by the heat of battle and the fruits of victory, our soldiers roused themselves to destroy those who had deserted the battle or were lurking in concealment in their huts. And these, when the soldiers had come to the spot thirsting for the blood of the savages, they butchered after tearing to pieces the light straw; ⁸⁰ and no house, even though built with the stoutest of timbers, saved a single one from the danger of death. ^[14] Finally, when everything was in flames and none could longer hide, since every means of saving their lives was cut off, they either fell victims to fire in their obstinacy, or, fleeing the flames and coming out to avoid one torture, fell by the enemy's steel. ^[15] Yet some escaped the weapons and the fires, great as they were, and plunged into the depths of the neighbouring river, hoping through skill in swimming to be able to reach the opposite banks; of these the most lost their lives by drowning, others were pierced by darts and perished, in such numbers that the whole course of the immense river foamed with the blood that flowed everywhere in abundance. ⁸¹ Thus with the aid of two elements the wrath and valour of the victors annihilated the Sarmatians.

^[16] Then it was decided, after this course of events, that every hope and comfort of life should be taken from all, and after their homes had been burned and their families carried off, orders were given that boats should be brought together, for the purpose of hunting down those whom the opposite

bank had kept aloof from our army. [17] And at once, for fear that the ardour of the warriors might cool, light-armed troops were put into skiffs, and taking the course which offered the greatest secrecy, came upon the lurking-places of the Sarmatians; and the enemy were deceived as they suddenly came in sight, seeing their native boats and the manner of rowing of their own country. [18] But when from the glittering of the weapons afar off they perceived that what they feared was approaching, they took refuge in marshy places; but the soldiers, following them still more mercilessly, slew great numbers of them, and gained a victory in a place where it seemed impossible to keep a firm footing or venture upon any action. [19] After the Amicenses ⁸² had been scattered and all but wholly destroyed, the army immediately attacked the Picenses, ⁸³ so named from the adjoining regions, who had been put on their guard by the disasters to their allies, which were known from persistent rumours. To subdue these (for it was hard to pursue them, since they were scattered in divers places, and unfamiliarity with the roads was a hindrance) they resorted to the help of the Taifali ⁸⁴ and likewise of the free Sarmatians. [20] And as consideration of the terrain made it desirable to separate the troops of the allies, our soldiers chose the tracts near Moesia, the Taifali undertook those next to their own homes, and the free Sarmatians occupied the lands directly opposite to them.

[21] The Limigantes ⁸⁵ having now suffered this fate, and terrified by the example of those who had been conquered and suddenly slain, hesitated long with wavering minds whether to die or plead, since for either course they had lessons of no slight weight; finally, however, the urgency of an assembly of the older men prevailed, and the resolve to surrender. Thus to the laurels of various victories there was added also the entreaties of those who had usurped freedom by arms; and such of them as survived bowed their necks with prayers before their former masters, whom they had despised as vanquished and weak, but now saw to be the stronger.

[22] And so, having received a safe-conduct, the greater number of them forsook the defence of the mountains and hastened to the Roman camp, pouring forth over the broad and spacious plains with their parents, their children and wives, and as many of their poor possessions as haste allowed them to snatch up in time. [23] And those who (as it was supposed) would rather lose their lives than be compelled to change their country, since they believed mad licence to be freedom, now consented to obey orders and take other quiet and safe abodes, where they could neither be harried by wars nor affected by rebellions. And these men, being taken under protection according to their own wish (as was believed) remained quiet for a short time; later, through their inborn savagery they were aroused to an outrage which brought them destruction, as will be shown in the proper place. ⁸⁶

[24] Through this successful sequel of events adequate protection was provided for Illyricum in a twofold manner; and the emperor having in hand the greatness of this task fulfilled it in both ways. The unfaithful were laid low

and trodden under foot, but exiled peoples (although equally unstable) who yet seemed likely to act with somewhat more respect, were at length recalled and settled in their ancestral homes. And as a crowning favour, he set over them, not some low-born king, but one whom they themselves had previously chosen as their ruler, a man eminent for his mental and physical gifts.⁸⁷ [25] After such a series of successes Constantius, now raised above any fear, by the unanimous voice of the soldiers was hailed a second time as Sarmaticus, after the name of the conquered people; and now, on the point of departure, he called together all the cohorts, centuries, and maniples, and standing on a tribunal, surrounded by standards, eagles and a throng of many officers of high rank, he addressed the army with these words, being greeted (as usual) with the acclaim of all:

[26] "The recollection of our glorious deeds, more grateful to brave men than any pleasure, moves me to rehearse to you, with due modesty, what abuses we most faithful defenders of the Roman state have corrected by the fortune of victory vouchsafed us by Providence both before our battles and in the very heat of combat. For what is so noble, or so justly worthy to be commended to the memory of posterity, as that the soldier should rejoice in his valiant deeds, and the leader in the sagacity of his plans. [27] Our enemies in their madness were overrunning all Illyricum, with arrogant folly despising us in our absence, while we were defending Italy and Gaul, and in successive raids were laying waste our farthest frontiers, crossing the rivers now in dug-out canoes⁸⁸ and sometimes on foot; they did not trust to engagements nor to arms and strength, but, as is their custom, to lurking brigandage, with the craft and various methods of deceit dreaded also by our forefathers from our very first knowledge of the race. These outrages we, being far away, endured as well as they could be borne, hoping that any more serious losses could be obviated by the efficiency of our generals. [28] But when, encouraged by impunity, they mounted higher and burst forth in destructive and repeated attacks upon our provinces, after securing the approaches to Raetia and by vigilant guard ensuring the safety of Gaul, leaving no cause of fear behind us, we came into Pannonia, intending, if it should please eternal God, to strengthen whatever was tottering. And sallying forth when all was ready (as you know) and spring was well advanced, we took in hand a mighty burden of tasks: first, to build a close-jointed bridge, without being overwhelmed by a shower of missiles, a work which was easily completed; and when we had seen and set foot upon the enemy's territories, without any loss of our men we laid low the Sarmatians who, with spirits regardless of death attempted to resist us. And when with like impudence the Quadi bore aid to the Sarmatians and rushed upon the ranks of our noble legions, we trod them under foot. The latter, after grievous losses, having learned amid their raids and menacing efforts at resistance what our valour could effect, cast aside the protection of arms and offered hands that had been equipped for battle to be bound behind their backs; and seeing that their only safety lay in entreaties, they prostrated

themselves at the feet of a merciful Augustus, whose battles they had often learned to have come to a happy issue. [29] These barely disposed of, we vanquished the Limigantes as well with equal valour, and after many of them had been slain, avoidance of danger forced the rest to seek the protection of their lairs in the marshes. [30] When these enterprises were brought to a successful issue, the time for seasonable mildness was at hand. The Limigantes we forced to move to remote places, so that they could make no further attempts to destroy our subjects, and very many of them we spared. And over the free Sarmatians we set Zizais, knowing that he would be devoted and loyal to us, and thinking it better to appoint a king for the savages than to take one from them; and it added to the happiness of the occasion, that a ruler was assigned them whom they had previously chosen and accepted. [31] Hence a fourfold prize, the fruit of a single campaign, was won by us and by our country: first, by taking vengeance on wicked robbers; then, in that you will have abundant booty taken from the enemy; for valour ought to be content with what it has won by toil and a strong arm. [32] We ourselves have ample wealth and great store of riches, if our labours and courage have preserved safe and sound the patrimonies of all; for this it is that beseems the mind of a good prince, this accords with prosperous successes. [33] Lastly, I also display the spoil of an enemy's name, surnamed as I am Sarmaticus for the second time, a title not undeserved (without arrogance be it said), which you have with one accord bestowed upon me."

After this speech was thus ended, the entire assembly with more enthusiasm than common, since the hope of betterment and gains had been increased, broke out into festal cries in praise of the emperor, and in customary fashion calling God to witness that Constantius was invincible, went back to their tents rejoicing. And when the emperor had been escorted to his palace and refreshed by two days' rest, he returned in triumphal pomp to Sirmium, and the companies of soldiers went back to the quarters assigned them.

The Roman envoys about peace return from Persia without result, since Sapor was bent on recovering Armenia and Mesopotamia.

On these very same days Prosper, Spectatus, and Eustathius, who had been sent as envoys to the Persians (as we have shown above), ⁸⁹ approached the king on his return to Ctesiphon, ⁹⁰ bearing letters and gifts from the emperor, and demanded peace with no change in the present status. Mindful of the emperor's instructions, they sacrificed no whit of the advantage and majesty of Rome, insisting that a treaty of friendship ought to be established with the condition that no move should be made to disturb the position of Armenia or Mesopotamia. [2] Having therefore tarried there for a long time, since they saw that the king was most obstinately hardened against accepting peace, unless the dominion over those regions should be made over to him, they returned

without fulfilling their mission. [3] Afterwards Count Lucillianus was despatched, together with Procopius, at that time state secretary, to accomplish the self-same thing with like insistence on the conditions; the latter afterwards, bound as it were by a knot of stern necessity, rose in revolution.⁹¹

NOTES.

¹ Main.

² The Romans kept such armed vessels on the rivers which formed the boundaries of the empire; cf. *lusoriae (naves)*, Vopiscus, *Bononus*, 15, 1.

³ The words *provisionum* and *eversionum* seem to be chosen for the sake of a word-play. He means that the arrangement proposed would amount to confiscation and the ruin of the province.

⁴ See xix. 11, 2 ff.

⁵ *Iliad*, ix. 383 ff.; Mela, i. 9.

⁶ I.e. Thebes.

⁷ Gallus was *praefectus Aegypti* (not *procurator*) from 30 to 26 B.C.

⁸ *Eclogue*, x.

⁹ A *meta* was one of the three conical columns on the end of the *spina* of a circus.

¹⁰ Cf. Diod. Siculus, iii. 3, 5, who says that hieroglyphics were understood by the priests alone, and that the knowledge was handed down from father to son.

¹¹ The females were said to be impregnated by the south or the east winds; Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* ii. 46; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 93.

¹² Seneca, *De Clem.* i. 19, 2 ff., compares a king to a bee.

¹³ That is, Constantine the Great.

¹⁴ The origin of the name is unknown; it was obviously on the Tiber, below Rome.

¹⁵ *Chamulcus*, which occurs only here, is the Greek χαμουλκός glossed by Latin *traha* (cf. Virg. *Georg.* i. 164). Here, a kind of sledge or platform without wheels, on which ships were launched or drawn up on the shore.

¹⁶ One of the regions of the city, a part of the Aventine Hill.

¹⁷ Here *meta* must refer to the upper (outer) part of the mill, which was turned around the inner stone.

¹⁸ *Cavea*, regularly used for the spectators' seats, here means the circus as a whole; cf. Plautus, *Truc.* 931, *quod verbum in cavea dixit histric*; Cic., *De Leg.* ii. 15, 38.

¹⁹ On the *spina* of the *Circus Gai et Neronis*; it is now in front of St. Peter's; it is 25.36 m. high and without hieroglyphics.

²⁰ These now belonged to the imperial house; the obelisk is at present in the *Piazza delta*

Trinità dei Monte; it is 13 m. high and has a copy, made in Rome, of the hieroglyphics on the obelisk set up by Augustus in the Circus Maximus.

²¹ These are before the church of Santa Maria Maggiore and on the Quirinal; the former is 14.40 m. high, the latter somewhat less; neither has hieroglyphics.

²² This obelisk, the greatest of them all (32. 50 m.), was set up at the Lateran by Fontana in 1588.

²³ He seems to have lived in the time of Augustus.

²⁴ Ammon (or Hammon), was an important Egyptian and Libyan god, identified by the Romans with Jupiter, cf. Virg., *Aen.* iv. 198 ff.

²⁵ See Index.

²⁶ There seems to be no reason to suspect lacunae. Ammianus gave only parts of the inscriptions as specimens, in order not to weary his readers by repetitions of the same general purport.

²⁷ Cf. Cic., *pro Scauro*, 2, 7; Juv. xii. 34 f., of the beaver.

²⁸ That is, when Constantius shared the rule with his brothers and governed only the eastern provinces.

²⁹ See xiv. 11, 5; xv. 13, 3.

³⁰ There were three classes of secretaries. The highest held the rank of tribune; see Introd., pp. xliii f.

³¹ See xv. 13, 1; xvi. 9, 2.

³² From Cappadocia, a pupil of Iamblichus.

³³ With Mamertinus in 362.

³⁴ Augural language; see Seneca, *N.Q.* ii. 41; for the usual meaning of *manubiae*, see Gellius, xiii. 25; he does not seem to know this use of the word.

³⁵ *Cardines* are the four cardinal points, north, south, east, and west. Gellius, ii. 22, in his description of the winds, does not use *cardines* (probably because he speaks also of winds coming from between the *cardines*), but *loca*, *regiones* (§ 2), *limites regionesque* (§ 3), *regiones caeli* (§ 13), *caeli partibus* (§ 17).

³⁶ Some refer this to the disabled, others to those who were fleeing. I think it refers to both; of. in a parallel case Curtius iv. 16, 12 *qui sequi non poterant inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur*.

³⁷ See Cio., *de Div.* i. 33, 72; Festus, M.

³⁸ The *pontificales libri* of Seneca, *Epist.* 108, 31.

³⁹ The Roman ritual required that in addressing a god, the identity of the god must be made

sure and he must be called by his proper name; cf. for example, Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6, 20, *Matutine pater, seu "lane" libentius audis*, and the altar at the foot of the Palatine, *sei deo sei divinae sacrum*.

⁴⁰ *Meteorologica*, ii. 8.

⁴¹ Subterranean passages.

⁴² But compare the *procellae* of § 3, above.

⁴³ "Earthshaker," Juv. x. 182

⁴⁴ "Earthquaker," Gell. ii. 28, 1.

⁴⁵ A Greek word from βράζειν. "boil up."

⁴⁶ Cf. Claudian, *De Cons. Stil.* iii. 226, *Auratos Rhodiis imbres nascente Minerva indulsisse lovem perhibent: Iiacd* ii. 670; Pindar, *Olym*, 59 ff. (L.C.L. p f.)

⁴⁷ An ancient town of Boeotia near Lake Copais. It was not swallowed up by an earthquake, but destroyed by an inundation (Strabo, ix. 2, 18; Paus. ix. 24, 2); and it was not an island.

⁴⁸ Moving sidewise.

⁴⁹ Atlantis; see Plato, *Timaeus*, pe-25a.

⁵⁰ Salona Bay, a part of the Corinthian Gulf; see Diod. xiv. 48, 49.

⁵¹ Its exact location is unknown: it was near Lago di Vico.

⁵² Bellowing.

⁵³ They dwelt between the Maas and the Schelde.

⁵⁴ The capital of the Toxiandri, who dwelt in modern Zeeland and the northern part of Flanders. It was then connected territory, but intersected by many marshes; modern Tessender Lo.

⁵⁵ In the Belgian part of the province of Limberg; see Tac., *Germ.* 2.

⁵⁶ A German people, living at the mouth of the Rhine; they later crossed the river, to drive the Salii from their homes.

⁵⁷ Cf. Quint. xii. 10, 17, *Asiana gens tumidior alioqui atque iactantior, vaniore etiam dicendi gloria inflata est*.

⁵⁸ Cf. Juvenal, iii. 78 ff.

⁵⁹ He appears as *agens in rebus*, xv. 3, 8, and as set as a spy over Julian in xxi. 7, 2. He was finally executed by Julian's order.

⁶⁰ xxii. 11, 1.

⁶¹ According to Censorinus, *De Die Nat.* 4, 13, and others, these books came from a certain Tages, who came up from the ground when a peasant was ploughing near Tarquinii in Etruria, and taught the people who flocked to him the secrets of prophecy. He is described as a boy with the wisdom of an old man; see Cic., *De Div.* ii. 23, 50 and Pease's note. The Tarquitian books of xxv. 2, 7 are perhaps the same.

⁶² Cf. Servius, on *Aen.* vi. 72, *libri Begoes nymphae, quae artem scripserat fulguritorum apud Tuscos*. The correct spelling is *Vegoe*.

⁶³ That is, he was to receive receipts from those in charge of the supplies, and show them to Julian.

⁶⁴ For this use of *armorum*, cf. xxxi. 10, 5, *cum quadraginta armorum milibus*; etc.

⁶⁵ The white fillet, to which the bandage was likened, was emblematic of royalty; see Suet., *Jul.* 79, 1.

⁶⁶ Junius Bassus died in 359; according to Prudentius, *contra Symm.* i. 559, he was the first of his family to become a Christian.

⁶⁷ That is, First and Second (Lower) Pannonia; the province was divided by Galerius.

⁶⁸ Pausanias, i. 21, 6, says that the Sarmatians made such armour from horses' hoofs, having no iron, and that in the temple of Aesculapius at Athens, he saw a specimen, in which pieces of horn looked like clefts on a pine-cone.

⁶⁹ See note 2, .

⁷⁰ Lindenbrog and Wagner translate: "that swords should be placed at their throats as a symbol of an oath and what would happen to them if they broke it"; cf. xxi. 5, 10, *gladiis cervicibus suis admotis sub exsecrationibus diris iuravereo*; here "begging that the swords be withdrawn" would give a doubtful meaning to *suspendi*.

⁷¹ Since Julius Capitolinus, *Ant. Phil.* xiv. 1, mentions them in connection with the Marcomanni, they probably lived in the region of Bohemia.

⁷² See , above.

⁷³ Apparently Flecken Szöny in Hungary, not far from Komorn.

⁷⁴ For this meaning of *iudices* see Index of Officials, s.v.

⁷⁵ For their revolt, see 12, 18, above. *Limigantes* seems to be the name that they assumed (Gibbon, ch. xviii.)

⁷⁶ The modern Theiss.

⁷⁷ The Danube.

⁷⁸ Vegetius, iii. 19, says that the soldiers gave the name *caput porcinum* to the *cuneus*, a V-shaped formation, with the apex towards the enemy. It was the opposite of the *forceps*, or *forfex* (xvi. 11, 3).

⁷⁹ That is, to be overcome by a superior force rather than yield voluntarily.

⁸⁰ With which the houses were thatched.

⁸¹ Cf. xvi. 12, 57.

⁸² A Sarmatian people; *T.L.L.*

⁸³ Put by Ptolemy in Upper Moesia.

⁸⁴ A tribe of the West Goths; cf. xxxi. 8, 7.

⁸⁵ See note on 13, 1, above.

⁸⁶ See xix. 11.

⁸⁷ That is, Zizais, see 12, 9, above.

⁸⁸ See xiv. 2, 10, end.

⁸⁹ xvii. 5, 15.

⁹⁰ A city of Assyria, on the Tigris, the capital of the Parthian (Persian) king.

⁹¹ See xxvi. 5 and 6.

BOOK XVIII

Julianus Caesar looks out for the welfare of Gaul, and sees to it that justice be observed everywhere by every one.

Such are the events of one and the same year in various parts of the world. But in Gaul, now that affairs were in a better condition and the brothers Eusebius and Hypatius had been honoured with the high title of consul, Julian, famed for his series of successes and in winter quarters at Paris, laid aside for a time the cares of war and with no less regard made many arrangements leading to the well-being of the provinces, diligently providing that no one should be overloaded with a burden of tribute; that the powerful should not grasp the property of others, or those hold positions of authority whose private estates were being increased by public disasters; and that no official ¹ should with impunity swerve from equity. ^[2] And this last abuse he reformed with slight difficulty, for the reason that he settled controversies himself whenever the importance of the cases or of the persons required, and distinguished inflexibly between right and wrong. ^[3] And although there are many praiseworthy instances of his conduct in such cases, yet it will suffice to cite one, as a sample of his acts and words. ^[4] Numerius, shortly before governor of Gallia Narbonensis, was accused of embezzlement, and Julian examined him with unusual judicial strictness before his tribunal publicly, admitting all who wished to attend. And when the accused defended himself by denying the charge, and could not be confuted on any point, Delphidius, a very vigorous speaker, assailing him violently and, exasperated by the lack of proofs, cried: "Can anyone, most mighty Caesar, ever be found guilty, if it be enough to deny the charge?" And Julian was inspired at once to reply to him wisely: "Can anyone be proved innocent, if it be enough to have accused him?" And this was one of many like instances of humanity.

Julianus Caesar repairs the walls of the fortresses on the Rhine which he had recovered. He crosses the Rhine, and after laying waste the hostile part of Alamannia compels five of their kings to sue for peace and return their prisoners.

But being on the point of entering upon an urgent campaign, since he considered that some districts of the Alamanni were hostile and would venture on outrages unless they also were overthrown after the example of the rest, he was anxious and doubtful with what force and with what speed (as soon as prudence gave an opportunity) he might anticipate the news of his coming and invade their territories unexpected. ^[2] And after thinking over many varied plans he at last decided to try the one which the outcome proved to be expedient. Without anyone's knowledge he had sent Hariobaudes, an

unattached tribune of tried fidelity and courage, ostensibly as an envoy to Hortarius, a king already subdued, with the idea that he could easily go on from there to the frontiers of those against whom war was presently to be made, and find out what they were plotting; for he was thoroughly acquainted with the language of the savages. [3] When the tribune had fearlessly set out to execute these orders, Julian, since the season of the year was favourable, called together his soldiers from all quarters for a campaign, and set forth; and he thought that above all things he ought betimes to attend to this, namely, before the heat of battle to enter the cities long since destroyed and abandoned, regain and fortify them, and even build granaries in place of those that had been burned, in which he could store the grain which was regularly brought over from Britain; and both things were accomplished sooner than anyone expected. [4] For not only did the granaries quickly rise, but a sufficiency of food was stored in them; and the cities were seized, to the number of seven: Castra Herculis, ² Quadriburgium, ³ Tricensima ⁴ and Novesium, ⁵ Bonna, ⁶ Antennacum ⁷ and Vingo, ⁸ where by a happy stroke of fortune the prefect Florentius also appeared unexpectedly, leading a part of the forces and bringing a store of provisions sufficient to last a long time.

[5] After this had been accomplished, one pressing necessity remained, namely, to repair the walls of the recovered cities, since even then no one hindered; and it is evident from clear indications that the savages through fear, and the Romans through love for their commander, at that time served the public welfare. [6] The kings, according to the compact of the preceding year, sent in their wagons an abundance of building material, and the auxiliary soldiers, who always disdain such tasks, induced to diligent compliance by Julian's fair words, willingly carried on their shoulders timbers fifty feet or more in length, and in the work of building rendered the greatest service.

[7] While these works were being pushed on with diligence and success, Hariobaudes returned after examining into everything, and reported what he had learned. After his arrival all came at top speed to Mayence; and there, when Florentius and Lupicinus (successor to Severus) strongly insisted that they ought to build a bridge at that place and cross the river, ⁹ Caesar stoutly opposed, declaring that they ought not to set foot in the lands of those who had submitted, for fear that (as often happens) through the rudeness of the soldiers, destroying everything in their way, the treaties might be abruptly broken.

[8] However, the Alamanni as a whole, against whom our army was marching, thinking danger to be close at hand, with threats warned king Soumaris, a friend of ours through a previous treaty, to debar the Romans from passing over; for his territories adjoined the opposite bank of the Rhine. And when he declared that he could not resist single-handed, the savages united their forces and came to the neighbourhood of Mayence, intending with might and main to prevent our army from crossing the river. [9] Therefore for a twofold reason what Caesar had advised seemed fitting, namely, that they

should not ravage the lands of peaceful natives, nor against the opposition of a most warlike people construct the bridge with loss of life to many of our men, but should go ¹⁰ to the place best suited for building a bridge. ^[10] This step the enemy observed with the greatest care, slowly marching along the opposite bank; and when from afar they saw our men pitching their tents, they themselves also passed sleepless nights, keeping guard with watchful diligence to prevent an attempt at crossing. ^[11] Our soldiers, however, on coming to the appointed place rested, protected by a rampart and a trench, and Caesar, after taking counsel with Lupicinus, ordered trusty tribunes to provide with stakes three hundred light-armed troops, who as yet were wholly unaware what was to be done or where they were to go. ^[12] And having been brought together when night was well advanced, all were embarked whom forty scouting boats ¹¹ (as many as were available at the time) would hold, and ordered to go down stream so quietly that they were even to keep their oars lifted for fear that the sound of the waters might arouse the savages; and while the enemy were watching our campfires, the soldiers were ordered with nimbleness of mind and body to force the opposite bank.

^[13] While this was being done with all haste, Hortarius, a king previously allied with us, not intending any disloyalty but being a friend also to his neighbours, invited all the kings, princes, and kinglets to a banquet and detained them until the third watch, prolonging the feasting after the native fashion. And as they were leaving the feast, it chanced that our men unexpectedly attacked them, but were in no way able to kill or take any of them, aided as they were by the darkness and their horses, which carried them off wherever panic haste drove them; they did, however, slay the lackeys or slaves, who followed their masters on foot, except such as the darkness of the hour saved from danger.

^[14] When word at last came of the crossing of the Romans, who then, as in former campaigns, expected to find rest from their labours wherever they should succeed in finding the enemy, the panic-stricken kings and their peoples, who were watching with eager intentness and dreading the building of the bridge, shuddering with fear, took to their heels in all directions; and their unbridled anger now laid aside, they hastened to transport their kindred and their possessions to a greater distance. And at once every difficulty was removed, the bridge was built, and before the anxious nations expected it our soldiers appeared in the land of the savages, and were passing through the realms of Hortarius without doing any damage. ^[15] But when they reached the territories of kings that were still hostile, they burned and pillaged everything, ranging without fear through the midst of the rebel country.

After firing the fragile huts that sheltered them, killing a great number of men, and seeing many falling and others begging for mercy, our soldiers reached the region called Capillacii or Palas ¹² where boundary stones marked the frontiers of the Alamanni and the Burgundians. There they encamped with the design of capturing Macrianus and Hariobaudus, kings and own brothers,

before they took alarm; for they, perceiving the ruin that threatened them, had come with anxious minds to sue for peace. [16] The kings were at once followed also by Vadomarius, whose abode was over against the Rauraci, and since he presented a letter of the emperor Constantius, in which he was strongly commended, he was received kindly (as was fitting), since he had long before been taken by Augustus under the protection of the Roman empire. [17] And Macrianus indeed, when admitted with his brother among the eagles and ensigns, was amazed at the variety and splendour of the arms and the forces, things which he saw then for the first time, and pleaded for his subjects. But Vadomarius, who was familiar with our affairs (since he lived near the frontier) did indeed admire the equipment of the splendid array, but remembered that he had often seen the like from early youth. [18] Finally, after long deliberation, by the unanimous consent of all, peace was indeed granted to Macrianus and Hariobaudus; but to Vadomarius, who had come to secure his own safety, but at the same time as an envoy and intercessor, begging for peace in behalf of the kings Urius, Ursicinus and Vestralpus, no immediate reply could be given, for fear that (since savages are of unstable loyalty) they might take courage after the departure of our army and not abide by a peace secured through others. [19] But when they themselves also, after the burning of their harvests and homes and the capture or death of many men, sent envoys and made supplication as if they too had committed these sins against our people, they won peace on the same terms; and among these conditions it was especially stressed that they should give up all the prisoners whom they had taken in their frequent raids.

Why Barbatio, commander of the infantry, and his wife were beheaded by order of Constantius.

While in Gaul the providence of Heaven was reforming these abuses, in the court of Augustus a tempest of sedition arose, which from small beginnings proceeded to grief and lamentation. In the house of Barbatio, then commander of the infantry forces, bees made a conspicuous swarm; and when he anxiously consulted men skilled in prodigies about this, they replied that it portended great danger, ¹³ obviously inferring this from the belief, that when these insects have made their homes and gathered their treasures, they are only driven out by smoke and the wild clashing of cymbals. [2] Barbatio had a wife, Assyria by name, who was talkative and indiscreet. She, when her husband had gone forth on a campaign and was worried by many fears because of what he remembered had been foretold him, overcome by a woman's folly, confided in a maidservant skilled in cryptic writing, whom she had acquired from the estate of Silvanus. Through her Assyria wrote at this untimely moment to her husband, entreating him in tearful accents that when, after Constantius' approaching death, he himself had become emperor, as he hoped, he should not cast her off and prefer marriage with Eusebia, who was

then queen and was conspicuous among many women for the beauty of her person. [3] After this letter had been sent with all possible secrecy, the maidservant, who had written it at her mistress' dictation, as soon as all had returned from the campaign took a copy of it and ran off to Arbetio in the first quiet of the night; and being eagerly received, she handed over the note. [4] Arbetio, who was of all men most clever in framing an accusation, trusting to this evidence reported the matter to the emperor. The affair was investigated, as usual, without delay or rest, and when Barbatio admitted that he had received the letter, and strong evidence proved that the woman had written it, both were beheaded. [5] When they had been executed, far-reaching inquisitions followed, and many suffered, the most innocent as well as the guilty. Among these also Valentinus, formerly captain of the guard and then a tribune, was suspected with many others of being implicated and, although wholly ignorant of what had been done, was tortured several times, but survived. And so, as compensation for his wrongs and his peril, he gained the position of a general in Illyricum.

[6] Now the aforesaid Barbatio was a somewhat boorish fellow, of arrogant intentions, who was hated by many for the reason that, while he commanded the household troops under Gallus Caesar, he was a perfidious traitor; and after Gallus' death, puffed up with pride in his higher military rank, he made like plots against Julian, when he became Caesar; and to the disgust of all good men he chattered into the open ears of the Augustus many cruel accusations. [7] He surely was unaware of the wise saying of Aristotle of old, who, on sending his disciple and relative Callisthenes to King Alexander, charged him repeatedly to speak as seldom and as pleasantly as possible in the presence of a man who had at the tip of his tongue the power of life and death. [8] And it should not cause surprise that men, whose minds we regard as akin to the gods, sometimes distinguish what is advantageous from what is harmful; for even unreasoning animals are at times wont to protect their lives by deep silence, as appears from this well-known fact. [9] The geese, when leaving the east because of heat and flying westward, no sooner begin to traverse Mount Taurus, which abounds in eagles, than in fear of those mighty birds they close their beaks with little stones, so that even extreme necessity may not call forth a clamour from them; and after they have passed over those same hills in speedier flight, they cast out the pebbles and so go on with greater peace of mind.

Sapor, king of the Persians, prepares to attack the Romans with all his forces.

While at Sirmium these matters were being investigated with all diligence, the fortune of the Orient kept sounding the dread trumpets of danger; for the king of Persia, armed with the help of the savage tribes which he had subdued, and burning with superhuman desire of extending his domain, was preparing

arms, forces, and supplies, embroiling his plans with infernal powers and consulting all superstitions about the future; and having assembled enough of these, he planned with the first mildness of spring to overrun everything. [2] And when news of this came, at first by rumours and then by trustworthy messengers, and great dread of impending disasters held all in suspense, the forge of the courtiers, hammering day and night at the instigation of the eunuchs on the same anvil (as the saying is), held up Ursicinus to the suspicious and timid emperor as a grim-visaged gorgon, often reiterating these and similar charges: that he, having on the death of Silvanus been sent as if in default of better men, to defend the east, was panting for higher honours. [3] Furthermore, by this foul and excessive flattery very many strove to purchase the favour of Eusebius, then head-chamberlain, upon whom (if the truth must be told) Constantius greatly depended, and who was vigorously attacking the safety of the aforesaid commander of the cavalry for a double reason: because he alone of all was not, like the rest, adding to Eusebius' wealth, and would not give up to him his house at Antioch, which the head-chamberlain most importunately demanded. [4] Eusebius then, like a viper swelling with abundant poison and arousing its multitudinous brood to mischief when they were still barely able to crawl, sent out his chamberlains, already well grown, with directions that, amid the duties of their more private attendance, with the soft utterances of voices always childish and persuasive they should with bitter hatred batter the reputation of that brave man in the too receptive ears of the prince. And they promptly did what they were ordered. [5] Through disgust with these and their kind, I take pleasure in praising Domitian of old, for although, unlike his father and his brother, he drenched the memory of his name with indelible detestation, yet he won distinction by a most highly approved law, by which he had under heavy penalties forbidden anyone within the bounds of the Roman jurisdiction to geld a boy; ¹⁴ for if this had not happened, who could endure the swarms of those whose small number is with difficulty tolerated? [6] However, Eusebius proceeded warily, lest (as he pretended) that same Ursicinus, if again summoned to court, should through fear cause general disturbance, but actually that he might, whenever chance should give the opportunity, be haled off to execution.

[7] While they held these plots in abeyance and were distracted by anxious thoughts, and I was staying for a time at Samosata, the famous seat of the former kingdom of Commagene, on a sudden repeated and trustworthy rumours were heard of new commotions; and of these the following chapter of my history shall tell.

Antoninus, of the household troops, goes over with all his household to Sapor, and urges him to the war against the Romans which he had already set on foot of his own accord.

There was a certain Antoninus, at first a rich merchant, then an accountant

in the service of the governor of Mesopotamia, and finally one of his body-guard, a man of experience and sagacity, who was widely known throughout all that region. This man, being involved in great losses through the greed of certain powerful men, found on contending against them that he was more and more oppressed by unjust means, since those who examined the case were inclined to curry favour with men of higher position. Accordingly, in order not to kick against the pricks, he turned to mildness and flattery and acknowledged the debt, which by collusion had been transferred to the account of the privy purse. And then, planning to venture upon a vast enterprise, he covertly pried into all parts of the entire empire, and being versed in the language of both tongues, ¹⁵ busied himself with calculations, making record of what troops were serving anywhere or of what strength, or at what time expeditions would be made, inquiring also by tireless questioning whether supplies of arms, provisions, and other things that would be useful in war were at hand in abundance. [2] And when he had learned the internal affairs of the entire Orient, since the greater part of the troops and the money for their pay were distributed through Illyricum, where the emperor was distracted with serious affairs, and as the stipulated time would soon be at hand for paying the money which he was compelled by force and threats to admit by written bond that he owed, foreseeing that he must be crushed by all manner of dangers on every side, since the count of the largesses ¹⁶ through favour to his creditor was pressing him more urgently, he made a great effort to flee to the Persians with his wife, his children, and all his dear ones. [3] And to the end that he might elude the sentinels, he bought at no great price a farm in Iaspis, a place washed by the waters of the Tigris. And since because of this device no one ventured to ask one who was now a landholder with many attendants his reason for coming to the utmost frontier of the Roman empire, through friends who were loyal and skilled in swimming he held many secret conferences with Tamsapor, then acting as governor of all the lands across the river, whom he already knew; and when active men had been sent to his aid from the Persian camp, he embarked in fishing boats and ferried over all his beloved household in the dead of night, like Zopyrus, that famous betrayer of Babylon, but with the opposite intention. ¹⁷

[4] After affairs in Mesopotamia had been brought to this pass, the Palace gang, chanting the old refrain with a view to our destruction, at last found an opportunity for injuring the most valiant of men, aided and abetted by the corps of eunuchs, who are always cruel and sour, and since they lack other offspring, embrace riches alone as their most dearly beloved daughters. [5] So it was decided that Sabinianus, a cultivated man, it is true, and well to-do, ¹⁸ but unfit for war, inefficient, and because of his obscurity still far removed from obtaining magisterial rank, should be sent to govern the eastern regions; but that Ursicinus should return to court to command the infantry and succeed Barbatio: to the end that by his presence there that eager inciter to revolution (as they persisted in calling him) might be open to the attacks of his bitter and

formidable enemies.

[6] While this was being done in the camp of Constantius, after the manner of brothels and the stage, and the distributors ¹⁹ were scattering the price of suddenly purchased power through the homes of the powerful, Antoninus was conducted to the king's winter quarters and received with open arms, being graced with the distinction of the turban, an honour shared by those who sit at the royal table and allowing men of merit among the Persians to speak words of advice and to vote in the assemblies. Thus, not with poles or tow-rope (as the saying is), that is, not by ambiguous or obscure subterfuges, but under full sail he attacked his country, urging on the aforesaid king, as long ago Maharbal chided the slowness of Hannibal, and kept insisting that he could win victories, but not take advantage of them. ²⁰ [7] For having been brought up in their midst, as a man well informed on all matters, finding eager hearers, desirous of having their ears tickled, who did not praise him but like Homer's Phaeacians ²¹ admired him in silence, he would rehearse the history of the past forty years. He showed that after constant successes in war, especially at Hileia and Singara, ²² where that furious contest at night took place and our troops were cut to pieces with great carnage, as if some fetial priest were intervening ²³ to stop the fight, the Persians did not yet reach Edessa nor the bridges of the Euphrates, in spite of being victorious; whereas trusting to their prowess and their splendid successes, they ought so to have extended their kingdom as to rule over all Asia, especially at a time when through the continual commotions of civil wars Rome's stoutest soldiers were shedding their blood on two sides.

[8] With these and similar speeches from time to time at banquets, where after the old Greek custom they used to consult about preparations for war and other serious affairs, the deserter kept sober and fired the already eager king, so soon as winter was over, at once to take the field, trusting to his good fortune, and Antoninus himself confidently promised to aid him in many important ways.

Ursicinus, commander of the army in the Orient, being summoned from there and having already reached Thrace, is sent back to Mesopotamia; on his return he tries to learn through Marcellinus of the coming of Sapor.

At about that same time Sabinianus, puffed up by his suddenly acquired power, entered the confines of Cilicia and handed his predecessor the emperor's letter, which directed him to make all haste to the court, to be invested with a higher rank; and that too at a crisis when, even if Ursicinus were living in Thule, ²⁴ the weight of affairs with good reason demanded that he be sent for, ²⁵ well acquainted as he was with the old-time discipline and with the Persian methods of warfare from long experience. [2] The rumour of this action greatly disquieted the provinces, and the senates and peoples of the

various cities, while decrees and acclamations came thick and fast, laid hands on him and all but held fast their public defender, recalling that though he had been left to protect them with weak and ease loving soldiers, he had for ten years suffered no loss; and at the same time they feared for their safety on learning that at a critical time he had been deposed and a most inefficient man had come to take his place. [3] We believe (and in fact there is no doubt of it) that Rumour flies swiftly through the paths of air, since it was through her circulation of the news of these events that the Persians held council as to their course of action. And after long debate to and fro it was decided, on the advice of Antoninus, that since Ursicinus was far away and the new commander was lightly regarded, they should give up the dangerous sieges of cities, pass the barrier of the Euphrates, and push on with the design of outstripping by speed the news of their coming and seizing upon the provinces, which in all previous wars (except in the time of Gallienus) ²⁶ had been untouched and had grown rich through long-continued peace; and Antoninus promised that with God's favour he would be a most helpful leader in this enterprise. [4] When this plan had been commended and approved by unanimous consent, all turned their attention to such things as must be amassed with speed; and so the preparation of supplies, soldiers, weapons, and other equipment which the coming campaign required, went on all winter long.

[5] We ²⁷ meanwhile lingered for a time on this side the Taurus, and then in accordance with our orders were hastening to the regions of Italy and had come to the vicinity of the river Hebrus, ²⁸ which flows down from the mountains of the Odrysae; there we received the emperor's dispatch, which without offering any excuse ordered us to reb to Mesopotamia without any attendants and take charge of a perilous campaign, after all power had been transferred to another. [6] This was devised by the mischievous moulders of the empire with the idea that, if the Persians were baffled and returned to their own country, the glorious deed would be attributed to the ability of the new leader; but if Fortune proved unfavourable, Ursicinus would be accused as a traitor to his country. [7] Accordingly, after careful consideration, and long hesitation, we returned, to find Sabinianus a man full of haughtiness, but of insignificant stature and small and narrow mind, barely able to endure the slight noise of a banquet without shameful apprehension, to say nothing of the din of battle.

[8] Nevertheless, since scouts, and deserters agreeing with them, most persistently declared that the enemy were pushing all their preparations with hot haste, while the manikin ²⁹ yawned, we hastily marched to Nisibis, ³⁰ to prepare what was useful, lest the Persians, masking their design of a siege, might surprise the city when off its guard. [9] And while within the walls the things that required haste were being pushed vigorously, smoke and gleaming fires constantly shone from the Tigris on past Castra Maurorum ³¹ and Sisara and all the neighbouring country as far as the city, in greater number than

usual and in a continuous line, clearly showing that the enemy's bands of plunderers had burst forth and crossed the river. [10] Therefore, for fear that the roads might be blocked, we hastened on at full speed, and when we were within two miles, we saw a fine-looking boy, wearing a neck-chain, a child eight years old (as we guessed) and the son of a man of position (as he said), crying in the middle of the highway; his mother, while she was fleeing, wild with fear of the pursuing enemy, being hampered and agitated had left him alone. While I, at the command of my general, who was filled with pity, set the boy before me on my horse and took him back to the city, the pillagers, after building a rampart around the entire wall, were ranging more widely. [11] And because the calamities of a siege alarmed me, I set the boy down within a half-open postern gate and with winged speed hastened breathless to our troop; and I was all but taken prisoner. [12] For a tribune called Abdigildus was fleeing with his camp-servant, pursued by a troop of the enemy's cavalry. And while the master made his escape, they caught the slave and asked him (just as I passed by at full gallop) who had been appointed governor. And when they heard that Ursicinus had entered the city a short time before and was now on his way to Mount Izala, they killed their informant and a great number, got together into one body, followed me with tireless speed. [13] When through the fleetness of my mount I had outstripped them and come to Amudis, a weak fortress, I found our men lying about at their ease, while their horses had been turned out to graze. Extending my arm far forward and gathering up my cloak and waving it on high, I showed by the usual sign that the enemy were near, and joining with them I was hurried along at their pace, although my horse was now growing tired. [14] We were alarmed, moreover, by the fact that it was full moon at night and by the level stretch of plain, which (in case any pressing emergency surprised us) could offer no hiding-places, since neither trees nor shrubs were to be seen, but nothing except short grass. [15] Therefore we devised the plan of placing a lighted lantern on a single pack-animal, binding it fast, so that it should not fall off, and then turning loose the animal that carried the light and letting him go towards the left without a driver, while we made our way to the mountain heights lying on the right, in order that the Persians, supposing that a tallow torch ³² was carried before the general as he went slowly on his way, should take that course rather than any other; and had it not been for this stratagem, we should have been surrounded and captured and come into the power of the enemy.

[16] Saved from this danger, we came to a wooded tract planted with vineyards and fruitbearing orchards, called Meiacarire, ³³ so named from its cold springs. There all the inhabitants had decamped, but we found one soldier hiding in a remote spot. He, on being brought before the general, because of fear gave contradictory answers and so fell under suspicion. But influenced by threats made against him, he told the whole truth, saying that he was born at Paris in Gaul and served in a cavalry troop; but in fear of punishment for a fault that he had once committed he had deserted to the

Persians. Then, being found to be of upright character, and to have married and reared children, he was sent as a spy to our territories and often brought back trustworthy news. But now he had been sent out by the grandees Tamsapor and Nohodares, who had led the bands of pillagers, and was returning to them, to report what he had learned. After this, having added what he knew about what the enemy were doing, he was put to death.

[17] Then with our anxious cares increasing we went from there as quickly as circumstances allowed to Amida, ³⁴ a city afterwards notorious for the calamities which it suffered. ³⁵ And when our scouts had returned there, we found in the scabbard of a sword a parchment written in cipher, which had been brought to us by order of Procopius, who, as I said before, had previously been sent as an envoy to the Persians with Count Lucillianus. In this, with intentional obscurity, for fear that, if the bearers were taken and the meaning of the message known, most disastrous consequences would follow, he gave the following message: —

[18] “Now that the envoys of the Greeks have been sent far away and perhaps are to be killed, that aged king, not content with Hellespontus, will bridge the Granicus and the Rhyndacus ³⁶ and come to invade Asia with many nations. He is naturally passionate and very cruel, and he has as an instigator and abetter the successor of the former Roman emperor Hadrian; ³⁷ unless Greece takes heed, it is all over with her and her dirge chanted.”

[19] This writing meant that the king of the Persians had crossed the rivers Anzaba and Tigris, and, urged on by Antoninus, aspired to the rule of the entire Orient. When it had been read, with the greatest difficulty because of its excessive ambiguity, a sagacious plan was formed.

[20] There was at that time in Corduene, ³⁸ which was subject to the Persian power, a satrap called Jovinianus on Roman soil, a youth who had secret sympathy with us for the reason that, having been detained in Syria as a hostage and allured by the charm of liberal studies, he felt a burning desire to return to our country. [21] To him I was sent with a centurion of tried loyalty, for the purpose of getting better informed of what was going on; and I reached him over pathless mountains and through steep defiles. After he had seen and recognized me, and received me cordially, I confided to him alone the reason for my presence. Thereupon with one silent attendant who knew the country he sent me to some lofty cliffs a long distance from there, from which, unless one's eyesight was impaired, even the smallest object was visible at a distance of fifty miles. [22] There we stayed for two full days, and at dawn of the third day we saw below us the whole circuit of the lands (which we ³⁹ call ὀπιζοντες ⁴⁰) filled with innumerable troops with the king leading the way, glittering in splendid attire. Close by him on the left went Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, ⁴¹ a man of moderate strength, it is true, and with shrivelled limbs, but of a certain greatness of mind and distinguished by the glory of many victories. On the right was the king of the Albani, ⁴² of equal rank, high in honour. After them came various leaders, prominent in reputation and rank,

followed by a multitude of every degree, chosen from the flower of the neighbouring nations and taught to endure hardship by long continued training. [23] How long, storied Greece, will you continue to tell us of Doriscus, the city of Thrace, and of the armies drawn up in troops within enclosures and numbered? ⁴³ For I am too cautious, or (to speak more truly) too timid, to exaggerate anything beyond what is proven by trustworthy and sure evidence.

Sapor with the kings of the Chionitae and the Albani invades Mesopotamia. The Romans set fire to their own fields, drive the peasants into the towns, and fortify our bank of the Euphrates with strongholds and garrisons.

After the kings had passed by Nineveh, a great city of Adiabene, and after sacrificing victims in the middle of the bridge over the Anzaba and finding the omens favourable, had crossed full of joy, I judged that all the rest of the throng could hardly enter in three days; so I quickly returned to the satrap and rested, entertained with hospitable attentions. [2] Then I returned, again passing through deserted and solitary places, more quickly than could be expected, led as I was by the great consolation of necessity, and cheered the spirits of those who were troubled because they were informed that the kings, without any detour, had crossed on a single bridge of boats. [3] Therefore at once swift horsemen were sent to Cassianus, commander in Mesopotamia, and to Euphronius, then governor of the province, to compel the peasants with their households and all their flocks to move to safer quarters, directing also that the city of Carrhae should quickly be abandoned, since the town was surrounded only by weak fortifications; and in addition that all the plains be set on fire, to prevent the enemy from getting fodder. [4] These orders were executed without delay, and when the fires had been kindled, the mighty violence of that raging element consumed all the grain, which was filled out on the now yellowing stalk, and every kind of growing plant, so utterly that from the very banks of the Tigris all the way to the Euphrates not a green thing was to be seen. At that time many wild beasts were burned up, especially lions, which are excessively savage in those regions and usually perish or are gradually blinded in the following manner. [5] Amid the reed-beds and thickets of the Mesopotamian rivers lions range in countless numbers; and during the moderate winter, which is there very mild, they are always harmless. But when the sun's rays have brought the season of burning heat, in regions parched by drought they are tormented both by the sultry breath of the sun and by crowds of gnats, swarms of which fill all parts of that land. And since these same insects make for the eyes, as the moist and shining parts of the body, and settling along the eyelids bite them, those same lions, after suffering long torture, either plunge into the rivers, to which they flee for protection, and are drowned, or after losing their eyes, which they dig out by constantly scratching them with their claws, become frightfully savage. And

were it not for this, the entire Orient would be overrun by such beasts.

[6] While the plains were burning (as was said), tribunes were sent with the guard and fortified the nearer bank of the Euphrates with towers, sharp stakes, and every kind of defence, planting hurling-engines in suitable places, where the river was not full of eddies. ⁴⁴

[7] While these preparations were being hastened, Sabinianus, that splendid choice ⁴⁵ of a leader in a deadly war, when every moment should have been seized to avert the common dangers, amid the tombs of Edessa, as if he had nothing to fear when he had made his peace with the dead, and acting with the wantonness of a life free from care, in complete inaction was being entertained by his soldiers with a pyrrhic dance, ⁴⁶ in which music accompanied the gestures of the performers — conduct ominous both in itself and in its occasion, since we learn that these and similar things that are ill-omened in word and deed ought to be avoided by every good man as time goes on as foreboding coming troubles. [8] Meanwhile the kings passed by Nisibis as an unimportant halting place, and since fires were spreading because of the variety of dry fuel, to avoid a scarcity of fodder were marching through the grassy valleys at the foot of the mountains. [9] And now they had come to a hamlet called Bebase, from which as far as the town of Constantina, ⁴⁷ which is a hundred miles distant, everything is parched by constant drought except for a little water to be found in wells. There they hesitated for a long time what to do, and finally were planning to cross, being confident of the hardiness of their men, when they learned from a faithful scout that the Euphrates was swollen by the melted snows and overflowing in wide pools, and hence could not be forded anywhere. [10] Therefore, being unexpectedly disappointed in the hope that they had conceived, they turned to embrace whatever the chance of fortune should offer; and on holding a council, with reference to the sudden urgent difficulties of their present situation, Antoninus, on being bidden to say what he thought, began by advising that they should turn their march to the right, in order to make a long detour through regions abounding in all sorts of supplies, and still untouched by the Romans in the belief that the enemy would march straight ahead, ⁴⁸ and that they should go under his guidance to the two garrison camps of Barzalo and Claudias: for there the river was shallow and narrow near its source, and as yet increased by no tributaries, and hence was fordable and easy to cross. [11] When this proposition had been heard and its author commended and bidden to lead them by the way that he knew, the whole army changed its intended line of march and followed its guide.

Seven hundred Illyrian horsemen are surprised and put to flight by the Persians. Ursicinus and Marcellinus escape in different directions.

When this was known through trustworthy scouts, we planned to hasten to Samosata, in order to cross the river from there and break down the bridges at

Zeugma and Capersana, and so (if fortune should aid us at all) repel the enemy's attacks. [2] But there befell a terrible disgrace, which deserves to be buried in utter silence. For about seven hundred horsemen, belonging to two squadrons who had recently been sent to the aid of Mesopotamia from Illyricum, a spiritless and cowardly lot, were keeping guard in those parts. And dreading a night attack, they withdrew to a distance from the public roads at evening, when all the paths ought to be better guarded. [3] This was observed by the Persians, and about twenty thousand of them, under the command of Tamsapor and Nohodares, passed by the horsemen unobserved, while these were overcome with wine and sleep, and hid themselves with arms behind some high mounds near Amida.

[4] And presently, when we were on the point of going to Samosata (as has been said) and were on our way while it was still twilight, from a high point our eyes caught the gleam of shining arms, and an excited cry was raised that the enemy were upon us; then the usual signal for summoning to battle was given and we halted in close order, thinking it prudent neither to take flight when our pursuers were already in sight, nor yet (through fear of certain death) to engage with a foe far superior in cavalry and in numbers. [5] Finally, after it became absolutely necessary to resort to arms, while we were hesitating as to what ought to be done, some of our men ran forward rashly and were killed. And as both sides pressed forward, Antoninus, who was ostentatiously leading the troops, was recognised by Ursicinus and rated with chiding language; and after being called traitor and criminal, Antoninus took off the tiara which he wore on his head as a token of high honour, sprang from his horse, and bending his body so that he almost touched the ground with his face, he saluted Ursicinus, calling him patron and lord, clasping his hands together behind his back, which among the Assyrians is a gesture of supplication. [6] Then, "Pardon me," said he, "most illustrious Count, since it is from necessity and not voluntarily that I have descended to this conduct, which I know to be infamous. It was unjust duns, as you know, that drove me mad, whose avarice not even your lofty station, which tried to protect my wretchedness, could check." As he said these words he withdrew from sight, not turning about, but respectfully walking backwards until he disappeared, and presenting his breast.

[7] While all this took place in the course of half an hour, our soldiers in the rear, who occupied the higher part of the hill, cry out that another force, of heavy-armed cavalry, was to be seen behind the others, and that they were approaching with all possible speed. [8] And, as is usual in times of trouble, we were in doubt whom we should, or could, resist, and pushed onward by the weight of the vast throng, we all scattered here and there, wherever each saw the nearest way of escape; and while every one was trying to save himself from the great danger, we were mingled in scattered groups with the enemy's skirmishers. [9] And so, now scorning any desire for life and fighting manfully, we were driven to the banks of the Tigris, which were high and steep. From

these some hurled themselves headlong, but entangled by their weapons stuck fast in the shoals of the river; others were dragged down in the eddying pools and swallowed up; some engaged the enemy and fought with varying success; others, terrified by the dense array of hostile ranks, sought to reach the nearest elevations of Mount Taurus. [10] Among these the commander himself was recognised and surrounded by a horde of warriors, but he was saved by the speed of his horse and got away, in company with Aiadalthes, a tribune, and a single groom.

[11] I myself, having taken a direction apart from that of my comrades, was looking around to see what to do, when Verennianus, one of the guard, came up with an arrow in his thigh; and while at the earnest request of my colleague I was trying to pull it out, finding myself surrounded on all sides by the foremost Persians, I moved ahead at breathless speed and aimed for the city, which from the point where we were attacked lay high up and could be approached only by a single very narrow ascent; and this was made still narrower by mills which had been built on the cliffs for the purpose of making the paths. ⁴⁹ [12] Here, mingled with the Persians, who were rushing to the higher ground with the same effort as ourselves, we remained motionless until sunrise of the next day, so crowded together that the bodies of the slain, held upright by the throng, could nowhere find room to fall, and that in front of me a soldier with his head cut in two, and split into equal halves by a powerful sword stroke, was so pressed on all sides that he stood erect like a stump. [13] And although showers of weapons from all kinds of artillery flew from the battlements, nevertheless the nearness of the walls saved us from that danger, and when I at last entered the city by a postern gate I found it crowded, since a throng of both sexes had flocked to it from the neighbouring countryside. For, as it chanced, it was at that very time that the annual fair was held in the suburbs, and there was a throng of country folk in addition to the foreign traders. [14] Meanwhile there was a confusion of varied cries, some bewailing their lost kindred, others wounded to the death, many calling upon loved ones from whom they were separated and could not see because of the press.

A description of Amida, and the number of the legions and troops of cavalry that were on guard there.

This city was once very small, but Constantius, when he was still a Caesar, in order that the neighbours might have a secure place of refuge, at the same time that he built another city called Antoninupolis, surrounded Amida with strong walls and towers; and by establishing there an armoury of mural artillery, he made it a terror to the enemy and wished it to be called after his own name. [2] Now, on the south side it is washed by the winding course of the Tigris, which rises near-by; where it faces the blasts of Eurus it looks down on Mesopotamia's plains; where it is exposed to the north wind it is close to the river Nymphaeus and lies under the shadow of the peaks of Taurus, which

separate the peoples beyond the Tigris from Armenia; opposite the breath of Zephyrus it borders on Gumathena, a region rich alike in fertility and in tillage, in which is the village called Abarne, famed for its warm baths of healing waters. Moreover, in the very heart of Amida, at the foot of the citadel, a bountiful spring gushes forth, drinkable indeed, but sometimes malodorous from hot vapours. [3] Of this town the regular garrison was formed by the Fifth Legion, Parthica, along with a force of no mean size of natives. But at that time six additional legions, having outstripped the advancing horde of Persians by rapid marches, were drawn up upon its very strong walls. These were the soldiers of Magnentius and Decentius,⁵⁰ whom, after finishing the campaigns of the civil wars, the emperor had forced, as being untrustworthy and turbulent, to come to the Orient, where none but foreign wars are to be feared; also the soldiers of the Thirtieth,⁵¹ and the Tenth, also called Fortenses,⁵² and the Superventores and Praeventores⁵³ with Aelianus, who was then a count; these troops, when still raw recruits, at the urging of the same Aelianus, then one of the guard, had made a sally from Singara (as I have said⁵⁴) and slain great numbers of the Persians while they were buried in sleep. [4] There were also in the town the greater part of the *comites sagittarii*⁵⁵ (household archers), that is to say, a squadron of horsemen so-named, in which all the freeborn foreigners serve who are conspicuous above the rest for their prowess in arms and their bodily strength.

Sapor receives two Roman fortresses in surrender.

While the storm of the first attack was thus busied with unlooked-for undertakings, the king with his own people and the nations that he was leading turned his march to the right from the place called Bebase, as Antoninus had recommended, through Horre and Meiacarire and Charcha, as if he would pass by Amida; but when he had come near two fortresses of the Romans, of which one is called Reman and the other Busan, he learned from the information of deserters that the wealth of many people had been brought there and was kept in what were regarded as lofty and safe fortifications; and it was added that there was to be found there with a costly outfit a beautiful woman with her little daughter, the wife of a certain Craugasius of Nisibis, a man distinguished among the officials of his town for family, reputation, and influence. [2] Accordingly the king, with a haste due to his greed for seizing others' property, attacked the fortresses with fiery confidence, whereupon the defenders, overcome with sudden panic and dazzled by the variety of arms, surrendered themselves and all those who had taken refuge with the garrison; and when ordered to depart, they at once handed over the keys of the gates. When entrance was given, whatever was stored there was brought out, and the women, paralysed with fear, were dragged forth with the children clinging to their mothers and experiencing grievous woes at the beginning of their tender years. [3] And when the king by inquiring whose wife the lady was had found that her husband was Craugasius, he allowed her, fearing as she did that

violence would be offered her, to approach nearer without apprehension; and when she had been reassured and covered as far as her very lips with a black veil, he courteously encouraged her with sure hope of regaining her husband and of keeping her honour unsullied. For hearing that her husband ardently loved her, he thought that at this price he might purchase the betrayal of Nisibis. [4] Yet finding that there were others also who were maidens and consecrated to divine service according to the Christian custom, he ordered that they be kept uninjured and allowed to practise their religion in their wonted manner without any opposition; to be sure he made a pretence of mildness for the time, to the end that all whom he had heretofore terrified by his harshness and cruelty might lay aside their fear and come to him of their own volition, when they learned from recent instances that he now tempered the greatness of his fortune with kindness and gracious deportment.

NOTES.

¹ For this meaning of *iudex* see Index of Officials, s.v.

² Apparently a fortress on the Rhine.

³ Schenkenschanz.

⁴ Kellen, also called *Colonia Traiani*, xvii. 1, 11.

⁵ Nuys.

⁶ Bonn.

⁷ Andernach.

⁸ Bingen.

⁹ See § 9, below.

¹⁰ Text and exact meaning are uncertain; see crit. note.

¹¹ See note, .

¹² A district of the Alamanni on the frontier of the Burgundians.

¹³ 1 This was not always true. Cf. Pliny, N. H. xi. 55 ff.: Tunc (apes) ostenta faciunt privata ac publica, uva dependente in domibus templisque, saepe expiata magnis eventibus. Sedere in ore infantis turn etiam Platonis, suavitatem illam praedulcis eloqui portendentes. Sedere in castris Drusi imperatoris cum prosperrime pugnatum apud Arbalonem est, haud quaquam perpetua haruspicum coniectura, qui dirum id ostentum existimant semper.

¹⁴ Suetonius, *Dom.* vii.

¹⁵ See note 2, .

¹⁶ The chief treasurer; see Introd., pp. xl. f.

¹⁷ Zopyrus pretended to desert to Babylon, in order to betray the city to his king, Darius. Antoninus actually deserted, to betray his native country.

¹⁸ For *bene nummatus*, cf. Hor., *Epist.* i. 6, 38.

¹⁹ The *diribitores* were originally those who sorted and counted the ballots at elections; in 7 B.C. Agrippa built the *diribitorium* in the Campus Martius for their use; see Suet., *Claud.* 18. *Diribitores* seems to have acquired the meaning of “distributors of bribes”; see Suet., *Aug.* 40, 2, where however the word itself does not occur.

²⁰ Livy, xxii. 51; Florus, i. 22, 19.

²¹ Cf. *Odyssey*, xiii. 1, and Index.

²² In 348, see Gibbon, ch. xviii.

²³ The fetiales had to do with treaties and declaring war. Their persons were sacrosanct and they sometimes intervened to present terms of peace when the opposing armies were drawn up ready for battle.

²⁴ Looked on by the Romans as a land north of Britain, perhaps Norway confused with Iceland, but of which they had no definite conception. It is a proverbial expression for “the ends of the earth.”

²⁵ That is, to go to the seat of war against Sapor, instead of to the emperor’s court.

²⁶ Rufius Festus, ch. xxiii., says that in the time of Gallienus the Persians invaded Mesopotamia and thought themselves masters of Syria, when Odenatus (*decurio* in Palmyra and husband of Zenobia) gathered a band of Syrian farmers, defeated the Persians several times, and pressed on as far as Ctesiphon.

²⁷ Ammianus accompanied Ursicinus to the emperor’s court.

²⁸ A river of Thrace, the modern Maritza.

²⁹ Sabinianus: see xviii. 5, 5; 7, 7; and for his small size, 6, 7, above. His inaction is vividly expressed by *oscitante*.

³⁰ A city of Mesopotamia, in Mygdonia, surrendered to the Persians in the time of Jovian; modern Nisibin.

³¹ See also xxv. 7, 9. It lay north of Nisibis and was called by the Arabic geographers by a name meaning *pagus mororum*, or “the place of mulberries,” of which *Maurorum* seems to be a corruption. Sisara is a neighbouring fortress.

³² *Sebalis fax*, which seems to occur only here, is the same as *sebasea*, a torch or candle made of tallow (*sebum*) instead of wax.

³³ According to Valesius, from Syrian *maia* or *maio*, “water,” and *carire*, “cold”; the former word appears also in *Emmaus*.

³⁴ Modern Diarbekir, see Gibbon, ii. , Bury.

³⁵ Ch. ix. below, and xix, 1–8.

³⁶ Two rivers of Mysia, in north-western Asia Minor, the former celebrated for the victory of Alexander the Great over the Persians, the latter for the defeat of Mithradates by Lucullus.

³⁷ Referring of course to the deserter Antoninus.

³⁸ A mountainous region in Armenia, taken by Caesar Maximianus from the Persians in the time of Galerius, but not yet wholly freed from their rule. Later it was separated from the Persian dominion by Jovian: cf. xxv. 2.

³⁹ That is, the Greeks.

⁴⁰ The horizon.

- ⁴¹ Sapor had recently made peace with them; see xvi. 9, 4.
- ⁴² Dwelling in what is now Georgia.
- ⁴³ Cf. Herodotus, vii. 59. Xerxes, in order to reckon the size of his army, assembled ten thousand men and drew a circle around them; then he filled the space again and again with men, until the whole army was thus counted.
- ⁴⁴ So that the Persians would be likely to try to cross.
- ⁴⁵ Of course, ironical.
- ⁴⁶ These were originally war dances in armour, but their scope was extended to pantomime of all kinds; see Suet., *Nero*, 12, 1 and 2.
- ⁴⁷ Formerly Antoninupolis, renamed after its restoration by Constantine, see 9, 1, below.
- ⁴⁸ That is, the Romans had not devastated that part of the country because they thought that the enemy would march straight to the river without making a detour.
- ⁴⁹ That is, apparently, for preparing the material of which the paths were made.
- ⁵⁰ The soldiers enrolled by Magnentius and called by his name and that of his brother.
- ⁵¹ Also called Ulpia.
- ⁵² Called in early inscriptions Fretenses.
- ⁵³ According to the *Notit. Imp.* these were light-armed horsemen; the former were used in surprise attacks, the latter as scouts.
- ⁵⁴ In one of the lost books.
- ⁵⁵ Apparently a division of the household cavalry; see xv. 4, 10, note 2, and Index II. (Index of Officials).

BOOK XIX

Sapor, while urging the people of Amida to surrender, is attacked by the garrison with arrows and spears. While King Grumbates attempts the same thing, his son is slain.

The king, rejoicing in the wretched imprisonment of our men that had come to pass, and anticipating like successes, set forth from there, and slowly advancing, came to Amida on the third day. [2] And when the first gleam of dawn appeared, everything so far as the eye could reach shone with glittering arms, and mail-clad cavalry filled hill and dale. [3] The king himself, mounted upon a charger and overtopping the others, rode before the whole army, wearing in place of a diadem a golden image of a ram's head set with precious stones, distinguished too by a great retinue of men of the highest rank and of various nations. But it was clear that he would merely try the effect of a conference on the defenders of the walls, since by the advice of Antoninus he was in haste to go elsewhere. [4] However, the power of heaven, in order to compress the miseries of the whole Roman empire within the confines of a single region, had driven the king to an enormous degree of self-confidence, and to the belief that all the besieged would be paralysed with fear at the mere sight of him, and would resort to suppliant prayers. [5] So he rode up to the gates attended by his royal escort, and while with too great assurance he came so near that even his features could clearly be recognised, because of his conspicuous adornment he became the target of arrows and other missiles, and would have fallen, had not the dust hidden him from the sight of his assailants, so that after a part of his garment was torn by the stroke of a lance he escaped, to cause the death of thousands at a later time. [6] In consequence of this attack he raged as if against sacrilegious violators of a temple, and declaring that the lord of so many kings and nations had been outraged, he pushed on with great effort every preparation for destroying the city; but when his most distinguished generals begged that he would not under stress of anger abandon his glorious enterprises, ¹ he was appeased by their soothing plea and decided that on the following day the defenders should again be warned to surrender.

[7] And so, at the first dawn of day, Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, wishing to render courageous service to his lord, boldly advanced to the walls with a band of active attendants; but a skilful observer caught sight of him as soon as he chanced to come within range of his weapon, and discharging a ballista, pierced both cuirass and breast of Grumbates' son, a youth just come to manhood, who was riding at his father's side and was conspicuous among his companions for his height and his handsome person. [8] Upon his fall all his countrymen scattered in flight, but presently returned in well-founded fear that his body might be carried off, and with harsh outcries roused numerous tribes

to arms; and on their onset weapons flew from both sides like hail and a fierce fight ensued. [9] After a murderous contest, protracted to the very end of the day, at nightfall the body, which had with difficulty been protected amid heaps of slain and streams of blood, was dragged off under cover of darkness, as once upon a time before Troy his companions contended in a fierce struggle over the lifeless comrade ² of the Thessalian leader. [10] By this death the palace was saddened, and all the nobles, as well as the father, were stunned by the sudden calamity; accordingly a truce was declared and the young man, honoured for his high birth and beloved, was mourned after the fashion of his own nation. Accordingly he was carried out, armed in his usual manner, and placed upon a large and lofty platform, and about him were spread ten couches bearing figures of dead men, so carefully made ready that the images were like bodies already in the tomb. For the space of seven days all men by communities and companies ³ feasted (lamenting the young prince) with dances and the singing of certain sorrowful dirges. [11] The women for their part, woefully beating their breasts and weeping after their wonted manner, loudly bewailed the hope of their nation cut off in the bloom of youth, just as the priestesses of Venus are often seen to weep at the annual festival of Adonis, which, as the mystic lore of religion tells us, is a kind of symbol of the ripened grain.

Amida is besieged and assaulted twice within two days by the Persians.

After the body had been burned and the ashes collected and placed in a silver urn, since the father had decided that they should be taken to his native land to be consigned to the earth, they debated what it was best to do; and it was resolved to propitiate the spirit of the slain youth by burning ⁴ and destroying the city; for Grumbates would not allow them to go farther while the shade of his only son was unavenged. [2] Accordingly, after two days had been given to rest, a large force was sent to devastate the rich, cultivated fields, which were unprotected as in time of peace; then the city was begirt by a fivefold line of shields, and on the morning of the third day gleaming bands of horsemen filled all places which the eye could reach, and the ranks, advancing at a quiet pace, took the places assigned them by lot. [3] The Persians beset the whole circuit of the walls. The part which faced the east fell to the lot of the Chionitae, the place where the youth so fatal to us was slain, whose shade was destined to be appeased by the destruction of the city. The Gelani were assigned to the southern side, the Albani guarded the quarter to the north, and to the western gate were opposed the Segestani, the bravest warriors of all. With them, making a lofty show, slowly marched the lines of elephants, frightful with their wrinkled bodies and loaded with armed men, a hideous spectacle, dreadful beyond every form of horror, as I have often declared.

[4] Beholding such innumerable peoples, long got together to set fire to the

Roman world and bent upon our destruction, we despaired of any hope of safety and henceforth strove to end our lives gloriously, which was now our sole desire. [5] And so from sunrise until the day's end the battle lines stood fast, as though rooted in the same spot; no sound was heard, no neighing of horses; and they withdrew in the same order in which they had come, and then refreshed with food and sleep, when only a small part of the night remained, led by the trumpeters' blast they surrounded the city with the same awful ring, as if it were soon to fall. [6] And hardly had Grumbates hurled a bloodstained spear, following the usage of his country and the custom of our fetial priest, than the army with clashing weapons flew to the walls, and at once the lamentable tempest of war grew fiercer, the cavalry advancing at full speed as they hurried to the fight with general eagerness, while our men resisted with courage and determination.

[7] Then heads were shattered, as masses of stone, hurled from the scorpions, crushed many of the enemy; others were pierced by arrows, some were struck down by spears and the ground strewn with their bodies, while others that were only wounded retreated in headlong flight to their companions. [8] No less was the grief and no fewer the deaths in the city, since a thick cloud of arrows in compact mass darkened the air, while the artillery which the Persians had acquired from the plunder of Singara inflicted still more wounds. [9] For the defenders, recovering their strength and returning in relays to the contest they had abandoned, when wounded in their great ardour for defence fell with destructive results; or if only mangled, they overturned in their writhing those who stood next to them, or at any rate, so long as they remained alive kept calling for those who had the skill to pull out the arrows implanted in their bodies. [10] Thus slaughter was piled upon slaughter and prolonged to the very end of the day, nor was it lessened even by the darkness of evening, with such great determination did both sides fight. [11] And so the night watches were passed under the burden of arms, while the hills re-echoed from the shouts rising from both sides, as our men praised the power of Constantius Caesar as lord of the world and the universe, and the Persians called Sapor "saansaan" and "pirosen," which being interpreted is "king of kings" and "victor in wars."

[12] And before the dawn of the fifth day the signal was given on the trumpets and the countless forces were aroused anew from all sides to battles of equal heat, rushing to the strife like birds of prey; and the plains and dales as far and as wide as the eye could reach revealed nothing save the flashing arms of savage nations. [13] Presently a shout was raised and all rushed blindly forward, a vast shower of weapons flew from the walls, and as might be supposed, not one that fell among that dense throng of men was discharged in vain. For since so many ills hedged us about, we burned, not with the desire of saving our lives, but, as I have said, of dying bravely; and from the beginning of the day until the light was dim we fought with more fury than discretion, without a turn of the battle to either side. For the shouts of those who would

terrify and of those who feared constantly rang out, and such was the heat of battle that scarcely anyone could stand his ground without a wound. [14] At length night put an end to the bloodshed and satiety of woes had brought both sides a longer rest from fighting; for even when time for rest was given us, constant toil and sleeplessness sapped the little strength that remained, and we were terrified by the blood and the pale faces of the dying, to whom not even the last consolation of burial could be given because of the confined space; for within the limits of a city that was none too large there were shut seven legions, a promiscuous throng of strangers and citizens of both sexes, and a few other soldiers, to the number of 120,000 in all. [15] Therefore each cured his wounds according to his ability or the supply of helpers; some, who were severely hurt, gave up the ghost slowly from loss of blood; others, pierced through by arrows, after vain attempts to relieve them, breathed out their lives, and were cast out when death came; others, whose limbs were gashed everywhere, the physicians forbade to be treated, lest their sufferings should be increased by useless infliction of pain; still others plucked out the arrows and through this doubtful remedy endured torments worse than death.

Ursicinus vainly attempts to surprise the besiegers by night, being opposed by Sabinianus, commander of the infantry.

While the fight was going on at Amida with such determination on both sides, Ursicinus, grieving because he was dependent upon the will of another, who was then of greater authority in the command of the soldiers, frequently admonished Sabinianus, who was still clinging to his graves, ⁵ that, getting together all his skirmishers, he should hasten by secret paths along the foot of the mountains, so that with the help of these light-armed troops ⁶ (if fortune was at all favourable) he might surprise the pickets and attack the night-watches of the enemy, who had surrounded the walls in wide extent, or by repeated assaults distract the attention of those who were stoutly persisting in the siege. [2] These proposals Sabinianus opposed as dangerous, publicly offering as a pretext letters of the emperor, which expressly directed that whatever could be done should be effected without injury to the soldiers anywhere, but secretly in his inmost heart keeping in mind that he had often been instructed at court to *out* off from his predecessor, because of his burning desire for glory, every means of gaining honour, even though it promised to turn out to the advantage of the state. [3] Such great haste was made, even though attended with the destruction of the provinces, that this valiant warrior should not receive mention as author of, or participant in, any noteworthy action. Therefore, alarmed by this unhappy situation, Ursicinus often sent us scouts, although because of the strict guard no one could easily enter the town, and attempted many helpful things; but he obviously could accomplish nothing, being like a lion of huge size and terrible fierceness which did not dare to go to save from danger his whelps that were caught in a net, because

he had been robbed of his claws and teeth.

A plague which broke out in Amida is ended within ten days by a light rain. Remarks on the causes and varieties of plagues.

But within the city, where the quantity of corpses scattered through the streets was too great to admit of burial, a plague was added to so many ills, fostered by the contagious infection of maggotin-fested bodies, the steaming heat, and the weakness of the populace from various causes. The origin of diseases of this kind I shall briefly set forth.

[2] Philosophers and eminent physicians have told us that an excess of cold or heat, or of moisture or dryness, produces plagues. Hence those who dwell in marshy or damp places suffer from coughs, from affections of the eyes, and from similar complaints; on the other hand, the inhabitants of hot climates dry up with the heat of fever. But by as much as the substance of fire is fiercer and more effective than the other elements, by so much is drought the swifter to kill. [3] Therefore when Greece was toiling in a ten years' war in order that a foreigner ⁷ might not evade the penalty for separating a royal pair, a scourge of this kind raged and many men perished by the darts of Apollo, ⁸ who is regarded as the sun. [4] And, as Thucydides shows, ⁹ that calamity which, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, harassed the Athenians with a grievous kind of sickness, gradually crept all the way from the torrid region of Africa and laid hold upon Attica. [5] Others believe that when the air, as often happens, and the waters are polluted by the stench of corpses or the like, the greater part of their healthfulness is spoiled, or at any rate that a sudden change of air causes minor ailments. [6] Some also assert that when the air is made heavy by grosser exhalations from the earth, it checks the secretions that should be expelled from the body, and is fatal to some; and it is for that reason, as we know on the authority of Homer ¹⁰ as well as from many later experiences, that when such a pestilence has appeared, the other animals besides man, which constantly look downward, are the first to perish. [7] Now the first kind of plague is called endemic, and causes those who live in places that are too dry to be cut off by frequent fevers. The second is epidemic, which breaks out at certain seasons of the year, dimming the sight of the eyes and causing a dangerous flow of moisture. The third is *loemodes*, ¹¹ which is also periodic, but deadly from its winged speed.

[8] After we had been exhausted by this destructive plague and a few had succumbed to the excessive heat and still more from the crowded conditions, at last on the night following the tenth day the thick and gross exhalations were dispelled by light showers, and sound health of body was regained.

Amida is attacked on one side about the walls, and on the other, under the

lead of a deserter, by underground passages.

But meanwhile the restless Persian was surrounding the city with sheds and mantlets, and mounds began to be raised and towers were constructed; these last were lofty, with ironclad fronts, and on the top of each a ballista was placed, for the purpose of driving the defenders from the ramparts; yet not even for a moment did the skirmishing by the slingers and archers slacken. [2] There were with us two Magnentian legions, recently brought from Gaul (as I have said) ¹² and composed of brave, active men, experienced in battle in the open field, but to the sort of warfare to which we were constrained they were not merely unsuited, but actually a great hindrance; for whereas they were of no help with the artillery or in the construction of fortifications, they would sometimes make reckless sallies and after fighting with the greatest confidence return with diminished numbers, accomplishing just as much as would the pouring of a single handful of water (as the saying is) upon a general conflagration. [3] Finally, when the gates were very carefully barred, and their officers forbade them to go forth, they gnashed their teeth like wild beasts. But in the days that followed (as I shall show) their efficiency was conspicuous. [4] In a remote part of the walls on the southern side, which looks down on the river Tigris, there was a tower rising to a lofty height, beneath which yawned rocks so precipitous that one could not look down without shuddering dizziness. From these rocks subterranean arches had been hollowed out, and skilfully made steps led through the roots of the mountain as far as the plateau on which the city stood, in order that water might be brought secretly from the channel of the river, a device which I have seen in all the fortifications in those regions which border on streams. [5] Through these dark passages, left unguarded because of their steepness, led by a deserter in the city who had gone over to the opposite side, seventy Persian bowmen from the king's bodyguard who excelled in skill and bravery, protected by the silence of the remote spot, suddenly one by one in the middle of the night mounted to the third story of the tower and there concealed themselves; in the morning they displayed a cloak of red hue, which was the signal for beginning battle, and when they saw the city surrounded on all sides with the floods of their forces, emptying their quivers, and throwing them at their feet, with a conflagration of shouts and yells they sent their shafts in all directions with the utmost skill. And presently all the Persian forces in dense array attacked the city with far greater fury than before. [6] We were perplexed and uncertain where first to offer resistance, whether to those who stood above us or to the throng mounting on scaling-ladders and already laying hold of the very battlements; so the work was divided among us and five of the lighter ballistae were moved and placed over against the tower, rapidly pouring forth wooden shafts, which sometimes pierced even two men at a time. Some of the enemy fell, severely wounded; others, through fear of the clanging engines, leaped off headlong and were dashed to pieces. [7] This being so quickly

accomplished and the engines restored to their usual places, with a little greater confidence all ran together to defend the walls. [8] And since the wicked deed of the deserter increased the soldiers' wrath, as if they were entering a level ground in a sham fight they used such strength of arm as they hurled their various weapons, that as the day inclined towards noon the enemy were scattered in bitter defeat, and lamenting the death of many of their number, retreated to their tents through fear of wounds.

A sally of the Gallic legions, destructive to the Persians.

Fortune thus breathed upon us some hope of safety, since a day had passed without harm to us and with disaster to the enemy; so the remainder of that day was devoted to rest, for refreshing our bodies. But at the arrival of the following dawn we saw from the citadel a countless throng which after the capture of the fortress of Ziata was being taken to the enemy's camp; for in that stronghold, which was both capacious and well fortified (it has a circuit of ten stadia) a multitude of people of all sorts had taken refuge. [2] For other fortifications also were seized and burned during those same days, and from them many thousands of men had been dragged, and were following into slavery, among them many feeble old men, and women already advanced in years, who, when they gave out for various reasons, discouraged by the long march and abandoning the desire to live, were left behind with their calves or hams cut out.

[3] The Gallic soldiers, seeing these throngs of wretches, with a reasonable, but untimely, impulse demanded that the opportunity be given them of encountering the enemy, threatening death to the tribunes who forbade them, and to the higher officers, if they in their turn prevented them. [4] And just as ravening beasts in cages, roused to greater fierceness by the odour of carrion, in hope of getting out dash against the revolving bars, ¹³ so did they hew with swords at the gates, which (as I said above) were locked, being exceedingly anxious lest, if the city should be destroyed, they also might perish without any glorious action, or if it were saved from peril, they should be said to have done nothing worth while, as Gallic greatness of heart demanded; and yet before this they had made frequent sallies and attempted to interfere with the builders of mounds, had killed some, and had suffered the like themselves.

[5] We, at our wit's end and in doubt what opposition ought to be made to the raging Gauls, at last chose this course as the best, to which they reluctantly consented: that since they could no longer be restrained, they should wait for a while and then be allowed to attack the enemy's outposts, which were stationed not much farther than a bowshot away, with the understanding that if they broke through them, they might keep right on. For it was apparent that, if their request were granted, they would deal immense slaughter. [6] While preparations for this were going on, the walls were being vigorously defended by various kinds of effort: by toil and watchfulness and by placing engines so as to scatter stones and darts in all directions. However, two lofty mounds

were constructed by a troop of Persian infantry, and the storming of the city was being prepared with slowly built siege-works; and in opposition to these troops our soldiers also with extreme care were rearing earthworks of great height, equal in elevation to those of the enemy and capable of supporting the greatest possible weight of fighting men.

[7] Meanwhile the Gauls, impatient of delay, armed with axes and swords rushed out through an opened postern gate, taking advantage of a gloomy, moonless night and praying for the protection of heaven, that it might propitiously and willingly aid them. And holding their very breath when they had come near the enemy, they rushed violently upon them in close order, and having slain some of the outposts, they butchered the outer guards of the camp in their sleep (since they feared nothing of the kind), and secretly thought of a surprise attack even on the king's quarters, if a favourable fortune smiled on them. [8] But the sound of their cautious advance, slight though it was, and the groans of the dying were heard, and many of the enemy were roused from sleep and sprang up, while each for himself raised the call to arms. Our soldiers stood rooted to the spot, not daring to advance farther; for it no longer seemed prudent, when those against whom the surprise was directed were aroused, to rush into open danger, since now throngs of raging Persians were coming to battle from every side, fired with fury. [9] But the Gauls faced them, relying on their strength of body and keeping their courage unshaken as long as they could, cut down their opponents with the sword, while a part of their own number were slain or wounded by the cloud of arrows flying from every side. But when they saw that the whole weight of peril and all the troops of the enemy were turned against one spot, although not one of them turned his back, they made haste to get away; and as if retreating to music, they were gradually forced out beyond the rampart, and being now unable to withstand the bands of foemen rushing upon them in close order, and excited by the blare of trumpets from the camp, they withdrew. [10] And while many clarions sounded from the city, the gates were thrown open to admit our men, if they could succeed in getting so far, and the hurling-engines roared constantly, but without discharging any missiles, in order that since those in command of the outposts, after the death of their comrades were unaware of what was going on behind them, the men stationed before the walls of the city might abandon their unsafe position, and the brave men might be admitted through the gate without harm. ¹⁴ [11] By this device the Gauls entered the gate about daybreak in diminished numbers, a part severely others slightly wounded (the losses of that night were four hundred); and if a mightier fate had not prevented, they would have slain, not Rhesus nor the Thracians encamped before the walls of Troy, ¹⁵ but the king of the Persians in his own tent, protected by a hundred thousand armed men. [12] In honour of their officers, as leaders in these brave deeds, after the destruction of the city the emperor ordered statues in full armour to be made and set up in a frequented spot at Edessa, and they are preserved intact to the present time.

[13] When on the following day the slaughter was revealed, and among the corpses of the slain there were found grandees and satraps, and dissonant cries and tears bore witness to the disasters in this or that place, everywhere mourning was heard and the indignation of the kings at the thought that the Romans had forced their way in through the guards posted before the walls. And as because of this event a truce of three days was granted by common consent, we also gained time to take breath.

Towers and other siege-works are brought up to the walls of the city; they are set on fire by the Romans.

Then the enemy, horrified and maddened by the unexpected mishap, set aside all delay, and since force was having little effect, now planned to decide the contest by siege-works; and all of them, fired with the greatest eagerness for battle, now hastened to meet a glorious death or with the downfall of the city to make offering to the spirits of the slain.

[2] And now through the zeal of all the preparations were completed, and as the morning star shone forth various kinds of siege-works were brought up, along with ironclad towers, on the high tops of which ballistae were placed, and drove off the defenders who were busy lower down. [3] And day was now dawning, when mail-clad soldiers underspread the entire heaven, and the dense forces moved forward, not as before in disorder, but led by the slow notes of the trumpets and with no one running forward, protected too by pent-houses and holding before them wicker hurdles. [4] But when their approach brought them within bowshot, though holding their shields before them the Persian infantry found it hard to avoid the arrows shot from the walls by the artillery, and took open order, and almost no kind of dart failed to find its mark; even the mail-clad horsemen were checked and gave ground, and thus increased the courage of our men. [5] However, because the enemy's ballistae, mounted as they were upon iron-clad towers, were effective from their higher place against those lower down, on account of their different position they had a different result and caused terrible carnage on our side; and when evening was already coming on and both sides rested, the greater part of the night was spent in trying to devise a remedy for this awful slaughter.

[6] And at last, after turning over many plans, we resolved upon a plan which speedy action made the safer, namely, to oppose four scorpions ¹⁶ to those same ballistae; but while they were being moved exactly opposite and cautiously put in place (an act calling for the greatest skill) the most sorrowful of days dawned upon us, showing as it did formidable bands of Persians along with troops of elephants, than whose noise and huge bodies the human mind can conceive nothing more terrible. [7] And while we were hard pressed on every side by weight of armed men, siege-works, and monsters, round stones hurled at intervals from the battlements by the iron arms of our scorpions shattered the joints of the towers, and threw down the ballistae and those who

worked them in such headlong fashion, that some perished ¹⁷ without injury from wounds, others were crushed to death by the great weight of debris. The elephants, too, were driven back with great violence, for they were surrounded by firebrands thrown at them from every side, and as soon as these touched their bodies, they turned tail and their drivers were unable to control them. But though after that the siege-works were burned up, there was no cessation from strife. [8] For even the king of the Persians himself, who is never compelled to take part in battles, aroused by these storms of ill-fortune, rushed into the thick of the fight like a common soldier (a new thing, never before heard of) and because he was more conspicuous even to those who looked on from a distance because of the throng of his body-guard, he was the mark of many a missile; and when many of his attendants had been slain he withdrew, interchanging the tasks of his tractable forces, and at the end of the day, though terrified by the grim spectacle neither of the dead nor of the wounded he at last allowed a brief time to be given to rest.

Amida is attacked by the Persians over lofty mounds close to the walls, and is stormed. Marcellinus after the capture of the city escapes by night and flees to Antioch.

But night put an end to the conflict; and having taken a nap during the brief period of rest, the king, as soon as dawn appeared, boiling with wrath and resentment and closing his eyes to all right, aroused the barbarians against us, to win what he hoped for; and when the siege-works had been burned (as I have shown) they attempted battle over high mounds close to the walls, whereupon our men erected heaps of earth on the inside as well as they could with all their efforts, and under difficulties resisted with equal vigour.

[2] For a long time the sanguinary battle remained undecided, and not a man anywhere through fear of death gave up his ardour for defence; and the contest had reached a point when the fate of both parties was governed by some unavoidable hap, when that mound of ours, the result of long toil, fell forward as if shattered by an earthquake. Thus the gulf which yawned between the wall and the heap built up outside was made a level plain, as if by a causeway or a bridge built across it, and opened to the enemy a passage blocked by no obstacles, while the greater part of the soldiers that were thrown down ceased fighting, being either crushed or worn out. [3] Nevertheless others rushed to the spot from all sides, to avert so sudden a danger; but in their desire for haste they impeded one another, while the boldness of the enemy was increased by their very success. [4] Accordingly, by the king's command all the warriors were summoned and there was a hand-to-hand contest with drawn swords; blood streamed on all sides from the vast carnage; the trenches were blocked with bodies and so a broader path was furnished. And now the city was filled with the eager rush of the enemy's forces, and since all hope of defence or of flight was cut off, armed and

unarmed alike without distinction of sex were slaughtered like so many cattle.

[5] Therefore when the darkness of evening was coming on and a large number of our soldiers, although adverse fortune still struggled against them, were joined in battle and thus kept busy, I hid with two others in a secluded part of the city, and under cover of a dark night made my escape through a postern gate at which no guard was kept; and, aided by my familiarity with desert places and by the speed of my companions, I at length reached the tenth milestone. [6] At the post-house there we got a little rest, and when we were making ready to go farther and I was already unequal to the excessive walking, to which as a gentleman I was unused, I met a terrible sight, which however furnished me a most timely relief, worn out as I was by extreme weariness. [7] A groom, mounted on a runaway horse without saddle or bit, in order not to fall off had tied the rein by which, in the usual manner, the horse was guided, tightly to his left hand; and afterwards, being thrown off and unable to loose the knot, he was torn limb from limb as he was dragged through desert places and woods, while the animal, exhausted by running, was held back by the weight of the dead body; so I caught it and making timely use of the service of its back, with those same companions I with difficulty reached some springs of sulphurous water, naturally hot. [8] And since the heat had caused us parching thirst, for a long time we went slowly about looking for water. And we fortunately found a deep well, but it was neither possible to go down into it because of its depth, nor were there ropes at hand; so taught by extreme need, we cut the linen garments in which we were clad¹⁸ into long strips and from them made a great rope. To the extreme end of this we tied the cap which one of us wore under his helmet, and when this was let down by the rope and sucked up the water after the manner of a sponge, it readily quenched the thirst by which we were tormented. [9] From there we quickly made our way to the Euphrates river, planning to cross to the farther bank by a boat which long continued custom had kept in that vicinity for the transport of men and animals. [10] But lo! we saw afar off a scattered band of Romans with cavalry standards, pursued by a great force of Persians; and we could not understand how they appeared so suddenly behind us as we went along. [11] Judging from this instance, we believe that the famous “sons of earth” did not come forth from the bosom of the land, but were born with extraordinary swiftness — those so-called *sparti*,¹⁹ who, because they were seen unexpectedly in sundry places, were thought to have sprung from the earth, since antiquity gave the matter a fabulous origin. [12] Alarmed by this danger, since now all hope of life depended upon speed, through thickets and woods we made for the higher mountains, and came from there to the town of Melitina in lesser Armenia, where we presently found and accompanied an officer, who was just on the point of leaving; and so we returned unexpectedly to Antioch.

At Amida some of the Roman leaders are executed, others imprisoned.

Craugasius of Nisibis, through longing for his captive wife, deserts to the Persians.

But the Persians, since the rapidly approaching end of autumn and the rising of the unfavourable constellation of the Kids ²⁰ prevented them from marching farther inland, were thinking of returning to their own country with their prisoners and their booty. [2] But in the midst of the slaughter and pillage of the destroyed city Count Aelianus and the tribunes, by whose efficient service the walls had been so long defended and the losses of the Persians increased, were shamefully gibbeted; Jacobus and Caesius, paymasters of the commander of the cavalry, and other officers of the bodyguard, were led off with their hands bound behind their backs; and those who had come from across the Tigris ²¹ were hunted down with extreme care and butchered to a man, highest and lowest without distinction.

[3] But the wife of Craugasius, who retained her chastity inviolate and was honoured as a woman of rank, grieved that she was likely to see another part of the world without her husband, although from present indications she had reason to hope for a loftier fortune. [4] Therefore, looking out for her own interests and foreseeing long beforehand what would happen, she was tormented by two-fold anxiety, dreading both separation from her husband and marriage with another. Accordingly, she secretly sent a slave of hers, who was of tried fidelity and acquainted with the regions of Mesopotamia, to go over Mount Izala between the strongholds of Maride and Lorne to Nisibis, and take a message to her husband and certain tokens of their more private life, begging him that on hearing what had happened he should come to live happily with her. [5] When this had been arranged, the messenger, being lightly equipped, made his way with quick pace through forest paths and thickets and entered Nisibis. There giving out that he had seen his mistress nowhere, that she was perhaps slain, and that he himself, taking advantage of an opportunity to escape, had fled from the enemy's camp, he was accordingly disregarded as of no consequence. Thereupon he told Craugasius what had happened and then, after receiving assurance that if it could safely be done he would gladly follow his wife, the messenger departed, bearing to the woman the desired news. She on hearing it begged the king through his general Tamsapor that, if the opportunity offered before he left the Roman territory, he would graciously give orders that her husband be received under his protection.

[6] The sudden departure, contrary to every one's expectation, of the stranger, who had returned by the right of postliminium ²² and immediately vanished without anyone's knowledge, aroused the suspicions of the general Cassianus and the other important officials in Nisibis, who assailed Craugasius with dire threats, loudly insisting that the man had neither come nor gone without his wish. [7] He, then, fearing a charge of treason and greatly troubled lest through the coming of the deserter it should become known that his wife was alive and treated with great respect, as a blind sought marriage

with another, a maiden of high rank, and, under pretence of preparing what was needed for the wedding-banquet, went to a country house of his eight miles distant from the city; then, at full gallop he fled to a band of Persian pillagers that he had learned to be approaching. He was received with open arms, being recognized from the story that he told, and five days later was brought to Tamsapor, and by him taken to the king. And after recovering his property and all his kindred, as well as his wife, whom he had lost after a few months, he held the second place after Antoninus, but was, as the eminent poet says, “next by a long interval.”²³ [8] For Antoninus, aided by his talent and his long experience of the world, had available plans at hand for all his enterprises, while Craugasius was by nature most simple, yet of an equally celebrated reputation. And these things happened not long afterward.²⁴

[9] But the king, although making a show of ease of mind in his expression, and to all appearance seeming to exult in the destruction of the city, yet in the depths of his heart was greatly troubled, recalling that in unfortunate sieges he had often suffered sad losses, and had sacrificed far more men himself than he had taken alive of ours, or at any rate had killed in the various battles, as happened several times at Nisibis and at Singara; and in the same way, when he had invested Amida for seventy-three days with a great force of armed men, he lost 30,000 warriors, as was reckoned a little later by Discenes, a tribune and secretary, the more readily for this difference: that the corpses of our men soon after they are slain fall apart and waste away, to such a degree that the face of no dead man is recognisable after four days, but the bodies of the slain Persians dry up like tree-trunks, without their limbs wasting or becoming moist with corruption—a fact due to their more frugal life and the dry heat of their native country.

The Roman commons rebel, fearing a scarcity of grain.

While these storms were swiftly passing one after the other in the extreme East, the eternal city was fearing the disaster of a coming shortage of grain, and from time to time Tertullus, who was prefect²⁵ at the time, was assailed by the violent threats of the commons, as they anticipated famine, the worst of all ills; and this was utterly unreasonable, since it was no fault of his that food was not brought at the proper time in the ships, which unusually rough weather at sea and adverse gales of wind drove to the nearest harbours, and by the greatness of the danger kept them from entering the Port of Augustus.²⁶ [2] Therefore that same prefect, since he had often been disquieted by uprisings, and the common people, in fear of imminent destruction, were now raging still more cruelly, being shut off from all hope of saving his life, as he thought, held out his little sons to the wildly riotous populace, who had however been wont to take a sensible view of such accidents, and said with tears: [3] “Behold your fellow citizens, who with you (but may the gods of heaven avert the omen!) will endure the same fate, unless a happier fortune shine upon us. If therefore you think that by the destruction of these no heavy

calamity can befall you, here they are in your power.” Through pity at this sight the mob, of their own nature inclined to mercy, was appeased and held its peace, awaiting with patience the fortune that should come. [4] And presently by the will of the divine power that gave increase to Rome from its cradle and promised that it should last forever, while Tertullus was sacrificing in the temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, a calm smoothed the sea, the wind changed to a gentle southern breeze, and the ships entered the harbour under full sail and again crammed the storehouses with grain.

The Limigantes of Sarmatia deceive the emperor by a pretended request for peace and attack him; but they are repulsed with great slaughter.

In the midst of such troubles Constantius, who was still enjoying his winter rest at Sirmium, was disturbed by fearful and serious news, informing him of what he then greatly dreaded, namely, that the Sarmatian Limigantes, who (as we have already pointed out) ²⁷ had driven their masters from their ancestral abodes, having gradually abandoned the places which for the public good had been assigned them the year before for fear that they (as they are inconstant) might attempt some wrongful act, had seized upon the regions bordering upon their frontiers, were ranging freely in their native fashion, and unless they were driven back would cause general confusion.

[2] The emperor, believing that these outrages would soon be pushed to greater heights if the matter were postponed, assembled from every quarter a great number of soldiers most eager for war and took the field before spring had yet fully come; he was the more eager for action from two considerations: first, because an army glutted with the rich booty of the past summer, by the hope of similar booty would be confidently encouraged to achieve successful enterprises, and because under Anatolius, ²⁸ who at that time was prefect of Illyricum, all necessary supplies had been brought together even ahead of time and were still coming in without trouble to anyone. [3] For never under the management of any other prefect up to the present time, as was generally agreed, had the northern provinces so abounded in all blessings, since by his kindly and skilful correction of abuses they were relieved of the great cost of the courier-service, which had closed homes without number, and there was considerable hope of freedom from the income tax. The dwellers in those parts might have lived thereafter happy and untroubled without grounds for complaint, had not later the most hated forms of taxation that could be imagined, criminally amplified by both tax-payers and tax-collectors, since the latter hoped to gain the protection of the governors in their efforts and the former hoped for safety if all were impoverished, resulted finally in proscriptions and the suicide of the wretched victims.

[4] Well, then, the emperor (as I have said), in order to improve the pressing situation, set out with splendid equipment and came to Valeria, once a part of Pannonia, but made into a province and named in honour of Valeria, the

daughter of Diocletian. There, with his army encamped along the banks of the river Hister,²⁹ he watched the savages, who before his coming, under pretext of friendship but really intending secretly to devastate the country, were planning to enter Pannonia in the dead of winter, when the snows are not yet melted by the warmth of spring and so the river can be crossed everywhere, and when our soldiers would with difficulty, because of the frosts, endure life in the open.

[5] Then having quickly sent two tribunes to the Limigantes, each with an interpreter, by courteous questioning he tried to find out why they had left their homes after the treaty of peace which had been granted to them at their own request, and were thus roaming at large and disturbing the frontiers, notwithstanding orders to the contrary. [6] They gave some frivolous and unsatisfactory excuses, since fear forced them to lie, and begged for pardon, entreating the emperor to forget his anger and allow them to cross the river and come to him, in order to inform him of the difficulties that they were suffering. They were ready to take up far distant lands, but within the compass of the Roman world, if he would allow them, in order that wrapped in lasting repose and worshipping Quiet (as a saving goddess), they might submit to the burdens and the name of tributaries.

[7] When this was known after the return of the tribunes, the emperor, exulting in the accomplishment without any toil of a task which he thought insuperable, admitted them all, being inflamed with the desire for greater gain, which his crew of flatterers increased by constantly dinning it into his ears that now that foreign troubles were quieted, and peace made everywhere, he would gain more child-producing subjects and be able to muster a strong force of recruits; for the provincials are glad to contribute gold to save their bodies,³⁰ a hope which has more than once proved disastrous to the Roman state.³¹ [8] Accordingly, having placed a rampart near Acimincum³² and erected a high mound in the manner of a tribunal, ships carrying some light-armed legionaries were ordered to patrol the channel of the river near the banks, with one Innocentius, a field-measurer, who had recommended the plan, in order that, if they should see the savages beginning disorder, they might attack them in the rear, when their attention was turned elsewhere. [9] But although the Limigantes knew that these plans were being hastened, yet they stood with bared heads, as if composing nothing save entreaties, but meditating deep in their hearts quite other things than their attitude and their words suggested.

[10] And when the emperor was seen on the high tribunal and was already preparing to deliver a most mild address, intending to speak to them as future obedient subjects, one of their number, struck with savage madness, hurling his shoe at the tribunal, shouted “Marha, marha” (which is their warcry), and the rude crowd following him suddenly raised a barbarian banner and with savage howls rushed upon the emperor himself. [11] He, looking down from his high place and seeing everything filled with a mob running about with missiles, and death already imminent from their drawn swords and javelins, in

the midst as he was of the enemy and of his own men, and with nothing to indicate whether he was a general or a common soldier, since there was no time for hesitation or delay mounted a swift horse and galloped off at full speed. [12] However, a few of his attendants, while they were trying to keep off the savages, who poured upon them like a stream of fire, were either wounded to the death or trampled down by the mere weight of those who rushed over them; and the royal seat with its golden cushion was seized without resistance.

[13] But when presently it was heard that the emperor had all but been drawn into extreme peril and was not yet on safe ground, the soldiers considered it their first duty to aid him (for they thought him not yet free from danger of death); so, with greater confidence because of their contempt of the enemy, although the attack was so sudden that they were only partly armed, with a loud battle cry they plunged into the bands of the savages, who were regardless of their lives. [14] And so eagerly did our forces rush forth in their desire to wipe out the disgrace by valour, at the same time venting their wrath on the treacherous foe, that they butchered everything in their way, trampling under foot without mercy the living, as well as those dying or dead; and before their hands were sated with slaughter of the savages, the dead lay piled in heaps. [15] For the rebels were completely overthrown, some being slain, others fleeing in terror in all directions; and a part of them, who hoped to save their lives by vain entreaties, were cut down by repeated strokes. And after all had been killed and the trumpets were sounding the recall, some of our men also, though few, were found among the dead, either trampled under foot in the fierce attack or, when they resisted the fury of the enemy and exposed their unprotected sides, destroyed by the fatal course of destiny. [16] But conspicuous above the rest was the death of Cella, tribune of the Targeteers, who at the beginning of the fight was first to rush into the thick of the Sarmatian forces.

[17] After this cruel carnage Constantius, having made such arrangements for the safety of the frontiers as considerations of urgency recommended, returned to Sirmium after taking vengeance on a treacherous foe. Then, having quickly attended to what the pressing necessities of the time required, he set out from there and went to Constantinople, in order that being now nearer the Orient he might remedy the disaster which he had suffered at Amida, and by supplying the army there with reinforcements might with an equally strong force check the inroads of the Persian king; for it was clear that the latter (unless the will of heaven and the supreme efforts of many men repelled him) would leave Mesopotamia behind and seek a wider field for his arms.

Many are tried and condemned for high treason.

Yet in the midst of these anxieties, as if it were prescribed by some ancient custom, in place of civil wars the trumpets sounded for alleged cases of high treason; and to investigate and punish these there was sent that notorious

state-secretary Paulus, often called Tartareus.³³ He was skilled in the work of bloodshed, and just as a trainer of gladiators seeks profit and emolument from the traffic in funerals³⁴ and festivals, so did he from the rack or the executioner.^[2] Therefore, as his determination to do harm was fixed and obstinate, he did not refrain from secret fraud, devising fatal charges against innocent persons, provided only he might continue his pernicious traffic.

[3] Moreover, a slight and trivial occasion gave opportunity to extend his inquisitions indefinitely. There is a town called Abydum, situated in the remotest part of the Thebais³⁵; here the oracle of a god called in that place Besa in days of old revealed the future and was wont to be honoured in the ancient ceremonials of the adjacent regions.^[4] And since some in person, a part through others, by sending a written list of their desires,³⁶ inquired the will of the deities after definitely stating their requests, the papers or parchments containing their petitions sometimes remained in the shrine even after the replies had been given.^[5] Some of these were with malicious intent sent to the emperor who (being narrow-minded), although deaf to other very serious matters, on this point was softer than an earlobe,³⁷ as the proverb has it; and being suspicious and petty, he grew furiously angry. At once he admonished Paulus to proceed quickly to the Orient, conferring on him, as a leader renowned for his experience, the power of conducting trials according to his good pleasure.^[6] A commission was also given to Modestus (at that very time count in the Orient) a man fitted for these and similar affairs. For Hermogenes of Pontus, at that time praetorian prefect, was rejected as being of too mild a temper.

[7] Off went Paulus (as he was ordered) in panting haste and teeming with deadly fury, and since free rein was given to general calumny, men were brought in from almost the whole world, noble and obscure alike; and some of them were bowed down with the weight of chains, others wasted away from the agony of imprisonment.^[8] As the theatre of torture and death Scythopolis was chosen, a city of Palestine which for two reasons seemed more suitable than any other: because it is more secluded, and because it is midway between Antioch and Alexandria, from which cities the greater number were brought to meet charges.

[9] Among the first, then, to be summoned was Simplicius, son of Philippus, a former prefect and consul, who was indicted for the reason that he had (as was said) inquired about gaining imperial power; and by a note³⁸ of the emperor, who in such cases never condoned a fault or an error because of loyal service, he was ordered to be tortured; but, protected by some fate, he was banished to a stated place,³⁹ but with a whole skin.^[10] Then Parnasius (ex-prefect of Egypt), a man of simple character, was brought into such peril that he was tried for his life, but he likewise was sent into exile; he had often been heard to say long before this, that when, for the purpose of gaining a certain office, he left Patrae, a town of Achaia where he was born and had his home, he had dreamt that many shadowy figures in tragic garb escorted him.

[11] Later Andronicus, known for his liberal studies and the fame of his poems, was haled into court; but since he had a clear conscience, was under no suspicion, and most confidently asserted his innocence, he was acquitted. [12] Also Demetrius, surnamed Cythras, a philosopher of advanced years, it is true, but hardy of body and mind, being charged with offering sacrifice ⁴⁰ several times, could not deny it; he declared, however, that he had done so from early youth for the purpose of propitiating the deity, not of trying to reach a higher station by his investigations; for he did not know of anyone who had such aspirations. Therefore, after being long kept upon the rack, supported by his firm confidence he fearlessly made the same plea without variation; whereupon he was allowed to go without further harm to his native city of Alexandria.

[13] These and a few others a just fate in alliance with truth saved from imminent danger. But as these charges made their way further by entangling snares extended endlessly, some died from the mangling of their bodies, others were condemned to further punishment and had their goods seized, while Paulus was the prompter of these scenes of cruelty, supplying as if from a storehouse many kinds of deception and cruelty; and on his nod (I might almost say) depended the life of all who walk the earth. [14] For if anyone wore on his neck an amulet against the quartan ague or any other complaint, or was accused by the testimony of the evil-disposed of passing by a grave in the evening, on the ground that he was a dealer in poisons, or a gatherer of the horrors of tombs and the vain illusions of the ghosts that walk there, he was condemned to capital punishment and so perished. [15] In fact, the matter was handled exactly as if many men had importuned Claros, ⁴¹ the oaks of Dodona, ⁴² and the once famous oracles of Delphi with regard to the death of the emperor. [16] Therefore the palace band of courtiers, ingeniously fabricating shameful devices of flattery, declared that he would be immune to ordinary ills, loudly exclaiming that his destiny had appeared at all times powerful and effective in destroying those who made attempts against him.

[17] And that into such doings strict investigation was made no man of good sense will find fault. For we do not deny that the safety of a lawful prince, the protector and defender of good men, on whom depends the safety of others, ought to be safeguarded by the united diligence of all men; and in order to uphold him the more strongly when his violated majesty is defended, the Cornelian laws ⁴³ exempted no one of whatever estate from examination by torture, even with the shedding of blood. ⁴⁴ [18] But it is not seemly for a prince to rejoice beyond measure in such sorrowful events, lest his subjects should seem to be ruled by despotism rather than by lawful power. And the example of Tully ought to be followed, who, when it was in his power to spare or to harm, as he himself tells us, ⁴⁵ sought excuses for pardoning rather than opportunities for punishing; and that is the province of a mild and considerate official.

[19] At that same time in Daphne, that charming and magnificent suburb of

Antioch, a portent was born, horrible to see and to report: an infant, namely, with two heads, two sets of teeth, a beard, four eyes and two very small ears; and this misshapen birth foretold that the state was turning into a deformed condition. [20] Portents of this kind often see the light, as indications of the outcome of various affairs; but as they are not expiated by public rites, as they were in the time of our forefathers, they pass by unheard of and unknown.

Count Lauricius checks the raids of the Isaurians.

In these days the Isaurians, who had long been quiet after the acts of which an account is given above ⁴⁶ and the attempted siege of the city of Seleucia, gradually coming to life again just as snakes are wont to dart forth from their holes in the spring time, sallying forth from their rocky and inaccessible mountain fastnesses, and massed together in dense bands, were harrying their neighbours with thefts and brigandage, eluding the frontier-defences of our soldiers by their skill as mountaineers and from experience easily running over rocks and through thickets. [2] In order to quiet them by force or by reason, Lauricius was sent as governor with the added rank of count; being a man skilled in statesmanship, he corrected many evils by threats rather than by actual severity, so that for a long time, while he governed the province, nothing occurred which was thought deserving of punishment.

NOTES.

¹ Which would be delayed by the siege of Amida.

² Patroclus, comrade of Achilles.

³ That is, those that were associated by their living quarters or their places in the ranks.

⁴ That is, the burned city should take the place of the *bustum* where his body was burned; see *A.J.P.* liv. pf.

⁵ See xviii. 7, 7.

⁶ For this meaning of *armor* um see xvii. 10, 6, note; also xvi. 12, 7.

⁷ Paris, the cause of the Trojan War.

⁸ See *Iliad*, i. 9 ff. and 43 ff. Apollo was angry because the request of his priest was denied. Ammianus rationalizes the myth, attributing the pestilence to the heat of the sun, and likening its rays to the arrows of the god.

⁹ Cf. Thuc. ii. 4, 7.

¹⁰ *Iliad*, i. 50, οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπύχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.

¹¹ Pestilential.

¹² Cf. xviii. 9, 3.

¹³ The wild beasts for the arena were kept in cages of iron lattice work, at the top of which was a bar that turned when struck by their claws and threw them back to the floor of the cage.

¹⁴ Text and exact meaning are uncertain.

¹⁵ *Iliad*, x. 435 ff.; Virgil, *Aen.*, i. 469 ff.

¹⁶ The scorpion was an engine for hurling stones, also called *onager*, “wild ass.” It is described in xxiii. 4, 4 ff.

¹⁷ That is, by the fall from the high towers.

¹⁸ Damsté, reading *tegebatur*, thinks that the groom’s clothing is meant. But he seems to have been left some distance behind, and it is doubtful whether his garments were in a condition to use. Clark adds *lectulus*, but where they would find a couch is not clear.

¹⁹ σπαρτοί (from σπείρω, “sow”) was a name applied to the Thebans, because of the fable of the dragon’s teeth sown by Cadmus. The Athenians, who claimed to be earthborn, were called αὐτόχθονες.

²⁰ Three stars in the constellation Auriga; they rise at the beginning of October and bring stormy weather; cf. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 1, 28.

²¹ I.e. Persian deserters.

²² *Postliminium* is literally “a return behind the threshold”; i.e. a complete return home with restoration of one’s former rank, privileges, and condition. The slave seems to have been captured by the Persians with his mistress, and pretended to have escaped from the enemy. On his return to Nisibis, he again became the slave of Craugasius.

²³ Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* v. 320.

²⁴ That is, not long after the fall of Amida.

²⁵ Prefect of the City.

²⁶ The hexagonal basin at Ostia built by Trajan; also called *Portus urbis*, or simply *Portus*.

²⁷ xvii. 12, 18.

²⁸ He was a Syrian from Berytus, who came to Rome and filled all the grades of rank up to the prefecture. He was noted for his energy, his eloquence, and his high character.

²⁹ The Danube; usually its lower course, but used also of the whole river.

³⁰ I.e. they would rather contribute money than personal service or recruits.

³¹ It was in fact this hope that led the Romans to allow the Goths to cross the Danube, and thus brought on the defeat at Adrianople in 378; see xxxi., 4, 4, *pro militari supplemento quod provinciatim annum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus*.

³² A city of Pannonia.

³³ “The Diabolical,” from Tartarus. He is called *Catena* in xiv. 5, 8 and xv. 3, 4.

³⁴ Gladiatorial shows were given at the funerals of distinguished Romans, as well as at festivals.

³⁵ A nome, or province, of Egypt.

³⁶ So also at the temple of Jupiter at Baalbek.

³⁷ Cf. Cic., *Q.F.* ii. 154, *me . . fore auricula infima scito molliorem*; Catull. 25, 2 (*mollior imula auricilla*).

³⁸ On *elogium*, see , note 3.

³⁹ According to Marcianus, *Digest*, xlviii. 22, 5, there were three kinds of exile; exclusion from certain places specifically named (*liberum exsilium*); confinement to a designated place (*lata fuga*); banishment to an island (*insulae vinculum*).

⁴⁰ To Besa.

⁴¹ A city of Ionia near Colophon, the seat of a famous oracle of Apollo.

⁴² A city of Epirus, in the country of the Molossians, where there was in an oak grove a

celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus.

⁴³ On the Cornelian Laws (*Lex Cornelia maiestatis*), see Cicero *in Pisonem*, 21. They were emended and enlarged by Julius Caesar as the *Lex Iuliua maiestatis*.

⁴⁴ See *Cod. Theod.* ix., Tit. 35, *in maiestatis crimine omnibus aequa est condicio*.

⁴⁵ A fragment of Cicero preserved only by Ammianus; perhaps from the *Oratio Metellina* (Cic., *ad Att.* 1, 13, 5).

⁴⁶ See xiv. 2, 1 ff.

BOOK XX

Lupicinus, master of arms, is sent with an army to Britain, to resist the inroads of the Scots and Picts.

Such was the course of events throughout Illyricum and the Orient. But in Britain in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian raids of the savage tribes of the Scots and the Picts, who had broken the peace that had been agreed upon, were laying waste the regions near the frontiers, so that fear seized the provincials, wearied as they were by a mass of past calamities. And Julian, who was passing the winter in Paris and was distracted amid many cares, was afraid to go to the aid of those across the sea, as Constans once did (as I have told), ¹ for fear of leaving Gaul without a ruler at a time when the Alamanni were already roused to rage and war. ^[2] Therefore he decided that Lupicinus, ² who was at that time commander-in-chief, should be sent to settle the troubles either by argument or by force; he was indeed a warlike man and skilled in military affairs, but one who raised his brows like horns ³ and ranted in the tragic buskin (as the saying is), and about whom men were long in doubt whether he was more covetous or more cruel. ^[3] Therefore, taking the light-armed auxiliaries, to wit the Aeruli, ⁴ the Batavians, and two companies of Moesians, in the dead of winter the leader aforesaid came to Boulogne, and after procuring ships and embarking all his troops, he waited for a favourable breeze and then sailed to Richborough, which lay opposite, and went on to London, intending there to form his plans according to the situation of affairs and hasten quickly to take the field.

Ursicinus, commander of the infantry at the emperor's court, is assailed by calumnies and cashiered.

While this was going on, Ursicinus, after the storming of Amida, had returned to the emperor's service as commander of the infantry; for, as I have said, he succeeded Barbatio. ⁵ There he was met by detractors, who at first spread whispered slanders, then openly added false charges. ^[2] These the emperor, since he judged most matters according to his prejudices and was ready to listen to secret attackers, took seriously and appointed Arbitio and Florentius, ⁶ master of the offices, to investigate as judges the reasons for the destruction of Amida. ^[3] These men rejected the evident and plausible reasons, and fearing that Eusebius, then head chamberlain, would take offence if they admitted evidence which clearly showed that what had happened was the result of the persistent inaction of Sabinianus, they turned from the truth and examined into trivial matters far remote from the business in hand.

^[4] The accused, exasperated at this injustice, said: "Although the emperor despises me, the importance of the present business is such, that it cannot be

examined into and punished, except by the judgement of the prince; yet let him know, as if from the words of a seer, that so long as he grieves over what he has learned on no good authority to have happened at Amida, and so long as he is swayed by the will of eunuchs, not even he in person with all the flower of his army will be able next spring to prevent the dismemberment of Mesopotamia.”

[5] When this had been reported and much had been added in a malicious light, Constantius was angered beyond measure; and without sifting the matter or allowing the details of which he was ignorant to be explained, he ordered the victim of the calumnies to give up his command in the army and go into retirement. And by an extraordinary advancement Agilo, a former tribune of the household troops and of the targeteers,⁷ was promoted to his place.

An eclipse of the sun; about two suns; the causes of eclipses of the sun and the moon; about the various changes and phases of the moon.

At that same time, throughout the regions of the East the heaven was seen to be overcast with dark mist, through which the stars were visible continually from the first break of day until noon. It was an additional cause of terror when the light of heaven was hidden and its orb removed utterly from the sight of the world, that the timorous minds of men thought that the darkening of the sun lasted too long;⁸ but it thinned out at first into the form of the crescent moon, then growing to the shape of the half-moon, and was finally fully restored. [2] This phenomenon never takes place so clearly as when the moon, after its shifting courses,⁹ brings back its monthly journey to the same starting-point after fixed intervals of time; that is to say, when the entire moon,¹⁰ in the abode of the same sign of the zodiac, is found in a perfectly straight line directly under the sun, and for a brief time stands still in the minute points which the science of geometry calls parts of parts.¹¹ [3] And although the revolutions and movements of both heavenly bodies, as the searchers¹² for intelligible causes had observed, after the course of the moon is completed,¹³ meet at one and the same point always at the same distance from each other,¹⁴ yet the sun is not always eclipsed at such times, but only when the moon (by a kind of fiery plumb-line)¹⁵ is directly opposite the sun and interposed between its orb and our vision. [4] In short, the sun is hidden and his brightness suppressed, when he himself and the orb of the moon, the lowest of all the heavenly bodies, accompanying each other and each keeping its proper course, maintaining the relation of height between them and being in conjunction, as Ptolemy wisely and elegantly expresses it¹⁶ have come to the points which in Greek we call ἀναβιβάζοντες and καταβιβάζοντες ἐκλειπτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι¹⁷ (that is, eclipse nodes). And if they merely graze the spaces adjacent to these nodes, the eclipse will be partial. [5] If, on the other hand, they stand in the nodes themselves which closely unite the ascent and the descent, the heaven will be overcast with thicker darkness, so that because

of the density of the air we cannot see even objects which are near and close at hand.

[6] Now it is thought that two suns are seen, if a cloud, raised higher than common and shining brightly from its nearness to the eternal fires,¹⁸ reflects a second brilliant orb, as if from a very clear mirror.

[7] Let us now turn to the moon. Then only does she suffer a clear and evident eclipse, when, rounded out with her full light and opposite the sun, she is distant from its orb by 180 degrees (i.e. is in the seventh sign).¹⁹ But although this happens at every full moon, yet there is not always an eclipse.^[8] But since the moon is situated near the movement of the earth, and is the most remote from heaven of all that celestial beauty,²⁰ she sometimes puts herself directly under the disc²¹ that strikes upon her, and is overshadowed and hidden for a time by the interposition of the goal of darkness ending in a narrow cone;²² and then she is wrapped in masses of darkness, when the sun, as if encompassed by the curve of the lower sphere, cannot light her with its rays, since the mass of the earth is between them; for that she has no light of her own has been assumed on various grounds.

[9] And when under the same sign she meets the sun in a straight line, she is obscured (as was said) and her brightness is wholly dimmed; and this in Greek is called the moon's σὺνοδος.²³ [10] Now she is thought to be born,²⁴ when she has the sun above her with a slight deviation from the plumbline, so to speak. But her rising, which is still very slender, first appears to mortals when she has left the sun and advanced to the second sign. Then having progressed farther and now having abundant light, she appears with horns and is called μνηοειδής.²⁵ But when she begins to be separated from the sun by a long distance and has arrived at the fourth sign and the sun's rays are turned towards her, she gains greater brilliance, and is called in the Greek tongue διχόμηνις,²⁶ a form which shows a half-circle [11] Then, proceeding to the greatest distance and attaining the fifth sign, she shows the figure called amphicyrtos,²⁷ and has humps on both sides. But when she has taken a place directly opposite the sun she will gleam with full light, making her home in the seventh sign; and still keeping her place in that same sign, but advancing a little she grows smaller, the process which we call ἀπόκρουσις²⁸ ; and she repeats the same forms as she grows old,²⁹ and it is maintained by the unanimous learning of many men that the moon is never seen in eclipse except at the time of her mid-course.³⁰

[12] But when we said that the sun had its course now in the ether and now in the world below,³¹ it must be understood that the heavenly bodies (so far as the universe is concerned) neither set nor rise, but that they seem to do so to an eyesight whose fixed situation is on the earth; this is kept hanging in space by some inner force and in its relation to the universe is like a tiny point; and that now we seem to see the stars, whose order is eternal, fixed in the sky, and often through the imperfection of human vision we think that they leave their places. But let us now return to our subject.

At Paris, where he was wintering, Julianus Caesar is forcibly hailed as Augustus by the Gallic legions which Constantius had ordered to be taken from him and transferred to the Orient against the Persians.

When Constantius was hastening to lend aid to the Orient, which was likely soon to be disturbed by the inroads of the Persians, as deserters reported in agreement with our scouts, he was tormented ³² by the valorous deeds of Julian, which increasingly frequent report was spreading abroad through the mouths of divers nations, carrying the great glory ³³ of his mighty toils and achievements after the overthrow of several kingdoms of the Alamanni, and the recovery of the Gallic towns, which before had been destroyed and plundered by the savages whom he himself had made tributaries and subjects.

[2] Excited by these and similar exploits, and fearing that their fame would grow greater, urged on besides, as was reported, by the prefect Florentius, ³⁴ he sent Decentius, the tribune and secretary, at once to take from Julian his auxiliaries, namely, the Aeruli and Batavi ³⁵ and the Celts with the Petulantes, ³⁶ as well as three hundred picked men from each of the other divisions ³⁷ of the army; and he ordered him to hasten their march under the pretext that they might be able to be on hand for an attack on the Parthians early in the spring. ³⁸

[3] for speeding the departure of the auxiliaries and the divisions of three hundred Lupicinus alone was called upon (for that he had crossed over to Britain was not yet known at court); but the order to select the most active of the targeteers and the gentiles ³⁹ and personally lead them to the emperor was given to Sintula, then Julian's chief stable-master.

[4] Julian kept silence and submitted to this, leaving everything to the will of his more powerful associate. One thing, however, he could neither overlook nor pass over in silence, namely, that those men should suffer no inconvenience who had left their abodes beyond the Rhine and come to him under promise that they should never be led to regions beyond the Alps; for he declared that it was to be feared that the barbarian volunteer soldiers, who were often accustomed to come over to our side under conditions of that kind, might on having knowledge of this thereafter be kept from so doing. But his words were to no purpose. [5] For the tribune, considering Caesar's remonstrances of little moment, carried out the orders of Augustus, chose the strongest and most active of the light-armed troops, and made off with them, while they were filled with hope of better fortunes. ⁴⁰

[6] And because Julian was anxious as to what ought to be done about the remaining troops which he had been ordered to send, and turned over many plans in his mind, he decided that the business ought to be managed with circumspection, pressed as he was on one side by savage barbarians and on the other by the authority of the emperor's orders; and since the absence of his commander of the cavalry ⁴¹ in particular increased his uncertainty, he urged

the prefect⁴² to return to him; the latter had gone some time before to Vienne, ostensibly to get supplies, but actually to escape troubles in the camp. [7] For he bore in mind that it was in accordance with his own report, which he was thought to have sent some time before, that warlike troops, already formidable to the barbarians, were to be withdrawn from the defence of Gaul. [8] So when he received Julian's letter, urging and begging him to hasten to come and aid his country by his counsels, he most emphatically refused; for his mind was disturbed with fear for the reason that Julian's letter plainly indicated that the prefect⁴³ ought never to be separated from his commander in the stress of dangerous times. And Julian added that if Florentius hesitated to do his duty, he would himself of his own accord lay down the emblems of princely power, thinking it more glorious to meet death by order, than that the ruin of the provinces should be attributed to him. But the obstinate resolution of the prefect prevailed, and with the greatest emphasis he refused to obey these reasonable demands.

[9] However, amid this delay of the absent Lupicinus and of the prefect, who feared mutinies of the soldiers, Julian, deprived of the aid of counsellors and wavering in anxious hesitation, thought the following plan the best: he called out all the soldiers in the usual manner from the posts in which they were passing the winter, and arranged to hasten them on their way. [10] Scarcely was this known, when someone in the camp of the Petulantes secretly threw on the ground a libellous letter, which among many other things contained the following: "We verily are driven to the ends of the earth like condemned criminals, and our dear ones, whom we freed from their former captivity after mortal battles, will again be slaves to the Alamanni." [11] When this note was brought to headquarters and read, Julian, although he found the complaints reasonable, nevertheless ordered them to set out with their families for the Orient, giving them the privilege of using the wagons of the courier-service.⁴⁴ And when there was considerable hesitation as to what route they should take, it was decided, at the suggestion of the secretary Decentius, that they should all go by way of Paris, where Julian still lingered, having as yet made no move. And it was so done. [12] And when the soldiers arrived Caesar met them in the suburbs, and, in his usual manner praising those whom he personally knew, and reminding each one of his valiant deeds, with mild words he encouraged them to go with cheerful step to Augustus, where there was great and extensive power, and they would get worthy rewards for their toil. [13] And in order to treat with greater honour those who were going far away, he invited their officers to dinner and bade them make any request that was in their minds. And since they were so liberally entertained, they departed anxious and filled with twofold sorrow: because an unkindly fortune was depriving them both of a mild ruler and of the lands of their birth. But though possessed by this sorrow, they were apparently consoled and remained quiet in their quarters. [14] But no sooner had night come on than they broke out in open revolt, and, with their minds excited to

the extent that each was distressed by the unexpected occurrence, they turned to arms and action; with mighty tumult they all made for the palace,⁴⁵ and wholly surrounding it, so that no one could possibly get out, with terrifying outcries they hailed Julian as Augustus, urgently demanding that he should show himself to them. They were compelled to wait for the appearance of daylight, but finally forced him to come out; and as soon as they saw him, they redoubled their shouts and with determined unanimity hailed him as Augustus.

[15] He, however, with unyielding resolution, opposed them one and all, now showing evident displeasure, again begging and entreating them with outstretched hands that after many happy victories nothing unseemly should be done, and that ill timed rashness and folly should not stir up material for discord. And when he had at last quieted them, with mild words he addressed them as follows:

[16] "Let your anger, I pray you, cease for a time. Without dissension or attempts at revolution what you demand shall easily be obtained. And since it is the charm of your native land that holds you back and you dread strange places with which you are unacquainted, return at once to your homes; you shall see nothing beyond the Alps, since that is displeasing to you, and this I will justify to Augustus to his entire satisfaction, since he is willing to listen to reason and is most discreet."

[17] After this the shouts continued none the less on every side, and since all insisted with one and the same ardour and with loud and urgent outcries mingled with abuse and insults, Caesar was compelled to consent. Then, being placed upon an infantryman's shield⁴⁶ and raised on high, he was hailed by all as Augustus and bidden to bring out a diadem. And when he declared that he had never had one, they called for an ornament from his wife's neck or head.

[18] But since he insisted that at the time of his first auspices it was not fitting for him to wear a woman's adornment, they looked about for a horse's trapping, so that being crowned with it he might display at least some obscure token of a loftier station. But when he declared that this also was shameful, a man called Maurus, afterwards a count and defeated at the pass of Succi,⁴⁷ but then a standard-bearer⁴⁸ of the Petulantes, took off the neck-chain which he wore as carrier of the dragon⁴⁹ and boldly placed it on Julian's head. He, driven to the extremity of compulsion, and perceiving that he could not avoid imminent danger if he persisted in his resistance, promised each man five gold pieces⁵⁰ and a pound of silver.

[19] When this was done, troubled with no less anxiety than before and with quick intuition foreseeing the future, he neither wore a diadem, nor dared to appear anywhere or attend to any of the serious matters that were most pressing. [20] But when he had withdrawn to seclusion and retirement, alarmed by the change in his fortunes, one of the decurions of the palace, which is a position of dignity,⁵¹ hastened at rapid pace to the camp of the Petulantes and Celts, and wildly cried that a shameful crime had been committed, in that the

man whom the day before their choice had proclaimed Augustus had been secretly done to death. [21] Upon hearing this the soldiers, who were equally excited by all news, known to be true or not, some brandishing darts, others with naked swords and uttering threats, rushing forth from different sides and in disorder (as is usual in a sudden commotion) quickly filled the palace. The fearful uproar alarmed the guards, the tribunes, and the count in command of the household troops, Excubitor by name, and in fear of treachery from the fickle soldiers they scattered in dread of sudden death and vanished from sight. [22] The armed men, however, seeing the perfect quiet, stood motionless for a time, and on being asked what was the cause of the ill-advised and sudden commotion, they kept silence for a long time, being in doubt as to the new emperor's safety; and they would not leave until they were admitted to the council chamber and had seen him resplendent in the imperial garb. These preserved order and acted as adjutants to the emperor.

Julianus Augustus makes an address to the soldiers.

Yet, hearing of these events the troops also that had gone before under the lead of Sintula (as I have said),⁵² now free from anxiety returned with him to Paris. Then proclamation was made that on the following day all should assemble in the plain, and the ruler appeared in greater state than common and took his place on the tribunal, surrounded by the standards, eagles, and banners, and for greater safety hedged about with bands of armed cohorts. [2] And after a brief silence, during which from his high position he surveyed the faces of those present, on finding them all eager and joyous, using simple words in order to be understood, he stirred them as by the blare of clarions, speaking as follows:

[3] "The difficulties of the situation, ye brave and faithful defenders of my person and of the state, who with me have often risked your lives for the welfare of the provinces, require and entreat, since by your firm resolve you have advanced your Caesar to the pinnacle of all human power, that I should touch briefly on a few matters, in order to devise just and wise remedies for those changed conditions. [4] Hardly had I come to my growth, when (as you know) I assumed the purple, so far as appearance goes, and was committed by Heaven's will to your protection. Since then I have never been thwarted in my purpose of right living, and I have been closely observed with you in all your toils, when through the widespread arrogance of foreign nations, after the destruction of cities and the loss of countless thousands of our men, incalculable disaster was overrunning the few regions that were left half ruined. It is needless, methinks, to rehearse how often in raw winter and under a cold sky, when lands and seas are exempt from the labours of Mars, we repelled the hitherto invincible Alamanni and broke their strength. [5] But this surely it is right neither to pass by nor consign to silence, that when that happiest of days dawned near Argenteratus, which in a sense brought lasting

freedom to the Gauls, while I hastened about amid showers of weapons, you, upheld by your might and by long experience, overcame the enemy, rushing on like mountain torrents, either striking them down with the steel or plunging them in the river's depths; and that too with but few of our number left upon the field, whose funerals we honoured with plentiful praise rather than with grief. [6] After such great and glorious exploits, posterity, I believe, will not be silent about your services to your country, which are now well known to all nations, if you defend with courage and resolution the man whom you have honoured with a higher title of majesty, in case any adverse fortune should assail him. [7] And to the end that a sound course of conduct may be maintained, that the rewards of brave men may remain free from corruption, and that secret intrigue may not usurp honours, this I declare in the presence of your honorable assembly: that no civil official, no military officer, shall reach a higher rank through anyone supporting him beyond his merits, and that none who tries to intrigue for another shall escape without dishonour."

[8] Through confidence in this promise the soldiers of lower rank, who had long had no share in honours and rewards, were inspired with greater hope; rising to their feet and clashing their spears against their shields with mighty din, almost with one voice they acclaimed the emperor's words and plans. [9] And at once, lest even an instant should be allowed to interfere with so resolved a purpose, the Petulantes and Celts begged in behalf of certain commissaries⁵³ that they might be sent as governors to whatever provinces they might choose; and when the request was denied, they withdrew neither offended nor ill-humoured.

[10] But in the night before he was proclaimed Augustus, as the emperor told his nearer and more intimate friends, a vision appeared to him in his sleep, taking the form in which the guardian spirit of the state is usually portrayed, and in a tone of reproach spoke as follows: "Long since, Julian, have I been secretly watching the vestibule of your house, desiring to increase your rank, and I have often gone away as though rebuffed. If I am not to be received even now, when the judgements of many men are in agreement, I shall depart downcast and forlorn. But keep this thought in the depths of your heart, that I shall no longer abide with you."

Singara is besieged by Sapor, and captured. The citizens with the auxiliary cavalry and two legions on garrison duty are carried off to Persia. The city is destroyed.

While these things were being vigorously carried out in Gaul, that savage king of the Persians, since the urgency of Antoninus was doubled by the coming of Craugasius,⁵⁴ burned with the desire of gaining possession of Mesopotamia while Constantius was busy at a distance with his army. So, having increased his arms and his power and crossed the Tigris in due form, he proceeded to attack Singara, a town which, in the opinion of those who had

charge of that region, was abundantly fortified with soldiers and with all necessities. [2] The defenders of the city, as soon as they saw the enemy a long way off, quickly closed the gates and full of courage ran to the various towers and battlements, and got together stones and engines of war; then, when everything was prepared, they all stood fast under arms, ready to repulse the horde, in case it should try to come near the walls.

[3] Accordingly, the king on his arrival, through his grandees, who were allowed access, tried by peaceful mediation to bend the defenders to his will. Failing in this, he devoted the entire day to quiet, but at the coming of next morning's light he gave the signal by raising the flame-coloured banner, and the city was assailed on every side; some brought ladders, others set up engines of war; the greater part, protected by the interposition of penthouses and mantlets, tried to approach the walls and undermine their foundations. [4] Against this onset the townsmen, standing upon their lofty battlements, from a distance with stones and all kinds of missile weapons tried to repel those who boldly strove to force an entrance.

[5] The battle raged for several days with uncertain outcome, and on both sides many were killed and wounded. Finally, in the heat of the mighty conflict, just as evening was coming on, among many engines a ram of uncommon strength was brought up, which with rapidly repeated blows battered the round tower where (as we have related) ⁵⁵ the city was breached in the former siege. [6] To this spot the people flocked and the battle went on in dense array; from all sides flew firebrands with blazing torches and fiery darts to set fire to the great menace, ⁵⁶ while the showers of arrows and slingshots from both sides never ceased. But the sharp head of the ram overcame every attempt at defence, penetrating the joints of the new-laid stones, which were still moist and therefore weak. [7] And while the combat still went on with fire and sword, the tower collapsed and a way was made into the city; the defenders, scattered by the great danger, abandoned the place; the Persian hordes, raising shouts and yells, rushed from all sides and without opposition filled every part of the city; and after a very few of the defenders had been slain here and there, all the rest were taken alive by Sapor's order and transported to the remotest parts of Persia.

[8] This city was defended by two legions, the First Flavian and the First Parthian, as well as by a considerable number of natives, with the help of some horsemen who had hastily taken refuge there because of the sudden danger. All these (as I have said) were led off with hands bound, and none of our men could aid them. [9] For the greater part of the army was in camp guarding Nisibis, which was a very long distance off; besides, even in former days no one had ever been able to aid Singara when in trouble, since all the surrounding country was dried up from lack of water. And although in early times a stronghold had been established there as a convenient place for learning in advance of sudden outbreaks of the enemy, yet this was a detriment to the Roman cause, since the place was several times taken with

the loss of its defenders.

The town of Bezabde, defended by three legions, is stormed by Sapor; who repaired it and supplied it with a garrison and provisions; he also makes a vain attack on the fortress of Virta.

After the destruction of the city the king prudently turned aside from Nisibis, doubtless remembering what he had often suffered there, ⁵⁷ and marched to the right by side roads to Bezabde, which its early founders also called Phaenicha, hoping to gain entrance into the place by force or by winning the defenders with flattering promises. Bezabde was a very strong fortress, placed upon a hill of moderate height which sloped towards the banks of the Tigris, and where it was low and therefore exposed to danger it was fortified with a double wall. For the defence of the place three legions were assigned, the Second Flavian, the Second Armenian, and also the Second Parthian with a great number of bowmen of the Zabdiceni, on whose soil, at that time subject to us, this town was situated.

[2] On his first attack the king himself, with a troop of horsemen gleaming in full armour and himself towering above the rest, rode about the circuit of the camp, and with over-boldness advanced to the very edge of the trenches. But becoming the target of repeated missiles from the ballistae and of arrows, he was protected by a close array of shields placed side by side as in a tortoise-mantlet, and got away unhurt. [3] However, he suppressed his anger for the time being, and sending heralds in the usual manner, courteously urged the besieged, taking regard for their lives and their hope for the future, to put an end to the blockade by a timely surrender, unbar their gates and come forth, presenting themselves as suppliants to the conqueror of the nations. [4] When these heralds dared to come close, the defenders of the walls spared them for the reason that they had brought in close company with them some freeborn men who had been taken prisoner at Singara and were recognised by the garrison. In pity for these men no one hurled a weapon; but to the offer of peace no answer was made.

[5] Then a truce ⁵⁸ was granted for a whole day and night, but before the beginning of the next day the entire force of the Persians fiercely attacked the rampart, uttering cruel threats and roaring outcries; and when they had boldly advanced close up to the walls, they began to fight with the townsmen, who resisted with great vigour. [6] And for this reason a large number of the Parthians were wounded, because, some carrying scaling ladders, others holding hurdles of osiers before them, they all rushed within range as though blinded; and our men were not unscathed. For clouds of arrows flew thick and fast, and transfixed the defenders as they stood crowded together. After sunset the two parties separated with equal losses, but just before dawn of the following day, while the trumpets sounded on one side and the other, the struggle was renewed with much greater ardour than before, and on either side

equally great heaps of dead were to be seen, since both parties fought most obstinately.

[7] But on the following day, which after manifold losses had by common consent been devoted to rest, since great terror encircled the walls and the Persians had no less grounds for fear, the chief priest of the sect of Christians indicated by signs and nods that he wished to go forth; and when a pledge had been given that he would be allowed to return in safety, he came as far as the king's tent. [8] There being given permission to say what he wished, with mild words he advised the Persians to return to their homes, declaring that after the lamentable losses on both sides it was to be feared that perhaps even greater ones might follow. But it was in vain that he persisted in making these and many similar pleas, opposed as they were by the frenzied rage of the king, who roundly swore that he would not leave the place until the fortress had been destroyed. [9] But the bishop incurred the shadow of a suspicion, unfounded in my opinion, though circulated confidently by many, of having told Sapor in a secret conference what parts of the wall to attack, as being slight within and weak. And in the end there seemed to be ground for this, since after his visit the enemy's engines deliberately battered those places which were tottering and insecure from decay, and that too with spiteful exultation, as if those who directed them were acquainted with conditions within.

[10] And though the narrow footpaths yielded difficult access to the walls, and the rams that had been prepared were moved forward with difficulty, since the fear of stones thrown by hand and of arrows kept them off, yet neither the ballistae nor the scorpions ceased, the former to hurl darts, the latter showers of stones and with them blazing wicker baskets, smeared with pitch and bitumen. Because of the constant fall of these as they rolled down the slope, the engines were halted as though held fast by deep roots, and the constant shower of fiery darts and brands set them on fire.

[11] But in spite of all this, and though many fell on both sides, the besiegers were fired with the greater desire to destroy the town, defended though it was by its natural situation and by mighty works, before the winter season, believing that the king's rage could not be quieted until that was done. Therefore neither the great outpouring of blood nor the many mortal wounds that were suffered deterred the survivors from like boldness. [12] But after a long and destructive struggle, they finally exposed themselves to extreme peril, and as the enemy pushed on the rams, huge stones coming thick from the walls, and varied devices for kindling fire, debarred them from going forward. [13] However, one ram, higher than the rest, which was covered with wet bull's hide and therefore less exposed to danger from fire or darts, having gone ahead of all the others, made its way with mighty efforts to the wall. There, digging into the joints of the stones with its huge beak, it weakened a tower and overthrew it. As this fell with a mighty roar, those also who stood upon it were thrown down by its sudden collapse and either dashed to pieces

or buried. Thus they perished by varied and unlooked-for forms of death, while the armed hordes of the enemy, finding the ascent safer, rushed into the town.

[14] Then, while the din of the yelling Persians thundered on all sides in the terrified ears of the overmatched townsmen, a hotter fight raged within the walls, as bands of our soldiers and of the enemy struggled hand to hand; and since they were crowded body to body and both sides fought with drawn swords, they spared none who came in their way. [15] Finally the besieged, after long resisting imminent destruction, were at last with great difficulty scattered in all directions by the weight of the huge throng. After that the swords of the infuriated enemy cut down all that they could find, children were torn from their mothers' breasts and the mothers themselves were butchered, and no man recked what he did. Amid such scenes of horror that nation, greedier still for plunder,⁵⁹ laden with spoils of every sort, and leading off a great throng of captives, returned in triumph to their tents.

[16] The king, however, filled with arrogant joy, and having long burned with a desire of taking Phaenicha, since it was a very convenient stronghold, did not leave the place until he had firmly repaired the shattered parts of the walls, stored up an immense quantity of supplies, and stationed there an armed force of men distinguished for their high birth and renowned for their military skill. For he feared what actually happened,⁶⁰ namely, that the Romans, taking to heart the loss of such a powerful stronghold, would strive with all their might to recover it.

[17] Then, filled with greater confidence and inspired with the hope of accomplishing whatever he might undertake, after capturing some insignificant strongholds, he prepared to attack Virta, a fortress of great antiquity, since it was believed to have been built by Alexander of Macedon; it was situated indeed on the outer frontier of Mesopotamia, but was girt by walls with salient and re-entrant angles and made difficult of access by manifold devices. [18] But after resorting to every artifice, now tempting the defenders with promises, now threatening them with the cruelest punishments, sometimes preparing to build embankments and bringing up siege-engines, after suffering more losses than he inflicted, he at last gave up the vain attempt and departed.

Julianus Augustus informs Constantius Augustus by letter of what happened at Paris.

These were the events of that year between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Constantius, learning of them through frequent reports and passing the winter in Constantinople for fear of a Parthian invasion, with particular care furnished the eastern frontier with all kinds of warlike equipment; he also got together arms and recruits, and by the addition of vigorous young men gave strength to the legions, whose steadiness in action had often been

conspicuously successful in oriental campaigns. Besides this, he asked the Scythians for auxiliaries, either for pay or as a favour, intending in the late spring to set out from Thrace and at once occupy the points of danger.

[2] Meanwhile Julian, who had taken up his winter quarters at Paris, was in anxious suspense, dreading the outcome of the step which he had taken. For after long and careful consideration he was convinced that Constantius would never consent to what had been done, since in the emperor's eyes he was scorned as base and contemptible. [3] Therefore pondering well the dangers of beginning a revolution, he decided to send envoys to Constantius to inform him of what had happened; and he gave them a letter to the same purport, in which he more openly set forth and made clear what had been done, and what ought to be done later. [4] But yet he thought that Constantius had long since had news of the event through the reports of Decentius, who had come back some time before, and of the chamberlains, who had lately passed through on their way from Gaul after bringing the Caesar a part of his regular income.⁶¹ And although he reported the changed conditions, he did not write anything in a hostile tone nor in arrogant language, lest he should seem suddenly to have become full of haughtiness. The purport of the letter was as follows:

[5] "I for my part have remained true to my principles, not less in my conduct than in the observance of agreements, so long as they remained in force, always keeping one and the same mind, as is clearly evident from many of my actions. [6] From the time when you first made me Caesar and exposed me to the dread tumults of war, content with the power committed to me, I filled your ears (like a trusty servant) with constant reports of successful achievements proceeding to my heart's desire, never attributing anything at all to my own perils; and yet it is clear from constant proofs that in the contests with the widely scattered and often interallied Germans I was in toil, always seen first of all, and in rest from toil, last.

[7] "But if now, with your kind indulgence be it said, there has been any change (as you think), it is the soldiers, exhausting themselves without profit in many cruel wars, who have in rebellious fashion carried out a resolve of long standing, being impatient of a leader of the second rank, since they thought that no recompense for their unremitting toil and repeated victories could be made by a Caesar. [8] To their anger at neither winning increase in rank nor receiving the annual pay was added the unlooked-for order, that men accustomed to cold regions should go to the remotest parts of the eastern world and be dragged away destitute and stripped of everything, separated from their wives and children. Angered by this beyond their wonted manner, they gathered together at night and beset the palace, shouting loudly again and again 'Julianus Augustus.' [9] I was horrified (I confess it) and withdrew; and holding aloof as long as I could, I tried to save myself by remaining in hiding and concealment. But when no respite was given, protected by the rampart of a free conscience (so to say), I went forth and stood before them all, supposing that the outbreak could be quieted by my authority or by persuasive

words. [10] But their excitement was most unusual, and they went so far that when I tried to overcome their obstinacy by entreaties, they rushed upon me and threatened me with instant death. Overcome at last, and thinking to myself that if I were slain another would perhaps willingly be proclaimed emperor, I yielded, expecting that I could thus quiet their armed violence.

[11] "This is a full account of what took place, and I pray that you will receive it in a spirit of peace. Do not suspect that anything different was done, or listen to malicious and pernicious whisperers, whose habit it is to excite dissension between princes for their own profit; but rejecting flattery, the nurse of vices, turn to justice, the most excellent of all virtues, and accept in good faith the fair conditions which I propose, convincing yourself that this is to the advantage of the rule of Rome⁶² as well as to ourselves, who are united by the tie of blood and by our lofty position. [12] And pardon me: I am not so desirous that these things which are reasonably demanded should be done, as that they should be approved by you as expedient and right, and for the future also I shall eagerly receive your instructions.

[13] What ought to be done I will reduce to a few words. I will furnish Spanish horses for your chariots, and to be mingled with the household troops and the targeteers some young men of the Laeti, a tribe of barbarians on this side of the Rhine, or at any rate from those of them who voluntarily come over to us. And this I promise to do to the end of my life, with not only a willing but an eager spirit. [14] As praetorian prefects your clemency shall appoint for us those who are known for their justice and their merits; the promotion of the other civil officials and military officers, as well as of my bodyguard, is properly to be left to my decision. For it would be folly, since it can be prevented from happening, that those should be attached to an emperor's person whose character and inclinations are unknown to him.

[15] "This at least I would declare without any hesitation: the Gauls, since they have been harassed by long continued troubles and grievous misfortunes, cannot voluntarily or under compulsion send recruits to foreign and distant countries, for fear that, if they lose all their young manhood, downcast as they are by the memory of their past afflictions, even so they may perish from despair at what may befall hereafter. [16] Furthermore, it will not be expedient to draw from here auxiliaries to be opposed to the Parthian nations, since the onsets of the barbarians are not yet checked and (if you will permit me to speak the truth) these provinces which have been vexed with constant calamities need aid themselves from without, and valiant aid too.

[17] "In urging these measures I have written (I think) to the advantage of the state both in my requests and in my demands. For I know, I do know, not to say anything more arrogantly than befits my authority, what wretched conditions, even when everything seemed already lost and without remedy, have been brought to a better state by the harmony of rulers yielding in turn to each other. Indeed, it is clear from the example of our forefathers that rulers who have these and similar designs are able somehow to find a way of living

happily and successfully and of leaving to posterity and to all future time a happy memory of their lives.”

[18] Along with this letter he sent another of a more private nature to be delivered to Constantius secretly, which was written in a more reproachful and bitter tone; the content of this it was not possible for me to examine, nor if it had been, would it have been fitting for me to make it public.

[19] To perform this mission two men of importance were chosen, Pentadius, the court marshal, ⁶³ and Eutherius, who was then head chamberlain.¹ After delivering the letters they were to report what they saw without concealing anything and to deal confidently with the course of future events.

[20] Meanwhile the odium of the enterprise had been increased by the flight of the prefect Florentius, who, as if anticipating the disturbances that would arise from the summoning of the soldiers ⁶⁴ (which was the subject of common talk) had purposely withdrawn to Vienne, alleging the need of provisions as his excuse for parting from Caesar, whom he had often treated rudely and consequently feared. [21] Then, on hearing that Julian had been raised to the eminence of an Augustus, having small hope or none at all for his life, he became afraid and tried by distance to avoid the dangers that he suspected. So, abandoning all his family, he left and came by slow stages to Constantius, and to show his guiltlessness of any fault, he assailed Julian with many charges as a traitor. [22] After his departure, Julian, considering the matter well and wisely, and wishing it to be known that he would have spared him even if he had been present, left his dear ones and his property unmolested, gave them the use of the public courier-service, and bade them ride in safety to the Orient.

Constantius Augustus bids Julian to be content with the title of Caesar, but the Gallic legions firmly and unanimously object.

The envoys followed with no less diligence, bearing with them the messages which I have mentioned and intent upon their journey; when, however, they fell in with higher officials they were covertly detained, but after suffering continual and serious delays as they passed through Italy and Illyricum, they at last crossed the Bosphorus, and proceeding by slow stages found Constantius still tarrying in Cappadocia at Caesarea. This was a well-situated and populous city, formerly called Mazaca, situated at the foot of Mount Argaeus. [2] When the envoys were given audience, they presented their letters, but no sooner were they read than the emperor burst out in an immoderate blaze of anger, and looking at them askance in such a way that they feared for their lives, he ordered them to get out, asking no further questions and refusing to listen to anything.

[3] Yet, though burning with anger, he was tormented by uncertainty whether it were better to order those troops in which he had confidence to

march against the Persians or against Julian. After hesitating long and weighing the counsel given him, he yielded to the advice of some who persuaded him to his advantage, and ordered a march towards the Orient. [4] The envoys, however, he dismissed at once, and only ordered his quaestor Leonas to proceed at rapid pace to Gaul with a letter which he had given him for Julian, in which he declared that he accepted none of the changes, but charged him, if he had any regard for his own life and that of his friends, to drop his swelling pride and keep within the bounds of a Caesar's power. [5] And to the end that fear of his threats might bring this about the more easily, as an indication of confidence in his great strength in place of Florentius he promoted Nebridius, who was then quaestor of the aforesaid Caesar, to the rank of praetorian prefect, and the secretary Felix to that of master of the offices, ⁶⁵ besides making some other appointments. And indeed Gomoarius had been advanced to the rank of commander-in-chief, as successor to Lupicinus, before Constantius knew anything of this kind.

[6] Accordingly, Leonas, ⁶⁶ having entered Paris, was received as an honoured and discreet person, and on the following day, when the prince had come to the field with a great number of soldiers and townsmen, whom he had purposely summoned, and was standing aloft on a tribunal in order to be more conspicuous from a high position, he ordered the letter to be handed to him. And after unrolling the scroll of the edict which had been sent, he began to read it from the beginning. And when he had come to the place where Constantius, rejecting all that had been done, declared that the power of a Caesar was enough for Julian, on all sides terrifying shouts arose: [7] "Julianus Augustus," as was decreed by authority of the province, the soldiers, and the state — a state restored indeed, but still fearful of renewed raids of the savages.

[8] On hearing this, Leonas returned in safety, with a letter of Julian to the same purport, and Nebridius alone was admitted to the prefecture; for Caesar in his letter had openly said that such an appointment ⁶⁷ would be in accordance with his wishes. As to the master of the offices, he had long before chosen for that office Anatolius, who previously had answered petitions, and some others, in accordance with what seemed to him expedient and safe.

[9] But while matters were thus proceeding, Lupicinus was to be feared, although he was absent and even then in Britain, for he was a man of haughty and arrogant spirit ⁶⁸ and it was suspected that if he should learn of these things while across the sea, he would stir up material for a revolution; accordingly, a secretary was sent to Boulogne, to watch carefully and prevent anyone from crossing the strait. Because of this prohibition Lupicinus returned before hearing of anything that had happened, and so could cause no disturbance.

Julianus Caesar, having unexpectedly attacked the so-called Atthuarian

Franks on the other side of the Rhine, and killed or captured the greater number of them, granted them peace at their request.

Julian, however, being now happier in his lofty station and in the confidence which the soldiers felt in him, in order not to become lukewarm or be accused of negligence and sloth, after sending envoys to Constantius set out for the frontier of Second Germany, and, thoroughly equipped with all the material that the business in hand demanded, drew near to the city of Tricensima.⁶⁹ [2] Then crossing the Rhine, he suddenly invaded the territory of those Franks known as Atthuarii, a restless people, who even then were lawlessly overrunning the frontiers of Gaul. Having attacked them unexpectedly, when they feared no hostile demonstration and were quite off their guard, because they could remember no invasion of their land as yet by any emperor, protected as they were by rough and difficult roads, he defeated them with slight trouble; and after having captured or killed a great many, when the rest who survived begged for peace, he granted it on his own conditions,⁷⁰ thinking this to be to the advantage of the neighbouring settlers. [3] From there he returned with equal speed by way of the river, and carefully examining and strengthening the defences of the frontier, he came as far as Augst; and there having recovered the places which the savages had formerly taken and were holding as their own, he fortified them with special care and went by way of Besançon to Vienne, to pass the winter.

Constantius Augustus attacks Bezabde with all his forces, but withdraws without accomplishing his purpose; and on the rainbow.

Such was the series of events in Gaul. While they were going on so successfully and so wisely, Constantius sent for Arsaces, king of Armenia, and after entertaining him with the greatest generosity forewarned and urged him to continue to be faithful and friendly to us. [2] For he heard that he had often been worked upon by the Persian king with deception, with threats, and with guile, to induce him to give up his alliance with the Romans and involve himself in the Persian's designs. [3] And the king, swearing with many an oath that he could sooner give up his life than his resolve, after receiving rewards returned to his kingdom with the retinue that he had brought with him; and after that he never dared to violate any of his promises, being bound to Constantius by many ties of gratitude, among which this was especially strong—that the emperor had given him to wife Olympias, daughter of Ablabius, a former praetorian prefect, and the betrothed of his brother Constans.

[4] After the king had been sent off from Cappadocia, Constantius going by way of Melitena (a town of Lesser Armenia), Lacotena, and Samosata, crossed the Euphrates and came to Edessa. There he lingered for a long time, while he was waiting for the troops of soldiers that were assembling from all

sides and for plentiful supplies of provisions; after the autumnal equinox he set out on his way to Amida.

[5] When he came near the walls and surveyed only a heap of ashes, he wept and groaned aloud as he thought of the calamities the wretched city had endured. And Ursulus, the state-treasurer, who chanced to be there at the time, was filled with sorrow and cried: "Behold with what courage the cities are defended by our soldiers, for whose abundance of pay the wealth of the empire is already becoming insufficient." And this bitter remark the throng of soldiers recalled later at Chalcedon and conspired for his destruction.⁷¹

[6] After this advancing in close order and coming to Bezabde, Constantius pitched his tents and encircled them with a palisade and with deep trenches. Then, riding about the circuit of the fort at a distance, he learned from many sources that the parts which before had been weakened by age and neglect had been restored to greater strength than ever. [7] And not wishing to leave anything undone that must be done before the heat of battle, he sent men of judgement and offered alternative conditions, urging the defenders of the walls either to give up the possessions of others without bloodshed and return to their own people, or to submit to the sway of Rome and receive increase of honours and rewards. And when with their native resolution they rejected these offers, being men of good birth and inured to perils and hardships, all the preparations for a siege were made.

[8] Then in close array and urged on by the trumpets the soldiers most vigorously attacked the town on every side, and with the legions gathered together into various tortoise-formations⁷² and so advancing slowly and safely, they tried to undermine the fortifications; but since every sort of weapon was showered upon them as they came up, the connection of the shields was broken and they gave way, while the trumpets sounded the recall.

[9] Then, after a single day's truce, on the third day, with the soldiers more carefully protected and amid loud outcries everywhere, they attempted from every quarter to scale the walls; but although the defenders were hidden within behind hair-cloth stretched before them, in order that the enemy might not see them, yet whenever necessity required they would fearlessly thrust out their right arms and attack the besiegers with stones and weapons. [10] But when the wicker mantlets⁷³ went confidently on and were already close to the walls, great jars fell from above along with millstones and pieces of columns, by the excessive weight of which the assailants were overwhelmed; and since their devices for protection were rent asunder with great gaps, they made their escape with the greatest peril.

[11] Therefore on the tenth day after the beginning of the siege, when the waning hope of our men was causing general dejection, it was decided to bring into action a ram of great size, which the Persians, after formerly using it to raze Antioch, had brought back and left at Carrae. The unlooked-for sight of this and the skilful manner in which it was put together would have daunted the besieged, who had already been almost reduced to seeking safety in

surrender, had they not taken heart again and prepared defences against the menacing engine. [12] And after this they lacked neither rash courage nor good judgement. For although the ram, which was old and had been taken apart for ready transportation, was being set up with all skill and with every exertion of power, and was protected by the besiegers with a mantlet of great strength, yet the artillery and the showers of stones and sling-shots continued none the less to destroy great numbers on both sides. The massive mounds too were rising with rapid additions, the siege grew hotter every day, and many of our men fell for the reason that, fighting as they were under the emperor's eye, through the hope of rewards and wishing to be easily recognised they put off their helmets from their heads and so fell victims to the skill of the enemy's archers. [13] After this, days and nights spent in wakefulness made both sides more cautious. The Persians, too, when the height of the mounds had already become great, stricken with horror of the huge ram, which other smaller ones followed, all strove with might and main to set fire to them, constantly hurling firebrands and blazing darts. But their efforts were vain, for the reason that the greater part of the timbers were covered with wetted hides and rags, while in other places they had been carefully coated with alum,⁷⁴ so that the fire fell on them without effect. [14] But these rams the Romans pushed forward with great courage, and although they had difficulty in protecting them, yet through their eagerness to take the town, they were led to scorn⁷⁵ even imminent dangers. [15] And on the other hand the defenders, when the huge ram was already drawing near to shake down a tower which stood in its way, by a subtle device entangled its projecting iron end (which in fact has the shape of a ram's head) on both sides with very long ropes, and held it so that it might not move back and gather new strength, nor be able with good aim to batter the walls with repeated lunges; and in the meantime they poured down scalding-hot pitch. And the engines which had been brought up stood for a long time exposed to the huge stones and to the missiles.

[16] And now, when the mounds were raised still higher, the garrison, fearing that destruction would soon be upon them unless they should rouse themselves, resorted to utter recklessness. Making a sudden rush through the gates, they attacked the foremost of our men, with all their strength hurling upon the rams firebrands and baskets made of iron and filled with flames. [17] But after fighting with shifting fortune the greater number were driven back within the walls without effecting anything. Then those same Persians, when they had taken their place on the bulwarks were assailed from the mounds, which the Romans had raised, with arrows, sling-shots, and fiery darts, which, however, though they flew through the coverings of the towers, for the most part fell without effect, since there were men at hand to put out the fires.

[18] And when the fighting men on both sides became fewer, and the Persians were driven to the last extremity unless some better plan should suggest itself, a carefully devised sally from the fortress was attempted. A vast throng made a sudden rush, with still greater numbers⁷⁶ of men carrying

material for setting fires drawn up among the armed soldiers; then iron baskets filled with flames were hurled upon the woodwork, as well as faggots and other things best suited for kindling fires. [19] And because the pitch-black clouds of smoke made it impossible to see, the legions were roused to the fight by the clarion and in battle array advanced at rapid pace. Then, as their ardour for fighting gradually increased and they had come to hand-to-hand conflict, on a sudden all the siege-engines were destroyed by the spreading flames, except the greater ram; this, after the ropes which had been thrown from the walls and entangled it had been broken, the valiant efforts of some brave men barely rescued in a half-burned condition.

[20] But when the darkness of night put an end to the fighting, the rest which was allowed the soldiers was not for long. For after being refreshed with a little food and sleep, they were aroused at the call of their officers and moved the siege-engines to a distance from the wall, preparing to fight with greater ease ⁷⁷ on the lofty earthworks, which were now finished and overtopped the walls. And in order that those who would defend the ramparts might the more readily be kept back, on the very highest part of each mound two ballistae were placed, through fear of which it was believed that no one of the enemy would be able even to put out his head. [21] When these preparations had been sufficiently made, just before dawn our men were drawn up in three divisions and tried an assault upon the walls, the cones of their helmets nodding in threatening wise and many carrying scaling-ladders. And now, while arms clashed and trumpets brayed, both sides fought with equal ardour and courage. And as the Romans extended their forces more widely and saw that the Persians were in hiding through fear of the engines placed upon the mounds, they attacked a tower with the ram; and in addition to mattocks, pickaxes, and crowbars the scaling- ladders also drew near, while missiles flew thick and fast from both sides. [22] The Persians, however, were more sorely troubled by the various missiles sent from the ballistae, which as if along a tight rope ⁷⁸ rushed down the artificial slopes of the earthworks. Therefore, thinking that their fortunes were now at their lowest ebb, they rushed to meet certain death, and distributing the duties of their soldiers in the midst of their desperate crisis, they left some behind to hold the walls, while a strong force secretly opened a postern gate and rushed out, drawn sword in hand, followed by others who carried concealed fires. [23] And while the Romans now pressed hard on those who gave way, and now met those who ventured to charge, the men who carried the fire-pans, stooping low and creeping along, pushed live coals into the joints of one of the mounds, which was built of the boughs of various kinds of trees, of rushes, and of bundles of cane. These, as soon as the dry fuel caught fire, at once burst into flame, and our soldiers only with extreme peril got away with their engines uninjured.

[24] But when the coming of evening put an end to the fighting, and both sides withdrew for a brief rest, the emperor, divided between various plans and pondering them — since pressing reasons urged a longer attempt to

destroy Phaenicha, a fortress opposed as an almost unsurmountable barrier to the enemy's inroads; but the lateness of the season dissuaded him — finally decided to stay there, and to carry on light skirmishes, thinking that perhaps the Persians would yield through lack of supplies. But the result was not what he looked for. [25] For when the fighting slackened, wet weather followed, dripping clouds with menacing darkness appeared, and the ground was so drenched with continual rains, that soft and sticky mud caused general trouble in that region of rich turf. And, besides all this, thunder and lightning with repeated crashes terrified the timorous minds of men.

[26] More than this, rainbows were constantly seen; and how that phenomenon is wont to occur, a brief explanation will show. The warmer exhalations of the earth and its moist vapours are condensed into clouds; these are then dissipated into a fine spray, which, made brilliant by the sun's rays that fall upon it, rises swiftly and, coming opposite the fiery orb itself, forms the rainbow. And the bow is rounded into a great curve, because it extends over our world, which the science of natural philosophy tells us rests upon a hemisphere. ⁷⁹ [27] Its first colour, so far as mortal eye can discern, is yellow, the second golden or tawny, the third red, the fourth violet, ⁸⁰ and the last blue verging upon green. [28] It shows this combination of beautiful colours, as earthborn minds conceive, for the reason that its first part, corresponding in colour with the surrounding air, appears paler; the second is tawny, that is, somewhat more vivid than yellow; the third is red, because it is exposed to the brightness of the sun, and in proportion to alternation in the air absorbs its brilliance most purely, being just opposite; ⁸¹ the fourth is violet, because receiving the brightness of the sun's rays with a thick rain of spray glittering between, through which it rises, it shows an appearance more like fire; and that colour, the more it spreads, passes over into blue and green.

[29] Others think that the form of the rainbow appears to earthly sight when the rays of the sun penetrate a thick and lofty cloud and fill it with clear light. Since this does not find an outlet, it forms itself into a mass and glows from the intense friction; and it takes the colours nearest to white from the sun higher up, but the greenish shades from resemblance to the cloud just above it. The same thing usually happens with the sea, where the waters that dash upon the shore are white, and those further out without any admixture are blue.

[30] And since the rainbow is an indication of a change of weather (as I have said), from sunny skies bringing up masses of clouds, or on the contrary changing an overcast sky to one that is calm and pleasant, we often read in the poets that Iris is sent from heaven when it is necessary to change the present condition of affairs. There are many other different opinions, which it would be superfluous to enumerate at present, since my narrative is in haste to return to the point from which it digressed.

[31] For these and similar reasons the emperor wavered between hope and fear, since the severity of winter was drawing near and attacks were to be looked for in that trackless region, while also he feared mutiny of the

exasperated soldiers. Besides this, his anxious mind was tormented by the thought that when, so to speak, the door of a rich house was open before him, he was returning without success.

[32] Therefore abandoning his fruitless attempt, he returned to Syria, purposing to winter in Antioch, having suffered severely and grievously; for the losses which the Persians had inflicted upon him were not slight but terrible and long to be lamented. For it had happened, as if some fateful constellation so controlled the several events, that when Constantius in person warred with the Persians, adverse fortune always attended him. Therefore he wished to conquer at least through his generals, which, as we recall, did sometimes happen.

NOTES.

¹ In one of the lost books; it was in 343.

² Cf. xviii. 2, 7.

³ Cf. xvi. 10, 12, *elatus in arduum supercilium*.

⁴ A tribe of Gothic origin which settled in Gaul; associated with the Batavi also in xx, 4, 2; xxvii. 8, 7.

⁵ See xviii. 5, 5.

⁶ Son of Nigrinianus; of. xv. 5, 12.

⁷ See xiv. 7, 9, note 3.

⁸ I.e. that the sun had disappeared for good and all.

⁹ See note 2, , § 4, below.

¹⁰ I.e. the full moon; cf. § 7, below.

¹¹ I.e. parts of degrees, or minutes; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 48, *scripulis partium*.

¹² The natural philosophers.

¹³ At the end of each lunar month.

¹⁴ I.e. are in conjunction.

¹⁵ According to Clark's punctuation, based upon metrical *clausulae* (Intro., p. xxii); but *igneo* seems to be more naturally taken with *orbi*.

¹⁶ μαθηματικὴ συνταξις, vi. 6.

¹⁷ "Ascending and descending ecliptic nodes." The moon in its course shifts from one side to the other of the ecliptic, or sun's course (see § 2, above). The nodes are the points where the moon passes the ecliptic; the node where she passes from the south to the north side is called "ascending," that where she changes from north to south, "descending."

¹⁸ I.e. the sun.

¹⁹ Of the Zodiac.

²⁰ I.e. is nearer the earth than the other heavenly bodies.

²¹ The sun.

²² I.e. the shadow cast by the earth; *meta* refers to the shape of the shadow; cf. Cic., *De Div.* ii. 6, 17, *quando illa . . . incurrat in umbram terrae, quae est meta noctis*; *Nat. Deor.* ii. 40,

- ²³ “Conjunction”; cf. Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 12, σύννοδος ἐκλειπτικῇ σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον. That is, the time between two “new moons”; really, the last appearance of the waning moon, and the first of the actual new moon.
- ²⁴ I.e. it is “new moon.”
- ²⁵ The crescent moon; μηνοειδής means “in the form of a crescent”; cf. Hdt. viii. 15.
- ²⁶ The half-moon; διχόμηνις means “dividing the month” cf. Lat. *Idus*, to which some give that derivation, wrongly.
- ²⁷ The gibbous moon; ἀμφικυρτος means “curved on each side, gibbous.”
- ²⁸ Waning.
- ²⁹ But in inverse order.
- ³⁰ That is, at the full moon.
- ³¹ That is, below our horizon and on the other side of the world.
- ³² Cf. Hor., *Epist.* ii. 1, 13, *urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat artes infra se positas*.
- ³³ *Adorea* originally meant grain distributed to the soldiers as a reward for a victory; then victory, glory; cf. Hor., *Odes*, iv. 4, 41, *dies .. qui primus alma risit adorea*.
- ³⁴ Praetorian prefect in Gaul; cf. xvi. 12, 14; xvii. 3, 2, etc.; not the same as the Florentius of xx. 2, 2.
- ³⁵ See i. 3, note 2.
- ³⁶ Mentioned together also in xx. 5, 9; the latter probably got their name from some act of lawlessness, as *per contra* legions were called *Pia*, *Fidelis*, etc.
- ³⁷ On *numeris* see Index of Officials, vol. i.
- ³⁸ This would hardly have been possible; of. *adulta hieme*, in 1, 3.
- ³⁹ See xiv. 7, 9, note 3.
- ⁴⁰ I.e. of opportunities for promotion and other rewards for active service; cf. § 12, below.
- ⁴¹ *Lupicinus*.
- ⁴² *Florentius*.
- ⁴³ Cf. *praefectus praetorio praesens*, xiv. 1, 10, and Index of Officials, vol. i.
- ⁴⁴ The *clavularis cursus* was used for transporting soldiers rapidly from place to place; the *clavula* (or *clavulus*), apparently a kind of large wagon, was also for the use of those who were sick or disabled. See Index of Officials, vol. i, s.v. *cursus publicus*.

⁴⁵ Later destroyed by the Normans. It was perhaps the building known under the name of *Domus Thermarum*, and *Palatium Thermarum*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Tac., *Hist.* iv. 15 (*Brinno*) *impositus scuto more gentis et sustinentium umeris vibratus dux deligitur*; Cassiod., *Varia*, x. 31.

⁴⁷ See xxi. 10, 2, notes 3, 4.

⁴⁸ See xvi. 12, 20, note.

⁴⁹ From the time of Trajan the standard of the cohorts; see xvi. 10, 7.

⁵⁰ The *aureus* was the standard Roman gold coin, equal to 25 *denarii* or 100 sesterces.

⁵¹ The thirty *silentarii*, who kept watch before the emperor's room when important business was going on and maintained quiet, were commanded by three decurions.

⁵² xx. 4, 3.

⁵³ Officers of the army, who received the provisions from the contractors and delivered them to the soldiers; and kept the accounts; see also xv. 5, 3, note.

⁵⁴ See xviii. 10, 1.

⁵⁵ In a lost book; it happened in 348.

⁵⁶ I.e. the huge ram.

⁵⁷ Nisibis was besieged three times by the Persians. It was finally ceded to them by Jovian; see xxv. 7, 9-11.

⁵⁸ Probably, there was a cessation of hostilities, rather than a truce. Ammianus is loose in his use of military terms; see *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, liii., p ff.

⁵⁹ I.e. than for bloodshed.

⁶⁰ See 11, 6-25, below.

⁶¹ Part of the tribute exacted in Gaul; for this meaning of *sollemnia*, cf. xxii. 7, 10, *annua complentes sollemnia*.

⁶² Cf. Cic. *De Rep.* I. 49.

⁶³ At Julian's court.

⁶⁴ To serve in the Orient; cf. 4, 2, above.

⁶⁵ By this disregard of Julian's wishes as to appointments (see 8, 14, and 9, 8, below) he hoped to intimidate his rival.

⁶⁶ See § 4, above.

⁶⁷ I.e. the appointment of a praetorian prefect; not of Nebridius, as appears from xxi. 5, 11,

12, below.

⁶⁸ Cf. xx. 1, 2, note.

⁶⁹ Modern Kellen; cf. xviii. 2, 4, note.

⁷⁰ *ex arbitrio* is rather a vague expression, but the context seems to make it clear.

⁷¹ Cf. xxii. 3, 7-8.

⁷² See illustration, p-9.

⁷³ By which the besiegers were protected.

⁷⁴ Gellius, xv. 1. 6 f., quoting Quadrigarius, tells how Archelaus made a wooden tower fireproof by smearing it with alum.

⁷⁵ Double negative as an affirmative, as in xxi. 1, 13.

⁷⁶ I.e. greater than in previous assaults. For *amplioribus* = *pluribus*, cf. xvi. 2, 6, *cum timeret ut ampliores*.

⁷⁷ I.e. than would be possible with the siege-engines.

⁷⁸ *Transenna* has various meanings, one of which is *extentus funis* (Serv. on *Aen.* v. 488). *Per transennam* in this sense occurs only here. In xxv. 6, 14 Ammianus by *e transenna emissi*, refers probably to runners starting in a race when the rope is dropped, and meaning "all together." Some take *per transennam* in the same sense, but it seems to refer rather to the accuracy of the marksmen, as if their missiles slid down a rope stretched from their *ballistae* to the mark at which they aimed.

⁷⁹ The meaning seems to be that the vault of the heavens is therefore a hemisphere.

⁸⁰ "Purple" varied from scarlet to violet.

⁸¹ I.e. the air is so affected by contact with the first two bands that it becomes more receptive of the effect of the sun's rays.

BOOK XXI

Julianus Augustus celebrates quinquennial games at Vienne; how he knew beforehand that Constantius Augustus would shortly die; and on various means of foretelling future events.

While Constantius was involved in this hard fortune of wars beyond the river Euphrates, Julian passed the time at Vienne, spending days and nights in making secure plans for the future, so far as his narrow means allowed, constantly gaining greater confidence, but always in doubt whether to try every means for inducing Constantius to come to an understanding, or to strike him with terror by attacking him first. [2] Anxiously weighing these alternatives, he feared Constantius both as a cruel friend and as frequently victor in civil troubles; and in particular his mind was made anxious and uncertain by the example of his brother Gallus, whom his own negligence and the combined deceit and perjury of certain men had betrayed. [3] Sometimes, however, he took courage to meet many urgent affairs, thinking it far safer to show himself an open enemy to one whose conduct he, as a sagacious prince, could infer from the past, for fear of being deceived by secret plots under cover of a feigned friendship. [4] Therefore, making light of the letter that Constantius had sent through Leonas,¹ and recognising the authority of none of those whom his rival had promoted except Nebridius, being now an Augustus he celebrated quinquennial games; and he wore a magnificent diadem,² set with gleaming gems, whereas at the beginning of his principate he had assumed and worn a cheap crown, like that of the director of a gymnasium attired in purple.³ [5] While these games were going on he had sent to Rome the remains of his deceased wife Helena, to be laid to rest in his villa near the city on the via Nomentana, where also her sister Constantina,⁴ formerly the wife of Gallus, was buried.

[6] Moreover, now that Gaul was quieted, his desire of first attacking Constantius was sharpened and fired, since he inferred from many prophetic signs (in which he was an adept) and from dreams, that Constantius would shortly depart from life.

[7] And since to an emperor both learned and devoted to all knowledge malicious folk attribute evil arts for divining future events, we must briefly consider how this important kind of learning also may form part of a philosopher's equipment.

[8] The spirit pervading all the elements, seeing that they are eternal bodies, is always and everywhere strong in the power of prescience, and as the result of the knowledge which we acquire through varied studies makes us also sharers in the gifts of divination; and the elemental powers,⁵ when propitiated by divers rites, supply mortals with words of prophecy, as if from the veins of inexhaustible founts. These prophecies are said to be under the

control of the divine Themis, so named because she reveals in advance decrees determined for the future by the law of the fates, which the Greeks call *τεθειμένα*; ⁶ and therefore the ancient theologians gave her a share in the bed and throne of Jupiter, the life-giving power.

[9] Auguries and auspices are not gained from the will of the fowls of the air which have no knowledge of future events (for that not even a fool will maintain), but a god so directs the flight of birds that the sound of their bills or the passing flight of their wings in disturbed or in gentle passage foretells future events. For the goodness of the deity, either because men deserve it, or moved by his affection for them, loves by these arts also to reveal impending events.

[10] Those, too, who give attention to the prophetic entrails of beasts, which are wont to assume innumerable forms, know of impending events. And the teacher of this branch of learning is one named Tages, who (as the story goes) was seen suddenly to spring from the earth in the regions of Etruria. ⁷

[11] Future events are further revealed when men's hearts are in commotion, but speak divine words. For (as the natural philosophers say) the Sun, the soul of the universe, sending out our minds from himself after the manner of sparks, when he has fired men mightily, makes them aware of the future. And it is for this reason that the Sibyls often say that they are burning, since they are fired by the mighty power of the flames. Besides these, the loud sounds of voices give many signs, as well as the phenomena which meet our eyes, thunder even and lightning, and the gleam of a star's train of light.

[12] The faith in dreams, too, would be sure and indubitable, were it not that their interpreters are sometimes deceived in their conjectures. And dreams (as Aristotle declares) are certain and trustworthy, when the person is in a deep sleep and the pupil of his eye is inclined to neither side but looks directly forward. [13] And because the silly commons oftentimes object, ignorantly muttering such things as these: "If there were a science of prophecy, why did one man not know that he would fall in battle, or another that he would suffer this or that": it will be enough to say, that a grammarian has sometimes spoken ungrammatically, a musician sung out of tune, and a physician been ignorant of a remedy, but for all that grammar, music, and the medical art have not come to a stop. [14] Wherefore Cicero has this fine saying, among others: "The gods," says he, "show signs of coming events. With regard to these if one err, it is not the nature of the gods that is at fault, but man's interpretation." ⁸ Therefore, that my discourse may not run beyond the mark (as the saying is) and weary my future reader, let us return and unfold the events that were foreseen.

Julianus Augustus at Vienne pretends to be a Christian, in order to win the favour of the populace; and on the day of a festival he prays to God in church among the Christians.

At Paris, when Julian, still a Caesar, was shaking his shield while engaged in various exercises in the field,⁹ the sections of which the orb of the shield was fashioned fell apart and only the handle remained, which he held in the grasp of a strong hand.^[2] And when all who were present were terrified by what seemed a direful omen, he said: "Let no man be afraid; I hold firmly what I was holding."¹⁰ Again at Vienne at a later time, when he went to sleep with a clear head, at night's dread mid a gleaming form appeared and recited to him plainly, as he lay almost awake, the following heroic verses, repeating them several times; and trusting to these, he believed that no difficulty remained to trouble him:

"When Zeus the noble Aquarius' bound shall reach, And Saturn come to Virgo's twenty-fifth degree, Then shall Constantius, king of Asia, of this life So sweet the end attain with heaviness and grief."¹¹

^[3] Accordingly, he continued to make no change in his present condition, merely with calm and tranquil mind attending to everything that came up and gradually strengthening his position, to the end that his increase in rank might be attended also with a growth in power.^[4] And in order to win the favour of all men and have opposition from none, he pretended to be an adherent of the Christian religion, from which he had long since secretly revolted; and making a few men sharers in his secrets, he was given up to soothsaying and auguries, and to other practises which the worshippers of the pagan gods have always followed.^[5] And in order temporarily to conceal this, on the day of the festival which the Christians celebrate in the month of January and call the Epiphany,¹² he went to their church, and departed after offering a prayer to their deity in the usual manner.

Vadomarius, king of the Alamanni, having broken the treaty, lays waste the frontiers through his emissaries and kills Count Libino and some others.

While these events were taking place, spring being now at hand, Julian was stirred by an unexpected piece of news, which turned him to sadness and grief. For he learned that the Alamanni had sallied forth from Vadomarius' canton, a quarter from which he looked for no danger since the conclusion of the treaty,¹³ and were devastating the regions bordering on Raetia, and, ranging widely with bands of plunderers, were leaving nothing untried.^[2] Since to ignore this would arouse new causes for war, he sent a certain Libino, a count, with the Celts and Petulantes, who were wintering with him, to set matters in order according as conditions demanded.^[3] When Libino had quickly come to the neighbourhood of the town of Sanctio,¹⁴ he was seen from afar by the savages, who, already meditating battle, had hidden themselves in the valleys. Thereupon encouraging his men, who, though fewer in numbers, were inspired with an ardent longing for battle, he rashly attacked the Germans and at the beginning of the fighting was himself the first of all to fall. Since his death increased the confidence of the savages and fired

the Romans with a desire to avenge their leader, an obstinate struggle ensued, in which our men, overcome by vast numbers, were put to flight after a few of them had been killed or wounded.

[4] With this Vodomarius and his brother Gundomadus, who was also king, Constantius (as I have already said) had concluded a peace.¹⁵ When, after that event, Gundomadus¹⁶ died, Constantius, thinking that Vodomarius would be loyal to him, made him the secret and efficient executor of his plots (if rumour alone is to be trusted), and wrote to him that he should pretend to break the treaty of peace from time to time and attack the districts bordering on his domain; to the end that Julian, in fear of this, should nowhere abandon the defence of Gaul. [5] These commands Vodomarius obeyed (if it is right to believe the tale) and perpetrated this and similar outrages, wonderfully skilled as he was from the beginning of his life in deception and fraud, as he also showed later when governor of the province of Phoenicia.¹⁷ But when he was actually proved to be acting treacherously, he ceased his activities. For a secretary whom he had sent to Constantius was captured by the soldiers on guard, and when he was searched, to see if he carried anything, a letter from Vodomarius was found, in which besides many other things he had written this also: "Your Caesar lacks discipline."¹⁸ But he was constantly addressing Julian in letters as Lord, Augustus and God.

Julianus Augustus, having intercepted a letter of Vodomarius to Constantius Augustus, had him arrested at a banquet; then, after slaying some of the Alamanni and receiving others in surrender, he granted peace to the rest at their request.

Julian, thinking that such actions, dangerous and dubious as they were, would break out into deadly mischief, directed all his thoughts to the one end of forcibly seizing Vodomarius while off his guard, in order to ensure his own safety and that of the provinces. And this was the plan that he formed. [2] He had sent to those regions his secretary, Philagrius, later Count of the Orient,¹⁹ in whose good judgement he had confidence, having already tested it; and, in addition to many other orders which he was to execute according as urgent affairs might require, he also gave him a sealed note with orders neither to open nor read it unless he saw Vodomarius on our side of the Rhine. [3] Philagrius went his way as ordered, and when he had arrived and was busy with sundry affairs, Vodomarius crossed the river, fearing nothing, as was natural in a time of profound peace, and pretending to know of no irregular doings. And on seeing the commander of the soldiers stationed there, he spoke briefly with him as usual; and in order to leave behind no suspicion on his departure, he even promised to come to a banquet of the commander's to which Philagrius also was invited. [4] The latter immediately upon entering and seeing the king recalled the words of his emperor, and offering as excuse some important and urgent piece of business, returned to his quarters; then,

after reading the letter and learning what he was to do, he at once came back and took his place at table with the others. [5] As soon as the feast was ended, he laid a strong hand on Vadomarius and handed him over to the commander of the soldiers, to be closely confined in camp, having read to him the text of his orders; the king's companions he compelled to return to their homes, since no order touching them had been given. [6] The aforesaid king, however, was taken to the camp of the prince, and though now without any hope of pardon, since he had learned that his secretary had been taken and that what he had written to Constantius was now generally known, without even being addressed in reproachful terms he was sent to Spain. For the greatest precaution was taken lest, when Julian should withdraw from Gaul, that most savage king should not lawlessly disturb the condition of the provinces, which had been put in order with difficulty.

[7] Although Julian was somewhat elated by this good fortune, in that the king, whom he dreaded when about to leave for far countries, had been apprehended sooner than he had expected, yet he did not at all relax his diligence, but planned an attack upon the savages who (as I have shown ²⁰) had slain the Count Libino and a few of his followers in battle. [8] And in order that no rumour of his coming might lead them to flee to more distant places, he crossed the Rhine in the deep silence of night with the lightest equipped of his auxiliary forces and surrounded them while they feared nothing of the kind. And when they were awakened by the clash of hostile arms and were looking about for their swords and spears, he flew upon them swiftly; some he slew, others, who begged for mercy and offered booty, he received in surrender, to the rest who remained there he granted peace when they sued for it and promised lasting quiet.

Julianus Augustus addresses his soldiers and has them all swear allegiance to him, being resolved to make war upon Constantius Augustus.

While performing these exploits with resolute courage, Julian, surmising what a mass of civil strife he had aroused, and wisely foreseeing that nothing was so favourable to a sudden enterprise as speedy action, thought that he would be safer if he openly admitted his revolt, and being uncertain of the loyalty of the troops, he first propitiated Bellona ²¹ with a secret rite, and then, after calling the army to an assembly with the clarion, he took his place on a tribunal of stone, and now feeling more confident (as was evident), spoke these words in a louder voice than common:

[2] "Long since, noble ²² fellow-soldiers, I have believed in my secret thoughts that you, fired by your valiant deeds, have been waiting to learn how the events that are expected may be weighed and provided for beforehand. For it becomes the soldier reared amid great and glorious deeds to use his ears rather than his tongue, and for a leader of tried justice to have no other thoughts than those which can worthily be praised and approved. Therefore,

that I may cast aside vague circumlocution and set forth what I have purposed, kindly attend, I pray you, to what I shall briefly run through.

[3] “By Heaven’s will united with you from the very beginning of my youth, I checked the constant inroads of the Alamanni and the Franks and their unending lust for plunder, and by our combined courage I made it possible for the Rhine to be crossed by Roman armies as often as they wished; and in standing firm against the clamour of rumours and the forcible invasions of mighty nations I relied, I assure you, on the support of your valour. [4] Gaul, an eye-witness of these labours that we have performed, and now restored after many losses and long and grievous calamities, will hand down these achievements of ours to posterity through countless ²³ ages. [5] But now that, forced by the authority of your choice and by stress of circumstances, I have been raised to Augustan dignity, with your support and that of the deity (if fortune favours our enterprises), I am aiming higher at greater deeds, openly declaring that to an army whose justice and greatness in arms are renowned I have seemed in time of peace a mild and self-controlled leader, and in many wars against the united forces of nations, sagacious and prudent. [6] Therefore, that we may with the closest unanimity of purpose forestall adverse events, follow my course of action, which is salutary (I think), since our intention and desire are in harmony with the welfare of the state; ²⁴ and while the regions of Illyricum are without greater garrisons, advancing with unobstructed course, let us meanwhile take possession of the utmost parts of Dacia, and from there learn by means of good success what ought to be done. [7] In support of this plan ²⁵ do you, I pray, after the manner of those who trust their leaders, ²⁶ promise under oath your lasting and faithful accord; I for my part will strive diligently and anxiously that nothing be done rashly or with faint heart, and I will show, if any one require it, my conscience clean, in that I will undertake or try nothing willingly except what contributes to the common weal. [8] This one thing I beg and implore: see to it that none of you under the impulse of growing ardour be guilty of injury to private citizens, bearing in mind that not so much the slaughter of countless foemen has made us famous as the prosperity and safety of the provinces, widely known through instances of virtuous conduct.”

[9] By this speech of the emperor, no less approved than the words of some oracle, the assembly was strongly moved. Eager for revolution, with one accord they mingled fear-inspiring shouts with the violent clash of shields, calling him a great and exalted leader and (as they knew from experience) a fortunate victor over nations and kings. [10] And when all had been bidden to take the usual oath of allegiance, aiming their swords at their throats, ²⁷ they swore in set terms under pain of dire execrations, that they would endure all hazards for him, to the extent of pouring out their life-blood, if necessity required; their officers and all the emperor’s closest advisers followed their example, and pledged loyalty with like ceremony. [11] Alone among all the prefect Nebridius, with a loyalty that was firm rather than prudent, opposed

him, declaring that he could by no means be bound by an oath against Constantius, to whom he was indebted for many and repeated acts of kindness. [12] Upon hearing this the soldiers who were standing near, inflamed with anger, rushed upon him to slay him; but the emperor, at whose knees he had fallen, covered him with his general's cloak. Then Julian returned to the palace. And when he saw that Nebridius had preceded him and was lying there as a suppliant, begging that, to relieve his fears, the emperor would offer him his hand, Julian answered: "Will any special honour be reserved for my friends, if *you* shall touch my hand? But depart in safety whithersoever you please." On hearing this, Nebridius withdrew unharmed ²⁸ to his home in Tuscany. ²⁹ [13] After taking these precautions, as the greatness of the enterprise demanded, Julian, knowing by experience the value of anticipating and outstripping an adversary in troublous times, ³⁰ having given written ³¹ order for a march into Pannonia, advanced his camp and his standards, and unhesitatingly ³² committed himself to whatever Fortune might offer.

Constantius Augustus marries Faustina; he increases his army with additional recruits; by gifts he wins the support of the kings of Armenia and Hiberia.

It is now fitting to turn back to the past and give a brief account of what Constantius, who was wintering at Antioch, accomplished in peace and in war, while the events just described were taking place in Gaul. [2] Among many others of conspicuous distinction there were also appointed to greet the emperor when he came from abroad some illustrious tribunes. Therefore when Constantius, on his return from Mesopotamia, was received with this attention, Amphilocheus, a former tribune from Paphlagonia, who had served long before under Constans and was under well-founded suspicion of having sown the seeds of discord between the deceased brothers, ³³ having dared to appear somewhat arrogantly, as if he also ought to be admitted to this service, was recognised and forbidden. And when many raised an outcry and shouted that he ought not to be allowed longer to look upon the light of day, being a stiff-necked traitor, Constantius, milder than usual on this occasion, said: "Cease to trouble a man who is, I believe, guilty, but has not yet been openly convicted; and remember that if he has committed anything of that kind, so long as he is in my sight he will be punished by the judgement of his own conscience, from which he will be unable to hide." And that was the end of it. [3] On the next day, at the games in the Circus, the same man was looking on from a place opposite the emperor, where he usually sat. And when the expected contest began and a sudden shout was raised, the railing on which with many others he was leaning broke, and he with all the rest fell to the ground; and while a few were slightly injured, he alone was found to have suffered internal injuries and to have given up the ghost, whereat Constantius rejoiced greatly, as if he had a knowledge of future events also.

[4] At that same time Constantius took to wife Faustina, having long since lost Eusebia, sister of the ex-consuls Eusebius and Hypatius, a lady distinguished before many others for beauty of person and of character, and kindly in spite of her lofty station, through whose well-deserved favour (as I have shown)³⁴ Julian was saved from dangers and declared Caesar.

[5] During those same days, attention was paid to Florentius also, who had left Gaul through fear of a change of government, and he was sent to take the place of Anatolius, praetorian prefect in Illyricum, who had recently died; and with Taurus, who was likewise praetorian prefect in Italy, he received the insignia of the highest magistracy.³⁵

[6] Nevertheless, equipment for foreign and civil wars continued to be made, the number of squadrons of cavalry was increased, and with equal zeal levies were ordered throughout the provinces and reinforcements enrolled for the legions; every order and profession was burdened, supplying clothing, arms, and hurling-engines, nay even gold and silver, and an abundance of provisions of all kinds as well as various sorts of beasts of burden. [7] And since from the king of the Persians, who had regretfully been forced back into his own territories by the difficulty of the winter season, now that the mild weather had set in a more powerful attack was feared, envoys were sent to the kings and satraps beyond the Tigris with generous gifts, to admonish and exhort them all to be loyal to us and attempt no deceit or fraud. [8] But above all Arsaces and Meribanes, kings of Armenia and of Hiberia, were bribed with splendidly adorned garments and gifts of many kinds, since they would be likely to cause damage to Roman interests,³⁶ if when affairs were already dubious they should revolt to the Persians. [9] In the midst of such urgent affairs Hermogenes³⁷ died and Helpidius was promoted to the prefecture, a man born in Paphlagonia, ordinary in appearance and speech, but of a simple nature, so averse to bloodshed and so mild that once when Constantius had ordered him to torture an innocent man in his presence, he quietly asked that his office might be taken from him and these matters left to more suitable men, to be carried out according to the sovereign's mind.

Constantius Augustus, then living at Antioch, retains Africa in his power through the statesecretary Gaudentius; he crosses the Euphrates and proceeds with his army to Edessa.

Therefore, Constantius, wavering amid the difficulty of pressing affairs, was in doubt what course to pursue, considering long and anxiously whether to go to distant lands against Julian, or to repel the Parthians, who (as they threatened) were soon about to cross the Euphrates; and after hesitating and often taking counsel with his generals, he at last inclined to this plan: that after finishing, or at any rate quieting, the nearer war, and leaving no one to fear behind his back, after overrunning Illyricum and Italy (as he thought), he

should take Julian (like a hunter's prey) in the very beginning of his enterprises; for so he kept continually declaring, to calm the fear of his men. [2] Nevertheless, that he might not grow lukewarm or seem to have neglected the other side of the war, spreading everywhere the terror of his coming; and fearing lest Africa should be invaded in his absence, a province advantageous to the emperors for all occasions,³⁸ as if he were on the point of leaving the regions of the East, he sent to Africa by sea the secretary Gaudentius, who (as I have hinted before) had been for some time in Gaul to watch the actions of Julian.³⁹ [3] For he hoped that Gaudentius would be able to accomplish everything with prompt obedience for two reasons: both because he feared the adverse side, which he had offended, and because he would be eager to take advantage of this opportunity to commend himself to Constantius, who he thought would undoubtedly be the victor; for at that time there was no one at all who did not hold that firm conviction. [4] So when Gaudentius came there, mindful of the emperor's injunctions, he informed Count Cretio and the other commanders by letter what was to be done, assembled the bravest soldiers from every hand, brought over light-armed skirmishers from both the Mauritanian provinces, and closely guarded the shores lying opposite to Aquitania and Italy.⁴⁰ [5] And Constantius made no mistake in adopting that plan, for so long as he lived none of his opponents reached those lands, although the coast of Sicily which extends from Lilybaeum to Pachynum was guarded by a strong armed force, which was ready to cross quickly, if an opportunity should offer.

[6] When these and other less important and trifling matters had been arranged as Constantius thought would be to his advantage under the circumstances, he was informed by messages and letters of his generals that the Persian forces had united with their haughty king at their head, and were already drawing near to the banks of the Tigris, but that where they were intending to break through was uncertain. [7] Aroused by this news, Constantius left his winter quarters as speedily as possible, in order to act from nearer at hand and so be able to anticipate the coming attempts. He gathered from all sides cavalry and the flower of his infantry, on which he relied, and crossing the Euphrates by Capersana⁴¹ on a bridge of boats, proceeded to Edessa, a city strongly fortified and well supplied with provisions; there he waited for a time, until scouts or deserters should give information of the moving of the enemy's camp.

Julianus Augustus, after having set the affairs of Gaul in order, makes for the bank of the Danube, sending a part of his forces on ahead through Italy and Raetia.

Meanwhile Julian, leaving Augst after finishing the business of which we have already spoken, sent Sallustius,⁴² who had been advanced to the rank of prefect, back to Gaul, bidding Germanianus take the place of Nebridius;⁴³ he

also made Nevitta commander of the cavalry, ⁴⁴ fearing Gomoarius ⁴⁵ as an old-time traitor, who (as he had heard), when leading the targeteers, secretly betrayed his prince, Veteranio. To Jovius, of whom I made mention in connection with the actions of Magnentius, ⁴⁶ he gave the quaestorship, and to Mamertinus the charge of the sacred largesses; he put Dagalaifus in command of the household troops, and assigned many others, whose services and loyalty he knew, to military commands on his own authority. [2] He intended then to make his way through the Marcian woods ⁴⁷ and along the roads near the banks of the river Danube, but being exceedingly uncertain amid the sudden changes of events, he feared lest his small retinue might bring him into contempt and lead the populace to oppose him. [3] To prevent this from happening, he devised an ingenious plan: he divided his army and sent one part with Jovinus and Jovius to march rapidly along the familiar roads of Italy; the others were assigned to Nevitta, the commander of the cavalry, to advance through the middle of Raetia; to the end that, being spread over various parts of the country, they might give the impression of a huge force and fill everything with alarm. For this was what Alexander the Great had done, and many other skilful generals after him, ⁴⁸ when occasion so required. [4] He also charged them, when they left, to be on their guard as they marched, as if the enemy were to meet them at once, and at night to keep watch and ward, so as not to be surprised by a hostile attack.

Taurus and Florentius, consuls and praetorian prefects, flee on the approach of Julianus Augustus, the one through Illyricum, the other through Italy. Lucillianus, commander of the cavalry, who was preparing to resist Julian, is defeated.

When these arrangements had thus been made (suitably, as it seemed), he proceeded to go farther on ⁴⁹ by the method through which he had often broken through the country of the savages, relying upon a series of successes. [2] And when he came to the place where he learned that the river was navigable, embarking in boats, of which by a fortunate chance there was a good supply, he was carried down the channel of the river as secretly as possible; and he escaped notice because, being enduring and strong and having no need of choice food, but content with a scanty and simple diet, he passed by the towns and fortresses without entering them, taking as his model that fine saying of Cyrus of old, who on coming to an inn and being asked by the host what viands he should prepare, replied: "Nothing but bread, for I hope to dine near a stream." [3] But Rumour, which with a thousand tongues, as men say, strangely exaggerates the truth, spread herself abroad with many reports throughout all Illyricum, saying that Julian, after overthrowing a great number of kings and nations in Gaul, was on the way with a numerous army and puffed up by sundry successes. [4] Alarmed by this news, the pretorian prefect Taurus speedily retreated, as if avoiding a foreign enemy, and using

the rapid changes of the public courier-service, he crossed the Julian Alps, at the same stroke taking away with him Florentius, who was also prefect. [5] None the less, Count Lucillianus, who then commanded the troops stationed in those regions, with headquarters at Sirmium, having some slight intelligence of Julian's move, gathered together such forces as regard for speedy action allowed to be summoned from the neighbouring stations and planned to resist him when he should arrive. [6] But Julian, like a meteor or a blazing dart,⁵⁰ hastened with winged speed to his goal; and when he had come to Bononea,⁵¹ distant nineteen miles from Sirmium, as the moon was waning and therefore making dark the greater part of the night, he unexpectedly landed, and at once sent Dagalaifus with a light- armed force to summon Lucillianus, and if he tried to resist, to bring him by force. [7] The prefect was still asleep, and when he was awakened by the noise and confusion and saw himself surrounded by a ring of strangers, he understood the situation and, overcome with fear on hearing the emperor's name, obeyed his command, though most unwillingly. So the commander of the cavalry, just now so haughty and self-confident, following another's behest, was set upon the first horse that could be found and brought before the emperor like a base captive, scarcely keeping his wits through terror. [8] But when at first sight of Julian he saw that the opportunity was given him of bowing down to the purple, taking heart at last and no longer in fear for his life, he said: "Incautiously and rashly, my Emperor, you have trusted yourself with a few followers to another's territory." To which Julian replied with a bitter smile: "Reserve these wise words for Constantius, for I have offered you the emblem of imperial majesty, not as to a counsellor, but that you might cease to fear."

Julianus Augustus receives Sirmium, the capital of western Illyricum, into his power along with its garrison; he seizes Succi and writes to the senate, inveighing against Constantius.

Then, after getting rid of Lucillianus, thinking that it was no time for delay or for inaction, bold as he was and confident in times of peril, he marched to the city, which he looked on as surrendered. And advancing with rapid steps, he had no sooner come near the suburbs, which were large and extended to a great distance, than a crowd of soldiers and people of all sorts, with many lights, flowers, and good wishes, escorted him to the palace, hailing him as Augustus and Lord. [2] There, rejoicing in his success and in the good omen, and with increased hope of the future, since he believed that following the example of a populous and famous metropolis the other cities also would receive him as a health- giving star, he gave chariot races on the following day, to the joy of the people. But with the dawn of the third day, impatient of delay, he hastened along the public highways, and since no one ventured to oppose him, placed a force in the pass of Succi,⁵² and entrusted its defence to Nevitta, as a faithful officer. And it will now be suitable in a brief digression,

to describe the situation of this place.

[3] The closely united summits of the lofty mountain ranges Haemus and Rhodope, of which the one rises immediately from the banks of the Danube and the other, from those of the Axios,⁵³ on our side, end with swelling hills in a narrow pass, and separate Illyricum and Thrace. On the one side they are near to the midlands of Dacia and to Serdica,⁵⁴ on the other they look down upon Thrace and Philippopolis,⁵⁵ great and famous cities; and as if nature had fore-knowledge that the surrounding nations must come under the sway of Rome, the pass was purposely so fashioned that in former times it opened obscurely between hills lying close together, but afterwards, when our power rose to greatness and splendour, it was opened even for the passage of carts; and yet it could sometimes be so closed as to check the attempts of great leaders and mighty peoples. [4] The part of this pass, which faces Illyricum, since it rises more gently, is sometimes easily surmounted, as though it kept no guard. But the opposite side, over against Thrace, precipitous and falling sheer downward, is made difficult on both sides by rough paths, and is hard to get over even when there is no opposition. At the foot of these heights on both sides lie spacious plains, the upper one extending as far as the Julian Alps,⁵⁶ the other so flat and open that there is no hindrance to its habitation as far as the strait⁵⁷ and the Propontis.

[5] After these arrangements had been made in a matter so momentous and so urgent, the emperor, leaving the commander of the cavalry there, returned to Naessus⁵⁸ (a well-supplied town), from which he might without hindrance attend to everything that would contribute to his advantage. [6] There he made Victor, the writer of history,⁵⁹ whom he had seen at Sirmium and had bidden to come from there, consular governor of Pannonia Secunda, and honoured him with a statue in bronze, a man who was a model of temperance, and long afterwards prefect of the City.⁶⁰ [7] And now, lifting himself higher and believing that Constantius could never be brought into harmony with him, he wrote to the senate a sharp oration full of invective, in which he specifically charged Constantius with disgraceful acts and faults. When these were read in the House, while Tertullus was still acting as prefect, the striking independence of the nobles was manifest as well as their grateful affection;⁶¹ for with complete agreement they one and all shouted: "We demand reverence for your own creator."⁶²

[8] Then he passed on to abuse the memory of Constantine as an innovator and a disturber of the ancient laws and of customs received of old, openly charging that he was the very first to advance barbarians even to the rods and robes of consuls. In so doing he showed neither good taste nor consideration; for instead of avoiding a fault which he so bitterly censured, he himself soon afterwards joined to Mamertinus as colleague in the consulship Nevitta,⁶³ a man neither in high birth, experience, nor renown comparable with those on whom Constantine had conferred the highest magistracy, but on the contrary uncultivated, somewhat boorish, and (what was more intolerable) cruel in his

high office.

Two of Constantius' legions, which at Sirmium had gone over to Julian and been sent by him to Gaul, take possession of Aquileia with the consent of the inhabitants, and close the gates to Julian's army.

While Julian was thinking of these and like matters and troubled by important and grave affairs, terrifying and unexpected news came to him of the monstrous and daring acts of certain men, which would check his eager advance, unless he could by watchful care repress these also before they came to a head. These shall be set forth briefly.

[2] Two of Constantius' legions, which with one cohort of bowmen he had found at Sirmium, being not yet sure of their loyalty he had sent to Gaul under colour of urgent necessity. These were slow to move, through dread of the long march and of the Germans, our fierce and persistent foes, and were planning a rebellion, aided and abetted by Nigrinus, a native of Mesopotamia and commander of a troop of horsemen. Having arranged the plot by secret conferences and added to its strength by profound silence, on arriving at Aquileia, a well-situated and prosperous city, surrounded by strong walls, with hostile intent they suddenly closed its gates, supported in this revolt by the native population, because of the dread which was even then connected with the name of Constantius.⁶⁴ [3] And having closed the entrances and posted armed men on the towers and bulwarks, they made ready whatever would be helpful in the coming contest, meanwhile living free from care or restraint; and by so daring an act they roused the neighbouring Italians to side with Constantius, whom they thought to be still living.

Aquileia, favouring the cause of Constantius Augustus, is besieged, but after learning of his death surrenders to Julian.

When Julian learned of this, being still at Naessus, and fearing no trouble from behind him, he recalled reading and hearing that this city had indeed oftentimes been besieged, but yet had never been razed nor had ever surrendered. Therefore he hastened with the greater earnestness to win it to his side either by craft or by sundry kinds of flattery before any greater mischief should arise. [2] Hence he ordered Jovinus, a commander of the horse, who was coming over the Alps and had entered Noricum, to return with speed, in order to quench in any way he could the fire that had broken out. Also, that nothing might be wanting, he gave orders that all soldiers who followed the court or the standards⁶⁵ should be detained as they passed through that same town,⁶⁶ in order to give help according to their powers.

[3] These arrangements made, he himself, learning not long afterwards of the death of Constantius, hastily traversed Thrace and entered Constantinople. And being often advised that the said siege would be long rather than

formidable, he assigned Immo with his other officers to that task and then ordered Jovinus to go and attend to other matters of greater urgency.

[4] And so when Aquileia was surrounded with a double line of shields,⁶⁷ it was thought best in the unanimous opinion of the generals to try, partly by threats and partly by fair words, to induce the defenders to surrender; but when after much debate to and fro their obstinacy became immensely greater, the conference ended without result. [5] And since now nothing was looked for except battle, both sides refreshed themselves with food and sleep; at daybreak the sound of the trumpets roused them to slay one another, and raising a shout they rushed to battle with more boldness than discretion. [6] Then the besiegers, pushing before them mantlets and closely-woven hurdles, advanced slowly and cautiously, and with a great number of iron tools tried to undermine the walls. Many carried scaling- ladders made to match the height of the walls, but when they could all but touch the ramparts, some were crushed by stones that were hurled down upon them, others were pierced with whizzing darts; and as the survivors gave way, they carried with them all the rest, whom fear of a like fate turned from their purpose of fighting. [7] This first encounter raised the courage of the besieged, who felt confident of still greater success, and made light of what remained to do; with settled and resolute minds they placed artillery in suitable places and with unwearied labour kept guard and attended to other measures of safety. [8] On the other side the assailants, though anxious and fearful of danger, yet from shame of seeming spiritless and slack, seeing that assault by open force effected little, turned to the devices of the besiegers' art. And since a suitable place could nowhere be found for moving up rams, for bringing engines to bear, or for digging mines, the fact ⁶⁸ that the river Natesio flows by the city only a short distance off suggested a device as worthy of admiration as those of old. [9] With eager speed they built wooden towers higher than the enemy's ramparts and placed each upon three ships strongly fastened together. On these stood armed men, who, with forces gathered from near at hand strove with combined and equal courage to dislodge the defenders; and below, light-armed skirmishers issued forth from the lower rooms of the towers and threw out little bridges, which they had made beforehand, and hastened to cross on them. Thus they worked in unison, in order that while those stationed above on both sides assailed each other in turn with missiles and stones, those who had crossed by the bridges might without interference tear down a part of the wall and open an approach into the heart of the city. ⁶⁹ [10] But the result of this well-laid plan was unsuccessful. ⁷⁰ For when the towers were already drawing near, fire-darts steeped in pitch were hurled at them and they were assailed as well with reeds, faggots, and all kinds of kindling material. When by the rapidly spreading fire and the weight of the men who stood precariously upon them the towers toppled and fell into the river, some of the soldiers were killed on their very tops, pierced by missiles from the distant engines. [11] Meanwhile the foot-soldiers, left alone after the death of their companions on the ships,

were crushed by huge stones, except a few whom speed of foot through the encumbered passageways saved from death. Finally, after the conflict had lasted until evening, the usual signal for retreat was given; whereupon both sides withdrew and spent what remained of the day with different feelings. [12] For the laments of the besiegers, as they grieved for the death of their comrades, encouraged the defenders to hope that they were now getting the upper hand, although they, too, had a few losses to mourn. Yet, in spite of this, no time was lost, and after a whole night, during which enough food and rest to recover their strength was allowed, the battle was renewed at daybreak at the sound of the trumpet. [13] Then some with their shields raised over their heads, to be less hampered in fighting, others carrying ladders on their shoulders as before, rushed forward in fiery haste, exposing their breasts to wounds from many kinds of weapons. Still others tried to break the iron bars of the gates, but were assailed in their turn with fire or slain by great stones hurled from the walls. Some, who boldly tried to cross the moat, taken unawares by the sudden onslaughts of those that secretly rushed forth through the postern gates, either fell, if overbold, or withdrew wounded. For the return to the walls was safe ⁷¹ and a rampart before the walls covered with turf protected from all danger those who lay in wait. ⁷² [14] But although the besieged, who had no help other than that of the walls, excelled in endurance and the arts of war, yet our soldiers, selected from the better companies, unable to bear the long delay, went about all the suburbs, diligently seeking for places where they could force an entrance into the city by main strength or by their artillery. [15] But when this proved impossible, prevented by the greatness of the difficulties, they began to conduct the siege with less energy, and the garrison troops, leaving behind only the sentinels and pickets, ransacked the neighbouring fields, got an abundance of all suitable things, and gave their comrades a large share of their plunder; and in consequence, by drinking immoderately and stuffing themselves with rich food, they lost their vigour.

[16] When Julian, who was still wintering in Constantinople, heard from the report of Immo and his colleagues what had happened, he devised a shrewd remedy for the troubles; he at once sent Agilo, commander of the infantry, who was well known at that time, to Aquileia, hoping that the sight of so distinguished a man, and the announcement through him of Constantius' death, might put an end to the blockade.

[17] Meanwhile, that the siege of Aquileia might not be interrupted, it was decided, since all the rest of their toil had come to nothing, to force a surrender of the vigorous defenders by thirst. And when the aqueducts had been cut off, but in spite of that they resisted with still greater confidence, with a mighty effort the river was turned from its course; but that also was done in vain. For when the means of drinking more greedily were diminished, men whom their own rashness had beleaguered lived frugally, and contented themselves with water from wells.

[18] While these events were taking place with the results already told, Agilo (as he was ordered) came to them, and covered by a close array of shields drew near confidently; but after giving a detailed and true account of the death of Constantius and the establishment of Julian's rule, he was overwhelmed with endless abuse as a liar. And no one believed his account of what had happened until he was admitted alone within the walls under a pledge of safe conduct and repeated what he had said, adding a solemn oath that it was true. [19] When this was heard, the gates were opened, and after their long torment all poured forth and gladly met the peace-making general. Trying to excuse themselves, they presented Nigrinus as the author of the whole outrage, along with a few others, asking that by the execution of these men the crime of treason and the woes of their city might be expiated. [20] Finally, a few days later, after the affair had been more thoroughly investigated before Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect, then sitting in judgement, Nigrinus as the chief instigator of the war was burned alive. But after him Romulus and Sabostius, senators of Aquileia, being convicted of having sown the seeds of discord without regard to its dangerous consequences, died by the executioner's sword. All the rest, whom compulsion, rather than inclination, had driven to this mad strife, escaped unpunished. For so the emperor, naturally mild and merciful, had decided on grounds of justice.

[21] Now these things happened later. But Julian was still at Naessus, beset by deep cares, since he feared many dangers from two quarters. For he stood in dread lest the soldiers besieged at Aquileia should by a sudden onset block the passes of the Julian Alps, and he should thus lose the provinces and the support which he daily expected from them. [22] Also he greatly feared the forces of the Orient, hearing that the soldiers dispersed over Thrace had been quickly concentrated to meet sudden violence and were approaching the frontiers of Succia under the lead of the count Martianus. But in spite of this he himself also, acting with an energy commensurate with the pressing mass of dangers, assembled the Illyrian army, reared in the toil of Mars and ready in times of strife to join with a warlike commander. [23] Nor did he at so critical a time disregard the interests of private persons, but he gave ear to their suits and disputes, especially those of the senators of the free towns, whom he was much inclined to favour, and unjustly invested many of them with high public office. [24] There ⁷³ it was that he found Symmachus ⁷⁴ and Maximus, two distinguished senators, who had been sent by the nobles as envoys to Constantius. On their return he received them with honour, and passing over the better man, ⁷⁵ in place of Tertullus made Maximus prefect of the eternal city, to please Rufinus Vulcatius, ⁷⁶ whose nephew he knew him to be. Under this man's administration, however, there were supplies in abundance, and the complaints of the populace, which were often wont to arise, ceased altogether. [25] Then, to bring about a feeling of security in the crisis and to encourage those who were submissive, he promoted Mamertinus, the

pretorian prefect in Illyricum, to the consulship, as well as Nevitta; and that too although he had lately beyond measure blamed Constantine as the first to raise the rank of base foreigners.⁷⁷

Sapor, since the auspices forbade war, leads home his forces. Constantius Augustus addresses his troops at Hierapolis, preparatory to making war upon Julian.

While by these and similar means Julian, wavering between hope and fear, was planning new measures, Constantius at Edessa, troubled by the varying reports of his scouts, was hesitating between two different courses, now preparing his soldiers for battle in the field, now, if opportunity should offer, planning a second siege of Bezabde, with the prudent design of not leaving the flank of Mesopotamia unprotected when he was presently about to march to the north. [2] But in this state of indecision he was kept back by many delays, since the Persian king was waiting on the other side of the Tigris until the signs from heaven should warrant a move; for if Sapor had crossed the river and found no one to oppose him, he could easily have penetrated to the Euphrates; besides this, since he was keeping his soldiers in condition for civil war, he feared to expose them to the dangers of an attack upon a walled city, knowing by experience the strength of its fortifications and the energy of its defenders.

[3] However, in order not to be wholly inactive, nor be criticised for slackness, he ordered Arbitio and Agilo, commanders of the cavalry and of the infantry, to sally forth promptly with strong forces, not with a view of provoking the Persians to battle, but to draw a cordon on our bank of the Tigris and be on the watch to see where the impetuous king might break through. Moreover, he often warned them by word of mouth and in writing that if the enemy's horde should begin to cross, they were to retreat quickly. [4] Now, while these generals were guarding the frontiers assigned them, and the hidden purposes of that most deceitful nation were being observed, he himself with the stronger part of his army was attending to urgent affairs (getting ready for battle) and now and then sallying forth to protect the towns.⁷⁸ But the scouts and deserters who appeared from time to time brought conflicting accounts, being uncertain what would happen, because among the Persians plans are communicated to none save the grandees, who are reticent and loyal, and with whom among their other gods Silence is honoured.⁷⁹ [5] Moreover, the aforesaid generals kept sending for the emperor and begging that reinforcements be sent to them. For they declared that the attack of a most energetic king could not be met, unless all the forces were united at one point.

[6] During these anxious proceedings frequent and trusty messengers arrived, from whose clear and faithful reports it was learned that Julian, having in swift course passed through Italy and Illyricum, had meanwhile

seized the pass of Succus, where he was awaiting auxiliaries summoned from every quarter, in order to invade Thrace attended by a great force of soldiers. [7] When this was known, Constantius, though overwhelmed with sorrow, was sustained by the one comforting thought, that in civil strife he had always come off victor; but while the present situation made it most difficult to decide upon a plan, he resolved, as the best course, gradually to send his soldiers on in advance in the public conveyances, in order the sooner to meet the dread and imminent peril. [8] This plan met with general approval and the troops set out lightly equipped, as was ordered. But as he was carrying out this arrangement, word came next morning that the king with the entire force under his command had returned home, since the auspices put an end to his enterprise; relieved therefore of fear, Constantius recalled all the troops, except those that formed the usual defence of Mesopotamia, and quickly returned to the city of Nicopolis.

[9] There, being still uncertain as to the outcome of his main enterprise, as soon as the army had come together he summoned all the centuries, maniples, and cohorts to an assembly; and when the trumpets sounded and the plain was filled with the multitude, in order to make them the more inclined to carry out his orders, he took his place upon a high tribunal with a larger retinue than common, and assuming an expression of calm confidence, addressed them as follows:

[10] "Being always careful by no act or word, however slight, to allow myself to do anything inconsistent with faultless honour, and like a cautious steersman putting my helm up or down according to the movements of the waves, I am now constrained, dearly beloved soldiers, to confess to you my mistake, or rather (if I may be allowed to use the right word) my kindheartedness, which I believed would be profitable to the interests of all. Therefore, that you may the more readily know the ground for convoking this assembly, hear me, I pray you, with unprejudiced and favourable ears.

[11] "At the time when Magnentius, whom your valorous deeds overthrew, was obstinately bent upon making general confusion in the state, I raised my cousin Gallus to the high rank of Caesar and sent him to defend the Orient. When he by many deeds abominable to witness and to rehearse had forsaken the path of justice, he was punished by the laws' decree. [12] And would to Heaven that Envy, that busiest inciter of trouble, had been content with that, in order that only this one recollection of grief now past, but unaccompanied by dangers, might disquiet me. But now another blow has fallen, more to be lamented, I might venture to say, than those that went before, which the aid of Heaven through your native valour will make harmless. [13] Julian, to whom we entrusted the defence of Gaul while you were fighting the foreign nations that raged around Illyricum, presuming upon some trivial battles which he fought with the half-armed Germans, exulting like a madman, has involved in his ambitious cabal a few auxiliaries, whom their savagery and hopeless condition made ready for a destructive act of recklessness; and he has

conspired for the hurt of the state, treading under foot Justice, the mother and nurse of the Roman world, who, as I readily believe from experience and from the lessons of the past, will in the end, as the punisher of evil deeds, take vengeance on them, and will blow away their proud spirits like ashes.

[14] "What, then, remains but to meet the storms that have been raised, with the purpose of crushing by the remedies of speed the madness of the growing war before it attains greater strength? For there is no doubt that through the present help of the most high Deity, by whose eternal verdict the ungrateful are condemned, the sword that has impiously been whetted must inevitably be turned to the destruction of those who, not provoked, but made greater by many favours, have risen to endanger the guiltless. [15] For, as my mind presages, and as Justice promises, who will aid right purposes, I give you my word that, when we come hand to hand, they will be so benumbed with terror as to be able to endure neither the flashing light of your eyes nor the first sound of your battle-cry."

[16] After these words all were led to his opinion, and brandishing their spears in anger they first replied with many expressions of good will, and then asked to be led at once against the rebel. This mark of favour turned the emperor's fear into joy; he at once dissolved the assembly and ordered Arbitio, whom he already knew from former experiences to be successful before all others in quelling civil wars, to go before him on his march with the lancers, the *mattiarii*,⁸⁰ and the companies of light armed troops; also Gomoarius with the *Laeti*,⁸¹ to oppose the coming advance of the enemy in the pass of Succi, a man chosen before others because he was a bitter enemy of Julian, who had treated him with contempt in Gaul.

Omens of the death of Constantius Augustus.

In this welter of adverse events Constantius' fortune, already wavering and at a standstill, showed clearly by signs almost as plain as words, that a crisis in his life was at hand. For at night he was alarmed by apparitions, and when he was not yet wholly sunk in sleep, the ghost of his father seemed to hold out to him a fair child; and when he took it and set it in his lap, it shook from him the ball⁸² which he held in his right hand and threw it to a great distance. And this foretold a change in the state, although the seers gave reassuring answers.

[2] After that he admitted to his more intimate attendants that, as though forsaken, he ceased to see a kind of secret something⁸³ which he used to think occasionally appeared to him, though somewhat dimly; and it was supposed that a sort of guardian spirit, assigned to protect his life, had deserted him, since he was destined quickly to leave this world. [3] For the theologians maintain that there are associated with all men at their birth, but without interference with the established course of destiny, certain divinities of that sort, as directors of their conduct; but they have been seen by only a very few, whom their manifold merits have raised to eminence. [4] And this oracles and

writers of distinction have shown; among the latter is also the comic poet Menander, in whom we read these two senarii:

A daemon is assigned to every man
At birth, to be the leader⁸⁴ of his life.

[5] Likewise from the immortal poems of Homer⁸⁵ we are given to understand that it was not the gods of heaven that spoke with brave men, and stood by them or aided them as they fought, but that guardian spirits attended them; and through reliance upon their special support, it is said, that Pythagoras, Socrates, and Numa Pompilius⁸⁶ became famous; also the earlier Scipio,⁸⁷ and (as some believe) Marius and Octavianus, who first had the title of Augustus conferred upon him, and Hermes Trismegistus,⁸⁸ Apollonius of Tyana,⁸⁹ and Plotinus,⁹⁰ who ventured to discourse on this mystic theme, and to present a profound discussion of the question by what elements these spirits are linked with men's souls, and taking them to their bosoms, as it were, protect them (as long as possible) and give them higher instruction, if they perceive that they are pure and kept from the pollution of sin through association with an immaculate body.

Constantius Augustus dies at Mobsucrenae in Cilicia.

Constantius, therefore, having reached Antiochia by forced marches, intending (as was his custom) eagerly to encounter civil disturbances at their outset, and having made all his preparations, was in immoderate haste to set out, although many opposed it, but only by murmurs; for no one dared openly to dissuade or to forbid him. [2] When autumn was already waning he began his march, and on coming to a suburban estate called Hippocephalus, distant three miles from the city, he saw in broad daylight on the right side of the road the corpse of a man with head torn off, lying stretched out towards the west.⁹¹ Terrified by the omen, although the fates were preparing his end, he kept on with the greater determination and arrived at Tarsus. There he was taken with a slight fever, but in the expectation of being able to throw off the danger of his illness by the motion of the journey he kept on over difficult roads to Mobsucrenae, the last station of Cilicia as you go from here, situated at the foot of Mount Taurus; but when he tried to start again on the following day, he was detained by the increasing severity of the disease. Gradually the extreme heat of the fever so inflamed his veins that his body could not even be touched, since it burned like a furnace; and when the application of remedies proved useless, as he breathed his last he lamented his end. However, while his mind was still unimpaired he is said to have designated Julian as the successor to the throne. [3] Then the death-rattle began and he was silent, and after a long struggle with life now about to leave him, he died on the fifth of October, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign at the age of forty- four years and a few months.⁹²

[4] After this followed the last mournful call to the deceased,⁹³ and grief and wailing broke out; then those who held the first rank in the royal court considered what they should do, or what they ought to attempt. And after a few had been sounded secretly as to the choice of an emperor, at the suggestion of Eusebius (as was reported), whom the consciousness of his guilt pricked, since Julian's nearness made an attempt at revolution inadvisable, Theolaifus and Aligildus,⁹⁴ at that time counts, were sent to him, to report the death of his kinsman, and beg him to lay aside all delay and come to take over the Orient, which was ready to obey him. [5] However, rumour and an uncertain report had it that Constantius had made a last will, in which (as I have said) he wrote down Julian as his heir and gave commissions and legacies to those who were dear to him. [6] Now he left his wife with child, and the posthumous daughter to whom she afterwards gave birth was called by his name, and when she grew up was united in marriage with Gratianus.⁹⁵

The virtues of Constantius Augustus, and his faults.

Observing, therefore, a true distinction between his good qualities and his defects, it will be fitting to set forth his good points first.⁹⁶ He always maintained the dignity of imperial majesty, and his great and lofty spirit disdained the favour of the populace. He was exceedingly sparing in conferring the higher dignities, with few exceptions allowing no innovations in the way of additions to the administrative offices; and he never let the military lift their heads too high.⁹⁷ [2] Under him no leader of an army was advanced to the rank of *clarissimus*. For they were (according to my personal recollection) all *perfectissimi*.⁹⁸ The governor of a province never officially met a commander⁹⁹ of the cavalry, nor was the latter official allowed to take part in civil affairs. But all the military and civil officials always looked up to the praetorian prefects with the old-time respect, as the peak of all authority. [3] In the maintenance of the soldiers he was exceedingly careful; somewhat critical at times in evaluating services, he bestowed appointments at court by the plumb-line,¹⁰⁰ as it were. Under him no one who was to hold a high position was appointed to a post in the palace suddenly or untried, but a man who after ten years was to be marshal of the court, or head treasurer, or to fill any similar post, was thoroughly known. It very rarely happened that any military officer passed to a civil magistracy, and on the other hand, none were put in command of soldiers who had not grown hardy in the dust of battle. [4] He made great pretensions to learning,¹⁰¹ but after failing in rhetoric because of dullness of mind, he turned to making verses, but accomplished nothing worth while. [5] By a prudent and temperate manner of life and by moderation in eating and drinking he maintained such sound health that he rarely suffered from illnesses, but such as he had were of a dangerous character. For that abstinence from dissipation and luxury have this effect on the body is shown by repeated experience, as well as by the statements of physicians. [6] He was content with little sleep when time and circumstances so required. Throughout

the entire span of his life he was so extraordinarily chaste, that not even a suspicion could be raised against him even by an ill-disposed attendant on his private life, a charge which malice, even if it fails to discover it, still trumps up, having regard to the unrestrained liberty of supreme power. [7] In riding, in hurling the javelin, and especially in the skilful use of the bow, and in all the exercises of the foot-soldiers, he was an adept. That no one ever saw him wipe his mouth or nose in public, or spit, or turn his face in either direction, ¹⁰² or that so long as he lived he never tasted fruit, I leave unmentioned, since it has often been related.

[8] Having given a succinct account of his merits, so far as I could know them, let us now come to an enumeration of his defects. While in administrative affairs he was comparable to other emperors of medium quality, if he found any indication, however slight or groundless, of an aspiration to the supreme power, by endless investigations, in which he made no distinction between right and wrong, he easily surpassed the savagery of Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus. For it was in rivalry of the cruelty of those emperors that at the beginning of his reign he destroyed root and branch all who were related to him by blood and race. [9] To add to the sufferings of the wretches who were reported to him for impairment of, or insult to, his majesty, his bitterness and angry suspicions were stretched to the uttermost in all such cases. If anything of the kind was bruited abroad, he gave himself up to inquisitions with more eagerness than humanity, and appointed for such trials merciless judges; and in the punishment of some he tried to make their death lingering, if nature allowed, in some particulars being even more ruthless than Gallienus in such inquisitions. [10] As a matter of fact, he was the object of many genuine plots of traitors, such as Aureolus, Postumus, Ingenuus, Valens ¹⁰³ surnamed Thessalonicus, and several others, yet he often showed leniency in punishing crimes which would bring death to the victim; but he also tried to make false or doubtful cases appear well-founded by excessively violent tortures. [11] And in such affairs he showed deadly enmity to justice, although he made a special effort to be considered just and merciful. And as sparks flying from a dry forest even with a light breeze of wind come with irresistible course and bring danger to rural villages, so he also from trivial causes roused up a mass of evils, unlike that revered prince Marcus, ¹⁰⁴ who, when Cassius had mounted to imperial heights in Syria, and a packet of letters sent by him to his accomplices had fallen into the emperor's hands through the capture of their bearer, at once ordered it to be burned unopened, in order that, being at the time still in Illyricum, he might not know who were plotting against him, and hence be forced to hate some men against his will. ¹⁰⁵ [12] And, as some right-thinking men believed, it would have been a striking indication of true worth in Constantius, if he had renounced his power without bloodshed, rather than defended it so mercilessly. [13] And this Tully also shows in a letter to Nepos, in which he taxes Caesar with cruelty, saying: "For happiness is nothing else than success in noble actions. Or, to

express it differently, happiness is the good fortune that aids worthy designs, and one who does not aim at these can in no wise be happy. Therefore, in lawless and impious plans, such as Caesar followed, there could be no happiness. Happier, in my judgement, was Camillus in exile than was Manlius¹⁰⁶ at that same time, even if (as he had desired) he had succeeded in making himself king.”¹⁰⁷ [14] Heraclitus the Ephesian¹⁰⁸ also agrees with this, when he reminds us that the weak and cowardly have sometimes, through the mutability of fortune, been victorious over eminent men; but that the most conspicuous praise is won, when high-placed power sending, as it were, under the yoke the inclination to harm, to be angry, and to show cruelty, on the citadel of a spirit victorious over itself has raised a glorious trophy.

[15] Now, although this emperor in foreign wars met with loss and disaster, yet he was elated by his success in civil conflicts and drenched with awful gore from the internal wounds of the state. It was on this unworthy rather than just or usual ground¹⁰⁹ that in Gaul and Pannonia he erected triumphal arches¹¹⁰ at great expense commemorating the ruin of the provinces,¹¹¹ and added records of his deeds, that men might read of him so long as those monuments could last. [16] He was to an excessive degree under the influence of his wives, and the shrill-voiced eunuchs, and certain of the court officials, who applauded his every word, and listened for his “yes” or “no,” in order to be able to agree with him.

[17] The bitterness of the times was increased by the insatiate extortion of the tax-collectors, who brought him more hatred than money; and to many this seemed the more intolerable, for the reason that he never investigated a dispute, nor had regard for the welfare of the provinces, although they were oppressed by a multiplicity of taxes and tributes. And besides this, he found it easy to take away exemptions which he had once given.

[18] The plain¹¹² and simple religion of the Christians he obscured by a dotard’s superstition, and by subtle and involved discussions about dogma, rather than by seriously trying to make them agree, he aroused many controversies; and as these spread more and more, he fed them with contentious words. And since throngs of bishops hastened hither and thither on the public post-horses to the various synods, as they call them, while he sought to make the whole ritual conform to his own will, he cut the sinews of the courier-service.

[19] His bodily appearance and form were as follows: he was rather dark, with bulging eyes and sharp-sighted; his hair was soft and his regularly shaven cheeks were neat and shining; from the meeting of neck and shoulders to the groin he was unusually long, and his legs were very short and bowed, for which reason he was good at running and leaping.

[20] When the corpse of the deceased emperor had been washed and placed in a coffin, Jovianus, who was at that time still an officer in the bodyguard, was ordered to escort it with regal pomp to Constantinople, to be interred beside his kinsfolk. [21] And as he sat in the carriage that bore the remains,

samples of the soldiers' rations ("probae," as they themselves call them) were presented to him, as they commonly are to emperors, ¹¹³ and the public courier-horses were shown to him, and the people thronged about him in the customary manner. These and similar things foretold imperial power for the said Jovianus, but of an empty and shadowy kind, since he was merely the director of a funeral procession.

NOTES.

¹ See xx. 9, 4.

² Cf. Suet., *Dom.* 4, 4, *Certamini praesedit crepidatus, purpuraque amictus toga Graecanica, capite gestans coronam auream*, etc.

³ As usual in Greece.

⁴ Wrongly, here and elsewhere for Constantia; see vol. i., n. 1.

⁵ Demons, in the Greek sense of the word δαίμονες; of. xiv. 11, 25, *substantialis tutela*.

⁶ Things fixed and immutable.

⁷ See xvii. 10, 2, note.

⁸ Cic., *De Nat. Deorum*, ii. 4, 12; *De Di V.* i. 52, 118.

⁹ Practice in manœuvres with the shield was a regular part of military exercises; Vegetius, ii. 14, *qui dimicare gladio, et scutum rotare doctissime noverit, qui omnem artem didicerit armaturae*. The shield must not fall to the ground; cf. Martial, ix. 38, 1 f.: *Summa licet velox, Agathine, pericula ludas, non tamen efficies ut tibi parma cadat*.

¹⁰ Cf. Suet., *Jul.* 59, “*teneo te, Africa.*”

¹¹ The author of the verses is not known; they are quoted, with slight differences in the wording, by Zonaras, xiii. 11 c, and Zosimus, iii. 9.

¹² It was celebrated on January 6th, to commemorate the appearance of Christ to the *magi* who came from the East with gifts. The Orientals for a long time believed that it was the date of His birth and baptism.

¹³ With Constantius; see xvi. 12, 17; xviii. 2, 19.

¹⁴ Modern Seckingen, on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite the country of the Rauraci.

¹⁵ xviii. 2, 19.

¹⁶ xvi. 12, 17.

¹⁷ xxvi. 8, 2.

¹⁸ Implying that it was necessary to keep an eye on him.

¹⁹ Under Theodosius in 382.

²⁰ See 3, 3, above.

²¹ Here probably the Cappadocian goddess of war; see *T. L. L.* s.v.

²² *Magni* is an unusual form of address, cf. *amantissimi*, 13, 10, below; Erfurdt conjectured *magnanimi*, see crit. note.

²³ For *examina* in this sense, cf. xxx. 4, 18, *dilationum examina*.

²⁴ The sentence is not clear; it perhaps means “since the present period of quiet is favourable to our intention and desire”; i.e. since our opponents have as yet taken no action.

²⁵ Pighius (see crit. note) takes *ut . . . ex more* as taut. ology, citing Spart. *Hadr.* 15, 2; Livy, iv. 2, 4; etc.

²⁶ So Pighius, citing Lucan, ix. 373, and Statius, *Theb.* vi. 678, for *fidens* with a genitive.

²⁷ See xvii. 12, 16, note.

²⁸ *innoxius* may be either passive or active in meaning; that is, “uninjured” or “making no further opposition to Julian”: probably the former.

²⁹ He was again made praetorian prefect by Valens; see xxvi. 7, 4, 5.

³⁰ Cf. 5, 1, above; xxvi. 7, 4; Sallust, *Cat.* xliii. 4, *maximum bonum in celeritate putabat*.

³¹ Cf. Suet. *Galba*, 6, 2. The *tessera* was a square tablet on which the watchword (see xiv. 2, 15) or an order, was written; in xxiii. 2, 2, *expeditionalis tessera* is used for an order to march.

³² *temere* usually means “rashly, without consideration,” but here the word seems to be used in a good, or at least in a neutral, sense.

³³ Constantinus II and Constans. After the death of Constantine the Great his son Constantinus II received the rule of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. He thought the division of power unfair, and asked Constans for Africa or Italy as well, or for a new division. When he went to Italy with a large following to discuss the matter, Constans was persuaded to send troops against him, who captured Constantine and put him to death. None of the readings or meanings proposed for *priores* (or *prioris*) is wholly satisfactory. Gronov and Wagner took it in the sense of *qui fuerant*, *demortuos*; the former cites *priore aestate*, *prioribus comitiis* (= *transactis*, *quae fuerant*).

³⁴ xv. 2, 8.

³⁵ The consulship, in 361, called *amplissimus magistrates* also in xxvi. 9, 1; see Introd., pp. xxx ff.

³⁶ Text and exact meaning are uncertain; Wagner takes it of Roman business affairs in those regions; but cf. 7, 1, etc.

³⁷ See xix. 12, 6.

³⁸ As the source of the supply of grain for the western provinces.

³⁹ Cf. xvii. 9, 7.

⁴⁰ One would rather expect Sicily (cf. § 5), or perhaps Spain; see crit. note.

- ⁴¹ Cf. xviii. 8, 1.
- ⁴² Consul with Julian in 363; see xxiii. 1, 1.
- ⁴³ Cf. ch. 5, 11, above.
- ⁴⁴ That this was Nevitta's rank is shown in § 3, below. It is rather a loose use of *magister armorum*.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. xx. 9, 5.
- ⁴⁶ In a lost book.
- ⁴⁷ The Black Forest.
- ⁴⁸ And before; Leonidas, for example.
- ⁴⁹ Or, possibly, with his men forming a long line.
- ⁵⁰ See xxiii. 4, 14.
- ⁵¹ Perhaps Bonmünster.
- ⁵² A narrow pass and a town of the same name in the defiles of Mt. Haemus, between the provinces of Thrace and Dacia and about half-way between Sirmium and Constantinople; Illyricum (§ 3, 4) refers to the prefecture.
- ⁵³ In Macedonia.
- ⁵⁴ See xvi. 8, 1, note.
- ⁵⁵ Named from its founder, Philip I. of Macedon; modern Philibe.
- ⁵⁶ Formerly called Venetic, xxi. 16, 7.
- ⁵⁷ The Hellespont.
- ⁵⁸ Nish in Servia (Serbia).
- ⁵⁹ Sextus Aurelius Victor, the author of some extant works.
- ⁶⁰ At Rome, 388-389.
- ⁶¹ For Constantius.
- ⁶² Cf. xvi. 7, 3. I.e. "the bestower of your high position," since Constantius had raised him to the rank of Caesar.
- ⁶³ In 362. Nevitta was a Frank by birth.
- ⁶⁴ As Pighi shows (pp. xxxii f.), the people of Aquileia were hostile to Constantius, but feared him in case he should be victorious, as every one expected; see xxi. 7, 3.

- ⁶⁵ That is, household troops or legions serving in the field.
- ⁶⁶ Namely, Naessus.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. xix. 2, 2.
- ⁶⁸ The clause may perhaps refer to what precedes, or possibly it may be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with what precedes and what follows. The river hampered the use of the artillery and at the same time suggested the plan adopted.
- ⁶⁹ The exact meaning is uncertain; see crit. note.
- ⁷⁰ The exact meaning is uncertain; see crit. note.
- ⁷¹ For those who rushed out through the postern gates.
- ⁷² Waiting for the time for rushing out.
- ⁷³ At Naessus.
- ⁷⁴ Father of the Symmachus from whom we have eleven books of letters, a pillar of the pagan religion. The son was later prefect of the city of Rome; cf. xxvii. 3, 3.
- ⁷⁵ Symmachus.
- ⁷⁶ Cf. xxvii. 7, 2.
- ⁷⁷ See xxi. 10, 8.
- ⁷⁸ That is, the towns in the neighbourhood of Edessa. He made a move only when these towns were threatened.
- ⁷⁹ Cf. Curtius, iv. 6, 5 f.
- ⁸⁰ They seem to have got their name from the *mattium*, a kind of weapon which they used, of which nothing is known. They are mentioned in connection with the lancers also in xxxi. 13, 8.
- ⁸¹ Cf. xvi. 11, 4; xx. 8, 13.
- ⁸² This emblem of power is found in the statues and on the coins of the later emperors. See Frontispiece Vol. III.
- ⁸³ *aliquid* suggests *quidam eximia magnitudine et forma* in Suet., *Jul.* 22, but is much more vague — hardly more than a feeling of the presence of some supernatural power.
- ⁸⁴ μυσταγωγός is the name applied to the priest who gave the initiated instruction in the mysteries. Later it was used of the guide who showed strangers the noteworthy objects in a place. The quotation is frag. 550 in Kock's *Comicorum Att. Frag.* III.
- ⁸⁵ Perhaps *Iliad*, i. 503 ff.
- ⁸⁶ Referring to the nymph Egeria; cf. Livy, i. 19, 5.

⁸⁷ Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

⁸⁸ A surname of the Egyptian Hermes. Here the reference is apparently to a writer of the second century, who under that name tried to revive the old Egyptian, Pythagorean, and Platonic ideas.

⁸⁹ The famous magician of the first century B.C., whose biography was written by Philostratus.

⁹⁰ An eclectic philosopher of the third century, whose views entitled *τὰ τοῦ εἰληχότου ἡμᾶς δαίμονος* have come down to us (Plot. *En.*, iii, 4).

⁹¹ The omen seems to consist, in part at least, in the position of the body, stretched out towards the setting

⁹² October 5, 361. He was forty-five years old and had reigned twenty-five years, since the death of his father; thirty-eight years includes his term of office as Caesar.

⁹³ The *conclamatio* was a regular custom, for the purpose of seeing whether any life was left; cf. xxx. 10, 1.

⁹⁴ Cf. xxii. 2, 1.

⁹⁵ Cf. xxix. 6, 7. Her name was Flavia Maxima Faustina.

⁹⁶ With this chapter, cf. xiv. 5, 1-4.

⁹⁷ With *erigens cornua*, cf. *supercilia* . . . *cornua*, xx. 1, 2. The horn is a symbol of courage and confidence both in Latin and in Hebrew literature, e.g. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 21, 18, *addis cornua pauperi*; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 239, *pauper sumit cornua*; *Psalms*, cxlviii. 14, "He exalteth the horn of his people."

⁹⁸ See Introd., p. xxviii. *clarissimi* were members of the senatorial order who, as the sons of senators, inherited their rank; but the title included also those who were made senators by *adlectio*.

⁹⁹ On his arrival in the province.

¹⁰⁰ The metaphorical use of this expression does not seem to be common; it occurs also in Ausonius, *Parentalia*, v. 8, *ad perpendicularum se suosque habuit*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 51, *Constantinus M. filios omnino probe erudiendos magistris tradiderat peritis- simis*. Wagner adds *e quorum disciplina si quid haesisset, iactare quavis data occasione solebat Constantius*; cf. Julian, *Orat.* i, p ff. L.C.L.

¹⁰² Cf. xvi. 10, 10.

¹⁰³ In Illyricum, Gaul, Pannonia and Achaia respectively.

¹⁰⁴ Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Dio, lxii. 26, 38.

¹⁰⁶ M. Manlius saved the Roman citadel when the Gauls took the city in 387 B.C. Later, because he defended the commons, he was accused of aspiring to regal power and hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.

¹⁰⁷ A fragment preserved by Ammianus alone, not found in Cicero's extant works.

¹⁰⁸ "The weeping philosopher," as Democritus was "the laughing philosopher"; cf. *Juvenal*, x. 33 ff. He flourished about 535-475 B.C.

¹⁰⁹ It was usual to celebrate a triumph only over foreign enemies, and the same rule applied to triumphal arches.

¹¹⁰ Although this term is so common in English, this is the first and only occurrence in Latin literature, and it is found besides only in four late inscriptions from northern Africa.

¹¹¹ That is, his victories over his rivals, and the bloodshed and ruin attending them.

¹¹² Cf. *absolutio*, xiv. 10, 13; *responsum absolutum*, xxx. 1, 4; *planis absolutisque decretis*, xxii. 5, 2.

¹¹³ The emperors took pains to see that the soldiers were well fed. Cf. Spartianus, *Hadr.* 11, 1; Lampridius, *Alex. Se V.* xv. 5.

BOOK XXII

Julianus Augustus, through fear of Constantius Augustus, halts in Dacia and secretly consults soothsayers and augurs.

While Fortune's mutable phases were causing these occurrences in a different part of the world, Julian in the midst of his many occupations in Illyricum was constantly prying into the entrails of victims and watching the flight of birds, in his eagerness to foreknow the result of events; but he was perplexed by ambiguous and obscure predictions and continued to be uncertain of the future. [2] At length, however, Aprunculus, a Gallic orator skilled in soothsaying, afterwards advanced to be governor of Gallia Narbonensis, told him what would happen, having learned it (as he himself declared) from the inspection of a liver which he had seen covered with a double lobe. ¹ And although Julian feared that it might be a fiction conformable to his own desire, and was therefore troubled, he himself saw a much more evident sign which clearly foretold the death of Constantius. For at the very moment when that emperor died in Cilicia, a soldier who lifted Julian with his right hand to mount his horse slipped and fell to the ground; and Julian at once cried in the hearing of many: "The man has fallen who raised me to my high estate." [3] But although he knew that these were favourable signs, yet as if standing fast upon his guard he remained within the confines of Dacia, and even so was troubled with many fears. For he did not deem it prudent to trust the predictions which might perhaps be fulfilled by contraries.

Julian, on learning of the death of Constantius, traverses Thrace and enters Constantinople without opposition, thus assuming the rule of the entire Roman empire without a struggle.

Amid this state of suspense the envoys Theolaifus and Aligildus, who had been sent to him, ² suddenly appeared and reported the death of Constantius, adding that with his last words he had made Julian the successor to his power. [2] On learning this, and being now saved from the fret of dangers and the throes of war's anxieties, he was hugely elated. And now believing in the prophecies, and knowing by experience that speed had often been helpful to his enterprises, he ordered a march into Thrace, quickly broke camp, and passing the slope of Succi, ³ made for Philippopolis, ⁴ the ancient Eumolpias, followed with eager step by all who were under his command. [3] For they perceived that the throne, which they were on their way to usurp in the face of the greatest dangers, had beyond their hope been granted to him by the ordinary course of law. And as rumour is wont to exaggerate all novelties, he hastened on from there, now raised still higher, as though in some chariot of

Triptolemus, ⁵ which the poets of old, because of its swift turnings, represented as drawn through the air by winged dragons; and dreaded by land and sea and opposed by no delays, he entered Heraclea, also called Perinthus. [4] When this was presently known at Constantinople, all ages and sexes poured forth, as if to look upon someone sent down from heaven. And so he was met on the eleventh of December with the respectful attendance of the senate and the unanimous applause of the people, and surrounded by troupes of soldiers and citizens he was escorted as if by an army in line of battle, while all eyes were turned upon him, not only with a fixed gaze, but also with great admiration. [5] For it seemed almost like a dream that this young man, just come to his growth, ⁶ of small stature but conspicuous for great deeds, after the bloodstained destruction of kings and nations had passed from city to city with unlooked-for speed; that increasing in power and strength wherever he went, he had easily seized upon all places as swiftly as rumour flies, and finally had received the imperial power, bestowed upon him by Heaven's nod without any loss to the state.

Some adherents of Constantius are condemned to death, a part justly, others unjustly.

Shortly after this Salutius Secundus was raised to the rank of praetorian prefect, ⁷ and given, as a trustworthy official, the chief oversight of the inquisitions that were to be set on foot; and with him were associated Mamertinus, ⁸ Arbitio, ⁹ Agilo, ¹⁰ and Nevitta, ¹¹ and also Jovinus, ¹² lately advanced to be commander of the cavalry in Illyricum. [2] These crossed all to Chalcedon, and in the presence of the generals and tribunes of the Joviani and the Herculiani ¹³ examined the cases with more passion than was just and right, ¹⁴ with the exception of a few, in which the evidence showed that the accused were most guilty. [3] At first they banished to Britain Palladius, formerly chief marshal of the court, who was brought before them merely on the suspicion of having made certain charges to Constantius against Gallus, when he held the same office under the said Gallus, who was at the time Caesar. [4] Then Taurus, ¹⁵ who had been praetorian prefect, was exiled to Vercellum, ¹⁶ although before judges who could distinguish justice from injustice his action might have appeared deserving of pardon. For what sin did he commit, if in fear of a storm that had arisen he fled to the protection of his emperor? And the decisions that were passed upon him were read not without great horror in the public protocol, which contained this beginning: "In the consulate of Taurus and Florentius, when Taurus was summoned to court by the criers." [5] Pentadius also was threatened with the same fate, against whom the charge was made, that, being sent by Constantius he took down in shorthand the answers that Gallus had made to the many questions put to him when his ruin was approaching. But since he justified himself, he finally got off unpunished. [6] With like injustice Florentius (son of Nigrinianus), then

chief marshal of the court, was imprisoned in ¹⁷ the Dalmatian island of Boae. ¹⁸ For a second Florentius, ¹⁹ a former praetorian prefect and consul at the time, being alarmed by the sudden change in the state, saved himself from danger with his wife, lay hid for a long time, and could not return until after the death of Julian; yet he was condemned to death in his absence. ^[7] In like manner Euagrius, count of the privy purse, and Saturninus, former steward of the Household, and Cyrinus, a former secretary, were all exiled. But for the death of Ursulus, count of the sacred largesses, Justice herself seems to me to have wept, and to have accused the emperor of ingratitude. For when Julian was sent as Caesar to the western regions, to be treated with extreme niggardliness, being granted no power of making any donative to the soldiers to the end that he might be exposed to more serious mutinies of the army, this very Ursulus wrote to the man in charge of the Gallic treasury, ordering that whatever the Caesar asked for should be given him without hesitation. ^[8] After Ursulus' death Julian found himself the object of the reproaches and curses of many men, and thinking that he could excuse himself for the unpardonable crime, he declared that the man had been put to death without his knowledge, alleging that his taking off was due to the anger of the soldiers, who remembered his words (which we have reported before ²⁰) when he saw the ruins of Amida.

^[9] From this it was clear that Julian was timorous, or that he did not know what was fitting, when he put Arbitio, who was always untrustworthy and excessively haughty, in charge of these inquisitions, while the others, including the officers of the legions, were present merely for show; for Arbitio was a man whom he knew above all others to be a threat to his own safety, ²¹ as was to be expected of one who had taken a valiant part in the victories of the civil wars.

^[10] But, although these acts which I have mentioned displeased even Julian's supporters, yet those which follow were executed with proper vigour and severity. ^[11] For Apodemius, of the imperial secret service, who, as we have said, ²² showed unbridled eagerness for the death of Silvanus and Gallus, was burned alive, as well as Paulus the notary, surnamed Catena, ²³ a man to be mentioned by many with groans, who thus met the fate which was to have been hoped for. ^[12] Eusebius besides, who had been made Constantius' grand chamberlain, a man full of pride and cruelty, was condemned to death by the judges. This man, who had been raised from the lowest station to a position which enabled him almost to give orders like those of the emperor himself, ²⁴ and in consequence had become intolerable, Adrastia, the judge of human acts, ²⁵ had plucked by the ear (as the saying is) and warned him to live with more restraint; and when he demurred, she threw him headlong, as if from a lofty cliff.

Julianus Augustus drives all the eunuchs, barbers, and cooks from the palace. On the vices of the eunuchs of the court and the corruption of military

discipline.

After this the emperor turned his attention to the palace attendants, and dismissed all who belonged to that class or could be included in it, but not like a philosopher claiming to research into truth. [2] For he might have been commended if he had at least retained some, few though they were, who were of modest behaviour or known to be of virtuous character. But it must be admitted that the major part of those creatures maintained a vast nursery of all the vices, to such a degree that they infected the state with evil passions, and rather by their example than by their license in wrong-doing injured many. [3] For some of them, fattened on the robbery of temples and scenting out gain from every source, on being raised from abject poverty at one bound to enormous wealth, knew no limit to bribery, robbery, and extravagance, always accustomed as they were to seize the property of others. [4] Hence sprang the seeds of a dissolute life, perjury, and disregard for good name, and their mad pride stained their honour by shameful gains. [5] Meanwhile, gluttony and deep abysses of banquets²⁶ grew apace, and the place of triumphs won in battle was taken by those gained at the table. The lavish use of silk and of the textile arts increased, and more anxious attention to the kitchen. Showy sites for richly adorned houses were eagerly sought, of such dimensions that if the consul Quinctius²⁷ had owned as much in farmland, he would have lost the glory of his poverty even after his dictatorship.

[6] To these conditions, shameful as they were, were added serious defects in military discipline. In place of the war-song the soldiers practised effeminate ditties; the warriors' bed was not a stone (as in days of yore), but feathers and folding couches; their cups were now heavier than their swords (for they were ashamed to drink from earthenware); they even procured houses of marble, although it is written in the records of old that a Spartan soldier was severely punished because during a campaign he dared to be seen under a roof. [7] Moreover, the soldiers of those times were so insolent and rapacious towards their countrymen, and so cowardly and weak in the presence of the enemy, that having acquired riches by patronage and idleness, they were adepts in distinguishing the varieties of gold and gems, contrary to the usage even of recent times. [8] For it is well known that under Caesar Maximianus,²⁸ when a fortified camp of the Persian king was pillaged, a common soldier after finding a Parthian jewel-box containing pearls, threw away the gems in ignorance of their value, and went his way, quite satisfied with the beauty of the leather alone.

[9] It happened at that same time that a barber, who had been summoned to trim the emperor's hair, appeared in splendid attire. On seeing him, Julian was amazed, and said: "I sent for a barber, not a fiscal agent." However, he asked the man what his trade brought him in; to which the barber replied twenty daily allowances²⁹ of bread, and the same amount of fodder for pack-animals (these they commonly call *capita*), as well as a heavy annual salary, not to

mention many rich perquisites. [10] Incensed by this, Julian discharged all attendants of that kind (as being not at all necessary to him), as well as cooks and other similar servants, who were in the habit of receiving almost the same amount, giving them permission to go wherever they wished.

Julianus Augustus openly and freely professes the worship of the gods, which he had previously practised secretly, and sets the bishops of the Christians at odds.

Although Julian from the earliest days of his childhood had been more inclined towards the worship of the pagan gods, and as he gradually grew up burned with longing to practise it, yet because of his many reasons for anxiety he observed certain of its rites with the greatest possible secrecy. [2] But when his fears were ended, and he saw that the time had come when he could do as he wished, he revealed the secrets of his heart and by plain and formal decrees ordered the temples to be opened, victims brought to the altars, and the worship of the gods restored. [3] And in order to add to the effectiveness of these ordinances, he summoned to the palace the bishops of the Christians, who were of conflicting opinions, and the people, who were also at variance, and politely advised them to lay aside their differences, and each fearlessly and without opposition to observe his own beliefs. [4] On this he took a firm stand, to the end that, as this freedom increased their dissension, he might afterwards have no fear of a united populace, knowing as he did from experience that no wild beasts are such enemies to mankind as are most of the Christians in their deadly hatred of one another. And he often used to say: "Hear me, to whom the Alamanni and the Franks have given ear," thinking that in this he was imitating a saying of the earlier emperor Marcus. But he did not observe that the two cases were very different. [5] For Marcus, as he was passing through Palestine on his way to Egypt, being often disgusted with the malodorous and rebellious Jews, is reported to have cried: "O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at last I have found a people more unruly than you."

The cleverness with which Julian forced several Egyptian petitioners, by whom he was annoyed and interrupted, to return to their homes.

At this same time, induced by sundry rumours, there came ³⁰ a number of Egyptians, a contentious race of men, by custom always delighting in intricate litigation, and especially eager for excessive indemnification if they had paid anything to a collector of debts, either for the purpose of being relieved of the debt, or at any rate, to bring in ³¹ what was demanded of them more conveniently by postponing it; or eager to charge wealthy men with extortion and threaten them with court proceedings. [2] All these, crowding together and chattering like jays, unseasonably interrupted the emperor himself, as well as

the praetorian prefects, demanding after almost seventy years moneys that they declared that they had paid, justly or otherwise, to many individuals. [3] And, since they prevented any other business from receiving attention, the emperor issued an edict, in which he bade them all go to Chalcedon; and he promised that he would himself also shortly come there, to settle all their claims. [4] After they had crossed, orders were given to the captains of ships going to or coming from that port not to dare to give an Egyptian passage; and since that order was strictly observed, this obstinate attempt at blackmail vanished, and they all returned to their homes, disappointed in the hopes that they had entertained. [5] Thereupon a law was passed, as if at the proposal of Justice herself, which provided that no advocate at court should be troubled about payments which it was recognised that he had justly received. ³²

Julian often holds court in the senate-house at Constantinople, and there, while he is setting in order the affairs of Thrace, he is approached by several deputations from foreign nations.

And so the first of January came, when the consular annals took on the names of Mamertinus and Nevitta; and the emperor showed himself especially condescending by going on foot to their inauguration in company with other high officials, an action which some commended but others criticised as affected and cheap. ³³ [2] Then, when Mamertinus gave games in the Circus and the slaves that were to be manumitted were led in by the assistant master of ceremonies, ³⁴ the emperor himself, with too great haste, pronounced the usual formula, that it be done according to law; ³⁵ and on being reminded that the jurisdiction that day belonged to another, ³⁶ he fined himself ten pounds of gold, as guilty of an oversight.

[3] Meanwhile, he came frequently into the senate house to give attention to various matters with which the many changes in the state burdened him. And when one day, as he was sitting in judgement there, and it was announced that the philosopher Maximus ³⁷ had come from Asia, he started up in an undignified manner, so far forgetting himself that he ran at full speed to a distance from the vestibule, and after having kissed the philosopher and received him with reverence, brought him back with him. This unseemly ostentation made him appear to be an excessive seeker for empty fame, and to have forgotten that splendid saying of Cicero's, ³⁸ which narrates the following in criticising such folk: [4] "Those very same philosophers inscribe their names on the very books which they write on despising glory, so that even when they express scorn of honour and fame, they wish to be praised and known by name."

[5] Not long after this, two former members of the secret service who were among those who had been discharged approached the emperor confidently and promised to point out the hiding-place of Florentius ³⁹ on condition that their military rank be restored to them. ⁴⁰ But he rebuked them and called them

informers, adding that it was not worthy of an emperor to be led by indirect information to bring back a man who had concealed himself through fear of death, and who perhaps would not be allowed to remain long in hiding without hope of pardon.

[6] Present at all these events was Praetextatus, ⁴¹ a senator of noble character and old-time dignity, whom Julian had chanced to find engaged in private business at Constantinople and on his own initiative had appointed governor of Achaia with proconsular authority.

[7] But, although he was so diligently engaged in reforming civil abuses, he did not on that account neglect military affairs, but put in command of the soldiers men approved by long trial; nay more, he repaired all the cities throughout Thrace as well as the fortifications on the borders, and took particular pains that the troops posted along the banks of the Danube, who, as he heard, were meeting inroads of the savages with watchfulness and valour, should lack neither arms and clothing nor pay and supplies. [8] While he was so arranging these matters, tolerating no slackness in action, his intimates tried to persuade him to attack the neighbouring Goths, who were often deceitful and treacherous; but he replied that he was looking for a better enemy; that for the Goths the Galatian traders were enough, by whom they were offered for sale everywhere without distinction of rank. ⁴²

[9] While he was attending to these and similar affairs he gained a reputation among foreign nations for eminence in bravery, sobriety, and knowledge of military affairs, as well as of all noble qualities; and his fame gradually spread and filled the entire world. [10] Then, since the fear of his coming extended widely over neighbouring and far distant nations, deputations hastened to him from all sides more speedily than usual: on one side, the peoples beyond the Tigris and the Armenians begged for peace; on another, the Indian nations as far as the Divi ⁴³ and the Serendivi vied with one another in sending their leading men with gifts ahead of time; on the south, the Moors offered their services to the Roman state; from the north and the desert regions, through which the Phasis flows to the sea, came embassies from the Bosporani and other hitherto unknown peoples, humbly asking that on payment of their annual tribute ⁴⁴ they might be allowed to live in peace within the bounds of their native lands.

A description of Thrace, of the Pontic sea, and of the regions and peoples adjacent to the latter.

Now is a fitting time (I think), since the history of a great prince has opportunely brought us to these places, to give some account of the remote parts of Thrace, and of the topography of the Pontic sea, with clearness and accuracy, partly from my own observation and partly from reading. ⁴⁵

[12] Athos, ⁴⁶ that lofty mountain in Macedonia through which the Medic ships once passed, ⁴⁷ and Caphereus, the headland of Euboea ⁴⁸ where

Nauplius, Looking eastward. father of Palamedes, wrecked the Argive fleet,⁴⁹ although they face each other at a long distance apart, separate the Aegean and the Thessalian seas.⁵⁰ The Aegean gradually grows larger, and on the right, where it is of wide extent, is rich in islands through the Sporades and Cyclades, so-called because they are all grouped about Delos, famous as the cradle of the gods.⁵¹ On the left, it washes Imbros and Tenedos, Lemnos and Thasos, and when the wind is strong, dashes violently upon Lesbos. [3] From there, with back-flowing current,⁵² it laves the temple of Apollo Sminthius,⁵³ the Troad, and Ilium, famed for the death of heroes, and forms the bay of Melas,⁵⁴ facing the west wind, at the entrance of which is seen Abdera, the home of Protagoras and Democritus, and the bloodstained dwelling of the Thracian Diomedes,⁵⁵ and the vales through which the Hebrus⁵⁶ flows into it, and Maronea and Aenos,⁵⁷ a city which Aeneas began under unfavourable auspices, but presently abandoned it and hastened on to ancient Ausonia under the guidance of the gods.

[4] After this, the Aegean gradually grows narrower and flows as if by a kind of natural union into the Pontus; and joining with a part of this it takes the form of the Greek letter φ.⁵⁸ Then it separates Hellespontus from the province of Rhodopa and flows past Cynossema,⁵⁹ where Hecuba is supposed to be buried, and Coela, Sestos and Callipolis.³ On the opposite side it washes the tombs of Achilles and Ajax, and Dardanus and Abydos, from which Xerxes built a bridge and crossed the sea on foot; then Lampsacus, which the Persian king gave to Themistocles as a gift,⁶⁰ and Parion, founded by Paris, the son of Iasion. [5] Then swelling on both sides into the form of a half-circle and giving a view of widely separated lands, it laves with the spreading waters of the Propontis,⁶¹ on the eastern side Cyzicus⁶² and Dindyma,⁶³ where there is a sacred shrine of the Great Mother,⁶⁴ and Apamia and Cius, where Hylas was pursued and carried off by the nymph,⁶⁵ and Astacus, in a later age called after King Nicomedes.⁶⁶ Where it turns to the westward it beats upon the Cherronesus and Aegospotami, where Anaxagoras predicted a rain of stones from heaven,⁶⁷ and Lysimachia and the city which Hercules founded and dedicated to the name of his comrade Perinthus; [6] and in order to keep the form of the letter φ full and complete, in the very middle of the circle lies the oblong island of Proconesos,⁶⁸ and Besbicus.⁶⁹

[7] After reaching the extreme end of this part,⁷⁰ it again contracts into a narrow strait, and flowing between Europe and Bithynia, passes by Chalcedon, Chrysopolis,⁷¹ and some obscure stations. [8] Its left bank, however, is looked down upon by the port of Athyras and Selymbria, and Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, a colony of the Athenians,⁷² and the promontory Ceras, which bears a tower built high and giving light to ships⁷³; therefore a very cold wind which often blows from that quarter is called Ceratas.

[9] After being broken in this fashion and coming to an end through the mingling of the two seas, it now grows quieter and spreads out into the form

of a flat of water extending in width and length as far as the eye can reach. ⁷⁴
[10] The complete voyage around its shores, as one would encircle an island, is
a distance of 23,000 ⁷⁵ stadia, as is asserted by Eratosthenes, Hecataeus,
Ptolemy, and other very accurate investigators of such problems; and
according to the testimony of all geographers it has the form of a drawn
Scythian bow. ⁷⁶ [11] And where the sun rises from the eastern ocean it comes
to an end in the marshes of the Maeotis ⁷⁷ ; where it inclines towards the west
it is bounded by Roman provinces; where it looks up to the Bears it breeds
men of varying languages and habits; on the southern side it slopes downward
⁷⁸ in a gentle curve. [12] Over this vast space are scattered cities of the Greeks,
all of which, with a few exceptions, were founded at varying periods by the
Milesians, who were themselves colonists of the Athenians. The Milesians in
much earlier times were established among other Ionians in Asia by Nileus,
the son of that Codrus who (they say) sacrificed himself for his country in the
Dorian war. ⁷⁹ [13] Now the tips of the bow on both sides are represented by the
two Bospori lying opposite to each other, the Thracian ⁸⁰ and the Cimmerian;
and they are called Bospori, as the poets say, because the daughter of Inachus,
⁸¹ when she was changed into a heifer, once crossed through them to the
Ionian sea.

[14] The right-hand curve of the Thracian Bosphorus begins with the shore of
Bithynia, which the men of old called Mygdonia, containing the provinces of
Thynia and Mariandena, and also the Bebrycians, who were delivered from
the cruelty of Amycus through the valour of Pollux; ⁸² and a remote station, a
place where the menacing harpies fluttered about the seer Phineus and filled
him with fear. ⁸³ Along these shores, which curve into extensive bays, the
rivers Sangarius and Phyllis, Lycus and Rheba pour into the sea; opposite
them are the dark Symplegades, twin rocks rising on all sides into precipitous
cliffs, which were wont in ages past to rush together and dash their huge mass
upon each other with awful crash, and then to recoil with a swift spring and
return to what they had struck. ⁸⁴ If even a bird should fly between these
swiftly separating and clashing rocks, no speed of wing could save it from
being crushed to death. [15] But these cliffs, ever since the *Argo*, first of all
ships, hastening to Colchis to carry off the golden fleece, had passed between
them unharmed, have stood motionless with their force assuaged and so
united that no one of those who now look upon them would believe that they
had ever been separated, were it not that all the songs of the poets of old agree
about the story. ⁸⁵

[16] Beyond one part of Bithynia extend the provinces of Pontus and
Paphlagonia, in which are the great cities of Heraclea, Sinope, Polemonion
and Amisos, as well as Ties and Amastris, all owing their origin to the activity
of the Greeks; also Cerasus, from which Lucullus brought the fruits so-named.
⁸⁶ There are also two islands, on which are situated the celebrated cities of
Trapezus and Pityus. [17] Beyond these places is the Acherusian cave, which
the natives call Mychopontion, ⁸⁷ and the port of Acone, ⁸⁸ besides the rivers

Acheron (also called the Arcadius), Iris, Thybris, and hard by, the Parthenius, all of which flow with swift course into the sea. The next river to these is the Thermodon, flowing from Mount Armonius and gliding through the Themiscyraean groves, to which the Amazons were forced to migrate in days of yore for the following reason.

[18] The Amazons of old, after having by constant losses worn out their neighbours, and devastated them by bloody raids, had higher aspirations; and considering their strength and feeling that it was too great merely for frequent attacks upon their neighbours, being carried away besides by the headstrong heat of covetousness, they broke through many nations and made war upon the Athenians.⁸⁹ But after a bitter contest they were scattered in all directions, and since the flanks of their cavalry were left unprotected, they all perished. [19] Upon the news of their destruction the remainder, who had been left at home as unfit for war, suffered extreme hardship; and in order to avoid the deadly attacks of their neighbours, who paid them like for like, they moved to a quieter abode on the Thermodon. Thereafter their descendants, who had greatly increased, returned, thanks to their numerous offspring, with a very powerful force, and in later times were a cause of terror to peoples of divers nationalities.⁹⁰

[20] Not far from there the hill called Carambis lifts itself with gentle slope, rising towards the Great Bear of the north, and opposite this, at a distance of 2500 stadia, is Criumetopon,⁹¹ a promontory of Taurica. From this point the whole seacoast, beginning at the river Halys, as if drawn in a straight line, has the form of the string joined to the two tips of the bow. [21] Bordering on these regions are the Dahae, the fiercest of all warriors, and the Chalybes, by whom iron was first mined and worked. Beyond these are open plains, inhabited by the Byzares, Sapires, Tibareni, Mossynoeci, Macrones and Philyres, peoples not known to us through any intercourse. [22] A short distance from these are the tombs of famous men, in which are buried Sthenelus,⁹² Idmon,⁹³ and Tiphys;⁹⁴ the first of these was a companion of Hercules, mortally wounded in the war with the Amazons, the second the augur of the Argonauts, the third the careful steersman of that same craft. [23] After passing the places mentioned, one comes to the grotto of Aulion and the river Callichorus,⁹⁵ which owes its name to the fact that Bacchus, when he had after three years vanquished the peoples of India, returned to those regions, and on the green and shady banks of that river renewed the former orgies and dances;⁹⁶ some think that this kind of festival was also called *trieterica*.⁹⁷ [24] Beyond these territories are the populous districts of the Camaritae,⁹⁸ and the Phasis in impetuous course borders on the Colchians, an ancient race of Egyptian origin. There,⁹⁹ among other cities, is Phasis, which gets its name from the river, and Dioscurias, well known even to this day, said to have been founded by Amphitus and Cercius of Sparta, the charioteers of Castor and Pollux, and founders of the nation of the Heniochi.¹⁰⁰ [25] A short distance from these are the Achaei, who, after the end of an earlier war at Troy (not the one which

was fought about Helen, as some writers have asserted), being carried out of their course by contrary winds to Pontus, and meeting enemies everywhere, were unable to find a place for a permanent home; and so they settled on the tops of mountains covered with perpetual snow, where, compelled by the rigorous climate, they became accustomed to make a dangerous living by robbery, and hence became later beyond all measure savage. About the Cercetae, who adjoin them, we have no information worth mentioning.

[26] Behind these dwell the inhabitants of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, where Milesian cities are, and Panticapaeum, the mother, so to speak, of all; this the river Hypanis washes, swollen with its own and tributary waters. [27] Next, at a considerable distance, are the Amazons, who extend to the Caspian Sea and live about the Tanaïs, ¹⁰¹ which rises among the crags of Caucasus, flows in a course with many windings, and after separating Europe from Asia vanishes in the standing pools of the Maeotis. [28] Near this is the river Ra, ¹⁰² on whose banks grows a plant of the same name, the root of which is used for many medicinal purposes. ¹⁰³

[29] Beyond the Tanais the Sauromatae have a territory of wide extent, through which flow the never - failing rivers Maraccus, Rombites, Theophanes and Totordanes. However, there is also another nation of the Sauromatae, an enormous distance away, extending along the shore which receives the river Corax and pours it far out into the Euxine Sea.

[30] Nearby is the Maeotic Gulf ¹⁰⁴ of wide circuit, from whose abundant springs a great body of water bursts through the narrows of Panticapes into the Pontus. On its right side are the islands Phanagorus and Hermonassa, founded by the industry of the Greeks. [31] Around these farthest and most distant marshes live numerous nations, differing in the variety of their languages and customs: the Ixomatae, Maeotae, Iazyges, Roxolani, Halani, Melanchlaenae, and with the Geloni, the Agathyrsi, in whose country an abundance of the stone called adamant ¹⁰⁵ is found; and farther beyond are other peoples, who are wholly unknown, since they are the remotest of all men. [32] But near the left side of the Maeotis is the Cherronesus, ¹⁰⁶ full of Greek colonies. Hence the inhabitants are quiet and peaceful, ploughing the plough and living on the products of the soil.

[33] At no great distance from these are the Tauri, divided into various kingdoms, among whom the Arichi, the Sinchi, and the Napaei are terrible for their ruthless cruelty, and since long continued license has increased their savageness, they have given the sea the name of Inhospitable; but in irony ¹⁰⁷ it is called by the contrary name of Pontus εὐξεινος, ¹⁰⁸ just as we Greeks call a fool εὐήθης, and night εὐφρόνη, and the Furies εὐμενίδες. ¹⁰⁹ [34] For these peoples offer human victims to the gods and sacrifice strangers to Diana, whom they call Orsiloche, and affix the skulls of the slain to the walls of her temple, as a lasting memorial of their valorous deeds. ¹¹⁰

[35] In this Tauric country is the island of Leuce, ¹¹¹ entirely uninhabited and dedicated to Achilles. And if any happen to be carried to that island, after

looking at the ancient remains, the temple, and the gifts consecrated to that hero, they return at evening to their ships; for it is said that no one can pass the night there except at the risk of his life. At that place there are also springs and white birds live there resembling halcyons, of whose origin and battles in the Hellespont I shall speak ¹¹² at the appropriate time. ^[36] Now there are some cities in the Taurica, conspicuous among which are Eupatoria, Dandace, and Theodosia, with other smaller towns, which are not contaminated with human sacrifices.

^[37] So far the peak of the bow is thought to extend; the remainder of it, gently curved and lying under the Bear in the heavens, we shall now follow as far as the left side of the Thracian Bosphorus, as the order demands, with this warning; that while the bows of all other races are bent with the staves curved, in those of the Scythians alone, or the Parthians, since a straight rounded ¹¹³ handle divides them in the middle, the ends are bent downwards on both sides and far apart, ¹¹⁴ presenting the form of a waning moon. ¹¹⁵

^[38] Well then, at the very beginning of this district, where the Rhiphaean mountains sink to the plain, dwell the Aremphaei, just men and known for their gentleness, through whose country flow the rivers Chronius and Visula. Near them are the Massagetae, Halani, and Sargetae, as well as several other obscure peoples whose names and customs are unknown to us. ^[39] Then at a considerable distance the Carcinitian gulf opens up, with a river of the same name, and the grove of Trivia, ¹¹⁶ sacred in those regions. ^[40] Next the Borysthenes, ¹¹⁷ rising in the mountains of the Nervii, rich in waters from its own springs, which are increased by many tributaries, and mingle with the sea in high-rolling waves. On its well-wooded banks are the cities of Borysthenes and Cephalonesus and the altars consecrated to Alexander the Great and Augustus Caesar. ^[41] Then, a long distance away, is a peninsula inhabited by the Sindi, people of low birth, who after the disaster to their masters in Asia ¹¹⁸ got possession of their wives and property. Next to these is a narrow strip of shore which the natives call ὀχιλλέως δρόμος, memorable in times past for the exercises of the Thessalian leader. ¹¹⁹ And next to it is the city Tyros, a colony of the Phoenicians, washed by the river Tyras. ¹²⁰

^[42] Now in the middle space of the bow, which, as I have said, is widely rounded out and is fifteen days' journey for an active traveller, are the European Halani, the Costobocae, and innumerable Scythian tribes, which extend to lands which have no known limit. Of these, only a small part live on the fruits of the earth; all the rest roam over desert wastes, which never knew plough nor seeds, but are rough from neglect and subject to frosts; and they feed after the foul manner of wild beasts. Their dear ones, their dwellings, and their poor belongings they pack upon wains covered with the bark of trees, and when the fancy takes them they change their abode without trouble, wheeling their carts to the place which has attracted them.

^[43] But when we have come to another bend, abounding in harbours, which forms the last part of the curve of the bow, the island of Peuce juts forth, ¹²¹

and around this dwell the Trogydæ, the Peuci, and other lesser tribes. Here is Histros, once a powerful city, and Tomi, Apollonia, Anchialos, and Odessos, besides many other cities which lie along the Thracian coast. [44] But the river Danube, rising near Augst, ¹²² and the mountains near the Raetian frontier, extends over a wide tract, and after receiving sixty tributaries, nearly all of which are navigable, breaks through this Scythian shore into the sea through seven mouths. ¹²³ [45] The first of these, as their names are interpreted in the Greek tongue, is the aforesaid island of Peuce, ¹²⁴ the second Naracustoma, the third Calonstoma, the fourth Pseudostoma; but the Borionstoma and Stenostoma are far smaller than the others; the seventh is muddy and black like a swamp.

[46] Now the entire Pontus throughout its whole circuit is misty, ¹²⁵ has sweeter ¹²⁶ waters than the other seas, ¹²⁷ and is full of shoals, since the air is often thickened and condensed from the evaporation of moisture, and is tempered by the great masses of water that flow into it; and, because the many rivers that pour into it from every side bring in mud and clods, it rises in shoals that are full of ridges. [47] And it is a well-known fact that fish from the remotest bounds of our sea ¹²⁸ come in schools to this retreat for the purpose of spawning, in order that they may rear their young more healthfully in its sweet waters, and that in the refuge of the hollows, such as are very numerous there, they may be secure from voracious sea-beasts; for in the Pontus nothing of that kind has ever been seen, ¹²⁹ except small and harmless dolphins. [48] But the part of that same Pontic gulf which is scourged by the north wind and by frosts is so completely bound in ice, that neither are the courses of the rivers believed to flow beneath the ice, nor can men or animals keep their footing on the treacherous and slippery surface, a defect which an unmixed sea never has, but only one which is mingled with water from rivers. But since I have been carried somewhat farther than I expected, let us hasten on to the rest of our story.

[49] Another thing was added, ¹³⁰ to crown the present joys, something long hoped for it is true, but delayed by an extensive complex of postponements. For it was announced by Agilo and Jovius, who was later quaestor, that the defenders of Aquileia, ¹³¹ through weariness of the long siege and having learned of the death of Constantius, had opened their gates, come out, and surrendered the instigators of the revolt; that these were burned alive (as was told above), ¹³² and all the rest obtained indulgence and pardon for their offences.

Julianus Augustus, after having enlarged and adorned Constantinople, went to Antioch. On the way he gave the people of Nicomedia funds for the restoration of their ruined city, and found time for holding court at Ancyra.

But Julian, elated by his success, now felt more than mortal aspirations, ¹³³

since he had been tried by so many dangers and now upon him, the undisputed ruler of the Roman world, propitious Fortune, as if bearing an earthly horn of plenty, ¹³⁴ was bestowing all glory and prosperity; also adding this to the records of his former victories, that so long as he was sole ruler he was disturbed by no internal strife and no barbarians crossed his frontiers; but all nations, laying aside their former eagerness for repeated attacks, as ruinous and liable to punishment, were fired with a wonderful desire of sounding his praises.

[2] Therefore, after everything that the times and the changed circumstances demanded had been arranged with careful deliberation, and the soldiers had by numerous addresses and by adequate pay been roused to greater readiness for carrying out the coming enterprises, exulting in the favour of all men, he hastened to go to Antioch, leaving Constantinople supported by great increase of strength; for it was there that he was born, and he loved and cherished the city as his natal place. [3] Accordingly, having crossed the strait, ¹³⁵ and passed by Chalcedon and Libyssa, where Hannibal the Carthaginian was buried, he came to Nicomedia, a city famed of old and so enlarged at the great expense of earlier emperors, ¹³⁶ that because of the great number of its private and public buildings it was regarded by good judges as one of the regions, so to speak, of the Eternal City. ¹³⁷ [4] When he saw that its walls ¹³⁸ had sunk into a pitiful heap of ashes, showing his distress by silent tears he went with lagging step to the palace: and in particular he wept over the wretched state of the city because the senate and the people, who had formerly been in a most flourishing condition, met him in mourning garb. And certain of them he recognised, since he had been brought up there under the bishop Eusebius, ¹³⁹ whose distant relative he was. [5] Having here also in a similar way generously furnished many things that were necessary for repairing the damage done by the earthquake, he went on past Nicaea to the borders of Gallograecia. ¹⁴⁰ From there he made a detour to the right and turned to Pessinus, in order to visit the ancient shrine of the Great Mother. It was from that town, in the second Punic war, that at the direction of the Cumaean verses ¹⁴¹ her image was brought to Rome by Scipio Nasica. ¹⁴² [6] Of its arrival in Italy, along with other matters relating to the subject, I have given a brief account by way of digression in telling of the acts of the emperor Commodus. ¹⁴³ But why the town was called by that name writers of history are not in agreement; [7] for some have maintained that since the image of the goddess fell from heaven, the city was named from πεσεῖν, which is the Greek word meaning “to fall.”

Others say that Ilus, son of Tros, king of Dardania, ¹⁴⁴ gave the place that name. But Theopompus ¹⁴⁵ asserts that it was not Ilus who did it, but Midas, ¹⁴⁶ the once mighty king of Phrygia.

[8] Then, after Julian had worshipped the deity and propitiated her with victims and vows, he returned to Ancyra. ¹⁴⁷ And as he continued his journey from there, the multitude annoyed him, some demanding the return of what had been wrested from them by violence, others complaining that they had

unjustly been forced onto the boards of senators, ¹⁴⁸ while some, without regard to their own danger, exerted themselves to the point of madness to involve their opponents in charges of high treason. ^[9] But he, a judge more severe than a Cassius, ¹⁴⁹ or a Lycurgus, ¹⁵⁰ weighed the evidence in the cases with impartial justice and gave every man his due, never deviating from the truth, and showing particular severity towards calumniators, whom he hated because he had experienced the impudent madness of many such folk even to the peril of his life, while he was still a humble private citizen. ^[10] Of his patience in such matters it will suffice to give this single example, although there are many others. A certain man with great vehemence charged an enemy of his, with whom he was at bitter odds, of being guilty of high treason; and when the emperor ignored it, he repeated the same charge day after day. At last, on being asked who it was that he accused, he replied that it was a wealthy citizen. On hearing this, the emperor said with a smile: "On what evidence have you come to this conclusion?" ^[11] And the man answered: "He is making himself a purple robe out of a silk cloak"; ¹⁵¹ and when after this he was bidden to depart in silence, but unpunished, as a low fellow making a serious charge against another of the same sort, he was none the less insistent. Whereupon Julian, wearied and disgusted with the man's conduct, seeing his treasurer nearby, said to him: "Have a pair of purple shoes given to this dangerous chatterbox, to take to his enemy (who he says, so far as I can understand, has had a cloak of that colour sewn for him), in order that he may be able to learn what insignificant rags amount to without great power."

^[12] But, although such conduct was laudable and worthy of imitation by good rulers, it was on the contrary hard and censurable that under his rule anyone who was sought by the *curiales*, ¹⁵² even though protected by special privileges, by length of service in the army, or by proof that he was wholly ineligible by birth for such a position, could with difficulty obtain full justice; so that many of them through fear bought immunity from annoyance by secret and heavy bribes.

^[13] Thus proceeding on his way and arriving at the Gates, ¹⁵³ a place which separates the Cappadocians from the Cilicians, he received with a kiss the governor of the province, Celsus by name, ¹⁵⁴ whom he had known since his student days in Athens, gave him a seat in his carriage, and took him with him into Tarsus. ^[14] But hastening from there to visit Antioch, fair crown of the Orient, he reached it by the usual roads; and as he neared the city, he was received with public prayers, as if he were some deity, and he wondered at the cries of the great throng, who shouted that a lucky star had risen over the East. ^[15] Now, it chanced that at that same time the annual cycle was completed and they were celebrating, in the ancient fashion, the festival of Adonis (beloved by Venus, as the poet's tales say), who was slain by the death-dealing tusk of a boar—a festival which is symbolic of the reaping of the ripe fruits of the field. ¹⁵⁵ And it seemed a gloomy omen, as the emperor now for the first time entered the great city, the residence of princes, that on all sides melancholy

wailing was heard and cries of grief. [16] It was here that he gave a proof of his patience and mildness, slight, it is true, but surprising. He hated a certain Thalassius, ¹⁵⁶ a former assistant master of petitions, who had plotted against his brother Gallus. When this man had been prohibited from greeting the emperor and attending at court among the other dignitaries, ¹⁵⁷ some enemies of his, with whom he had a suit in the forum, gathered together next day a huge throng of his remaining foes and approaching the emperor, shouted: "Thalassius, your majesty's ¹⁵⁸ enemy, has lawlessly robbed us of our goods." [17] But, although Julian believed that this was an opportunity to ruin the man, he replied: "I know that the person to whom you refer has given me just cause for offence, but it is proper for you to keep silence until he gives satisfaction to me, his opponent of higher rank." And he ordered the prefect who was sitting in judgement not to listen to their charge until he himself was reconciled with Thalassius, which shortly happened.

Julian, wintering at Antioch, holds court, but disturbs no one because of his religious beliefs.

Passing the winter there to his heart's content, he was meanwhile carried away by no incitements of the pleasures in which all Syria abounds; but as if for recreation devoting his attention to cases at law, not less than to difficult and warlike affairs, he was distracted by many cares, as with remarkable willingness to receive information he deliberated how he might give each man his due by righteous decisions, bringing the guilty to order with moderate punishments and protecting the innocent with the safety of their property. [2] And, although in arguing cases he was sometimes untimely, asking at some inopportune moment what the religion of each of the litigants was, yet it cannot be found that in the decision of any suit he was inconsistent with equity, nor could he ever be accused because of a man's religious views, or for any other cause, of having deviated from the straight path of justice. [3] For that is desirable and proper judgement, when, after examination of all the circumstances, just is distinguished from unjust; and that he might not depart from this, he was as careful as of dangerous rocks. ¹⁵⁹ Now this he was able to accomplish for the reason that, recognising the hastiness of his somewhat excitable disposition, he allowed his prefects and associates freely to curb his impulses, when they led him away from what was fitting, by a timely admonition; and at times he showed that he regretted his errors and was glad to be corrected. [4] And when the defenders of causes greeted him with the greatest applause, declaring that he understood perfect justice, he is said to have replied with emotion: "I should certainly rejoice and show my joy, if I were praised by those whom I knew to have also the power to blame me in case I was wrong in deed or word." [5] But it will suffice, in place of many examples of the clemency that he showed in judicial processes, to set down this one, which is neither out of place nor ill-chosen. When a certain woman

had been brought before the court, and contrary to her expectation saw that her accuser, who was one of the court servants that had been discharged, wore his girdle, ¹⁶⁰ she loudly complained at this act of insolence. Whereupon the emperor said: "Go on with your charge, woman, if you think that you have been wronged in any way; for this man has thus girt himself in order to go through the mire the more easily ¹⁶¹ ; it can do little harm to your cause."

[6] And these and similar instances led to the belief, as he himself constantly affirmed, that the old goddess of Justice, ¹⁶² whom Aratus takes up to heaven ¹⁶³ because she was displeased with the vices of mankind, had returned to earth during his reign, were it not that sometimes Julian followed his own inclination rather than the demands of the laws, and by occasionally erring clouded the many glories of his career. [7] For after many other things, he also corrected some of the laws, removing ambiguities, so that they showed clearly what they demanded or forbade to be done. But this one thing was inhumane, and ought to be buried in eternal silence, namely, that he forbade teachers of rhetoric and literature to practise their profession, if they were followers of the Christian religion.

Georgius, bishop of Alexandria, with two others is dragged through the streets by the Pagans of Alexandria, torn to pieces, and burned to ashes; and no one was punished for it.

At about that same time, that notorious state- secretary Gaudentius, who (as I said before) ¹⁶⁴ had been sent to Africa by Constantius to oppose Julian there, and also Julianus, a former vice-governor, an intemperate partisan of the same faction, were brought back in chains and punished with death. [2] Then, too, Artemius, sometime military commander in Egypt, ¹⁶⁵ since the Alexandrians heaped upon him a mass of atrocious charges, suffered capital punishment. After him the son of Marcellus, at one time commander of the cavalry and infantry, ¹⁶⁶ was publicly executed, on the ground that he had aspired to the throne. Finally, even Romanus and Vincentius, tribunes of the first and the second corps of the targeteers, were convicted of designs beyond their powers and exiled. ¹⁶⁷

[3] Hardly had a brief time elapsed, when the Alexandrians, on learning of the death of Artemius, whom they dreaded, for fear that he would return with his power restored (for so he had threatened) and do harm to many for the wrong that he had suffered, turned their wrath against the bishop Georgius, who had often, so to speak, made them feel his poisonous fangs. [4] The story goes that he was born in a fullery at Epiphania, a town of Cilicia, ¹⁶⁸ and flourished to the ruin of many people. Then, contrary to his own advantage and that of the commonwealth, he was ordained bishop of Alexandria, a city which on its own impulse, and without ground, is frequently roused to rebellion and rioting, ¹⁶⁹ as the oracles themselves show. ¹⁷⁰ [5] To the frenzied minds of these people Georgius himself was also a powerful incentive by

pouring, after his appointment, into the ready ears of Constantius charges against many, alleging that they were rebellious against his authority; and, forgetful of his calling, which counselled only justice and mildness, he descended to the informer's deadly practices. [6] And, among other matters, it was said that he maliciously informed Constantius also of this, namely, that all the edifices standing on the soil of the said city had been built by its founder, Alexander, at great public cost, and ought justly to be a source of profit to the treasury. [7] To these evil deeds he had added still another, which soon after drove him headlong to destruction. As he was returning from the emperor's court and passed by the beautiful temple of the Genius, ¹⁷¹ attended as usual by a large crowd, he turned his eyes straight at the temple, and said: "How long shall this sepulchre stand?" On hearing this, many were struck as if by a thunderbolt, and fearing that he might try to overthrow even that building, they devised secret plots to destroy him in whatever way they could. [8] And lo! on the sudden arrival of the glad news that told of the death of Artemius, all the populace, transported by this unlooked-for joy, grinding their teeth and uttering fearful outcries, made for Georgius and seized him, maltreating him in divers ways and trampling upon him; then they dragged him about spread-eagle fashion, ¹⁷² and killed him.

[9] And with him Dracontius, superintendent of the mint, and one Diodorus, who had the honorary rank of count, ¹⁷³ were dragged about with ropes fastened to their legs and both killed; the former, because he overthrew an altar, ¹⁷⁴ newly set up in the mint, of which he had charge; the other, because, while overseer of the building of a church, he arbitrarily cut off the curls of some boys, thinking that this also was a fashion belonging to the pagan worship. [10] Not content with this, the inhuman mob loaded the mutilated bodies of the slain men upon camels and carried them to the shore; there they burned them on a fire and threw the ashes into the sea, fearing (as they shouted) that their relics might be collected and a church built for them, as for others who, when urged to abandon their religion, endured terrible tortures, even going so far as to meet a glorious death with unsullied faith; whence they are now called martyrs.

And these wretched men who were dragged off to cruel torture might have been protected by the aid of the Christians, were it not that all men without distinction burned with hatred for Georgius. [11] The emperor, on hearing of this abominable deed, was bent upon taking vengeance, but just as he was on the point of inflicting the extreme penalty upon the guilty parties, he was pacified by his intimates, who counselled leniency. Accordingly, he issued an edict expressing, in the strongest terms, his horror at the outrage that had been committed, and threatened extreme measures in case in the future anything was attempted contrary to justice and the laws.

Julian prepares for a campaign against the Persians, and in order to learn the outcome of the war, he consults the oracles and slays countless victims,

abandoning himself wholly to soothsaying and prophecies.

Meanwhile, Julian was preparing a campaign against the Persians, which he had long before planned with lofty strength of mind, being exceedingly aroused to punish their misdeeds in the past, knowing and hearing as he did that this savage people for almost three score years had branded the Orient with the cruelest records of murder and pillage, and had often all but annihilated our armies. [2] He was inflamed besides with a twofold longing for war, first, because he was tired of inactivity and dreamed of clarions and battle; and then, exposed as he had been in the first flower of his youth to warfare with savage nations, while his ears were still warm ¹⁷⁵ with the prayers of kings and princes who (as it was believed) could more easily be vanquished than led to hold out their hands as suppliants, he burned to add to the tokens of his glorious victories the surname Parthicus.

[3] But his idle and envious detractors, ¹⁷⁶ seeing these mighty and hasty preparations, cried out that it was shameful and ruinous that through the exchange of one man for another ¹⁷⁷ so many untimely disturbances should be set on foot; and they devoted all their efforts to putting off the campaign. And they repeatedly said, in the presence of those who they thought could repeat to the emperor what they had heard, that if he did not conduct himself with more moderation in his excessive prosperity and success, like plants that grow rank from too great fertility, he would soon find destruction in his own good fortune. [4] But though they kept up this agitation long and persistently, it was in vain that they barked around a man as unmoved by secret insults, as was Hercules by those of the Pygmies, ¹⁷⁸ or by those of the Lindian peasant Thiodamas. ¹⁷⁹ [5] But Julian, being a man of uncommonly high spirit, no less carefully considered the importance of his campaign, and used every effort to make corresponding preparations.

[6] Nevertheless, he drenched the altars with the blood of an excessive number of victims, sometimes offering up a hundred oxen at once, with countless flocks of various other animals, and with white birds ¹⁸⁰ hunted out by land and sea; to such a degree that almost every day his soldiers, who gorged themselves on the abundance of meat, living boorishly and corrupted by their eagerness for drink, were carried through the squares to their lodgings on the shoulders of passers-by from the public temples, where they indulged in banquets ¹⁸¹ that deserved punishment rather than indulgence; especially the Petulantes ¹⁸² and the Celts, whose wilfulness at that time had passed all bounds. [7] Moreover, the ceremonial rites were excessively increased, with an expenditure of money hitherto unusual and burdensome. And, as it was now allowed without hindrance, everyone who professed a knowledge of divination, alike the learned and the ignorant, without limit or prescribed rules, were permitted to question the oracles and the entrails, which sometimes disclose the future; and from the notes of birds, from their flight, and from omens, the truth was sought with studied variety, if anywhere it

might be found. [8] While these things were thus going on, as if in time of peace, Julian devoted to many interests, entered upon a new way of consultation, and thought of opening the prophetic springs of the Castalian fount; ¹⁸³ this, it is said, Caesar Hadrian had blocked up with a huge mass of stones, for fear that (as he himself had learned from the prophetic waters ¹⁸⁴ that he was destined to become emperor), others also might get similar information. And Julian, after invoking the god, decided that the bodies which had been buried around the spring, ¹⁸⁵ should be moved to another place, under the same ceremonial with which the Athenians had purified the island of Delos. ¹⁸⁶

The burning of the temple of Apollo, at Daphne, is falsely attributed to the Christians by Julian, who therefore orders the greater church of Antioch to be closed.

At that same time, on the twenty-second of October, the splendid temple of the Daphnaean Apollo, which that hot-tempered and cruel king Antiochus Epiphanes had built, ¹⁸⁷ and with it the statue of the god, a copy of that of the Olympian Zeus ¹⁸⁸ and of equal size, was reduced to ashes by a sudden fire. [2] The unexpected destruction of this shrine by so terrible an accident inflamed the emperor with such anger, that he ordered stricter investigations than usual to be made, and the greater church at Antioch to be closed. For he suspected that the Christians had done the deed, aroused by jealousy and unwillingness to see the temple enclosed by a magnificent colonnade. [3] It was said, however, though on very slight evidence, that the cause of the burning of the temple was this: the philosopher Asclepiades, whom I have mentioned in the history of Magnentius, ¹⁸⁹ when he had come to that suburb ¹⁹⁰ from abroad to visit Julian, placed before the lofty feet of the statue a little silver image of the Dea Caelestis, ¹⁹¹ which he always carried with him wherever he went, and after lighting some wax tapers as usual, went away. From these tapers after midnight, when no one could be present to render aid, some flying sparks alighted on the woodwork, which was very old, and the fire, fed by the dry fuel, mounted and burned whatever it could reach, at however great a height it was. [4] In that year also, just as the winter season was at hand, there was such a fearful scarcity of water that some brooks dried up, as well as springs which had before over- flowed with plentiful jets of water; but later these were restored to their former condition. [5] Then, on the second of December, just before evening, the rest of Nicomedia ¹⁹² was wholly destroyed by an earthquake, as well as a good part of Nicaea.

Julian offers sacrifice to Jupiter on Mt. Casius. Why he wrote the Misopogon through anger at the people of Antioch.

Although these disasters filled the prince with sorrow and anxiety, yet he did not neglect the urgent duties that remained to be done before the longed-for time of battle arrived. All the same, amid such weighty and serious affairs, it did seem superfluous, that with no satisfactory reason for such a measure, but merely from a desire for popularity, he wished to lower the price of commodities; ¹⁹³ although sometimes, when this matter is not properly regulated, it is wont to cause scarcity and famine. [2] And, although the senate at Antioch clearly pointed out that this could not be done at the time when he ordered it, he in no wise gave up his plan, since he resembled his brother Gallus, though without his cruelty. Therefore raging against them one by one as recalcitrant and stubborn, he composed an invective, which he entitled *The Antiochian* or *Misopogon*, ¹⁹⁴ in which he enumerated in a hostile spirit the faults of the city, including more than were justified. After this, finding that he was the object of many jests, he was forced at the time to disregard them, but was filled with suppressed wrath. [3] For he was ridiculed as a Cercops, ¹⁹⁵ as a dwarf, spreading his narrow shoulders and displaying a billy-goat's beard, ¹⁹⁶ taking mighty strides as if he were the brother of Otus and Ephialtes, whose height Homer describes as enormous. ¹⁹⁷ He was also called by many a slaughterer ¹⁹⁸ instead of high-priest, in jesting allusion to his many offerings; and in fact he was fittingly criticised because for the sake of display he improperly took pleasure in carrying the sacred emblems in place of the priests, and in being attended by a company of women. But although he was indignant for these and similar reasons, he held his peace, kept control of his feelings, and continued to celebrate the festivals.

[4] Finally, on a previously appointed festal day, he ascended Mount Casius, ¹⁹⁹ a wooded hill rising on high with a rounded contour, from which at the second cock-crow ²⁰⁰ the sun is first seen to rise And as he was offering sacrifice to Jove, he suddenly caught sight of a man lying flat upon the ground, and in suppliant words begging for life and pardon. And when Julian asked who he was, the man answered that he was the ex-governor Theodotus of Hierapolis; that when in company with other dignitaries he was escorting Constantius as he set out from his city, he shamefully flattered him, in the belief that he would unquestionably be victorious, begging him with feigned tears and wailing to send them the head of Julian, that ungrateful rebel, just as he remembered that the head of Magnentius had been paraded about. [5] Upon hearing this, the emperor answered: "I heard of this speech of yours long ago from the mouths of many; but go to your home carefree, relieved of all fear by the mercy of your prince, who (as the philosopher ²⁰¹ advised) of his own accord and willingly strives to diminish the number of his enemies and increase that of his friends."

[6] When he left there after completing the sacred rites, a letter was presented to him from the governor of Egypt, reporting that after laborious search for a new Apis bull, they had finally, after a time, been able to find one, which (in the belief of the people of that region) is an indication of prosperity,

fruitful crops, and various blessings.

[7] About this matter it will be in place to give a brief explanation. Among the animals consecrated by ancient religious observance, the better known are Mnevis and Apis.²⁰² Mnevis²⁰³ is consecrated to the Sun, but about him there is nothing noteworthy to be said; Apis to the moon.²⁰⁴ Apis, then, is a bull distinguished by natural marks of various forms,²⁰⁵ and most of all conspicuous for the image of a crescent moon on his right side. When this bull, after its destined span of life,²⁰⁶ is plunged in the sacred fount²⁰⁷ and dies (for it is not lawful for him to prolong his life beyond the time prescribed by the secret authority of the mystic books), there is slain with the same ceremony a cow, which has been found with special marks and presented to him. After his death another Apis is sought amid public mourning; and if it has been possible to find one, complete with all its marks, it is taken to Memphis, famed for the frequent presence of the god Aesculapius. [8] And when he has been led into the city by a hundred priests and conducted to his chamber, he begins to be an object of worship; and it is said that by manifest signs he gives indications of coming events; and some of those who approach him he evidently rejects by unfavourable signs, as once (so we read)²⁰⁸ he turned away from Caesar Germanicus when he offered him food, and thus prophesied what soon after came to pass.

A description of Egypt, and of the Nile, the crocodile, the ibis, and the Pyramids.

Accordingly, since the occasion seems to demand it, let us touch briefly on matters Egyptian, of which I discoursed at length in connection with the history of the emperors Hadrian and Severus,²⁰⁹ telling for the most part what I myself had seen. [2] The Egyptian nation is the most ancient of all, except that in antiquity it vies with the Scythians.²¹⁰ It is bounded on the south²¹¹ by the Greater Syrtes, the promontories Phycus and Borion, by the Garamantes²¹² and various other nations. Where it looks directly east it extends to Elephantine and Meroë, cities of the Aethiopians, to the Catadupi²¹³ and the Red Sea, and to the Scenitic Arabs, whom we now call the Sercacens.²¹⁴ On the north it forms part of the boundless tract from which Asia and the provinces of Syria take their beginning. On the west its boundary is the Issiac Sea, which some have called the Parthenian.²¹⁵

[3] Now it will be in place to touch briefly on the most helpful of all rivers, the Nile, which Homer calls the Aegyptus,²¹⁶ and then to describe other remarkable things to be found in those lands. [4] The origin of the sources of the Nile (so at least I am wont to think) will be unknown also to future ages, as it has been up to the present. But, since the poets' tales and dissenting geographers give varying accounts of this unknown subject, I shall succinctly set forth such of their views as in my opinion approach the truth. [5] Some natural philosophers affirm that in the tracts lying beneath the north, when the

cold winters freeze everything, great masses of snow are congealed; that afterwards when these are melted by the heat of the blazing sun, they form clouds filled with flowing moisture, which are then driven towards the south by the Etesian winds, ^[27] and when melted by the excessive warmth, are believed to cause the rich overflow of the Nile. ^[6] Others assert that it is by the Aethiopian rains, which are said to fall in abundance in those regions in the season of torrid heat, that its floods are raised at the appointed season of the year; but both these reasons seem to be out of harmony with the truth. For it is reported that in the land of the Aethiopians rains fall either not at all or at long intervals of time. ^[7] Another, more widespread opinion is, that when the *Prodromoi* blow and after them the Etesians for forty-five consecutive days, since they drive back the course of the river and check its speed, it swells with overflowing waves; and while the contrary wind blows against it, it increases more and more, since on the one side the force of the wind hurls it back and on the other the flow of its perennial springs forces it onward; and rising high it covers everything, and hiding the ground, over the low-lying plains it has the appearance of a sea. ^[8] But King Juba, ^[218] relying upon the testimony of Punic books, thinks that the Nile rises in a mountain situated in Mauritania and looking down upon the ocean, and he says that this is proved by the fact that in those marshes ^[219] are found fishes, plants, and animals like those of the Nile. ^[9] But the river, flowing through the regions of Aethiopia, and going under various names, which many nations have given it in its course over the earth, swelling with its rich flood, comes to the cataracts, which are steep rocks, from which it plunges headlong rather than flows; for which reason the Ati, who formerly lived nearby, since their hearing was impaired by the continual roar, were forced to change their abode to a quieter spot. ^[10] Flowing more gently from there, through seven mouths, each of which has the appearance of an uninterrupted river, and is equally usable, it empties into the sea without being increased by any tributaries in Egypt. And besides many streams which flow from the main channel and fall into others nearly as great, seven are full of surges and navigable, and to them the ancients gave the following names: the Heracleotic, Sebennytic, Bolbitic, Pathmitic, Mendesian, Tanitic, and Pelusiatic. ^[220] ^[11] Rising, then, in the quarter which has been mentioned, it passes from the marshes ^[221] as far as the cataracts and forms many islands, some of which (it is said) extend over such wide-spread spaces that the stream hardly leaves each of them behind on the third day. ^[12] Of these two are famous, namely Meroë and Delta, the latter clearly so-called from the form of the triangular letter. ^[222] But when the sun has begun to ride through the sign of the Crab, the river increases until it passes into the Balance ^[223] ; then, flowing at high water for a hundred days, the river becomes smaller, and as the weight of its waters decreases, it shows the plains that before were navigable for boats now suitable for riders on horseback. ^[13] However, too great a rise of the Nile is as harmful to the crops as too small a one is unfruitful. For if it soaks the land for too long a time with an excess of water,

it delays the cultivation of the fields; but if the rise is too small, it threatens a bad harvest. No landowner has ever wished for a higher rise than sixteen cubits. But if there is a more moderate rise, seeds sown on a place where the soil is very rich sometimes return an increase of nearly seventy-fold. And it is the only river that does not raise a breeze.²²⁴

[14] Egypt abounds also in many animals, some of which are terrestrial, some aquatic; and there are others which live both on land and in the water, and hence are called amphibious. And on the dry plains roebucks feed and antelopes and *spinturnicia*,²²⁵ laughable for their utter ugliness, and other monsters, which it is not worth while to enumerate.

[15] Now among aquatic animals crocodiles abound everywhere in that region, a destructive four-footed monster, a curse to the land, accustomed to both elements. It has no tongue, and moves only its upper jaw; its teeth are arranged like those of a comb, and whatever it meets it persistently attacks with destructive bites. It produces its young from eggs resembling those of geese. [16] And, if besides the claws with which it is armed it also had thumbs, its strength would be great enough to overturn even ships; for it sometimes attains a length of eighteen cubits. At night it remains quiet in the water; in the daytime it suns itself on land, trusting to its hide, which is so strong that its mail-clad back can hardly be pierced by the bolts of artillery. [17] Now, savage as these same beasts always are, during the seven festal days on which the priests at Memphis celebrate the birthday of the Nile, as if by a kind of military truce they lay aside all their fierceness and become mild. [18] Besides those that lose their lives through accident, some are destroyed by creatures resembling dolphins, which are found in that same river and with sawlike dorsal fins tear the crocodiles' soft bellies; and others die in the following manner. [19] The trochilus, a little bird, as it looks for bits of food, flutters and plays about the crocodile as it lies outstretched, and pleasantly tickling its cheeks, makes its way as far as its throat. Seeing this going on, a water rat, a kind of ichneumon, enters the opening of the crocodile's mouth, to which the bird has shown the way, and after lacerating its belly and tearing its vitals to pieces, forces its way out.²²⁶ [20] Yet daring as this monster is towards those who run from it, when it sees that it has a daring opponent it is most timorous. It has sharper sight when on land, and during the four winter months it is said to take no food.

[21] Hippopotami also, or river-horses,²²⁷ are produced in those parts, animals sagacious beyond all unreasoning beasts, with cloven hooves like horses and short tails. Of their cunning it will suffice for the present to give two instances. [22] This monster makes its lair amid a thick growth of high and rough reeds and with watchful care looks about for a time of quiet; when free means are offered, it goes forth to feed upon the cornfields. And when it has finally begun to return, gorged with food, it walks backward and makes several paths, for fear that hunters, following the lines of one direct course, may find and stab it without difficulty. [23] Also, when by excessive greed it

has made its belly bulge and grown sluggish, it rolls its thighs and legs on freshly cut reeds, in order that the blood flowing from its wounded feet may relieve its repletion; and it keeps the injured parts covered with mud until the raw places scab over. [24] This monstrous and once rare kind of beast the Roman people first saw when Scaurus was aedile, the father of that Scaurus in whose defence Cicero spoke²²⁸ and bade the Sardinians also to conform with the authority of the whole world in their judgement of so noble a family; and for many ages after that more hippopotami were often brought to Rome. But now they can nowhere be found, since, as the inhabitants of those regions conjecture, they were forced from weariness of the multitude that hunted them to take refuge in the land of the Blemmyae.²²⁹

[25] Among Egyptian birds, the variety of which is countless, the ibis is sacred, harmless, and beloved for the reason that by carrying the eggs of serpents to its nestlings for food it destroys and makes fewer those destructive pests.²³⁰ [26] These same birds meet the winged armies of snakes which issue from the marshes of Arabia, producing deadly poisons, and before they leave their own lands vanquish them in battles in the air, and devour them. And it is said of those birds that they lay their eggs through their beaks.²³¹ [27] Egypt also breeds innumerable serpents, surpassing all their destructive kind in fierceness: basilisks, amphisbaenae, scytalae, acontiae, dipsades, vipers, and many others,²³² all of which are easily surpassed in size and beauty by the asp, which never of its own accord leaves the bed of the Nile.²³³

[28] Many and great things there are in that land which it is worth while to see; of these it will be in place to describe a few. Everywhere temples of vast size have been erected. The Pyramids have been enrolled among the seven wonders of the world,²³⁴ and of their slow and difficult construction the historian Herodotus tells us.²³⁵ These are towers higher than any others which can be erected by human hands, extremely broad at the base and tapering to very pointed summits. [29] The figure pyramid has that name among geometers because it narrows into a cone after the manner of fire, which in our language is called πῦρ; for their size, as they mount to a vast height, gradually becomes slenderer, and also they cast no shadows at all, in accordance with a principle of mechanics.²³⁶

[30] There are also subterranean fissures and winding passages called syringes,²³⁷ which, it is said, those acquainted with the ancient rites, since they had fore-knowledge that a deluge was coming, and feared that the memory of the ceremonies might be destroyed, dug in the earth in many places with great labour; and on the walls of these caverns they carved many kinds of birds and beasts, and those countless forms of animals which they called hieroglyphic writing.²³⁸

[31] Then comes Syene,²³⁹ where at the solstice, to which the sun extends its summer course, its rays surround all upright bodies and do not allow their shadows to extend beyond the bodies themselves.²⁴⁰ At that time if one fixes a stake upright in the earth, or looks at a man or a tree standing anywhere, he

will observe that the shadows are lost in the outer circumference of the figures. The same thing is said to happen at Meroë, a part of Aethiopia lying next to the equinoctial circle, where for ninety days the shadows fall on the side opposite to ours, for which reason those who dwell there are called Antiscii.²⁴¹ [32] But since there are many such wonders, which extend beyond the plan of my little work, let me refer them to lofty minds, since I wish to tell a few things about the provinces.

Of the five provinces of Egypt and their famous cities.

In early times Egypt is said to have had three provinces: Egypt proper, Thebais, and Libya. To these later times have added two: Augustamnica being taken from Egypt, and Pentapolis from the dryer part of Libya.

[2] Now Thebais has these among cities that are especially famous: Hermopolis, Coptos and Antinoë,²⁴² which Hadrian founded²⁴³ in honour of his favourite Antinoüs; for hundred-gated Thebes²⁴⁴ everyone knows.

[3] In Augustamnica is the famous city of Pelusium, which Peleus, the father of Achilles, is said to have founded, being bidden by order of the gods to purify himself in the lake which washes the walls of that city, when after the murder of his brother, Phocus by name, he was hounded by the dread forms of the furies;²⁴⁵ also Cassium,²⁴⁶ where is the tomb of Pompey the Great, and Ostracine, and Rhinocorura.

[4] In Pentapolis-Libya is Cyrene, an ancient city, but deserted, founded by the Spartan Battus,²⁴⁷ and Ptolemais, and Arsinoë, also called Teuchira, and Darnis and Berenice, which two they call Hesperidae [5] But in dry Libya are Paraetion, Chaerecla, Neapolis, and a few small towns.

[6] Egypt itself, which from the time when it was joined with the Roman empire has been governed by prefects in place of kings,²⁴⁸ is adorned by the great cities of Athribis, Oxyrynchus, Thumis, and Memphis, to say nothing of many lesser towns.

[7] But the crown of all cities is Alexandria, which is made famous by many splendid things, through the wisdom of its mighty founder and by the cleverness of the architect Dinocrates. The latter, when laying out its extensive and beautiful walls, for lack of lime, of which too little could at the time be found, sprinkled the whole line of its circuit with flour,²⁴⁹ which chanced to be a sign that later the city would abound with a plentiful store of food. [8] There healthful breezes blow, the air is calm and mild, and as the accumulated experience of many ages has shown, there is almost no day on which the dwellers in that city do not see a cloudless sun. [9] Since this coast in former times, because of its treacherous and perilous approaches, involved seafarers in many dangers, Cleopatra²⁵⁰ devised a lofty tower in the harbour, which from its situation is called the Pharos²⁵¹ and furnishes the means of showing lights to ships by night; whereas before that, as they came from the Parthenian or the Libyan sea past flat and low shores, seeing no landmarks of mountains or signs of hills, they were dashed upon the soft, tenacious

sandbanks and wrecked. [10] This same queen built the Heptastadium, ²⁵² remarkable alike for its great size and for the incredible speed with which it was constructed, for a well-known and sufficient reason. The island of Pharos, where Proteus, as Homer relates in lofty language, ²⁵³ lived with his herd of seals, lay a mile from the shore of the city, and was subject to tribute by the Rhodians. [11] When they had come one day to collect this tax, which was excessive, the queen, who was ever skilled in deception, under pretence of a solemn festival, took the same tax-collectors with her to the suburbs, and gave orders that the work should be completed by unremitting toil. In seven days, by building dams in the sea near the shore, the same number of stadia were won for the land; then the queen rode to the spot in a carriage drawn by horses, and laughed at the Rhodians, since it was on islands and not on the mainland that they imposed a duty. ²⁵⁴

[12] There are besides in the city temples pompous with lofty roofs, conspicuous among them the Serapeum, which, though feeble words merely belittle it, yet is so adorned with extensive columned halls, with almost breathing statues, and a great number of other works of art, that next to the Capitolium, with which revered Rome elevates herself to eternity, the whole world beholds nothing more magnificent. [13] In this were invaluable libraries, and the unanimous testimony of ancient records declares that 700,000 books, brought together by the unremitting energy of the Ptolemaic kings, were burned in the Alexandrine war, when the city was sacked under the dictator Caesar. ²⁵⁵

[14] At a distance of twelve miles from Alexandria is Canopus, which, according to the statements of ancient writers, got its name from the burial there of Menelaiis' steersman. The place is most delightful because of its beautiful pleasure-resorts, its soft air and healthful climate, so that anyone staying in that region believes that he is living outside of this world, as oftentimes he hears the winds that murmur a welcome with sunny breath.

[15] But Alexandria herself, not gradually (like other cities), but at her very origin, attained her wide extent; and for a long time she was grievously troubled by internal dissensions, until at last, many years later under the rule of Aurelian, ²⁵⁶ the quarrels of the citizens turned into deadly strife; then her by Caesar has been greatly exaggerated. Strabo, who visited Alexandria twenty-three years later, found the Museum intact. The Bruchion library was destroyed A.D. 272; the Serapeum in A.D. 391. 400,000 volumes were destroyed in the Alexandrine war. See especially J. W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, Introd. walls were destroyed and she lost the greater part of the district called Bruchion, ²⁵⁷ which had long been the abode of distinguished men. [16] From there came Aristarchus, ²⁵⁸ eminent in thorny problems of grammatical lore, and Herodian, ²⁵⁹ a most accurate investigator in science and Saccas Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus, and numerous other writers in many famous branches of literature. Among these Didymus Chalcenterus ²⁶⁰ was conspicuous for the abundance of his diversified

knowledge, although in those six books in which he sometimes unsuccessfully criticises Cicero, imitating the scurrilous writers of Silli,²⁶¹ he makes the same impression on learned ears as a puppy-dog barking from a distance with quavering voice around a lion roaring awfully. [17] And although very many writers flourished in early times as well as these whom I have mentioned, nevertheless not even to-day is learning of various kinds silent in that same city; for the teachers of the arts show signs of life, and the geometrical measuring-rod brings to light whatever is concealed, the stream of music is not yet wholly dried up among them, harmony is not reduced to silence, the consideration of the motion of the universe and of the stars is still kept warm with some, few though they be, and there are others who are skilled in numbers; and a few besides are versed in the knowledge which reveals the course of the fates. [18] Moreover, studies in the art of healing, whose help is often required in this life of ours, which is neither frugal nor sober, are so enriched from day to day, that although a physician's work itself indicates it, yet in place of every testimony it is enough to commend his knowledge of the art, if he has said that he was trained at Alexandria. [19] But enough on this point. If one wishes to investigate with attentive mind the many publications on the knowledge of the divine, and the origin of divination, he will find that learning of this kind has been spread abroad from Egypt through the whole world, [20] There, for the first time, long before other men, they discovered the cradles, so to speak, of the various religions, and now carefully guard the first beginnings of worship, stored up in secret writings. [21] Trained in this wisdom, Pythagoras, secretly honouring the gods, made whatever he said or believed recognised authority, and often showed his golden thigh at Olympia,²⁶² and let himself be seen from time to time talking with an eagle. [22] From here Anaxagoras foretold a rain of stones, and by handling mud from a well predicted an earthquake. Solon, too, aided by the opinions of the Egyptian priests, passed laws in accordance with the measure of justice, and thus gave also to Roman law its greatest support.²⁶³ On this source, Plato drew and after visiting Egypt, traversed higher regions,²⁶⁴ and rivalled Jupiter in lofty language, gloriously serving in the field of wisdom.

[23] Now the men of Egypt are, as a rule, somewhat swarthy and dark of complexion, and rather gloomy-looking,²⁶⁵ slender and hardy, excitable in all their movements, quarrelsome, and most persistent duns. Any one of them would blush if he did not, in consequence of refusing tribute, show many stripes on his body; and as yet it has been possible to find no torture cruel enough to compel a hardened robber of that region against his will to reveal his own name.

[24] Moreover, it is a well-known fact, as the ancient annals show, that all Egypt was formerly ruled by their ancestral kings; but after Antony and Cleopatra were vanquished in the sea-fight at Actium, the country fell into the power of Octavianus Augustus and received the name of a province.²⁶⁶ We acquired the dryer part of Libya by the last will of King Apion; we received

Cyrene, with the remaining cities of Libya-Pentapolis, through the generosity of Ptolemy.²⁶⁷ After this long digression, I shall return to the order of my narrative.

NOTES.

¹ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 190; Suet. *Aug.* 96.

² Cf. xxi. 15, 4.

³ Cf. xxi. 10, 2.

⁴ See xxi. 10, 3, note.

⁵ It was drawn by winged dragons and given to him by Ceres, to carry a knowledge of agriculture through the world. See Hygin. *Fab.* 147; Ovid, *Metam.* v. 641 ff.

⁶ He was 31 years old.

⁷ Of the Orient.

⁸ xxi. 10, 8.

⁹ xvi. 6, 1; xx. 2, 2.

¹⁰ xx. 2, 5.

¹¹ xxi. 10, 8.

¹² xxi. 8, 3; 12, 2.

¹³ See Index II., vol. i.

¹⁴ Julian excuses himself in a *Letter to Hermogenes*, , vol. iii., , L.C.L., τούτους δὲ ἀδίκως τι παθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ἴστω ζευς. ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανίστανται πολλοὶ κατήγοροι, δικαστήριον ἀποκεκλήρωται: “nor would I wish, Zeus be my witness, that these others should be punished unjustly; but since many accusers are rising up against them, I have appointed a court to judge them.”

¹⁵ xxi. 6, 5.

¹⁶ Perhaps for Vercellae.

¹⁷ Lit. “thrust off to.”

¹⁸ Modern Bua.

¹⁹ Cf. xx. 8, 20.

²⁰ xx. 11, 6.

²¹ Cf. xv. 2, 4.

²² Cf. xv. 5, 8; xiv. 11, 19.

- ²³ The Chain, or Fetter; cf. xiv. 5, 6.
- ²⁴ See xviii. 4, 3, and Introd., p. xxxvi.
- ²⁵ Cf. xiv. 11, 25.
- ²⁶ Cf. *mensarum voragines*, xiv. 6, 16.
- ²⁷ Cincimnatus; cf. Val. Max. iv. 4, 7.
- ²⁸ Emperor A.D. 286-305, a little over a half-century earlier.
- ²⁹ I.e. loaves.
- ³⁰ To Constantinople.
- ³¹ I.e. pay.
- ³² For his services; these advocates were influential men at court, who appeared for men of humble rank when they brought petitions before the emperor. Evidently they were sometimes paid for their services. Julian's law is to be found in *Cod. Theod.* ii. tit. 29.
- ³³ It was, however, usual; cf. Spart., *Hadr.* ix. 7, *praetorum et consulum official frequentavit*; Claud. in *Eutrop.* i. 308; Ansonius, *Prec. Consulis* (*Edyll.* viii.), 34.
- ³⁴ The consuls on entering office gave games lasting three days, and usually freed some slaves in the presence of the people.
- ³⁵ Manumitting slaves was a legal process, and the enactment was introduced by a formula; cf. Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 14 (of the adoption of Aurelian), *iube lege agatur, fitque Aurelianus heres*, etc.
- ³⁶ Probably to Mamertinus, as the consul giving the games.
- ³⁷ Letters of a familiar nature from Julian to Maximus have come down to us.
- ³⁸ *Pro Archia*, 11, 26.
- ³⁹ Cf. 3, 6, above.
- ⁴⁰ They belonged to the so-called *scholar Palatinae*; see xiv. 7, 9, note 3.
- ⁴¹ His full name was Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. He pears as prefect of the city in xxvii. 9, 8, and xxviii. 1, 24.
- ⁴² Cf. Claudian, *In Eutr.* i. 59, *hinc fora venalis Galata ductore frequentat permutatque domos varias* (*Eutropius*), "next in the train of a Galatian slave-merchant he stands for sale in many a market and knows many diverse houses" (*L.C.L.*, i.).
- ⁴³ The Divi, or Diveni, lived on some island off the west coast of India, the Serendivi probably on the island of Ceylon, called Serandib by the Arabs. Gibbon says that these embassies were not due to Julian's widespread fame, since they must have thought that Constantius was still ruling. So also Zonaras, xiii. 12.

- ⁴⁴ See xx. 8, 4, note.
- ⁴⁵ Ammianus' account is confused and in places inaccurate.
- ⁴⁶ Modern ἱερὸν ὄρος, Monte Santo.
- ⁴⁷ Under Xerxes; see Hdt. vii. 122.
- ⁴⁸ Its mediæval name was Negroponte and the headland's Cappo d'Oro.
- ⁴⁹ In order to avenge the death of his son, Nauplius kindled a beacon-fire on the cliff, which misled the Greek fleet and caused its almost utter destruction.
- ⁵⁰ This is not accurate, but makes the Aegean too small and the Thessalian sea, more commonly called *Mare Thracicum*, too large; see Strabo, Mela, and Pliny.
- ⁵¹ Apollo and Diana.
- ⁵² Cf. Hor., *Odes*, i. 2, 13, *retortis violenter undis*.
- ⁵³ On Tenedos; *Iliad*. i. 38; Strabo, xiii. 1, 46. The god had this epithet from σμινθος, a kind of field-mouse destructive to the crops, destroyed by Apollo.
- ⁵⁴ The Bay of Saros, west of the Thracian Chersonese and the Hellespont.
- ⁵⁵ According to the myth, he fed his horses on human flesh, and was slain by Hercules.
- ⁵⁶ To-day the Maritza.
- ⁵⁷ Modern Marogna. The identification of this town with the city founded by Aeneas in Thrace is doubtful, since Homer says that auxiliaries came from there to Ilium, and Apollodorus represents Heracles as landing there on his return from Troy; see Heyne, *Excursus* to *Aen.* iii. ; and xxviii. 4, 13, below.
- ⁵⁸ κυνὸς σῆμα, "the dog's monument," since Hecuba, after the capture of Troy, was said to have been changed into a dog; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 399 ff.
- ⁵⁹ Gallipoli.
- ⁶⁰ See Nepos, *Them.* 10, 3.
- ⁶¹ The Sea of Marmora.
- ⁶² On the southern side of the Propontis.
- ⁶³ Named from Mt. Dindymus, in Phrygia, near Pessinus. There is another Mt. Dindymus, five miles north of Cyzicus, and, apparently, a town or village called Dindyma.
- ⁶⁴ Cybele.
- ⁶⁵ There is evidently a lacuna here. Lindenbrog suggested *ubi Hylam insecuta rapuit nympha*. Others refer Hyla to the river near Cius.

⁶⁶ Nicomedia.

⁶⁷ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 149; Strabo, vii. 55 (iii. 377, *L. C.L.*). It was also famous as the scene of the last battle of the Peloponnesian war.

⁶⁸ See § 4, above, and the note.

⁶⁹ This island is a long way to the westward of the middle of the Propontis, and since the length of the two islands is from west to east, they would form a theta, θ , rather than a ϕ .

⁷⁰ Here the reference clearly is to the whole of the Propontis.

⁷¹ Modern Scutari, opposite Constantinople.

⁷² According to the Eusebian Chronicle, Byzantium was founded by the Megarians in Olym, 2 (600 B.C.); so also Herodotus (iv. 144), who, however, gives the date as Olym. 26, 2 (616 B.C.). Justin (ix. 1, 2 f.) names the Spartans; Velleius (ii. 7, 7) the Milesians, who were descended from the Athenians. The founding was probably attributed to the Athenians from the time of Constantine from motives of pride

⁷³ A pharos, or lighthouse

⁷⁴ The Pontus, or Euxine Sea.

⁷⁵ Polyb. iv. 39, 1, gives 20,000; Strabo, ii. 5, 22, 25,000; Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 77, says that Varro made it 21,000, and Nepos, 21,350.

⁷⁶ The descriptions of the Scythian bow in the handbooks on antiquities vary, and are sometimes misleading, in particular the comparison with different forms of the Greek sigma. As represented in vases and other works of art, it has, as a general rule, the form of the following cut: Figure from Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* 1. It is well defined in the note on Strabo, ii. 5, 22, in *L.C.L.* i. 479, n. 4. When it was drawn, which is commonly taken to be the meaning of *nervo coagmentati*, the arms were bent down and the handle remained immovable; see also note on § 37, below.

⁷⁷ The Palus Maeotis is on the northern side of the Euxine.

⁷⁸ The directions are so uncertain that the meaning is not clear.

⁷⁹ Cf. Hdt. v. 76; Val. Max. ii. 6, ext. 1.

⁸⁰ At Constantinople.

⁸¹ Io; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i, 586 ff. A more probable reason is that they were so narrow that an ox could swim across them. Amm. is wrong about the second curve, which extends to the Colchi, while the Cimmerian Bosphorus (between the Euxine and the Palus Maeotis) is in the middle of the curve; of. Mela, i. 112, 114; Procop. viii. 6, 14 f.

⁸² Amycus mistreated his subjects and compelled strangers to box with him, until Pollux came with the Argonauts and slew him in fight.

⁸³ Cf. Virg., *Aen.* iii. 212 ff.; Apollod. i. 9, 20; Val. Flacc., iv. 464 ff.; Hygin. *Fab.* 17.

⁸⁴ Like the lightning, it was hardly necessary for them to strike the same object twice; the recoil was rather to be ready for the next thing that passed between them.

⁸⁵ See Apollodorus, i. 9, , *L.C.L.*

⁸⁶ That is cherries; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xv. 102.

⁸⁷ μυχοπόντιον = “a nook of the sea.”

⁸⁸ From which aconite is said to get its name.

⁸⁹ In the days of Theseus. The war of the Greeks and the Amazons is a frequent subject in works of Greek art.

⁹⁰ Cf. Justin, ii. 4.

⁹¹ κριοῦ μέτωπον, “The Ram’s head.”

⁹² Val. Flacc. v. 89 f.

⁹³ Id. v. 2 ff.

⁹⁴ Id. v. 15 ff.

⁹⁵ “Of beautiful dances.”

⁹⁶ Val. Flacc. v. 75.

⁹⁷ As celebrated every third year; cf. Virg., *Aen.* iv. 302.

⁹⁸ Bands of pirates, using small ships called *camarae*.

⁹⁹ Cf. Hdt. ii. 103-4; Val. Flacc. v. 418 ff.

¹⁰⁰ From ἡνίοχος, “charioteer”; Dioscurias is derived from Dioscuri, i.e. (διδόσκουροι), “the sons of Zeus,” Castor and Polydeuces (Pollux).

¹⁰¹ To-day the Don.

¹⁰² Now the Volga.

¹⁰³ Rhubarb (*Rheum rhaponticum*, Linnaeus), the vegetable *radix Pontica* (Celsus, v. 23, 3); the drug is made from Chinese rhubarbs.

¹⁰⁴ The Sea of Azov.

¹⁰⁵ *adamas*, “untamable,” “unbreakable” is variously applied to a kind of steel, and to diamonds and like stones.

¹⁰⁶ The Crimea. The colonies were from Miletus.

¹⁰⁷ The principle is probably irony in some cases, but in the case of the Furies it appears to be euphemism. Sometimes we have neither; cf. Plutarch, *De Curios.* 12, who says that some of

the Greeks call night εὐφρόνη (“kindly”), because it brings good and salutary resolves; others, because it invites gaiety or refreshes the body.

¹⁰⁸ “Hospitable.” Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 4, 55 f., *frigida me cohibent Euxini litora Ponti, dictus ab antiquis Axenus* (inhospitable) *ille fuit*.

¹⁰⁹ εὐήθης, “Good-natured,” εὐφρόνη, “the well-wisher,” and εὐμενίδες, “kindly goddesses.” There seem to be varying motives here; see note 1.

¹¹⁰ See Strabo, vii. 3, 6; Mela, ii. 1, 13; Ovid, *Ex Pont*, iii. 2, 45 K. The story of Iphigenia.

¹¹¹ The island is located more accurately by Mela (ii. 7, 98) at the mouth of the Dnieper; see §40, below.

¹¹² This promise was not fulfilled, unless a lost book is referred to: see crit. note.

¹¹³ These apparently contradictory words have given a good deal of trouble, but the meaning is plain. The handle is straight laterally, but is rounded like a broomstick for example, or a hoe-handle, and for the same reason; see note on § 10, above.

¹¹⁴ That is, the Greek bow is bent in a continuous curve; in the Scythian, the two sides are bent, but not the handle.

¹¹⁵ I.e. in the “gibbous” stage; see xx. 3, 11, notes.

¹¹⁶ Diana; on the origin of the name, see Varro, *L.L.* vii. 16.

¹¹⁷ Modern Dnieper.

¹¹⁸ By a servile war; see Justin, ii. 5, 1-8.

¹¹⁹ “The racecourse of Achilles.”

¹²⁰ See Mela, ii. 1, 55; Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 83.

¹²¹ At the mouth of the Danube.

¹²² According to Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 79, the Danube rises in *Germania iugus montis Abnobaе ex adverso Rauraci Galliae oppidi*. For the seven months, cf. Val. Flacc. viii. 186, *septem exit aquis, septem ostia pandit*.

¹²³ The earlier writers counted only five; Pliny and Ptolemy, six; Strabo, seven.

¹²⁴ The name of the mouth itself is ἱερὸν (στόμα). *Stoma* (στόμα) in each of the following names is the word meaning “mouth.” *Naracu* cannot be interpreted; those that follow are “beautiful,” “false,” “north” and “narrow.”

¹²⁵ Cf. Mela, i. 19, 102, *brevis, atrox, nebulosus*, etc.

¹²⁶ I.e. “fresher.”

¹²⁷ Cf. Sail., *Hist.* iii. 65, Maur., *mare Ponticum dulcius quam cetera*; Val. Flacc. iv. 719 ff.

¹²⁸ The Mediterranean.

¹²⁹ Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 50

¹³⁰ Continuing from the end of xxii. 7, .

¹³¹ Cf. xxi. 11, 2.

¹³² xxi. 12, 20.

¹³³ Cf. Soph., *Ajax*, v. 777; Aesch., *Septem*, 425.

¹³⁴ Fortuna is commonly represented in art with a ship's helm in her right hand, and in her left the horn of Amaltheia, which was placed among the stars; hence here *mundanam*.

¹³⁵ The Thracian Bosphorus.

¹³⁶ Especially Diocletian and Constantine the Great, whose favourite resort it was.

¹³⁷ The reference is to the fourteen regions into which Rome was divided by Augustus. Nicomedia, in the opinion of good judges of such matters, was worthy to be considered a fifteenth region of Rome.

¹³⁸ That is of the public buildings and monuments erected by former emperors. The city had suffered from an earth-quake and a fire that lasted for five days and nights; cf. xvii. 7, 1-8.

¹³⁹ Eusebius of Nicomedia, not the Church historian, Eusebius of Caesaraea.

¹⁴⁰ Galatia (Gallacia); cf. Suet., *Calig.* 29, 2.

¹⁴¹ The Sibylline Verses; see Livy, xxix. 10, 11.

¹⁴² In 204 B.C.; see Livy, *l.c.*

¹⁴³ In one of the lost books.

¹⁴⁴ Herodian, i. 11, 1.

¹⁴⁵ Of Chios, a pupil of Isocrates, and a rhetorician and historian. His works are lost.

¹⁴⁶ According to Diod. Sic. (iii. 59, 8), he was the first to build a splendid temple to Cybele at Pessinus.

¹⁴⁷ Modern Angora.

¹⁴⁸ The position of *curialis*, or local senator, was an honorary office, without pay, and imposing many obligations. Therefore many sought to avoid such positions, and it was necessary to force men to take them. Julian was not always indulgent in such cases; see 9, 12, below, and cf. xxv. 4, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Cassius, city praetor in 111 B.C., was feared as a judge; Cic., *Brut.* 25, 97; Val. Max. iii. 7, 9; cf. xxvi. 10, 10; xxx. 8, 13.

¹⁵⁰ Not the celebrated Spartan lawgiver, but the statesman and orator of Athens, a contemporary of Demosthenes. He is often cited as a severe judge, e.g. Plutarch, *Vitae X Orat.* 541 F.; Plautus, *Bacch.* 111; Diod. Sicul. xvi. 88, 1.

¹⁵¹ Under Constantius the wearing of such a garment was a serious offence; see xiv. 9, 7; xvi. 8, 8.

¹⁵² That is: whom they wished to make a member of their *curia*, or local senate; see note 5 on 9, 8, above ().

¹⁵³ That is, the Cilician Gates.

¹⁵⁴ He was a Cilician, a pupil of Libanius.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. xix. 1, 11, and Cumont, *Syria*, p-49.

¹⁵⁶ Not the same as the one mentioned in xiv. 1, 10.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. xxi. 6, 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Pietas tua* is one of the numerous titles by which the later emperors were addressed.

¹⁵⁹ With the expression cf. Caesar (ap. Gell. i. 10, 4), *ut tamquam scopulum fugias . . . insolens verbum*.

¹⁶⁰ The sign either of military rank or of a position at court; the right to wear it was lost with the office.

¹⁶¹ This seems to be a sarcastic reference to the “muck-raking” that would characterize the trial.

¹⁶² *Astraea*, who left the earth in the iron age; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 150 f., *Victa iacet pietas et virgo caede madentes Ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit*.

¹⁶³ That is, was represented by Aratus, a Greek poet of Soli in Cilicia (*circ.* 276 B.C.), as leaving the earth; of. Aratus, 130, καὶ τότε μισήσασα δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν ἔπταθ’ ὑπουράνιη; Cic., *Arat. Phaen.* 137 ff. (lines 1, 3 and 4 in the supplement of Grotius):

Tune, mortale exosa genus, dea in alta volavit
Et Iovis in regno caelique in parte resedit,
Illustrem sortita locum, qua nocte serena
Virgo conspicuo fulget vicina Boötae.

¹⁶⁴ See xxi. 7, 2.

¹⁶⁵ xvii. 11, 5.

¹⁶⁶ xvi. 2, 7, 8.

¹⁶⁷ They were followers of the banished Athanasius, xv. 7, 7 and 10.

¹⁶⁸ According to Athanasius he was a Cappadocian.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, Curtius, iv. 1, 30; *Aegyptii, vana gens, et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus*; Trebellius, *Thirty Tyrants*, 22, 1.

¹⁷⁰ Nothing is known of these oracles.

¹⁷¹ I.e. of the city.

¹⁷² Cf. xiv. 7, 15, of Montius.

¹⁷³ *veluti* seems to indicate that he had the title, but not the office.

¹⁷⁴ To Juno Moneta.

¹⁷⁵ His two motives were: a love of action; and, since those men had prayed to him for peace who no one ever thought would do so, a desire for further glory in the Orient.

¹⁷⁶ Apparently referring to the Christians.

¹⁷⁷ That is, of Julian for Constantius.

¹⁷⁸ When Hercules entered the country of the Pygmies an army of them attacked him in his sleep, but he gathered them up and packed them in his lion skin.

¹⁷⁹ According to Apollodorus (ii. 5, 11) Thiodamas was a neatherd of the Dryopians. Hercules killed and ate one of his cattle, without being disturbed by the scolding of Thiodamas.

¹⁸⁰ A colour of good omen; cf. Juv. xiii. 141, *gallinae filius albae*; Suet., *Galba*, 1; Hor., *Sat.* i. 7, 8, *equis albis*; etc.

¹⁸¹ I.e. sacrificial feasts.

¹⁸² Cf. xx. 4, 2, note.

¹⁸³ Not the one at Delphi, but a spring at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch.

¹⁸⁴ According to Sozomenus, *Church History*, v. 19, he threw a laurel leaf into the spring, and, when he took it out, found on it a note, which confirmed his hopes.

¹⁸⁵ Caesar Gallus, in order to purify the place from pagan superstition, had caused the remains of martyrs to be brought there.

¹⁸⁶ First under Peisistratus (Hdt. i. 64) and again in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. iii. 104, 1)

¹⁸⁷ According to others, the builder was Seleucus Nicator. Antiochus may have enlarged or embellished it.

¹⁸⁸ At Olympia, the work of Phidias; of. Pausanias, v. 11, 9.

¹⁸⁹ In a lost book.

¹⁹⁰ Daphne.

¹⁹¹ Venus Urania, as worshipped in Syria and Phoenicia

¹⁹² Cf. xvii. 7, 1-8.

¹⁹³ Diocletian had done the same in his edict, *De Pretiis Venaliunz Rerum*.

¹⁹⁴ This work has survived. It means “*The BeardHater*”; see *Julian, L.C.L.*, ii. 420 ff. It is a satire on Julian himself, in which he also scolded the people of Antioch. They made fun of his beard because they themselves were clean-shaven. Hadrian and his successors wore beards, but Constantine and his successors did not.

¹⁹⁵ One of a people living in an island near Sicily, changed by Jupiter into apes; *Ov., Metam.* xiv. 91, and *Suidas*, s.v. κέρκωπες.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. xxv. 4, 22.

¹⁹⁷ Two giants, the Aloidæ; cf. *Odyss.* xi. 307 ff.

¹⁹⁸ The *victimarius* slew the animal that was offered up.

¹⁹⁹ In Seleucia, near Antioch.

²⁰⁰ One of the divisions of the night; the latter part of the fourth watch; cf. *Pliny, N.H.* v. 80; *Mart. Cap.* vi., .

²⁰¹ Socrates; perhaps referring to the saying quoted by *Stobæus, Sermones*, πόσῳ μᾶλλον χαριέστερον ἐποίησας, εἰ καὶ τοῦτους (= ἐχθροὺς) εἰς φιλίαν μετετρόπωσας.

²⁰² Cf. *Diod. Sic.* i. 21, 10; *Hdt.* iii. 27, 28; *Strabo*, xvii. 1, 31; *Pliny, N.H.* viii. 184 ff.

²⁰³ Older than Apis, but later neglected; his shrine was in Heliopolis.

²⁰⁴ Later also to the Sun; *Macrob.* i. 21, 20.

²⁰⁵ There were twenty-nine in all.

²⁰⁶ Twenty-five years.

²⁰⁷ Its location was a secret known only to the priests.

²⁰⁸ In A.D. 49 in Egypt. Soon after, Plancina, Piso's wife, was suspected of poisoning him. Cf. *Pliny, N.H.* viii. 185.

²⁰⁹ In lost books.

²¹⁰ Cf. *Justinus*, ii. 1, 5.

²¹¹ The account of *Ammianus* is very confused and inexact.

²¹² A nomadic people of Libya.

²¹³ At the cataracts of the Nile.

²¹⁴ Cf. xiv. 4, 1 ff.

²¹⁵ See xiv. 8, 10, note, and Index I., vol. i.

²¹⁶ Cf. Odyss. iv. 477. On the Nile and its floods, see Hdt. ii. 19, 20; Diod. Sic. i. 36; Strabo, xvii. 1, 5; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 51 ff.

²¹⁷ Periodic winds which blow yearly in the dog-days, according to Colum. xi. 2, 56, from August 1 to 30; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 124; xviii. 270 f. The *Prodromoi*, “forerunners,” mentioned below in section 7, begin eight days earlier.

²¹⁸ The one whom Julius Caesar led in triumph; Octavian later made him his friend and restored his kingdom to him; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 16.

²¹⁹ Those from which the river flows.

²²⁰ Not all writers give the same names. We have for instance Canopic and Naucratic.

²²¹ Ammianus seems to accept King Juba’s opinion; cf. section 8, above.

²²² Greek δ (inverted on our maps).

²²³ That is, from the summer solstice until the autumnal equinox.

²²⁴ The meaning is not clear; it may mean because it flows so slowly in the lower part of its course, or because it is spread over the plains by canals.

²²⁵ A kind of monkey.

²²⁶ As a matter of fact, the ichneumon destroys only the eggs of the crocodile; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 35, 7; Solinus, 32, 25, agrees with Ammianus, and in 32, 26, tells of the destruction of crocodiles by dolphins with sharp dorsal fins.

²²⁷ Cf. Hdt. ii. 71; Diod. Sic. i. 35, 8; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 95.

²²⁸ We have fragments of the oration *Pro M. Aemilio Scauro*, delivered in 54 B.C. The Scaurus who gave magnificent games when aedile was the same as the one defended by Cicero. His father, who was an aedile in 123 B.C. was poor at the time, and nothing is said of his games, while those of his son were famous. Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 96, says: *eum (= hippopotamum) et quinque crocodiles Romae aedilitatis suae ludis M. Scaurus temporario euripo ostendit*. It seems natural to apply this to the man defended by Cicero, and *temporario euripo* may have been a feature of the temporary theatre which he built on that occasion.

²²⁹ A people of Aethiopia, near the cataracts of the Nile.

²³⁰ Cf. Cic., *Nat. Deo.* i. 36, 101.

²³¹ See Aristotle, *De Gen.* iii. 6.

²³² The basilisk was found principally in the Cyrenaica and got its name from a white spot on its head, resembling a diadem; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 78. The *amphisbaenae* were so-called from moving forwards and backward. The *scytalae* were long and slender like a staff (σκυτάλη). The *acontiae* are called by Pliny (viii. 85) by the Latin name *iaculus*, “javelin.” The *dipsades*

caused excessive thirst (διψος). These snakes are not found in Egypt in modern times, and the ibis has gone to its native Aethiopia.

²³³ Apparently a misunderstanding of Lucan, xi. 704 f., *ipsa caloris egens gelidum non transit in orbem sponte sua Niloque tenus metitur harenas*, “needing heat, the asp never of its own accord passes into cold regions, but traverses the desert as far as the Nile and no farther” (Lucan, *L.C.L.*,).

²³⁴ The lists of these vary; see Gellius, I, , note 2, *L.C.L.*

²³⁵ ii. 124.

²³⁶ This, of course, is true only when the sun stands directly over their tops.

²³⁷ σὺργγες, xvii. 7, 11, note.

²³⁸ Described in xvii. 4, 8 ff.

²³⁹ Modern Assouan.

²⁴⁰ That is, they cast no shadows. Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* ii. 7, 15, limits this to *eo die quo sol certain parter ingreditur Cancri, hora dies sexta*; Strabo also limits the time to midday (xvii. 1, 48; *L.C.L.*, viii.).

²⁴¹ From ἀντι, “against,” “opposite,” and σκιά, “shadow.” Ammianus means that the locality is so far south that the sun for a time casts shadows southwards; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 183, *per eos dies xc in meridiem umbras iaci*, “the shadows are turned towards the south.”

²⁴² I.e. Antinoö(polis), also called Antinupolis (see xviii, 9, 1). Antinupolis was not actually founded by Hadrian, but he embellished and renamed it.

²⁴³ I.e. Antinoö(polis), also called Antinupolis (see xviii, 9, 1). Antinupolis was not actually founded by Hadrian, but he embellished and renamed it.

²⁴⁴ Cf. xvii. 4, 2.

²⁴⁵ All other writers say that Peleus was banished by his father Aeacus, and fled to Eurytus, son of Actor, who purified him; cf. Diod. Sic. iv. 72, 6.

²⁴⁶ Also called Casium and containing a temple of Jupiter Casius. He was also worshipped in Syria; cf. 14, 4, above.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Hdt. iv. 150 ff.; Strabo, xvii. 3, 21. The founder is sometimes called Aristaeus (Just. xiii. 7, 1).

²⁴⁸ Because of its importance as a grain supply; cf. Suet., *Jul.* 35, 1; Tac., *Hist.* i. 11. The *praefectus Aegypti* ranked next to the *praefectus praetorio* in the equestrian *cursus honorum*.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1, 6 (at end); Plutarch, *Alex.* 26, 5 f.

²⁵⁰ The pharos was the work of Sostrates of Cnidus, master-builder of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was destroyed during the Alexandrine war, and rebuilt by Cleopatra.

251 It was built on an island called Pharos; its height is estimated to have been about 360 feet, and its base 82 feet square. It stood until 1477 or 1478, when a fort was built from its material.

252 A causeway seven stadia in length; "it is now, generally speaking, a mile wide, and forms a large part of the site of the modern city" (Strabo, *L.C.L.*, vol. viii. , n. 2. Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1, 6). This also is earlier than Cleopatra.

253 *Odys.* iv. 400 ff.

254 The language is somewhat obscure, but the meaning is clear. The Heptastadion connected the island of Pharos with the mainland, and so took away the right of the Rhodians to tax it as an island.

255 *remittentem*, Madvig; *renitente*, BG; *remittente*, V.

256 In A.D. 272.

257 This included at least a fourth part of the city, and contained the royal palace.

258 The celebrated critic, born in Samothrace; he lived under Ptolemy Philometor (181-146 B.C.).

259 Also a grammarian.

260 This scholar (65 B.C. — *circ.* A.D. 10) was surnamed χαλκέντερος, "of the brazen guts," because of his tireless industry; see also Index.

261 Satirical poems; cf. Gell. iii. 17, 4 f.

262 Wishing to represent himself as the equal of Apollo. Iamblichus, *De Vita Pyth.* xxviii. 135, Nauck, τὸν μηρὸν χρύσειον ἐπέδειξεν ἁβάριδι τῷ ὑπερβορέῳ, εἰκάσαντι αὐτὸν ἁπὸ λῶνα εἶναι τὸν ἐν ὑπερβορέοις, οὗπερ ἦν ἱερεὺς ὁ ἁβάρης. This was one of the many absurd fictions of the Neo-Platonic writers.

263 Cf. Hdt. 1, 30, who says that Solon did not come to Egypt until after he had made his laws; see also Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*. The Romans are said to have made use of his code in compiling the XII Tables.

264 Of thought.

265 Or "gloomier than *magi* are."

266 It differed, however, from other provinces, in being ruled by a prefect of equestrian rank. See 16, 6, note.

267 This Ptolemy is identical with (Ptolemaeus) Apion just mentioned, following, as the similarity in language indicates, Rufius Festus, *Brev.* 13. *Cyrenas . . . antiquioris Ptolomaei liberalitate suscepimus; Libyam supremo Apionis regis arbitrio sumus adsecuti*. Ptolemaeus Apion, king of Cyrene, died in 96 B.C., but Cyrene first became a Roman province in 74 B.C.; cf. Eutropius, vi. 11, 2, *qui rex eius (= Cyrenae) fuerat*.

BOOK XXIII

Julianus Augustus vainly tries to restore the temple at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed long before.

These were the events of that year, to pass over minor details. But Julian, who had already been consul three times, assumed the chief magistracy for the fourth time, taking as his colleague in the office Sallustius, prefect of Gaul. ¹ And for a private citizen to be associated with the reigning emperor seemed an innovation which no one recalled to have been made since Diocletian and Aristobulus. ² [2] And although he weighed every possible variety of events with anxious thought, and pushed on with burning zeal the many preparations for his campaign, yet turning his activity to every part, and eager to extend the memory of his reign by great works, he planned at vast cost to restore the once splendid temple at Jerusalem, which after many mortal combats during the siege by Vespasian and later by Titus, had barely been stormed. He had entrusted the speedy performance of this work to Alypius of Antioch, who had once been vice-prefect of Britain. [3] But, though this Alypius pushed the work on with vigour, aided by the governor of the province, terrifying balls of flame kept bursting forth near the foundations of the temple, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom were burned to death; and since in this way the element persistently repelled them, the enterprise halted.

[4] At that same time envoys were sent to him from the eternal city, men illustrious by birth and approved by the services of a commendable life, on whom the emperor conferred various honours. Apronianus he appointed prefect of Rome, and Octavianus ³ proconsular governor of Africa; to Venustus he entrusted the vice-governorship of Spain, Rufinus Aradius he raised to the rank of Count of the Orient in room of his uncle Julian, who had recently died. [5] When these matters had been arranged as planned, he was alarmed by an omen which, as the result showed, was most trustworthy. For when Felix, head of the public treasury, had suddenly died of a haemorrhage, and Count Julian had followed him to the grave, the people as they looked at the public inscriptions, uttered the names as Felix, Julianus and Augustus. ⁴ [6] Another unlucky thing had happened before this; for just on the Kalends of January, as the emperor was mounting the steps of the temple of the Genius, ⁵ one of the college of priests who was older than the rest suddenly, without being pushed, fell and died of the unlooked-for accident. The bystanders — whether through ignorance or desire to flatter is uncertain — said that this surely pointed to Sallustius, the elder of the two consuls; but (as was evident) it showed that death was approaching, not the man of greater age, but the higher in rank. [7] Besides these, other lesser signs also indicated from time to time what came to pass. For amid the very beginning of the preparations for the Parthian campaign word came that Constantinople had been shaken by an

earthquake, which those skilled in such matters said was not a favourable omen for a ruler who was planning to invade another's territory. And so they tried to dissuade Julian from the untimely enterprise, declaring that these and similar signs ought to be disregarded only in the case of attack by an enemy, when the one fixed rule is, to defend the safety of the State by every possible means and with unrelenting effort. Just at that time it was reported to him by letter, that at Rome the Sibylline books had been consulted about this war, as he had ordered, and had given the definite reply that the emperor must not that year leave his frontiers.

Julian, after ordering Arsaces, king of Armenia, to get ready for a Persian war, crosses the Euphrates with his army and with Scythian auxiliaries.

Meanwhile, however, embassies from many nations which promised aid were cordially received and sent back; for the emperor with laudable confidence replied, that it was by no means fitting for the Roman State to defend itself by means of foreign aid, since its duty was rather by its power to protect its friends and allies, if necessity forced them to apply for help. [2] Arsaces only, the king of Armenia, ⁶ did he order to muster a strong army and await his orders, since he would shortly learn to what place he was to march and what he ought to push forward. Thereupon, as soon as regard for prudence offered the opportunity, he hastened to invade the enemy's country, outstripping the report of his coming; and spring had barely arrived, when he ordered all to cross the Euphrates, sending marching orders ⁷ to every division of his army. [3] As soon as this was known, all hastened from their winter quarters, and having crossed as their written orders directed, they dispersed to their several posts and awaited the coming of the emperor. He himself, when on the point of leaving Antioch, appointed as governor of Syria a certain Alexander of Heliopolis, who was hot-tempered and cruel; and he said that the man did not deserve the post, but was the kind of judge proper for the avaricious and rebellious people of Antioch. [4] And when a crowd of all conditions of men escorted him as he was leaving the city, wishing him a successful march and a glorious return, and begging that in the future he might be more placable and mild, since the anger which their attacks and insults had aroused was not yet assuaged, he replied harshly, saying that they would never see him again. [5] For he said that he had arranged when the campaign was finished to return by a shorter route to Tarsus in Cilicia for the purpose of wintering, and that he had written to Memorius, the governor of that city, to prepare everything that was necessary for his use. And this not long afterwards came to pass; for his body was brought back there, and he was buried in a suburb of the city with simple rites, as he himself had directed. ⁸

[6] And when the season was now sunny, he set out on the fifth of March, and came by the usual route to Hierapolis. ⁹ There, as he was entering the

gates of the great city, a colonnade on his left suddenly collapsed and crushed with a great weight of timbers and tiles fifty soldiers who were encamped under it, besides wounding many more. [7] Then, uniting all his forces, he marched to Mesopotamia so rapidly that, since no report of his coming had preceded him (for he had carefully guarded against that), he came upon the Assyrians unawares. Finally, having crossed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats, he arrived with his army and his Scythian auxiliaries at Batnae, ¹⁰ a town of Osdroëne, where he met with a sad portent. [8] For when a great throng of ostlers, in order to get fodder as usual, had taken their place near a very high stack of chaff (such as are commonly constructed in that country), since many at once laid hold on what they wanted, the heap was broken and gave way, and fifty men at once met death by being buried under the huge mass that fell upon them.

As Julianus Augustus marches through Mesopotamia, the princes of the Saracen nations of their own accord offer him a golden crown and auxiliary troops. A Roman fleet of 1100 ships arrives and bridges the Euphrates.

Departing from there in sorrow, by a forced march he came to Carrae, an ancient town, notorious for the disaster of the Crassi and the Roman army. ¹¹ From there two different royal highways lead to Persia: the one on the left through Adiabene and over the Tigris; the other, on the right, through Assyria and across the Euphrates. [2] Having delayed there several days for necessary preparations, and to offer sacrifices according to the native rites to the Moon, which is religiously venerated in that region, before the altar, with no witness present, Julian is said secretly to have handed his purple mantle to his relative Procopius, and to have ordered him boldly to assume the rule, if he learned that the emperor had died among the Parthians. [3] Here, as Julian slept, his mind was disturbed by dreams, which made him think that some sorrow would come to him. Therefore, both he himself and the interpreters of dreams, considering the present conditions, declared that the following day, which was the nineteenth of March, ought to be carefully watched. But, as was afterwards learned, it was on that same night that the temple of the Palatine Apollo, under the prefecture of Apronianus, was burned in the eternal city; and if it had not been for the employment of every possible help, the Cumaeen books ¹² also would have been destroyed by the raging flames.

[4] After these matters were thus arranged, just as Julian was busy with the army and in getting supplies of every kind, it was reported to him by scouts who arrived in breathless haste, that some bands of the enemy's horsemen had suddenly broken through a part of the neighbouring frontier and carried off booty. [5] Startled by this cruel disaster, Julian (as he had previously planned) instantly put 30,000 picked men under the command of the aforesaid Procopius, and joined to him with equal powers Sebastianus, formerly a military commander in Egypt, and now a count, with orders to keep for the

present on this side of the Tigris and to watch carefully everywhere and see that nothing unexpected should happen on the unprotected side, such as he had heard had often occurred. And he gave the order that (if it could be done to greater advantage) they should join King Arsaces, march with him through Corduene ¹³ and Moxoëne, ¹⁴ lay waste in passing by Chiliocomum, a fruitful region of Media, ¹⁵ and other places, and meet him while he was still in Assyria, so as to aid him in cases of necessity.

[6] After these arrangements had thus been made, he himself feigned a march across the Tigris, an expedition for which he had also ordered supplies to be carefully prepared, but then turned to the right and, after passing a quiet night, called next morning for the mount which he usually rode. And when the horse, called Babylonius, was brought to him, it was laid low by a missile from the artillery, and as it rolled on the ground in unbearable pain, it scattered about its ornaments, which were adorned with gold and precious stones. Delighted by this omen, Julian cried out amid expressions of joy from the bystanders, that Babylon had fallen to the ground, stripped of all its adornments. [7] Then delaying for a time, in order to confirm the omen by favourable signs from victims, he came to the fortified camp of Davana at the source of the river Belias, a tributary of the Euphrates. Here we rested and took food, and on the following day arrived at Callinicum, a strong fortress, and most welcome because of its rich trade. There, on the twenty-seventh of March, the day on which at Rome the annual procession in honour of the Mother of the Gods takes place, and the carriage in which her image is carried is washed, as it is said, in the waters of the Almo, he celebrated the usual rites in the ancient fashion and spent the night in peaceful sleep, happy and full of confidence. [8] The next day he marched on from there along the brow of the river-banks, since the waters were rising from streams flowing in on all sides, and kept on with his armed force until he came to an outpost, where he encamped. There the princes of the Saracen nations as suppliants on bended knees presented him with a golden crown and did obeisance to him as lord of the world and of its peoples; and they were gladly received, since they were adapted for guerilla warfare. [9] And while he was giving them audience his fleet arrived, equal to that of the mighty king Xerxes, under the command of the tribune Constantianus and Count Lucillianus; and the broad Euphrates was almost too narrow for it, consisting as it did of a thousand cargo-carriers of varied construction, and bringing an abundance of supplies, weapons, and also siege-engines; there were besides fifty warships and an equal number which were needed for making bridges.

A description of mural artillery: the ballista, the scorpion or wild ass, the ram, the helepolis, and fire-darts.

What I have just said suggests that I should, as briefly as my modest ability permits, give a concise description of engines of this kind, for the benefit of

those who are unacquainted with them; and I shall first explain the form of the ballista. ¹⁶ [2] Between two posts along, strong iron bars fastened, and projects like a great ruler; from its smooth, rounded surface, which in the middle is highly polished, a squared staff extends to a considerable distance, hollowed out along its length with a narrow groove, and bound there with a great number of twisted cords. To this two wooden rollers are very firmly attached, and near one of them stands the gunner who aims the shot. He carefully places in the groove of the projecting iron bar a wooden arrow, tipped with a great iron point. When this is done, strong young men on both sides quickly turn the rollers and the cords. [3] When its point has reached the outermost ropes, the arrow, driven by the power within, flies from the ballista out of sight, ¹⁷ sometimes emitting sparks because of the excessive heat. And it often happens that before the weapon is seen, the pain of a mortal wound makes it felt.

[4] The scorpion, which is now-a-days called the wild ass, has the following form. Two posts of oak or holm-oak are hewn out and slightly bent, so that they seem to stand forth like humps. These are fastened together like a sawing-machine and bored through on both sides with fairly large holes. Between them, through the holes, strong ropes are bound, holding the machine together, so that it may not fly apart. [5] From the middle of these ropes a wooden arm rises obliquely, pointed upward like the pole of a chariot, ¹⁸ and is twined around with cords in such a way that it can be raised higher or depressed. To the top of this arm, iron hooks are fastened, from which hangs a sling of hemp or iron. In front of the arm is placed a great cushion of hair-cloth stuffed with fine chaff, bound on with strong cords, and placed on a heap of turf or a pile of sundried bricks; for a heavy machine of this kind, if placed upon a stone wall, shatters everything beneath it by its violent concussion, rather than by its weight. [6] Then, when there is a battle, a round stone is placed in the sling and four young men on each side turn back the bar with which the ropes are connected and bend the pole almost flat. Then finally the gunner, standing above, strikes out the pole-bolt, which holds the fastenings of the whole work, with a strong hammer, thereupon the pole is set free, and flying forward with a swift stroke, and meeting the soft hair-cloth, hurls the stone, which will crush whatever it hits. [7] And the machine is called *tormentum* as all the released tension is caused by twisting (*torquetur*); and scorpion, because it has an upraised sting; modern times have given it the new name *onager*, because when wild asses are pursued by hunters, by kicking they hurl back stones to a distance, either crushing the breasts of their pursuers, or breaking the bones of their skulls and shattering them.

[8] Now we shall come to the ram. A tall fir or mountain ash is selected, to the end of which is fastened a long, hard iron; this has the appearance of a projecting ram's head, and it is this shape which has given the machine its name. This is suspended between ironbound beams running across on both sides, so that it hangs from a third beam like the pan of a balance. Then a

number of men, as great as the length of the pole permits, draw it back and then shove it forward again with powerful blows, just as a ram charges and retreats, to break everything in its way. As this is renewed with the force of a repeated stroke of lightning, ¹⁹ buildings are cracked and shattered as the structure of their walls is destroyed. ^[9] If this kind of engine is worked with full vigour, the strongest cities, after their walls have been stripped of defenders, are laid open, and the siege is thus brought to an end.

^[10] In place of these devices of rams, which, because they are now so frequent, are in less esteem, a machine is made, well known to the historians, which we Greeks call *helepolis*. ²⁰ It was through the constant employment of this engine that Demetrius, the son of King Antigonos, after taking Rhodes and other cities gained the name of *Poliorketes*. ²¹ ^[11] It is built in the following manner: a huge mantlet ²² is constructed of strong planks of great length fastened together with iron nails, and covered with ox-hides and hurdles of green twigs; and over these is spread mud, in order to protect it from fire and falling missiles. ^[12] On its front side are set very sharp, ²³ three-pronged spear-points, of the form which our painters and sculptors give to thunderbolts, made heavy with iron weights, so that whatever it attacks it shatters with the projecting points. ^[13] This powerful mass is guided by numerous soldiers within by means of wheels and ropes, and by their united efforts is brought up to the weaker part of the walls; and unless the strength of the defenders above is too great, it shatters the walls and opens great breaches.

^[14] But fire-darts (a kind of missile) are made in this form: the shaft is of reed, and between this and the point is a covering of bands of iron; it looks like a woman's distaff for making linen threads. It is skilfully hollowed out on the lower side with many openings, and in the cavity fire and some inflammable matter are placed. ^[15] And if it is shot slowly from a somewhat loose bow (for it is extinguished by too swift a flight) and has stuck anywhere, it burns persistently, and water poured upon it rouses the fire to still greater heat; and there is no way of extinguishing it except by sprinkling it with dust. So much for mural engines, of which I have described only a few. Now let us return to the course of our narrative.

Julianus Augustus with his whole army crosses the river Abora at Cercusium on a bridge of boats. He addresses his troops.

After having received the auxiliaries of the Saracens, which they offered him with great willingness, the emperor marched at quick step to Cercusium, a very safe and skilfully built fortress, whose walls are washed by the Abora and Euphrates rivers, which form a kind of island, and entered it at the beginning of the month of April. ^[2] This place, which was formerly small and exposed to danger, Diocletian, alarmed by a recent experience, ²⁴ encircled with walls and lofty towers, at the time when he was arranging the inner lines of defence on the very frontiers of the barbarians, in order to prevent the

Persians from overrunning Syria, as had happened a few years before with great damage to the provinces. [3] For once upon a time at Antioch, amid deep silence, ²⁵ an actor of mimes, who with his wife had been presented in stage-plays, was presenting some scenes from everyday life. And while all the people were amazed at the charm of the performance, the wife suddenly cried: "Is it a dream, or are the Persians here?" Whereupon all the people turned their heads about and then fled in all directions, to avoid the arrows that were showered upon them from the citadel. Thus the city was set on fire, and many people who were carelessly wandering about, as in time of peace, were butchered; neighbouring places were burned and devastated, and the enemy, laden with plunder, returned home without the loss of a single man. Mareades, who had inconsiderately brought the Persians there to the destruction of his own people, was burned alive. This took place in the time of Gallienus. ²⁶

[4] But while Julian was lingering at Cercusium, to the end that his army with all its followers might cross the Abora on a bridge of boats, he received a sorrowful letter from Sallustius, prefect of Gaul, begging that the campaign against the Parthians might be put off, and that Julian should not thus prematurely, without having yet prayed for the protection of the gods, expose himself to inevitable destruction. [5] But the emperor, disregarding his cautious counsellor, pushed confidently on, since no human power or virtue has ever been great enough to turn aside what the decrees of fate had ordained. Immediately upon crossing the bridge he ordered it to be destroyed, so that no soldier in his own army might entertain hope of a return. [6] Here also, with like fatality, an unfavourable omen appeared: the outstretched corpse of a certain attendant slain by the hand of an executioner, whom the resident prefect ²⁷ Salutius had condemned to death because, after promising to supply additional provisions within a designated time, he had been prevented by an accident from keeping his word. But on the day after the wretched man had been executed another fleet arrived, as he had promised, bringing an abundance of supplies.

[7] Setting out from there we came to a place called Zaitha, which means "Olive tree." Here we saw, conspicuous from afar, the tomb of the Emperor Gordianus, ²⁸ of whose deeds from early childhood, his successful campaigns, and his treacherous murder we have spoken at the appropriate time. ²⁹ [8] When Julian had there, in accordance with his native piety, made offerings to the deified emperor, and was on his way to Dura (a deserted town), he saw a troop of soldiers in the distance and halted. And while he was in doubt what they were bringing, they presented him with a lion of huge size, which had attacked their line and had been slain by a shower of arrows. Elated by this omen, as if he now had surer hope of a successful outcome, the emperor pushed on with proud confidence, but since the breeze of fortune is uncertain, the result turned out otherwise; for the death of a king was foretold, but of which king was uncertain. [9] And, in fact, we read of other ambiguous oracles, the meaning of which only the final results determined: as, for example, the

truth of the Delphic prediction which declared that Croesus, after crossing the river Halys, would overthrow a mighty kingdom; ³⁰ and another which in veiled language designated the sea as the place for the Athenians to fight against the Medes; ³¹ and a later one than these, which was in fact true, but none the less ambiguous:

Aeacus' son, I say, the Roman people can conquer. ³²

[10] However, the Etruscan soothsayers, who accompanied the other adepts in interpreting prodigies, since they were not believed when they often tried to prevent this campaign, now brought out their books on war, and showed that this sign was adverse and prohibitory to a prince invading another's territory, even though he was in the right. [11] But they were spurned by the opposition of the philosophers, whose authority was then highly valued, but who were sometimes in error and very persistent in matters with which they had little acquaintance. They, indeed, advanced as a specious argument for establishing belief in their knowledge, that when the former Caesar Maximianus was already on the point of engaging with Narseus, king of the Persians, in the same way a lion and a huge boar that had been killed were brought to him, and that he came back safely after conquering the enemy. And there was no idea at all that such a portent threatened destruction to the invader of another's territory, although Narseus had first seized Armenia, which was subject to Roman jurisdiction. [12] Likewise, on the following day, which was the seventh of April, as the sun was already sloping towards its setting, starting with a little cloud thick darkness suddenly filled the air and daylight was removed; and after much menacing thunder and lightning a soldier named Jovian, with two horses which he was bringing back after watering them at the river, was struck dead by a bolt from the sky. [13] Upon seeing this, Julian again called in the interpreters of omens, and on being questioned they declared emphatically that this sign also forbade the expedition, pointing out that the thunderbolt was of the advisory kind; ³³ for so those are called which either recommend or dissuade any act. And so much the more was it necessary to guard against this one. because it killed a soldier of lofty name ³⁴ as well as war-horses, and because places which were struck in that manner — so the books on lightning ³⁵ declare — must neither be looked upon nor trodden. [14] The philosophers, on the other hand, maintained that the brilliance of the sacred fire which suddenly appeared signified nothing at all, but was merely the course of a stronger mass of air sent downward from the aether by some force; or if it did give any sign, it foretold an increase in renown for the emperor, as he was beginning a glorious enterprise, since it is well known that flames by their very nature mount on high without opposition.

[15] So when the bridge had been broken down (as was said before) and all had crossed, the emperor thought that the most urgent of all his duties was to address the soldiers, who were advancing confidently through trust in themselves and their leader. Therefore, when the signal had been given with the trumpets, and all the centuries, cohorts and maniples had come together,

he took his place upon a mound of earth, surrounded by a ring of high officials, and with calm countenance and favoured with the unanimous devotion of all, spoke as follows:

[16] “Seeing the great vigour and eagerness that animate you, my valiant soldiers, I have resolved to address you, in order to explain in full detail that this is not the first time — as some evil-minded men mutter — that the Romans have invaded the Persian kingdom. For not to mention Lucullus and Pompey, who, passing through the Albani and the Massagetae, whom we now call the Alani, broke into this nation also and came to the Caspian Sea, we know that Ventidius,³⁶ the lieutenant-general of Antony, inflicted innumerable sanguinary defeats in this region. [17] But to leave ancient times, I will disclose what recent history has transmitted to us. Trajan, Verus, and Severus returned from here victorious and adorned with trophies,³⁷ and the younger Gordianus,³⁸ whose monument we just now looked upon with reverence, would have come back with equal glory, after vanquishing the Persian king and putting him to flight at Resaina,³⁹ had he not been struck down by an impious wound inflicted by the faction of Philippus, the praetorian prefect, and a few wicked accomplices, in the very place where he now lies buried. But his shade did not long wander unavenged, for as if their deeds were weighed in the scales of Justice, all who had conspired against him perished by agonising deaths.⁴⁰ [18] Those emperors, indeed, their own desire, inclined as they were to lofty enterprises, drove to undertake noteworthy exploits, but we are urged on to our present purpose by the pitiful fate of recently captured cities, by the unavenged shades of armies destroyed, by the great disasters that have been suffered, and by the loss of many a camp. For everybody’s desires are one with ours to make good the past and give strength to our country by making this side of her domain safe, and thus leave to future generations material for singing our praises. [19] Everywhere shall I, with the help of the eternal deity, be by your side, as emperor, as leader, and as fellow horseman,⁴¹ and (as I think) under favourable auspices. But if fickle fortune should overthrow me in any battle, I shall be content with having sacrificed myself for the Roman world, after the example of the Curtii⁴² and Mucii⁴³ of old and the noble family of the Decii.⁴⁴ We must wipe out a most mischievous nation, on whose sword-blades the blood of our kinsmen is not yet dry. [20] Our forefathers spent many ages in eradicating whatever caused them trouble. Carthage was conquered in a long and difficult war, but our distinguished leader⁴⁵ feared that she might survive the victory. Scipio utterly destroyed Numantia,⁴⁶ after undergoing many vicissitudes in its siege. Rome laid Fidenae⁴⁷ low, in order that no rivals of her power might grow up, and for that same reason crushed Falerii and Veii;⁴⁸ and even trustworthy ancient histories would have difficulty in convincing us that those cities were ever powerful.⁴⁹ [21] This I have set forth from my knowledge of ancient records; it remains for each of you, putting aside the desire for plunder, which has often tempted the Roman soldier, to keep with the army on its march, and when battle must be joined, to

follow each his own standard, remembering that if anyone falls behind, he will be left hamstrung.⁵⁰ For I fear nothing, save the craft and treachery of the over-cunning enemy.^[22] Finally, I promise one and all that when, after this, affairs shall be brought to a successful conclusion, waiving all prior rights of princes, who by reason of their full powers think that whatever they have said or resolved is just, I will give to anyone who demands it an account of what has been rightly or wrongly undertaken.^[23] Therefore rouse, I pray you, at once rouse your courage, both in the anticipation of great success, since you will undergo whatever difficulty arises on equal terms with me, and with the conviction that victory must always attend the just cause.”

[24] After the speech had been brought to this most welcome conclusion, the warriors, exulting in the fame of their leader, and still more greatly fired with the hope of success, lifted their shields on high and cried that nothing would be dangerous or difficult under a leader who imposed more toil upon himself than on the common soldiers.^[25] In particular, the Gallic troops showed this feeling by joyful shouts, remembering how often under his command, and as he ran about from company to company, they had seen some nations overcome and others reduced to entreaties.

A description of the eighteen greater provinces of the Persian kingdom, with the strength of each and the customs of their inhabitants.

Affairs have reached a point where I am led in a rapid digression to explain the topography of the Persian kingdom, carefully compiled from the descriptions of the nations, in only a few of which the truth has been told, and that barely. My account, however, will be a little fuller, which will be to the advantage of complete knowledge. For anyone who aims at extreme brevity in telling of the unknown tries to discover what he ought to leave out rather than what he may explain more clearly.

[2] This kingdom, which was once small and for reasons which we have often given was called before by various names, after the fates had taken off Alexander the Great at Babylon, took its name from the Parthian Arsaces,⁵¹ a man of low birth; he had been a brigand chief during his younger days, but since his ideals gradually changed for the better, by a series of brilliant exploits he rose to greater heights.^[3] After many glorious and valiant deeds, and after he had conquered Seleucus Nicator,⁵² successor of the said Alexander, on whom his many victories had conferred that surname,⁵³ and had driven out the Macedonian garrisons, he passed his life in quiet peace, and was a mild ruler and judge of his subjects.^[4] Finally, after all the neighbouring lands had been brought under his rule, by force, by regard for justice, or by fear, and he had filled Persia with cities, with fortified camps, and with strongholds, and to all the neighbouring peoples, which she had previously feared, he had made her a constant cause of dread, he died a peaceful death in middle life. And nobles and commons rivalling each other in

agreement, he was placed among the stars according to the sacred custom of their country; and (as they believe) he was the first of all to be so honoured. [5] Hence to this very day the over-boastful kings of that race suffer themselves to be called brothers of the Sun and Moon, and just as for our emperors the title of Augustus is beloved and coveted, so to the Parthian kings, who were formerly low and obscure, there fell the very greatest increase in distinction, won by the happy auspices of Arsaces. [6] Hence they venerate and worship Arsaces as a god, and their regard for him has been carried so far, that even down to the memory of our time only a man who is of the stock of Arsaces (if there is one anywhere) is preferred to all in mounting the throne. Even in any civil strife, which constantly arises among them, everyone avoids as sacrilege the lifting of his hand against an Arsacid, whether he is bearing arms or is a private citizen.

[7] It is well known that this nation, after vanquishing many peoples by its power, extended its domain as far as the Propontis and Thrace, ⁵⁴ but through the arrogance of its haughty leaders, who lawlessly extended their raids to a great distance, it was weakened by severe losses: first through Cyrus, who crossed the Bosphorus with an army of incredible size, but was completely annihilated by the Scythian queen Tomyris, the fierce avenger of her sons. ⁵⁵ [8] Later, when Darius, and after him Xerxes, changed the use of the elements ⁵⁶ and attacked Greece, almost all their forces were destroyed by land and sea, and they themselves barely found a safe return; not to mention the wars of Alexander and the passing by his will and testament of the whole nation to the jurisdiction of a single successor. ⁵⁷

[9] After this was done and a long time had passed, during which the Roman commonwealth was governed by consuls and later brought under the sway of the Caesars, these nations carried on wars with us from time to time, and sometimes the contest was equal, at other times they were conquered, and occasionally they came off victorious.

[10] I shall now describe the lie of the land — so far as my purpose allows — briefly and succinctly. These regions extend to a wide area in length and breadth, ⁵⁸ and run all along the Persian Gulf, which has many islands and peoples all round. The entrance to this sea (they say) is so narrow that from Harmoz, the promontory of Carmania, the other headland opposite it, which the natives call Maces, may be seen without difficulty. [11] After one has passed through this narrow strait, a wide expanse of sea opens, which is favourable to navigation as far as the city of Teredon, ⁵⁹ where after many losses the Euphrates mingles with the deep. ⁶⁰ The entire gulf is bounded by a shore of 20,000 stadia, which is rounded as if turned on a lathe. All along the coast is a throng of cities and villages, and many ships sail to and fro. [12] After passing the strait which has been mentioned, one comes to the bay of Carmania facing the east. Then, a long distance to the south, the bay of Canthicus opens, and not far off is another, called Chalites, facing the setting sun. Next, after one has skirted many islands, few of which are well known,

those bays unite with the Indian ocean, which is first of all to receive the glowing sun when it rises, and is itself also exceedingly warm. [13] And as the pens of geographers have drawn it, the whole circuit just described has this form. In the northern direction, to the Caspian Gates ⁶¹ it borders on the Cadusii, on many tribes of the Scythians, and on the Arimaspse, wild, one-eyed men. On the west it touches Armenia, Niphates, ⁶² the Asiatic Albani, the Red Sea, ⁶³ and the Scenitic Arabs, whom men of later times called the Saracens. ⁶⁴ Under the southern heaven it looks down on Mesopotamia. ⁶⁵ Opposite the eastern front it extends to the Ganges river, which cuts through India and empties into the southern ocean.

[14] Now there are in all Persia these greater provinces, ruled by vitaxae, or commanders of cavalry, by kings, and by satraps—for to enumerate the great number of smaller districts would be difficult and superfluous—namely, Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Greater Carmania, Hyrcania, Margiana, the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Sacae, Scythia at the foot of Imaus, ⁶⁶ and beyond the same mountain, Serica, Aria, the Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Gedrosia.

[15] Nearest to us of all the provinces is Assyria, famous for its large population, its size, and the abundance and great variety of its products. This province once spread over great and prosperous peoples and districts, ⁶⁷ then it was combined under a single name, and to-day the whole region is called Assyria. There, besides a great abundance of berries and common fruits, bitumen is found near the lake called Sosingites, in whose bed the Tigris is swallowed up, and then, after flowing under ground, and traversing a long distance, ⁶⁸ appears again. [16] Here naphtha also is produced, a glutinous substance which looks like pitch. This too is similar to bitumen, and even a little bird, if it lights upon it, is prevented from flying, sinks, and disappears utterly. And when fluid of this kind catches fire, the mind of man will find no means of putting it out, except dust. ⁶⁹

[17] In these regions there is also to be seen a cleft in the earth, ⁷⁰ from which rises a deadly exhalation, which with its foul odour destroys every living creature that comes near it. If this pestilential stuff, rising from a kind of deep well, should spread out widely from its opening before rising on high, it would by its fetid odour have made the surrounding country a desert. [18] A similar opening was formerly to be seen (as some say) at Hierapolis in Phrygia. And from this also a noxious vapour with a penetrating stench came forth and was destructive to whatever came near it, excepting only eunuchs; and the reason for this may be left to natural philosophers to determine. ⁷¹ [19] Also at the temple of Jupiter Asbamaeus in Cappadocia, where that famous philosopher Apollonius ⁷² is said to have been born near the town of Tyana, a spring may be seen, flowing from a pool, which now is filled with an abundance of water, and again sucks itself back, and so never swells beyond its banks. ⁷³

[20] Within this area is Adiabena, called Assyria in ancient times, but by

long custom changed to this name because, lying between the navigable rivers Ona and Tigris it could never be approached by a ford; for we Greeks for *transire* say διαβαίνειν. At least, this is the opinion of the ancients. [21] But I myself say that there are two perpetually flowing rivers to be found in these lands, the Diabas and Adiabab, ⁷⁴ which I myself have crossed, ⁷⁵ and over which there are bridges of boats; and therefore it is to be assumed that Adiabab was named from them, as from great rivers Egypt ⁷⁶ was named, according to Homer, as well as India, and the Euphratensis, before my time called Commagena; likewise from the Hiberus, ⁷⁷ Hiberia (now Hispania), and the province of Baetica from the noble river Baetis. ⁷⁸

[22] In this Adiabab is the city of Ninus, ⁷⁹ which once possessed the rule over Persia, perpetuating the name of Ninus, once a most powerful king and the husband of Semiramis; also Ecbatana, ⁸⁰ Arbela, and Gaugamela, ⁸¹ where Alexander, after various other battles, overthrew Darius in a hot contest.

[23] But in all Assyria there are many cities, among which Apamia, formerly called Mesene, ⁸² and Teredon, Apollonia and Vologessia, and many similar ones are conspicuous. But these three are especially magnificent and widely known: Babylon, ⁸³ whose walls Semiramis built with bitumen ⁸⁴ (for the ancient king Belus built the citadel), and Ctesiphon, which Vardanes ⁸⁵ founded long ago; and later king Pacorus ⁸⁶ strengthened it with additional inhabitants and with walls, gave it a Greek name, and made it the crowning ornament of Persia. And finally there is Seleucia, the splendid work of Seleucus Nicator. [24] When this city was stormed by the generals of Verus Caesar (as I have related before), ⁸⁷ the statue of Apollo Comaeus was torn from its place and taken to Rome, where the priests of the gods set it up in the temple of the Palatine Apollo. And it is said that, after this same statue had been carried off and the city burned, the soldiers in ransacking the temple found a narrow crevice; this they widened in the hope of finding something valuable; but from a kind of shrine, closed by the occult arts of the Chaldaeans, the germ of that pestilence burst forth, which after generating the virulence of incurable diseases, in the time of the same Verus and of Marcus Antoninus polluted everything with contagion and death, from the frontiers of Persia all the way to the Rhine and to Gaul. ⁸⁸

[25] Near these is the land of the Chaldaeans, the foster-mother of the old-time philosophy — as they themselves say — where the true art of divination first made its appearance. Now the most important rivers that flow through those lands, besides the others that I have mentioned, are the Marses, the Royal River, ⁸⁹ and the Euphrates, greatest of all. The last-named divides into three branches, all of which are navigable, forms several islands, and often thoroughly waters the fields through the diligence of the farmers, ⁹⁰ and prepares them for the ploughshare and for tree-culture.

[26] Neighbours to these lands are the Susiani, who have few cities. Conspicuous among them, however, is Susa, often the residence of the kings, ⁹¹ and Arsiana, Sele, and Aracha. The others are small and little known. On

the other hand, many rivers flow through this region; most notable among them are the Oroates, Harax, and Mosaeus, which along the narrow sandy tract that separates the Caspian from the Red Sea overflow into a great number of pools.

[27] On the left Media extends, bordering on the Hyrcanian ⁹² Sea. Of this province we read that before the reign of the elder Cyrus and the growth in Persia's power, it was the queen of all Asia, after it had overcome Assyria, ⁹³ whose many provinces, changed in name to Agropatena, it possessed by the right of conquest. [28] It is a warlike nation, and most of all to be feared next to the Parthians, by whom alone it is surpassed, and its territory has the form of a rectangle. The inhabitants of these lands as a whole dwell in a most spacious country, overhung by very lofty mountains, which they call Zagrus, Orontes, and Iasonius. ⁹⁴ [29] Those who dwell on the western side of the lofty mountain Coronus ⁹⁵ abound in fields of grain and vineyards, ⁹⁶ enjoy the fertility of a productive soil, and are rich in rivers and clear springs. [30] Their green meadows produce a noble breed of horses, on which their chiefs (as the writers of old say, and as I myself have seen) when entering battle are wont to ride full of courage. These horses they call Nesaeon. ⁹⁷ [31] Therefore Media abounds in rich cities, in villages built up like towns, and in a great number of inhabitants; it is (to speak briefly) the richest residence of the kings.

[32] In these parts are the fertile fields of the Magi, about whose sects and pursuits — since we have chanced on this point — it will be in place to give a few words of explanation. According to Plato, ⁹⁸ the most eminent author of lofty ideas, magic, under the mystic name of *hagistia*, ⁹⁹ is the purest worship of the gods. To the science of this, derived from the secret lore of the Chaldaeans, in ages long past the Bactrian Zoroaster ¹⁰⁰ made many contributions, and after him the wise king Hystaspes, ¹⁰¹ the father of Darius. [33] When Zoroaster had boldly made his way into the unknown regions of Upper India, he reached a wooded wilderness, whose calm silence the lofty intellects of the Brahmins control. From their teaching he learned as much as he could grasp of the laws regulating the movements of the earth and the stars, and of the pure sacrificial rites. Of what he had learned he communicated something to the understanding of the Magi, which they, along with the art of divining the future, hand on from generation to generation to later times. [34] From that time on for many ages down to the present a large class of men of one and the same descent have devoted themselves to the service of the gods. ¹⁰² The Magi also say (if it is right to believe them) that they guard on ever-burning braziers a fire sent down from heaven in their country, and that a small portion of it, as a good omen, used to be carried before the Asiatic kings. [35] The number of Magi of this origin in old times was very small, and the Persian potentates made regular use of their services in the worship of their gods. And it was sin to approach an altar, or touch a sacrificial victim, before one of the Magi, with a set form of prayer, poured the preliminary libations. But they gradually increased in number and became a strong clan,

with a name of their own; they possessed country residences, which were protected by no great walls,¹⁰³ and they were allowed to live in accordance with their own laws, and through respect for religion were held in high esteem. [36] From this seed of the Magi, as the ancient records relate, seven men after the death of Cambyses mounted the Persian throne, but (we are told), they were overthrown by the party of Darius, who made himself king by the neighing of a horse.¹⁰⁴

[37] In this neighbourhood the Medic oil is made. If a missile is smeared with this oil and shot somewhat slowly from a loosened bow (for it is extinguished by a swift flight), wherever it lands it burns persistently; and if one tries to put it out with water, he makes it burn the more fiercely, and it can be quelled in no other way than by throwing dust upon it.¹⁰⁵ [38] Now, the oil is made in this way. Those who are skilled in such matters take oil of general use, mix it with a certain herb, and let it stand for a long time and thicken, until it gets magic power from the material. Another kind, like a thicker sort of oil, is native to Persia, and (as I have said)¹⁰⁶ is called in that language naphtha.

[39] In these lands are many scattered cities; greater than all the rest are Zombis, Patigran and Gazaca.¹⁰⁷ Conspicuous for their wealth and their mighty walls are Heraclia, Arsacia, Europos,¹⁰⁸ Cyropolis and Ecbatana,¹⁰⁹ all situated at the foot of Mount Iasonius in the land of the Syromedi.¹¹⁰ [40] Many streams flow through this country, of which the greatest are the Choaspes, Gyndes,¹¹¹ Amardus, Charinda, Cambyses, and Cyrus. To this last, a great and beautiful river, the elder Cyrus, that lovable king, when he was hastening on his way to seize the realms of the Scythians, gave that name in place of its older one, because it is valiant, as he himself also was said to be, and forcing its way with the exercise of great power, as he did, flows into the Caspian Sea.

[41] Beyond these tracts, but extending farther to the south, next to the seacoast lies Old Persia, rich in small fruits,¹¹² date-palms, and an abundance of excellent water. For many rivers flow through it into the above-mentioned gulf, the greatest of which are the Batradites,¹¹³ Rogomanus, Brisoana, and Bagrada. [42] But the inland cities are the greater -and it is uncertain for what reason they built nothing conspicuous along the seacoast-notable among which are Persepolis,¹¹⁴ Ardea, Habroatis, and Tragonice. But only three islands are to be seen there: Tabiana, Fara, and Alexandria.

[43] Near these to the north are the Parthians, dwelling in lands abounding in snow and frost. Their land is cut by Choatres river, more copious than the rest, and the following cities are more important than the others: Oenunia, Moesia, Charax, Apamia,¹¹⁵ Artacana, and Hecatompylos,¹¹⁶ from which place one reckons along the Caspian Sea to the Caspian Gates 1040 stadia. [44] There the inhabitants of all the districts are savage and warlike, and take such pleasure in war and conflict, that one who loses his life in battle is regarded as happy beyond all others. For those who depart from this life by a natural death they assail with insults, as degenerate and cowardly.

[45] On the south-eastern border of these are the “Happy” Arabs, ¹¹⁷ so-called because they are rich in the fruits of the field, as well as in cattle, dates, and many varieties of perfumes. A great part of their lands border to the right on the Red Sea, and on the left form the boundary of the Persian Sea, and the people know how to avail themselves of all the advantages of both elements.

[46] On that coast there are both many anchorages and numerous safe harbours, trading cities in an uninterrupted line, uncommonly splendid and richly adorned residences of their kings, natural hot springs of remarkable curative powers, a conspicuous abundance of brooks and rivers, and a very salubrious climate; so that to men of good judgement they evidently lack nothing for supreme happiness. [47] And while they have an abundance of towns, inland and on the coast, as well as fruitful plains and valleys, yet the choicest cities are Geapolis and Nascos, Baraba, and also Nagara, Maephe, Taphra, and Dioscuris. ¹¹⁸ Moreover, in both seas, and near to the shore, there are many islands, which it is not worth while to enumerate. The most prominent among them is Turgana, ¹¹⁹ on which there is said to be a great temple of Serapis.

[48] Beyond the frontier of this people Greater Carmania rises with lofty peaks, extending as far as the Indian Sea, supplied with products of the soil and fruit trees, but far inferior in fame and in extent to the lands of the Arabs; however, the country is no less rich in rivers, and equally blest with a fertile soil. [49] The rivers better known than the rest are the Sagareus, Saganis, and Hydriacus. There are also cities which, though few in number, are very rich in all that contributes to the maintenance and enjoyment of life. Conspicuous among them are Carmana, mother city of them all, Portospana, Alexandria, and Hermupolis.

[50] Proceeding inland, one meets with the Hyrcanians, whose coast the sea of the same name washes. ¹²⁰ Among them, since the leanness of their soil kills the seeds, less attention is given to agriculture, but they live upon game, of which there is a monstrous great variety and abundance. There are also many thousand tigers, and numerous other wild beasts, and by what kind of devices they are usually taken I recall that I gave an account long ago. ¹²¹ [51] But for all that, they are not unacquainted with the plough-tail, but some districts, where the soil is richer, are covered over with sown fields. Groves of trees, too, are not lacking in places suited for planting them, and many people support themselves by commerce on the sea. ¹²² [52] Here are two rivers well known by name, the Oxus and the Maxera, over which tigers, driven by hunger, sometimes swim and unexpectedly cause great losses to the neighbouring places. They also have some strong cities, among lesser towns; two are on the sea, Socanda and Saramanna, and others inland, Asmurna, Sale, and, better known than these, Hyrcana.

[53] Over against this people to the north the Abii are said to dwell, a most kindly race, accustomed to trample on all mortal things, on whom, as Homer sings as part of his tale, Jupiter looks with favour from the mountains of Ida.

¹²³

[54] Next after the Hyrcanians the Margiani have found homes, a people all

but wholly surrounded by lofty hills, and thus separated from the sea. And although the greater part of their soil, from dearth of water, is a desert, they nevertheless have some towns; but Iasonion, Antiochia, ¹²⁴ and Nigaea ¹²⁵ are better known than the others.

[55] The lands next to these the Bactriani possess, a nation formerly warlike and very powerful, and always at odds with the Persians, until they reduced all the peoples about them to submission and incorporated them under their own name. In ancient times they were ruled by kings who were formidable even to Arsaces. ¹²⁶ [56] Many parts of this land, like Margiana, are widely separated from the coast, but rich in vegetation; and the herds which graze on their plains and mountains are thickset, with strong limbs, as appears from the camels brought from there by Mithridates and seen for the first time by the Romans at the siege of Cyzicus. ¹²⁷ [57] Several peoples are subject to these same Bactrians, notably the Tochari, and like Italy the country is watered by many rivers. Of these, the Artamis and Zariaspes first unite, as well as the Ochus and Orgomanes, and when joined they increase the mighty flow of the Oxus with their combined ¹²⁸ waters. [58] There are also cities here which are laved by other rivers, but they recognise these as their betters: namely, Chatracharta, Alicodra, Astatia, Menapila, and Bactra itself, from which the kingdom and the nation have derived their name.

[59] Next the Sogdiani dwell at the foot of the mountains which they call the Sogdii, through whose territories two rivers flow which are navigable by ships, the Araxates ¹²⁹ and the Dymas. These streams rush headlong over mountains and valleys into a level plain and form a lake, Oxia by name, which is both long and broad. Here among other towns Alexandria, Cyreschata, ¹³⁰ and the metropolis, Drepsa, are famous.

[60] Next to these are the Sacae, a tribe of savages, inhabiting a rough country rich only for cattle, and hence without cities. It is overhung by the mountains Ascanimia and Comedus, along the base of which and through a village, which they call Lithinos Pyrgos, ¹³¹ a very long road extends, which is the route taken by the traders who journey from time to time to the land of the Seres.

[61] Along the slopes and at the foot of the mountains which they call Imavi and Apurii, various Scythian tribes dwell within the Persian territories, bordering on the Asiatic Sarmatians and reaching to the outermost side of the Halani. These, as if living in a nook of the world, and brought up in solitude, are widely scattered, and are accustomed to common and poor food. [62] And various other tribes dwell in these parts, which at present I think it superfluous to enumerate, since I am hastening on to another topic. It is necessary only to know, that among these nations, which because of the extreme roughness of their land are almost inaccessible, there are some mild and kindly folk, such as the Iaxartae and the Galactophagi, ¹³² whom the bard Homer mentions in this verse ¹³³ :

“Of the Galactophagi and Abii, righteous men.”

[63] Now, among the many rivers of this land, which nature either joins with larger streams or by their own flow carries on to the sea, the Rhymmus, Iaxartes and Daicus are celebrated. But there are only three cities which the region is known to have, namely, Aspabota, Chauriana, and Saga.

[64] Beyond these lands of both Scythias, ¹³⁴ towards the east, the summits of lofty walls ¹³⁵ form a circle and enclose the Seres, ¹³⁶ remarkable for the richness and extent of their country. On the west they are bounded by the Scythians, and on the north and the east they extend to a snowclad waste; on the south they reach India and the Ganges. There are mountains there, called Anniba, Nazavicium, Asmira, Emodon, and Opurocorra. [65] Through this land, consisting of a plain of wide extent, ¹³⁷ surrounded on all sides by precipitous cliffs, two rivers of famous name, the Oechartis and the Bautis, ¹³⁸ flow in a somewhat slow course. The nature of the various tracts is unlike, being now open and flat and now descending in gentle slopes; and therefore the land overflows in grain, flocks, and orchards. [66] On this very fruitful soil dwell various peoples, of which the Anthropophagi, Anibi, Sizyges and Chardi lie towards the north and the snows. Towards the rising sun are the Rabannae, Asmirae, and the Essedones, the most famed of all; close to them, on the west, are the Athagorae, and the Aspacarae. In the south are the Baetae, dwelling on the slopes of high mountains. They are famed for cities which, though not numerous, are large and prosperous; the greatest of these, Asmira, Essedon, Asparata, and Sera, are beautiful and well known. [67] The Seres themselves live a peaceful life, for ever unacquainted with arms and warfare; and since to gentle and quiet folk ease is pleasurable, they are troublesome to none of their neighbours. Their climate is agreeable and healthful, the sky is clear, the winds gentle and very pleasant. There is an abundance of well-lighted woods, the trees of which produce a substance which they work with frequent sprinkling, like a kind of fleece; then from the wool-like material, mixed with water, they draw out very fine threads, spin the yarn, and make sericum, ¹³⁹ formerly for the use of the nobility, but nowadays available even to the lowest without any distinction. [68] The Seres themselves are frugal beyond all others, live a quiet life, and avoid intercourse with the rest of mortals. And when strangers, in order to buy threads or anything else, cross the river, their wares are laid out and with no exchange of words their value is estimated by the eye alone; ¹⁴⁰ and they are so abstemious, that they hand over their own products without themselves getting any foreign ware in return.

[69] Beyond the Seres live the Ariani, exposed to the blasts of the north wind; through their lands flows a river called the Arias, large enough to carry ships, which forms a great lake called by the same name. Moreover, this same Aria has many cities, among which the following are renowned: Vitaxa Sarmatina, Sotira, Nisibis, and Alexandria, from which the voyage to the Caspian Sea is reckoned as fifteen hundred stadia.

[70] Neighbours to these places are the Paro- panisadae, ¹⁴¹ facing the Indi on the east, and the Caucasus on the west; they themselves also dwell on the

slopes of the mountains and through their country (besides some smaller rivers) flows the Gordomaris, rising in Bactria. And they also have some cities, of which the better-known are Agazaca, Naulibus, and Ortospa, from which the distance along the bank of the river to the frontiers of Media next to the Caspian Gates is 2200 stadia.

[71] Joining the aforesaid are the Drangiani, connected with them by hills. Their land is washed by the river Arabius, so-called from the place of its rise.¹⁴² Among other towns they are proud of two, Prophthasia and Ariaspae, because of their wealth and fame.

[72] Then, opposite to these, we see Arachosia, on the right facing the Indi. From a much smaller river,¹⁴³ flowing out from the mighty Indus, from which the whole region takes its name, Arachosia receives an abundance of water; this river forms a lake, called Arachotoscrene.¹⁴⁴ Here also among insignificant cities, are Alexandria,¹⁴⁵ Arbaca, and Choaspa.

[73] Now far within Persia lies Gedrosia, on the right reaching the frontiers of the Indi; it is made fertile by the Artabius, in addition to smaller streams. Here the Arbitani mountains come to an end, and from their bases flow other rivers, which mingle with the Indus, losing their names through the size of the greater stream. But here, too, there are famous cities, in addition to islands; but Ratira and Gynaecon limen¹⁴⁶ are more highly esteemed than the rest.

[74] But we would not give a detailed account of the seacoast at the extremities of Persia, and wander too far from our subject. So it will be enough to say that the sea extending from the Caspian mountains along the northern side to the above-mentioned strait is 9000 stadia;¹⁴⁷ but the southern frontier, from the mouths of the river Nile to where Carmania begins, is reckoned at 14,000 stadia.

[75] Among these many men of differing tongues there are varieties of persons, as well as of places. But, to describe their bodily characteristics and their customs in general, they are almost all slender, somewhat dark, or of a leaden pallor, with eyes grim as goats', eyebrows joined and curved in the form of a half-circle, not uncomely beards, and long, shaggy hair. All of them without exception, even at banquets and on festal days, appear girt with swords; an old Greek custom which, according to the trustworthy testimony of Thucydides,¹⁴⁸ the Athenians were the first to abandon. [76] Most of them are extravagantly given to venery, and are hardly contented with a multitude of concubines;¹⁴⁹ they are free from immoral relations with boys.¹⁵⁰ Each man according to his means contracts many or few marriages, whence their affection, divided as it is among various objects, grows cold.¹⁵¹ They avoid as they would the plague splendid and luxurious banquets, and especially, excessive drinking.¹⁵² [77] Except for the kings' tables, they have no fixed hours for meal-times, but every man's belly is, as it were, his sundial;¹⁵³ when this gives the call, they eat whatever is at hand, and no one, after he is satisfied, loads himself with superfluous food.¹⁵⁴ [78] They are immensely moderate and cautious, so much so that they sometimes march through an

enemy's gardens and vineyards without coveting or touching anything, through fear of poison or magic arts. [79] Besides this, one seldom sees a Persian stop to pass water or step aside in response to a call of nature; ¹⁵⁵ so scrupulously do they avoid these and other unseemly actions. [80] On the other hand, they are so free and easy, and stroll about with such a loose and unsteady gait, that one might think them effeminate; but, in fact, they are most gallant warriors, though rather crafty than courageous, and to be feared only at long range. They are given to empty words, and talk madly and extravagantly. They are boastful, harsh and offensive, threatening in adversity and prosperity alike, crafty, haughty, cruel, claiming the power of life and death over slaves and commons. They flay men alive, either bit by bit or all at once, and no servant who waits upon them, or stands at table, is allowed to open his mouth, either to speak or to spit; to such a degree, after the skins are spread, ¹⁵⁶ are the mouths of all fettered. [81] They stand in special fear of the laws, among which those dealing with ingrates and deserters are particularly severe; and some laws are detestable, namely, those which provide that because of the guilt of a single person all his relatives are put to death. ¹⁵⁷ [82] For the office of judge, upright men of proved experience are chosen, who have little need of advice from others; therefore they ridicule our custom, which at times places eloquent men, highly skilled in public law, behind the backs of judges without learning. ¹⁵⁸ But that one judge was forced to take his seat on the skin of another who had been condemned to death for injustice ¹⁵⁹ is either a fiction of antiquity, or, if once customary, has long since been given up. [83] Through military training and discipline, through constant exercise in warfare and military manoeuvres, which we have often described, they cause dread even to great armies; they rely especially on the valour of their cavalry, in which all the nobles and men of rank undergo hard service; for the infantry are armed like the *murmillones*, ¹⁶⁰ and they obey orders like so many horse-boys. The whole throng of them always follows in the rear, as if doomed to perpetual slavery, without ever being supported by pay or gifts. And this nation, so bold and so well trained for the dust of Mars, would have brought many other peoples under the yoke in addition to those whom they fully subdued, were they not constantly plagued by domestic and foreign wars. [84] Most of them are so covered with clothes gleaming with many shimmering colours, that although they leave their robes open in front and on the sides, and let them flutter in the wind, yet from their head to their shoes no part of the body is seen uncovered. To the use of golden armlets and neckchains, gems, and especially pearls, of which they possess a great number, they first became accustomed after their victory over Lydia and Croesus. ¹⁶¹

[85] It remains for me to speak briefly about the origin of this gem. ¹⁶² Among the Indians and the Persians pearls are found in strong, white sea-shells, being conceived at a definite time of the year by mixture with dew. For at that time they desire, as it were, a kind of copulation, and by often opening and shutting quickly they take in moisture by sprinkling with moonlight.

Thereby becoming pregnant, they each bear two or three small pearls, or else *uniones*, ¹⁶³ so called because the shell-fish, when opened, sometimes yield only one pearl, but in that case they are of greater size. ^[86] And it is a proof that they are of ethereal origin, rather than that they are conceived and fed from nourishment derived from the sea, that when drops of morning dew fall upon these gems, they make them brilliant and round, but the dew of evening, on the contrary, makes them irregular, red, and sometimes spotted; and they become large or small under varying conditions, according to the quality of what they have taken in. Very often the shell-fish close through fear of thunderstorms, and either produce imperfect stones or none at all; or at any rate, it melts away as the result of abortion. ^[87] Their taking is difficult and dangerous, and their price is high, for the reason that they avoid shores that are usually frequented, to escape the snares of the pearlfishers, as some believe, and hide amid solitary rocks and the lairs of sea-hounds. ¹⁶⁴ ^[88] That this kind of gem is found and gathered in the lonely bays of the Britannic Sea, ¹⁶⁵ although of less value than these, is well known to us.

NOTES.

¹ In 363.

² In 285.

³ Cf. xxix. 3, 4.

⁴ A grim jest of the people of Antioch. The official inscriptions read: *D(ominus) N(oster) Claudius Iulianus P(ius) F(elix) Augustus*. The people omitted some words and read: “Felix, Iulianus, Augustus,” implying that Augustus (i.e. Julian) would follow Felix and Count Julianus to the grave.

⁵ That is, the Genius of the Roman people; of. xxii. 11, 8 for another at Alexandria.

⁶ Cf. xxi. 6, 8.

⁷ See xxi. 5, 13, note.

⁸ Cf. xxv. 9, 12.

⁹ Cf. xxi. 13, 8.

¹⁰ Cf. xiv. 3, 3.

¹¹ Marcus Crassus, the triumvir, and his son Publius in 53 B.C.; cf. Florus, i. 46, 11, etc.

¹² These Sibylline books had been kept in the pedestal of the statue of Apollo, in accordance with the desire of Augustus, who built the temple. See Suet., *Aug.* xxxi. 1 (*L.C.L.*, i. 170).

¹³ Cf. xviii. 6, 20; modern Turkestan.

¹⁴ In Armenia.

¹⁵ It was really in Assyria.

¹⁶ See illustrations between p and 329. These give a general idea of the scorpion and the ram, although they do not contain all the features of Ammianus’ description.

¹⁷ Its action is like that of a huge crossbow. The arrow is drawn back by a cord fastened to the ropes on the rollers. When the catch is released, these ropes drive out the arrow.

¹⁸ I.e. when the horses are not harnessed to it.

¹⁹ The ancients believed that a stroke of lightning returned to the sky, doing damage as it came and as it went. Cf. Lucan, i, 156.

²⁰ City-taker. The descriptions of Diod. xx. 48 and 91, and Athen. v. d, are of a more powerful machine, including lofty towers.

²¹ Besieger of cities.

²² Or tortoise-shed.

²³ Cf. *falces praeacutae*, Caes., *B.G.* iii. 14, 5, and *Class. Journal*, vi. (1910), p f.

²⁴ Detailed in § 3.

²⁵ Or perhaps, “in a time of profound peace.”

²⁶ 260-268; according to others, it was in the time of his father Valerian.

²⁷ See xiv. 1, 10, note.

²⁸ Zosimus, iii. 14, locates the tomb at Dura: see below, ch. 8.

²⁹ In one of the lost books.

³⁰ This oracle is often quoted; see Hdt. i. 53, where the envoys announced to Croesus: ἦν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν: Cic., *Div.* ii. 56, 115, *Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim*.

³¹ The oracle bade the Greeks defend themselves with wooden walls. In general, see Cic., *Div.* ii. 26, 56.

³² Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 174, *Remains of Old Latin*, *L.C.L.*, i.

³³ On this kind of thunderbolt see Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* ii. 39, 1 ff.

³⁴ Since *Jovianus* is connected with Jupiter.

³⁵ These prescribed the rites and taboos connected with thunderbolts. The expression *libri fulgurales* seems to occur only here and in Cic., *Div.* i. 33, 72, where we have *haruspicini et fulgurales et rituales libri*.

³⁶ See Plut., *Ant.* 33, 4; 34, 1; Val. Max. vi. 9, 9.

³⁷ *Tropaeati* seems to be a word coined by Ammianus.

³⁸ Emperor from 238-244; see Index I., vol. i., s.v. *Gordiani*. In 242 he made a campaign against the Persians, at first with success; but his troops, incited by Philippus, mutinied and put him to death.

³⁹ A town of Osdroëne.

⁴⁰ Cf. Capit., *Gordian.* 33, and Suet., *Jul.* 89, of the assassins of Julius Caesar.

⁴¹ *antesignanus et conturmalis* seems to imply playing the part now of a leader of the infantry and now of the cavalry.

⁴² Cf. Livy, vii. 6, 1 ff.

⁴³ Cf. Livy, ii. 12.

⁴⁴ See xvi. 10, 3.

⁴⁵ Scipio Aemilianus; cf. Seneca, *Dial.* xi. 14, 5, *quid referam Aemilianum Scipionem . . . vir in hoc natus, ne urbi Romanae aut Scipio deesset aut Carthago superesset.*

⁴⁶ Cf. Florus, i. 24, 18. The siege lasted, with interruptions, for thirteen years.

⁴⁷ Cf. Livy, iv. 17 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Livy, v. 25-27.

⁴⁹ Cf. Flor. i. 6, 11, *laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus*, “Our trust in our annals has a difficult task to make us believe that Veii ever existed.” Florus, *L.C.L.*, .

⁵⁰ In this way the Persians disabled prisoners for whom they had no use; cf. xix. 6, 2; xxxi. 7, 13; so also the Romans, xvii. 13, 10; xxv. 3, 5.

⁵¹ I.e. were called Parthians; see Justinus, xli. 4, 6 f.

⁵² It was not Seleucus Nicator, but Seleucus II., Callinicus, the fourth king after Nicator, who was conquered by Arsaces; see Justinus, xli. 4, 9.

⁵³ Nicator (cf. xiv. 8, 5) means “the victorious.”

⁵⁴ Cf. xxv. 4, 23.

⁵⁵ Cf. Hdt. i. 214; Just. i. 8, 9 ff.

⁵⁶ Of water, when he bridged the Hellespont; of land, when he cut a canal through the Athos promontory.

⁵⁷ There is no mention of this will in Curtius, Arrian, or Diodorus Siculus.

⁵⁸ For its extent under Cyrus, see Xen., *Cyrop.* viii. 7, 7; cf. i. 1, 4: under Darius Hystaspes, Hdt. iii. 88.

⁵⁹ In Babylonia.

⁶⁰ It unites with the Tigris before flowing into the sea. The “losses” are diminution of its waters, and in the speed of their flow, because of alluvial deposits.

⁶¹ A pass in Mt. Taurus, between Parthia and Media.

⁶² A mountain of Armenia.

⁶³ The Red Sea (Persian Gulf) is south (or south-west) of the Persian empire; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 112, *a meridie*, and Mesopotamia is west.

⁶⁴ Cf. xiv. 4, xxii. 15, 2.

⁶⁵ Cf. xiv. 4, xxii. 15, 2.

⁶⁶ The Himalayas.

⁶⁷ It included Assyria, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia.

⁶⁸ Justin. xlii. 3, 9, says it flows under ground for 25,000 stadia.

⁶⁹ Cf. xxiii. 4, 15.

⁷⁰ Cf. Lucr. vi. 756 ff.

⁷¹ Cf. Dio. lxxviii. 27, 3; Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 208.

⁷² This self-styled philosopher, of Tyana in Cappadocia, was famous for his belief in his magic or supernatural powers. He lived in the first century A.D. His *Life*, by Philostratus, has come down to us; see *Philostratus, L.C.L.*, i. Introd.

⁷³ See Philost. *vita Apoll.* i. 6 (*L.C.L.*, i. 15).

⁷⁴ Valesius thinks they are the same rivers which are more commonly called Zabas and Anzabas, and that *dia* became *za*; but see Index.

⁷⁵ During the flight after Julian's death.

⁷⁶ Homer calls the Nile Aegyptus; cf. xxii. 15, 3.

⁷⁷ Ebro.

⁷⁸ Guadalquivir.

⁷⁹ Also called Nineve; cf. xxviii. 7, 1.

⁸⁰ Likewise a city of Media.

⁸¹ Gaugamela was a small village near Arbela; it was there that the battle was fought, although it is more commonly called the battle of Arbela.

⁸² Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 132, separates Apamia from Mesene; cf. xxiv. 3, 12; on Teredon, cf. Pliny, vi. 145.

⁸³ Diod. Sic. (ii. 9, 9) says that in his time Babylon had been almost wholly destroyed and Pausanias, viii. 33, 3, that only the walls and the temple of Belus were standing.

⁸⁴ Cf. Curtius, v. 1, 16 and 25.

⁸⁵ Unknown.

⁸⁶ Pacorus seems to have been the son of king Orodes, defeated by Ventidius.

⁸⁷ In a lost book; cf. Capitolinus, *Verus*, 8, 3.

⁸⁸ Cf. Capitol., *Marcus Ant.* 13, 3-6.

⁸⁹ It is really a canal; cf. xxiv. 6, 1, where its native name Naarmalcha is given.

⁹⁰ I.e. by irrigation.

⁹¹ The kings spent the winter in Susa or Babylon (sometimes in Bactra); the summers in

Ecbatana; cf. Strabo, xi. 13, 1, 5; xv. 3, 2.

⁹² Part of the Caspian.

⁹³ Under Arbaces in the reign of Sardanapalus, 876 B.C.

⁹⁴ All these are branches of Mt. Taurus.

⁹⁵ In Parthia.

⁹⁶ Polyb. v. 44, 1.

⁹⁷ Cf. Herodotus, vii. 40; Strabo, xi. 13, 7; 14, 9. Others say that they were used only for the kings' chariots.

⁹⁸ Ax. 371, D; Isoc. ii. 28, 227 A.

⁹⁹ ἁγιστεία, ("ritual," "holy rites."

¹⁰⁰ For Zarathustra, the founder of the Perso-Iranian native religion, which prevailed from 559 B.C. to A.D. 636. The Greek and Roman writers assign his birth to various places, into which his religion was introduced; it was probably Bactria, or western Iran. His date is also uncertain; Aristotle put it 6000 years before the death of Plato (Pliny, *N.H.* xxx. 3), others 1000 B.C.

¹⁰¹ Hystaspes was not king. Others regard a much earlier Hystaspes as the teacher of magic.

¹⁰² Their priesthood was hereditary, handed on from father to son.

¹⁰³ I.e. without walls.

¹⁰⁴ The "seven men" were those who conspired against the usurper Smerdis in 512 B.C., one of whom was Darius. They agreed that the one whose horse neighed first should be king. By a trick of his groom Oebares, Darius was chosen and reigned until 485 B.C. None of the other six mounted the throne. See Hdt. iii. 70 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. 4, 15, above, where Ammianus uses similar language of the *malleoli*; and 6, 16.

¹⁰⁶ 6, 16, above.

¹⁰⁷ Called Gaza by Strabo and Pliny, the capital of Atropatene.

¹⁰⁸ According to Strabo, xi. 13, 6, Arsacia and Europos were the same city, also called Khaga or Khagae.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Hdt. i. 98; to-day Hamadan.

¹¹⁰ The part of Media which lies before Persia.

¹¹¹ This river is in Syria, not in Media.

¹¹² Fruits and leguminous vegetables.

- ¹¹³ Unknown; apparently the Arosis in Susiana.
- ¹¹⁴ With striking ruins; the other cities are unknown. Ammianus omits Pasargada, the second city after Persepolis, unless Ardea is a corruption of this.
- ¹¹⁵ Founded by the Greeks.
- ¹¹⁶ The capital and residence of Arsaces, so-named from the number of roads that come thither from all quarters.
- ¹¹⁷ Arabia did not belong to Persia, and is not mentioned above among the provinces. Arabia Felix (Yemen) is contrasted with Arabia Deserta and Arabia Petraea, in the northern part of the peninsula.
- ¹¹⁸ This is the island of Socotra well away from the Arabian coast.
- ¹¹⁹ Modern Ormuz.
- ¹²⁰ A part of the Caspian.
- ¹²¹ In a lost book. Cf. Mela, iii. 5, 43; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 66; Ambros., *Hexam.* vi. 4.
- ¹²² Traders came from Parthia by way of the Caspian Gates.
- ¹²³ Cf. *Iliad*, xiii. 6, quoted in § 62.
- ¹²⁴ Founded by Antiochus, son of Seleucus.
- ¹²⁵ Modern Herat.
- ¹²⁶ Justin, xli. 4, 5, says that the Bactrian kingdom was founded shortly before the Parthian by Diodotus. In xli. 4, 7, he calls it a realm of a thousand cities. After many battles it was finally brought under the Parthian yoke.
- ¹²⁷ Sallust, *Hist.* iii. 42, Maur.; but cf. Plut., *Lucull.* 11, 4, σαλλουστιου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὥφθαι ῥωμαίοις καμήλους λέγοντος.
- ¹²⁸ Cf. xv, 5, 25.
- ¹²⁹ Probably for Iaxartes; Curtius, vii. 6, 19-21.
- ¹³⁰ By others called Cyropolis, destroyed by Alexander the Great; cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 2, 2 f.
- ¹³¹ The Stone Tower.
- ¹³² Milk-eaters.
- ¹³³ *Iliad*, xiii. 6
- ¹³⁴ European and Asiatic.
- ¹³⁵ Doubtless including the famous Chinese Wall.

¹³⁶ The Chinese.

¹³⁷ For *situ*, “structure,” “form,” cf. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30, 2, *regalique situ pyramidum altius*. As this meaning seems not to occur elsewhere, this may be a reminiscence; cf. *bene numrnatum*, xiv. 6, 12, note.

¹³⁸ The Selenga and the Hoang Ho.

¹³⁹ Silk.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Hdt. iv. 196.

¹⁴¹ Or, Paropamisadae, named from Mt. Paropamisus (Hindu Kush confused with Caucasus). Their country formed the route from Persia to India.

¹⁴² In the country of the Arabi or Arabites, a people of Indian origin.

¹⁴³ The Arachotos, which is also the name of their capital city.

¹⁴⁴ ἀράχωτος κρήνη.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 92.

¹⁴⁶ γυναικῶν λιμήν, “the Women’s Port”; the origin of the name is unknown.

¹⁴⁷ See Strabo, xi. 7 ff., who, however, does not give the distance.

¹⁴⁸ i. 6, 1-3.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Hdt. i. 135.

¹⁵⁰ So also Curt. x. 1, 26, but according to Hdt. (*l.c.*), they acquired this vice from the Greeks.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Sallust, *Jug.* 80, 6-7, on the Numidians.

¹⁵² Xenophon and Athenaeus do not agree with this.

¹⁵³ Cf. the parasite in the comedy *Boeotia*; Gell. iii. 3, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Hdt. i. 133.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Hdt. i. 133; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 8, 11.

¹⁵⁶ Over the couches at the table, at the beginning of a meal; these skins were handsomely adorned and highly prized. For the Parthian leather, see xxii. 4, 8, note.

¹⁵⁷ For example, when a king is assassinated.

¹⁵⁸ To prompt them.

¹⁵⁹ See Hdt. v. 25; Val. Max. vi. 3, ext. 3; Diod. Sic. xv. 10.

¹⁶⁰ A kind of gladiator, see xvi. 12, 49, note. They were armed in the Gallic manner with a

small oblong buckler, but without greaves or arm-guard.

¹⁶¹ 546 B.C.

¹⁶² I.e. pearls.

¹⁶³ *Uniones* is applied to large pearls, of which only one is found in a single shell. Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 112, says that they are called *uniones* because one never finds two pearls of such similarity that they cannot be told from each other. Solinus, 53, 27, end, says it is because one never finds two of them together. But Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* x. 13, says that in one shell sometimes one such pearl is found, sometimes two, sometimes as many as twenty. Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, V. ii. 253, "And in the cup a union shall he throw."

¹⁶⁴ I.e. sharks.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Tac., *Agr.* 12; Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 116; Solin. 56, 3, 28.

BOOK XXIV

Julian with his army invades Assyria; he receives the fortress of Anathas on the Euphrates into surrender, and destroys it by fire.

¹ After thus testing the spirit of the soldiers, ² who with unanimous eagerness and the usual acclaim called God to witness that so successful a prince could not be vanquished, Julian, believing that their main purpose must speedily be accomplished, cut short the night's rest ³ and ordered the trumpets to give the signal for the march. And having made every preparation which the difficulties of a dangerous war demanded, just as the clear light of day was appearing he passed the frontiers of Assyria, riding in a lofty spirit above all others from rank to rank, and firing every man with a desire to rival him in deeds of valour. [2] And being a general trained by experience and study of the art of war, and fearing lest, being unacquainted with the terrain, he might be entrapped by hidden ambuscades, he began his march with his army in order of battle. He also arranged to have 1500 mounted scouts riding a little ahead of the army, who advancing with caution on both flanks, as well as in front, kept watch that no sudden attack be made. He himself in the centre led the infantry, which formed the main strength of his entire force, and ordered Nevitta on the right with several legions to skirt the banks of the Euphrates. The left wing with the cavalry he put in charge of Arintheus ⁴ and Ormisda, ⁵ to be led in close order through the level fields and meadows. Dagalaifus and Victor brought up the rear, and last of all was Secundinus, ⁶ military leader in Osdruena. ⁷

[3] Then in order to fill the enemy (if they should burst out anywhere), even when they saw him from afar, with fear of a greater force than he had, by a loose order he so extended the ranks of horses and men, that the hindermost were nearly ten miles distant from the standard-bearers in the van. This is the wonderful device that Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, is said often to have used; for he was most skilful in choosing suitable places for his camp, ⁸ and able to disguise the look of his forces so that the enemy might think them greater or fewer as it suited him.

[4] His packs, servants, unarmed attendants, and every kind of baggage he placed between two divisions of the rank and file, in order that they might not be carried off (as often happens) by a sudden attack, if they were left unprotected. The fleet, although the river along which it went winds with many a bend, was not permitted to lag behind or get ahead.

[5] After making a march of two days in this manner, we approached the deserted city of Dura, situated on the river bank. Here so many herds of deer were found, some of which were slain with arrows, others knocked down with heavy oars, that all ate to satiety; but the greater number of the animals, accustomed to rapid swimming, leaped into the river and with a speed that

could not be checked escaped to their familiar deserts.

[6] Then, after completing a leisurely march of four days, just as evening was coming on Count Lucillianus, with a thousand light-armed troops embarked in ships, was sent, by the emperor's order, to capture the fortress of Anatha, ⁹ which, like many others, is girt by the waters of the Euphrates. The ships, according to orders, took suitable positions and blockaded the island, while a misty night hid the secret enterprise. [7] But as soon as daylight appeared, a man who went out to fetch water, suddenly catching sight of the enemy, raised a loud outcry, and by his excited shouts called the defenders to arms. Then the emperor, who from an elevated point had been looking for a site for a camp, with all possible haste crossed the river, under the protection of two ships, followed by a great number of boats carrying siege-artillery. [8] But on drawing near the walls he considered that a battle must be accompanied by many dangers, and accordingly, partly in mild terms, partly in harsh and threatening language, he urged the defenders to surrender. They asked for a conference with Ormizda, and were induced by his promises and oaths to expect much from the mercy of the Romans. [9] Finally, driving before them a garlanded ox, which with them indicates the acceptance of peace, they came down in suppliant guise. At once the whole fortress was set on fire; Pusaëus, its commander, later a general in Egypt, was given the rank of tribune. As for the rest, they were treated kindly, and with their families and possessions were sent to Chalcis, a city of Syria. [10] Among them was a soldier who, when in former times Maximianus made an inroad into the Persian territory, had been left in these parts because of illness; he was then a young man, whose beard was just beginning to grow. He had been given several wives (as he told us) according to the custom of the country, and was on our arrival a bent old man with numerous offspring. He was overjoyed, having advised the surrender, and when taken to our camp, he called several to witness that he had known and declared long ago that he, when nearly a hundred years old, would find a grave on Roman soil. After this the Saracens, to the emperor's great delight, brought in some skirmishers belonging to a division of the enemy, and after receiving rewards were sent back to engage in like activities.

[11] On the following day another thing happened, this time a disaster. For a hurricane arose, which stirred up numerous whirlwinds and caused such general confusion, that many tents were rent asunder and numerous soldiers were prevented by the force of the gale from keeping a firm footing and were hurled to the ground on their faces or on their backs. On that same day another equally dangerous thing happened. For the river suddenly overflowed its banks and some grain-ships were sunk, since the sluices built of masonry, which served to hold in or let out the water used for irrigating the fields, were broken through; but whether this was a device of the enemy or was due to the weight of the waters could not be learned.

[12] After storming and burning the first city to which we had come, and

moving the prisoners to another place, the hopes of the army were raised to fuller confidence and with loud shouts they rose to praise the prince, convinced that even now the protection of the god of heaven would be with them.

[13] And for one who was traversing unknown regions greater precautions against hidden dangers were necessary, since the craft and many wiles of the nation were to be feared. Therefore the emperor, with light-armed skirmishers, now took his place at the head of the army, and now brought up the rear; and in order that no hidden danger might escape his notice, he scanned the rough thickets and valleys, using either his native affability or threats to keep his men from scattering too loosely or too far. [14] However, he allowed the enemy's fields, abounding in fruits of every kind, to be set on fire with their crops and huts, but only after each man had fully supplied himself with everything that he needed; and in this way the safety of their foes was impaired before they knew it. [15] For the warriors gladly made use of what they had won with their own hands, thinking that their valour had found new granaries;¹⁰ and they were delighted to have an abundance of provisions and at the same time save the food that was carried in the ships. [16] At this place a drunken soldier, who had rashly and without orders crossed to the opposite bank, was seized by the enemy before our eyes and killed.

The emperor, after passing by some fortresses and towns and burning others, that had been abandoned, receives the surrender of Pirisabora and destroys it by fire.

After these successful operations we reached a fortress called Thilutha, situated in the middle of the river, a place rising in a lofty peak and fortified by nature's power as if by the hand of man. Since the difficulty and the height of the place made it impregnable, an attempt was made with friendly words (as was fitting) to induce the inhabitants to surrender; but they insisted that such defection then would be untimely. But they went so far as to reply, that as soon as the Romans by further advance had got possession of the interior, they also would go over to the victors, as appendages of the kingdom. [2] After this, as our ships went by under their very walls, they looked on in respectful silence without making any move. After passing this place we came to another fortress, Achaiachala by name, also protected by the encircling river, and difficult of ascent; there too we received a similar refusal and went on. The next day another castle, which because of the weakness of its walls had been abandoned, was burned in passing. [3] Then during the following two days we covered 200 stadia and arrived at a place called Baraxmalcha. From there we crossed the river and entered the city of Diacira,¹¹ seven miles distant. This place was without inhabitants, but rich in grain and fine white salt; there we saw a temple, standing on a lofty citadel. After burning the city, and killing a few women whom we found, we passed over a spring bubbling

with bitumen and took possession of the town of Ozogardana, which the inhabitants had likewise deserted through fear of the approaching army. Here a tribunal of the emperor Trajan was to be seen. ¹² [4] After burning this city also, and taking two days' rest, towards the end of the night which followed the second day, the Surena, ¹³ who among the Persians has won the highest rank after the king, and the Malechus, ¹⁴ Podosaces by name, phylarch of the Assanitic Saracens, a notorious brigand, who with every kind of cruelty had long raided our territories, ¹⁵ laid an ambuscade for Ormizda, who, as they had learned (one knew not from what source), was on the point of setting out to reconnoitre. But their attempt failed, because the river at that point is narrow and very deep, and hence could not be forded. [5] At daybreak the enemy were already in sight, and we then saw them for the first time in their gleaming helmets and bristling with stiff coats of mail; but our soldiers rushed to battle at quick step, and fell upon them most valiantly. And although the bows were bent with strong hand and the flashing gleam of steel added to the fear of the Romans, yet anger whetted their valour, and covered with a close array of shields they pressed the enemy so hard that they could not use their bows. [6] Inspired by these first-fruits of victory, our soldiers came to the village of Macepracta, where the half-destroyed traces of walls ¹⁶ were seen; these in early times had a wide extent, it was said, and protected Assyria from hostile inroads. [7] Here a part of the river is drawn off by large canals which take the water into the interior parts of Babylonia, for the use of the fields and the neighbouring cities; another part, Naarmalcha ¹⁷ by name, which being interpreted means "the kings' river," flows past Ctesiphon. Where it begins, a tower of considerable height rises, like the Pharos. ¹⁸ Over this arm of the river all the infantry crossed on carefully constructed bridges. [8] But the cavalry with the pack-animals swam across in full armour where a bend in the river made it less deep and rapid; some of them were carried off by the current and drowned, others were assailed by the enemy with a sudden shower of arrows; but a troop of auxiliaries, very lightly equipped for running, sallied forth, followed hard on the backs of the flying foe, and like so many birds of prey, struck them down.

[9] When this undertaking also had been accomplished with glory, we came to the large and populous city of Pirisabora, surrounded on all sides by the river. The emperor, after riding up and inspecting the walls and the situation, began the siege with all caution, as if he wished by mere terror to take from the townsmen the desire for defence. But after they had been tried by many conferences, and not one could be moved either by promises or by threats, the siege was begun. The walls were surrounded by a triple line of armed men, and from dawn until nightfall they fought with missiles. [10] Then the defenders, who were strong and full of courage, spread over the ramparts everywhere loose strips of haircloth to check the force of the missiles, and themselves protected by shields firmly woven of osier and covered with thick layers of rawhide, resisted most resolutely. They looked as if they were

entirely of iron; for the plates exactly fitted the various parts of their bodies and fully protecting them, covered them from head to foot. [11] And again and again they earnestly demanded an interview with Ormizda, as a fellow countryman and of royal rank, but when he came near they assailed him with insults and abuse, as a traitor and a deserter. This tedious raillery used up the greater part of the day, but in the first stillness of night many kinds of siege-engines were brought to bear and the deep trenches began to be filled up. [12] When the defenders, who were watching intently, made this out by the still uncertain light, and besides, that a mighty blow of the ram had breached a corner tower, they abandoned the double walls of the city and took possession of the citadel connected with them, which stood on a precipitous plateau at the top of a rough mountain. The middle of this mountain rose to a lofty height, and its rounded circuit had the form of an Argolic shield, ¹⁹ except that on the north side, where its roundness was broken, cliffs which descended into the current of the Euphrates still more strongly protected it. On this stronghold, battlements of walls rose high, and were built of bitumen and baked brick, a kind of structure (as is well known) than which nothing is safer. [13] And now the soldiers with greater confidence rushed through the city, seeing it deserted, and fought fiercely with the inhabitants, who from the citadel showered upon them missiles of many kinds. For although those same defenders were hard pressed by our catapults and ballistae, they in turn set up on the height strongly stretched bows, whose wide curves extending on both sides were bent so pliantly that when the strings were let go by the fingers, the iron-tipped arrows which they sent forth in violent thrusts crashed into the bodies exposed to them and transfixing them with deadly effect. [14] Nevertheless both armies fought with clouds of stones thrown by hand; neither side gave way, but the hot fight continued with great determination from dawn until nightfall, and ended indecisively. Then, on the following day, they continued the battle most fiercely, many fell on both sides, and their equal strength held the victory in balance. Whereupon the emperor, hastening to try every lucky throw amid the mutual slaughter, surrounded by a band in wedge-formation, and protected from the fall of arrows by shields held closely together, in swift assault with a company of vigorous warriors, came near the enemy's gate, which was heavily overlaid with iron. [15] And although he and those who shared in his peril were assailed with rocks, bullets from slings, and other missiles, nevertheless he often cheered on his men as they tried to break in the leaves of the folding gates, in order to affect an entrance, and he did not withdraw until he saw that he must soon be overwhelmed by the volleys that were being hurled down upon him. [16] After all, he got back with all his men; a few were slightly wounded, he himself was unhurt, but bore a blush of shame upon his face. For he had read that Scipio Aemilianus, accompanied by the historian Polybius ²⁰ of Megalopolis in Arcadia and thirty soldiers, had undermined a gate of Carthage in a like attack. But the admitted credibility of the writers of old upholds the recent exploit. ²¹ [17] For Aemilianus had come

close up to the gate, and it was protected by an arch of masonry, under which he was safely hidden while the enemy were trying to lift off the masses of stone ²² ; and he broke into the city when it was stripped of its defenders. But Julian attacked an exposed place, and was forced to retreat only when the face of heaven was darkened by fragments of mountains and other missiles showered upon him; and then with difficulty.

[18] These actions went on in haste and confusion, and since it was evident that the construction of mantlet-sheds and mounds was greatly interfered with by other pressing matters, Julian gave orders that the engine called helepolis ²³ should quickly be built, by the use of which, as I have said above, King Demetrius overcame many cities and won the name of Poliorcetes. ²⁴ [19] To this huge mass, which would rise above the battlements of the lofty towers, the defenders turned an attentive eye, and at the same time considering the resolution of the besiegers, they suddenly fell to their prayers, and standing on the towers and battlements, and with outstretched hands imploring the protection of the Romans, they craved pardon and life. [20] And when they saw that the works were discontinued, and that those who were constructing them were attempting nothing further, which was a sure sign of peace, they asked that an opportunity be given them of conferring with Ormizda. [21] When this was granted, and Mamersides, commander of the garrison, was let down on a rope and taken to the emperor, he obtained (as he besought) a sure promise of life and impunity for himself and his followers, and was allowed to return. When he reported what he had accomplished, all the people of both sexes, since everything that they desired had been accepted, made peace with trustworthy religious rites. Then the gates were thrown open and they came out, shouting that a potent protecting angel had appeared to them in the person of a Caesar great and merciful. [22] The prisoners numbered only 2500; for the rest of the population, in anticipation of a siege, had crossed the river in small boats and made off. In this citadel there was found a great abundance of arms and provisions; of these the victors took what they needed and burned the rest along with the place itself.

Julianus Augustus promises the soldiers a hundred denarii each, as a reward for their good services, and when they express contempt for so small a gift, he recalls them to their senses in a temperate address.

The day after these events the serious news came to the emperor, while he was quietly at table, that the Persian leader called the Surena ²⁵ had unexpectedly attacked three squadrons of our scouting cavalry, had killed a very few of them, including one of their tribunes, and carried off a standard. [2] At once roused to furious anger, Julian hurried forth with an armed force, — his safest course lay in his very speed — and routed the marauders in shameful confusion; he cashiered the two surviving tribunes as inefficient and cowardly, and following the ancient laws, discharged and put to death ten ²⁶ of the

soldiers who had fled from the field.

[3] Then, after the city was burned (as has been told), Julian mounted a tribunal erected for the purpose and thanked the assembled army, urging them all to act in the same way in the future, and promised each man a hundred pieces of silver.²⁷ But when he perceived that the smallness of the promised sum excited a mutinous uproar, he was roused to deep indignation and spoke as follows:

[4] “Behold the Persians,” said he, “abounding in wealth of every kind. The riches of this people can enrich you, if we show ourselves brave men of united purpose. But from endless resources (believe me, pray) the Roman empire has sunk to extremest want through those men who (to enrich themselves) have taught princes to buy peace from the barbarians with gold.²⁸ [5] The treasury has been pillaged, cities depopulated, provinces laid waste. I have neither wealth nor family connections (although I am of noble birth), only a heart that knows no fear; and an emperor who finds his sole happiness in the training of his mind will feel no shame in admitting an honourable poverty. For the Fabricii too, though poor in worldly goods, conducted serious wars and were rich in glory. [6] All this you may possess in abundance, if you fearlessly follow God’s lead and your general’s, who will be careful (so far as human foresight can provide), and if you act with moderation; but if you oppose me and repeat the shameful scenes of former revolts, go to it now! [7] I alone, as becomes a commander, having reached the end of a career of great deeds, will die standing on my feet, indifferent to a life which one little fever may take from me; or at any rate I will abdicate, since I have not lived such a life that I cannot some time be a private citizen. And I may say with pride and joy that we have with us thoroughly tried generals, perfect in their knowledge of every kind of warfare.”

[8] By this address of an emperor self-contained amid prosperity and adversity the soldiers were quieted for the time, and, gaining confidence through the anticipation of better days, they promised to be obedient and compliant. With unanimous applause they lauded his leadership and high spirit to the skies; and when such utterances are sincere and come from the heart, it is usually shown by a slight clashing of shields. [9] After this they retired to their tents and (so far as the circumstances allowed) refreshed themselves with food and sleep. It gave courage to the army besides that Julian constantly took oath, not by those dear to him, but by the great deeds that he planned, saying: “As I hope to send the Persians under the yoke”; “As I hope to restore the shattered Roman world.” Just as Trajan is said sometimes to have emphasized a statement by the oaths: “As I hope to see Dacia reduced to the form of a province”; “As I hope to cross the Hister and the Euphrates on bridges”; and many other oaths of the same kind.

[10] Next, after a march of fourteen miles, we came to a place where the fields are made fertile by an abundance of water; but the Persians, having learned in advance that we should take that route, had broken the dykes and

allowed the water to flow everywhere without restraint. ^[11] Therefore, as the ground was covered far and wide with standing pools, the emperor gave the soldiers another day of rest, and went on himself; and after overcoming many dangers, he made such bridges as he could from bladders, ²⁹ as well as boats from the trunks of palm trees, and so got his army across, though not without difficulty.

^[12] In these regions there are many fields, planted with vineyards and various kinds of fruits. Here too palm trees are wont to grow, extending over a wide expanse as far as Mesene ³⁰ and the great sea, ³¹ in mighty groves. And wherever anyone goes, one constantly sees palm branches with and without fruit, ³² and from their yield an abundance of honey and wine is made. ³³ The palms themselves are said to couple, and the sexes may easily be distinguished. ³⁴ ^[13] It is also said that the female trees conceive when smeared with the seeds of the male, and they assert that the trees take pleasure in mutual love, and that this is evident from the fact that they lean towards each other, and cannot be parted even by gales of wind. And if the female tree is not smeared in the usual way with the seed of the male, it suffers abortion and loses its fruit before it is ripe. And if it is not known with what male any female tree is in love, her trunk is smeared with her own perfume, ³⁵ and the other tree by a law of nature is attracted by the sweet odour. ³⁶ It is from these signs that the belief in a kind of copulation is created.

^[14] Abundantly supplied with food of that kind, our army passed by several islands, and where formerly there was dread of scarcity there was now serious danger of over-eating. Finally, they were assailed by a hidden attack of the enemy's archers, but not unavenged; and came to a place where the main body of the Euphrates is divided into many small streams.

The town of Maiozamalcha is stormed and sacked by the Romans.

In this tract a city which, because of its low walls, had been abandoned by its Jewish inhabitants, was burned by the hands of the angry soldiers. This done, the emperor went on farther, still more hopeful because of the gracious aid of the deity, as he interpreted it. ^[2] And when he had come to Maiozamalcha, a great city surrounded by strong walls, he pitched his tents and took anxious precautions that the camp might not be disturbed by a sudden onset of the Persian cavalry, whose valour in the open field was enormously feared by all peoples. ^[3] After making this provision, attended by a few light-armed soldiers and himself also marching on foot, Julian planned to make a careful examination of the position of the city; but he fell into a dangerous ambushade, from which he escaped only with difficulty and at the risk of his life. ^[4] For through a secret gate of the town ten armed Persians came out, and after crossing the lower slopes on bended knees made a sudden onslaught on our men. Two with drawn swords attacked the emperor, whose bearing made him conspicuous, but he met their strokes by lifting up his shield. Thus protected, with great and lofty courage he plunged his sword into the side of

one assailant, while his followers with many a stroke cut down the other. The rest, of whom some were wounded, fled in all directions. After stripping the two of their arms, Julian returned to the camp with the spoils, bringing back his companions uninjured, and was received by all with great joy. [5] Torquatus³⁷ once took from a prostrate foe his golden neck-chain; Valerius,³⁸ afterwards surnamed Corvinus, laid low a bold and bragging Gaul with the aid of a crow, and by these glorious deeds they gained fame with posterity. We do not begrudge the praise; let this fine exploit also be added to the records of the past.

[6] On the following day bridges were built and the army led across, and a camp was measured off in another and more advantageous place and girt by a double palisade, since (as I have said) Julian feared the open plains. Then he began the siege of the town, thinking that it would be dangerous to advance farther, and leave behind him an enemy whom he feared.

[7] While great preparations were being made for the siege, the Surena, who was in command of the enemy, made an attack on the pack-animals, which were grazing in the palm-groves; but he was met by our scouting-cohorts, and after loss of a few of the men, was baffled by our forces and withdrew. [8] The inhabitants of two cities, which were on islands made by the winding river, alarmed and distrustful of their strength, tried to make their way to the walls of Ctesiphon; some of them slipped off through the thick woods, others crossed the neighbouring pools in their boats made from hollowed trees, thinking this their only hope and the best means for making the long journey which confronted them, if they were to reach that distant land. [9] Some of them, who offered resistance, were slain by our troops, who also rushed about everywhere in skiffs and boats and from time to time brought in others as prisoners. For Julian had provided with balanced care, that while the infantry were besieging the town, the cavalry forces, divided into detachments, should give their attention to driving off booty; and through this arrangement the soldiers, without burdening the provincials at all, fed upon the vitals of the enemy.

[10] And now the emperor, having surrounded, with a triple line of shields,³⁹ the town, which had a double wall about it, assailed it with all his might, in the hope of gaining his end. But necessary as the attack was, so was it very difficult to bring it to a successful issue. For on every side the approaches were surrounded by high and precipitous cliffs and many windings made them doubly perilous and the town inaccessible, especially since the towers, formidable for both their number and their height, rose to the same elevation as the eminence of natural rock which formed the citadel, while the sloping plateau overlooking the river was fortified with strong battlements. [11] Added to this was an equally serious disadvantage, in that the large and carefully chosen force of the besieged could not by any enticements be led to surrender, but resisted as though resolved either to be victorious or to die amid the ashes of their native city. But our soldiers could with difficulty be kept from the

attack, mutinously pressing on and demanding a pitched battle even in the open field; and when the trumpet sounded the recall, they continually tormented themselves with spirited attempts to assail the enemy.

[12] However, the judgement of our leaders overcame their extreme violence; the work was divided, and each man undertook with all speed the task assigned him. For here lofty embankments were being raised, there others were filling up the deep ditches; elsewhere long passages were being constructed in the bowels of the earth, and those in charge of the artillery were setting up their hurling engines, soon to break out with deadly roar. [13] Nevitta and Dagalaifus had charge of the mines and mantelets; the opening of the attack, and the protection of the artillery from fire or sallies was undertaken by the emperor in person.

And when all the preparations for destroying the city had been completed with much painful toil, and the soldiers demanded battle, the general named Victor, who had reconnoitred the roads as far as Ctesiphon, returned and reported that he had found no obstacles. [14] Upon this all the soldiers were wild with joy, and aroused to greater confidence awaited under arms the signal for battle.

[15] And now, as the trumpets sounded their martial note, both sides raised a loud shout. The Romans were the first with repeated onslaughts and threatening roars to attack the foe, who were covered with plates of iron as if by a thin layer of feathers, and were full of confidence since the arrows flew back as they struck the folds of the hard iron; but at times the covering of joined shields, with which our men skilfully covered themselves as if by the protection of irregularly shaped arches, because of their continual movements yawned apart. The Persians, on the other hand, obstinately clinging to their walls, tried with every possible effort to avoid and baffle the death-dealing attacks. [16] But when the besiegers, carrying before them hurdles of wicker work, were already threatening the walls, the enemy's slingers and archers, others even rolling down huge stones, with torches and fiery shafts ⁴⁰ tried to keep them at a distance; then ballistae adapted for wooden arrows were bent and plied with screaming sound, sending forth showers of missiles; and scorpions, hauled to various places by skilled hands, hurled round stones. ⁴¹ [17] But after renewed and repeated contests, as the heat increased towards the middle of the day and the sun burnt like fire, both sides, though intent upon the preparation of the siege-works and eager for battle, were forced to retire worn out and drenched with sweat.

[18] With the same fixity of purpose, the contending parties on the following day also carried on the battle persistently with contests of various kinds, and separated on equal terms and with indecisive result. But in the face of every danger, the emperor, in closest company with combatants, urged on the destruction of the city, lest by lingering too long about its walls, he should be forced to abandon his greater projects. [19] But in case of dire necessity nothing is so trifling that it may not at times, even contrary to expectation, tip the

balance in some great undertaking. For when, as often, the combatants were on the point of separating and the fighting slackened, a more violent blow from a ram which had shortly before been brought up shattered a tower which was higher than all the rest and strongly built of kiln-dried brick; and in its fall it carried with it amid a tremendous crash the adjacent side of the wall. [20] Thereupon, according to changes of the situation, the vigour of the besiegers and in turn the energy of the besieged was shown by splendid deeds. For nothing seemed too hard for our soldiers, inflamed as they were with wrath and resentment, nothing was formidable or terrible in the eyes of the defenders as they joined issue for their lives. For it was not until the fight had raged for a long time without result and blood had been shed in much slaughter on both sides, that the close of the day brought it to an end and the combatants then yielded to fatigue.

[21] While this was going on in the light of day and before the eyes of all, it was reported to the emperor, who kept a watchful eye on everything, that the legionary soldiers to whom the laying of the mines had been assigned, having completed their underground passages and supported them by beams, had made their way to the bottom of the foundations of the walls, and were ready to sally out when he himself should give the word. [22] Therefore, although the night was far advanced, the trumpets sounded, and at the given signal for entering battle they rushed to arms. And, as had been planned, the fronts of the wall were attacked on two sides in order that while the defenders were rushing here and there to avert the danger, the clink of the iron tools digging at the parts close by might not be heard, and that with no hindrance from within, the band of sappers might suddenly make its appearance. [23] When these matters were arranged as had been determined, and the defenders were fully occupied, the mines were opened and Exsuperius, a soldier of a cohort of the Victores, leaped out; next came Magnus, a tribune and Jovianus, a notary, followed by the whole daring band. They first slew those who were found in the room through which they had come into daylight; then advancing on tiptoe they cut down all the watch, who, according to the custom of the race, were loudly praising in song the justice and good fortune of their king. [24] It was thought that Mars himself (if it is lawful for the majesty of the gods to mingle with mortals) had been with Luscinus,⁴² when he stormed the camp of the Lucanians; and this was believed because in the heat of battle an armed warrior of formidable size was seen carrying scaling-ladders, and on the following day, when the army was reviewed, could not be found, although he was sought for with particular care; whereas, if he had been a soldier, from consciousness of a memorable exploit he would have presented himself of his own accord. But although then the doer of that noble deed was wholly unknown, on the present occasion those who had fought valiantly were made conspicuous by gifts of siege-crowns,⁴³ and according to the ancient custom were commended in the presence of the assembled army.

[25] At last the city, stripped of its defenders, laid open with many breaches

and on the point of falling, was entered, and the violence of the enraged soldiers destroyed whatever they found in their way, without distinction of age or sex; others, in fear of imminent death, being threatened on one side by fire, on the other by the sword, shedding their last tears voluntarily hurled themselves headlong from the walls, and with all their limbs shattered endured for a time a life more awful than death, until they were put out of their misery. [26] Nabdates, however, the commandant of the garrison, with eighty followers, was dragged out alive, and when he was brought before the emperor, who was happy and inclined to mercy, orders were given that he be spared unharmed with the others and kept in custody.

Then when the booty was divided according to the estimate of merit and hard service, the emperor, being content with little, took only a dumb boy who was offered to him, who was acquainted with sign- language and explained many things in which he was skilled by most graceful gestures, and was valued at three pieces of gold; ⁴⁴ and this he considered a reward for the victory that he had won that was both agreeable and deserving of gratitude. [27] But as to the maidens who were taken prisoners (and they were beautiful, as is usual in Persia, where the women excel in that respect) he refused to touch a single one or even to look on her, following the example of Alexander and Africanus, ⁴⁵ who avoided such conduct, lest those who showed themselves unwearied by hardships should be unnerved by passion.

[28] In the course of these contests a builder on our side, whose name I do not recall, happened to be standing behind a scorpion, when a stone which one of the gunners had fitted insecurely to the sling was hurled backward. The unfortunate man was thrown on his back with his breast crushed, and killed; and his limbs were so torn asunder that not even parts of his whole body could be identified.

[29] The emperor was on the point of leaving the spot, when a trustworthy informant reported that in some dark and hidden pits near the walls of the destroyed city, such as are numerous in those parts, a band of the enemy was treacherously lying in wait, intending to rush out unexpectedly and attack the rear of our army. [30] At once a band of foot soldiers of tried valour was sent to dislodge them, and when they could neither force an entrance through the openings nor lure to battle those hidden within, they gathered straw and faggots and piled them before the entrances of the caves. The smoke from this, becoming thicker the narrower the space which it penetrated, killed some by suffocation; others scorched by the blast of fires, were forced to come out and met a swift death; and so, when all had fallen victims to steel or flame, our men quickly returned to their standards. Thus a great and populous city, destroyed by Roman strength and valour, was reduced to dust and ruins.

[31] After these glorious deeds we passed over a series of bridges, made necessary by the union of many streams, and came to two fortresses built with special care. Here a son of the Persian king, who had come from Ctesiphon with some magnates and an armed force, tried to prevent Count Victor, who

was leading our van, from crossing the river; but on seeing the throng of soldiers that followed, he retreated.

The Romans capture and burn a stronghold well fortified by its position and by defensive works.

Then going on, we came to groves and fields rich with the bloom of many kinds of fruits; there we found a palace built in Roman style, with which we were so pleased that we left it untouched. [2] There was also in that same region an extensive round tract, enclosed by a strong fence and containing the wild beasts that were kept for the king's entertainment: lions with flowing manes, boars with bristling shoulders, and bears savage beyond all manner of madness (as they usually are in Persia), and other choice animals of enormous size; our cavalry burst the fastenings of the gates and butchered them all with hunting-spears and showers of missiles. [3] This district is fruitful in fields of grain and in cultivation. ⁴⁶ Not far from it is Coche, which they call Seleucia; there a camp was hastily fortified, and the entire army because of the convenience of water and fodder rested for two days. But the emperor went on ahead with some light-armed skirmishers, in order to visit a deserted city destroyed in former days by the emperor Carus ⁴⁷ ; in this there is an ever flowing spring forming a great pool which empties into the Tigris. There he saw the impaled bodies of many kinsmen of the man who (as I have already said) ⁴⁸ had surrendered the city of Pirisabora. [4] Here too Nabdates, who (as I have said) was dragged with eighty men from a hiding-place in a captured city, ⁴⁹ was burned alive, because early in the beginning of the siege he had secretly promised to betray the town, but had fought most vigorously, and after obtaining an unhoped-for pardon had gone to such a pitch of insolence as to assail Ormisda with every kind of insult.

[5] We had gone on some distance, when we were shocked by a sad misfortune. For while three cohorts of light-armed skirmishers were fighting with a band of Persians which had burst forth from the suddenly opened gates of a town, ⁵⁰ others who had sallied forth from the opposite side of the river, cut off and butchered the pack-animals that followed us, along with a few foragers who were carelessly roaming about. [6] The emperor left the spot in a rage, grinding his teeth, and was already nearing the vicinity of Ctesiphon, when he came upon a lofty, well-fortified stronghold. He ventured to approach and examine the place, riding up to the walls with a few followers and thinking that he was not recognized; but when with somewhat too great rashness he appeared within arrow-shot, he could not escape recognition, and was at once exposed to a rain of various missiles and all but met death from a mural engine. But only his armour-bearer, who was close at his side, was wounded; he himself was protected by a close array of shields, and so escaped the great danger and went his way.

[7] Fearfully enraged because of this, he resolved to besiege the fortress,

and its garrison was intent upon a vigorous resistance, trusting to their position, which was all but inaccessible, and believing that the king, who was rapidly advancing with an impressive force, would shortly make his appearance. [8] Already the mantlets and all the other equipment required for a siege were being made ready, when, as the night chanced to be clear and the bright moonlight clearly revealed everything to those who stood upon the battlements, near the end of the second watch a throng quickly gathered and burst from the suddenly opened gates, and falling unawares on one of our cohorts, killed a great number, including also a tribune who tried to avert the danger. [9] While this was going on, the Persians, in the same way as before, attacked a part of our men from the opposite side of the river, killed some, and took a few alive. And from fear, and at the same time because they thought that the enemy had gained greater numbers, our men for a time were held irresolute; but when they had recovered their courage, had armed themselves as well as they could in the confusion, and our army, aroused by the trumpets' blast, was hastening to the spot with threatening cries, the attacking force retreated in terror, though without loss. [10] The emperor, roused to bitter anger, reduced the surviving members of the cohort, who had shown no spirit ⁵¹ in resisting the marauders' attack, to the infantry service ⁵² (which is more burdensome) with loss of rank. [11] This set him afire to destroy the fortress before which he had been so endangered, ⁵³ and he devoted his energies and thoughts to that end, never himself leaving the van, in order that by fighting among the foremost he might by his personal example rouse the soldiers to deeds of valour, as the witness and judge of their conduct. And so when he had exposed himself valiantly and long to extreme peril, after using every kind of attack ⁵⁴ and weapons, through the unanimous valour of the besiegers that same fortress was at last taken and destroyed by fire. [12] After this, in consideration of the difficult tasks already performed and those which impended, the army, exhausted by excessive toil, was given a rest and many kinds of provisions were distributed in abundance. However, after that time the palisade of the camp was more carefully constructed with a close array of stakes and a deep moat, since there was fear of sudden sallies and other secret attempts from Ctesiphon, which was now not far distant.

After killing 2500 Persians with the loss of barely seventy of his own men, Julian presents many of his soldiers with crowns in the presence of the assembled army.

Then we came to an artificial river, by name Naarmalcha, meaning "the kings' river," ⁵⁵ which at that time was dried up. Here in days gone by Trajan, and after him Severus, had with immense effort caused the accumulated earth to be dug out, and had made a great canal, in order to let in the water from the Euphrates and give boats and ships access to the Tigris. ⁵⁶ [2] It seemed to

Julian in all respects safest to clean out that same canal, which formerly the Persians, when in fear of a similar invasion, had blocked with a huge dam of stones. As soon as the canal was cleared, the dams were swept away by the great flow of water, and the fleet in safety covered thirty stadia and was carried into the channel of the Tigris. Thereupon bridges were at once made, and the army crossed and pushed on towards Coche. [3] Then, so that a timely rest might follow the wearisome toil, we encamped in a rich territory, abounding in orchards, vineyards, and green cypress groves. In its midst is a pleasant and shady dwelling, displaying in every part of the house, after the custom of that nation, paintings representing the king killing wild beasts in various kinds of hunting; for nothing in their country is painted or sculptured except slaughter in divers forms and scenes of war.

[4] Since thus far everything had resulted as he desired, the Augustus now with greater confidence strode on to meet all dangers, hoping for so much from a fortune which had never failed him that he often dared many enterprises bordering upon rashness. He unloaded the stronger ships of those which carried provisions and artillery, and manned them each with eight hundred armed soldiers; then keeping by him the stronger part of the fleet, which he had formed into three divisions, in the first quiet of night he sent one part under Count Victor with orders speedily to cross the river and take possession of the enemy's side of the stream. [5] His generals in great alarm with unanimous entreaties tried to prevent him from taking this step, but could not shake the emperor's determination. The flag was raised according to his orders, and five ships immediately vanished from sight. But no sooner had they reached the opposite bank than they were assailed so persistently with firebrands and every kind of inflammable material, that ships and soldiers would have been consumed, had not the emperor, carried away by the keen vigour of his spirit, cried out that our soldiers had, as directed, raised the signal that they were already in possession of the shore, and ordered the entire fleet to hasten to the spot with all the speed of their oars. [6] The result was that the ships were saved uninjured, and the surviving soldiers, although assailed from above with stones and every kind of missiles, after a fierce struggle scaled the high, precipitous banks and held their position unyieldingly. [7] History acclaims Sertorius ⁵⁷ for swimming across the Rhone with arms and cuirass; but on this occasion ⁵⁸ some panic-stricken soldiers, fearing to remain behind after the signal had been given, lying on their shields, which are broad and curved, and clinging fast to them, though they showed little skill in guiding them, kept up with the swift ships across the eddying stream. [8] The Persians opposed to us serried bands of mail-clad horsemen in such close order that the gleam of moving bodies covered with closely fitting plates of iron dazzled the eyes of those who looked upon them, while the whole throng of horses was protected by coverings of leather. The calvary was backed up by companies of infantry, who, protected by oblong, curved shields covered with wickerwork and raw hides, advanced in very close order. Behind these

were elephants, looking like walking hills, and, by the movements of their enormous bodies, they threatened destruction to all who came near them, dreaded as they were from past experience. [9] Hereupon the emperor, following Homeric tactics, ⁵⁹ filled the space between the lines with the weakest of the infantry, fearing that if they formed part of the van and shamefully gave way, they might carry off the rest with them; or if they were posted in the rear behind the centuries, they might run off at will with no one to check them. He himself with the light-armed auxiliaries hastened now to the front, and now to the rear. [10] So, when both sides were near enough to look each other in the face, the Romans, gleaming in their crested helmets and swinging their shields as if to the rhythm of the anapaestic foot, ⁶⁰ advanced slowly; and the light-armed skirmishers opened the battle by hurling their javelins, while the earth everywhere was turned to dust and swept away in a swift whirlwind. [11] And when the battle-cry was raised in the usual manner by both sides and the trumpets' blare increased the ardour of the men, here and there they fought hand-to-hand with spears and drawn swords; and the soldiers were freer from the danger of the arrows the more quickly they forced their way into the enemy's ranks. Meanwhile Julian was busily engaged in giving support to those who gave way and in spurring on the laggards, playing the part both of a valiant fellow-soldier and of a commander. [12] Finally, the first battle-line of the Persians began to waver, and at first slowly, then at quick step, turned back and made for the neighbouring city with their armour well heated up. ⁶¹ Our soldiers pursued them, wearied though they also were after fighting on the scorching plains from sunrise to the end of the day, and following close at their heels and hacking at their legs and backs, drove the whole force with Pigranes, the Surena, and Narseus, their most distinguished generals, in headlong flight to the very walls of Ctesiphon. [13] And they would have pressed in through the gates of the city, mingled with the throng of fugitives, had not the general called Victor, who had himself received a flesh-wound in the shoulder from an arrow, raising his hand and shouting, restrained them; for he feared that the excited soldiers, if they rashly entered the circuit of the walls and could find no way out, might be overcome by weight of numbers.

[14] Let the poets of old sing of Hector's battles and extol the valour of the Thessalian leader; ⁶² let long ages tell of Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, Cynaegirus, ⁶³ those glorious high lights of the Medic wars: but not less distinguished was the valour of some of our soldiers on that day, as is shown by the admission of all men.

[15] After their fear was past, trampling on the overthrown bodies of their foes, our soldiers, still dripping with blood righteously shed, gathered at their emperor's tent, rendering him praise and thanks because he had won so glorious a victory, everywhere without recognition whether he was leader or soldier, and considering the welfare of others rather than his own. For as many as 2500 Persians had been slain, with the loss of only seventy of our

men. ⁶⁴ [16] Julian addressed many of them by name, whose heroic deeds performed with unshaken courage he himself had witnessed, and rewarded them with naval, civic, and camp crowns. ⁶⁵

[17] Fully convinced that similar successes would follow these, he prepared to offer many victims to Mars the Avenger; but of ten fine bulls that were brought for this purpose nine, even before they were brought to the altar, of their own accord sank in sadness to the ground; but the tenth broke his bonds and escaped, and after he had been with difficulty brought back and sacrificed, showed ominous signs. Upon seeing these, Julian in deep indignation cried out, and called Jove to witness, that he would make no more offerings to Mars; and he did not sacrifice again, since he was carried off by a speedy death.

The emperor, after being deterred from besieging Ctesiphon, rashly orders all his ships to be burned, and retreats from the river.

Having held council with his most distinguished generals about the siege of Ctesiphon, the opinion of some was adopted, who felt sure that the undertaking was rash and untimely, since the city, impregnable by its situation alone, was well defended; and, besides, it was believed that the king would soon appear with a formidable force. [2] So the better opinion prevailed, and the most careful of emperors, recognizing its advantage, sent Arintheus with a band of light-armed infantry, to lay waste the surrounding country, which was rich in herds and crops; Arintheus was also bidden, with equal energy to pursue the enemy, who had been lately scattered and concealed by impenetrable by-paths and their familiar hiding-places. ⁶⁶ [3] But Julian, ever driven on by his eager ambitions, made light of words of warning, and upbraiding his generals for urging him through cowardice and love of ease to loose his hold on the Persian kingdom, which he had already all but won; with the river on his left and with ill-omened guides leading the way, resolved to march rapidly into the interior. [4] And it seemed as if Bellona herself lighted the fire with fatal torch, when he gave orders that all the ships should be burned, with the exception of twelve of the smaller ones, which he decided to transport on wagons as helpful for making bridges. And he thought that this plan had the advantage that the fleet, if abandoned, could not be used by the enemy, or at any rate, that nearly 20,000 soldiers would not be employed in transporting and guiding the ships, as had been the case since the beginning of the campaign. ⁶⁷

[5] Then, as every man murmured, in fear for his life, and manifest truth made clear, that if the dryness of the country or high mountains made it necessary to retreat, they could not return to the waters; and as the deserters, on being put to the torture, openly confessed that they had used deceit, orders were given to use the greatest efforts of the army to put out the flames. But the frightful spread of the fire had already consumed the greater number of the

ships, and only the twelve could be saved unharmed which had been set aside to be kept. ⁶⁸ [6] By this disaster the fleet was needlessly lost, but Julian, trusting to his united army, since none of the soldiers was distracted by other duties, and now stronger in numbers, advanced into the interior, where the fruitful country furnished an abundance of supplies.

[7] On learning this the enemy, in order to torment us with hunger, set fire to the plants and the ripe grain; and we, being prevented from advancing by the conflagration, were forced to stay in a permanent camp until the flames should die down. The Persians, too, began to harass us at long range, now purposely spreading out, sometimes opposing us in close order, so that from a distance it seemed as if the king's aid had already arrived; and we were led to think that it was for that reason that they had made such bold attacks and unusual attempts. [8] Yet the emperor and the soldiers were troubled for this reason — that since the ships had been rashly destroyed, there was no means of making a bridge; and the movements of the advancing enemy could not be halted, whose approach was shown by the bright gleam of their armour, which skilfully fitted every limb. And there was also another great evil, in that the reinforcements that were awaited under Arsaces and our other generals did not appear, being hindered by the reasons already mentioned. ⁶⁹

Since the emperor could no longer make bridges nor join the rest of his troops, he decided to return by way of Corduena.

Under these conditions, in order to reassure the anxious soldiers, the emperor gave orders that some of the prisoners, who were naturally slender, as almost all the Persians are, besides being now thin from exhaustion, should be placed before them; then, looking towards our men, he said: "Behold those whom your heroic hearts think to be men, mere ugly she-goats disfigured with filth, who, as abundant experience has shown, throw away their arms and take to flight before they come to grips." ⁷⁰ [2] After these words the prisoners were led away, and a council was held to discuss the situation. And after much interchange of opinion, the inexperienced mob crying that we must return by the way we had come, and the emperor steadfastly opposing them, while he and many others pointed out that it was out of the question to go back through a flat country of wide extent where all the fodder and crops had been destroyed, and where what remained of the burnt villages was hideous from the utmost destitution; moreover, since the frosts of winter were now melting the whole soil was soaked, and the streams had passed the bounds of their banks and become raging torrents. [3] Still another difficulty faced the undertaking, in that in those lands heated by the sun's rays, every place is filled with such swarms of flies and gnats that their flight hides the light of day and the sight of the stars that twinkle at night. [4] And since human wisdom availed nothing, after long wavering and hesitation we built altars and slew victims, in order to learn the purpose of the gods, whether they advised us to

return through Assyria, or to march slowly along the foot of the mountains and unexpectedly lay waste Chiliocomum, situated near Corduena; but on inspection of the organs it was announced that neither course would suit the signs. [5] Nevertheless it was decided, since all hope of anything better was cut off, to seize upon Corduena. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of June, camp was broken, and the emperor was on his way at break of day, when smoke or a great whirling cloud of dust was seen; so that one was led to think that it was herds of wild asses, of which there is a countless number in those regions, and that they were travelling together so that pressed body to body they might foil the fierce attacks of lions. [6] Some believed that Arsaces and our generals were coming at last, aroused by the reports that the emperor was besieging Ctesiphon with great forces; and some declared that the Persians had waylaid us. [7] Under such uncertain conditions, in order that no disaster might befall, the trumpets called the ranks together and we encamped in a grassy valley near a stream; and after measuring off a camp we rested in safety behind a multiple row of shields arranged in a circle. For, not until evening, because of the thick dust, could we make out what it was that we saw so dimly. ⁷¹

NOTES.

- ¹ On Julian's campaign see Zosimus, iii. 13 ff.
- ² The narrative is resumed from the end of Julian's speech, xxiii. 5, 24.
- ³ The text is uncertain see crit. note.
- ⁴ Mentioned as commander of the cavalry in xxv. 5, 2; 7, 7; of the infantry, in xxvii. 5, 4, 9.
- ⁵ Cf. xvi. 10, 16.
- ⁶ Not elsewhere mentioned.
- ⁷ A province of Mesopotamia.
- ⁸ Cf. Livy, xxxv. 14, 9; Frontinus, *Strat.* iv. 1, 14. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, viii. 2, says that he wrote a book on the art of war.
- ⁹ In Mesopotamia.
- ¹⁰ I.e. sources of supply.
- ¹¹ In Ptolemy, Idikara; to-day, Hit; known to Hdt. (i. 179).
- ¹² Perhaps a memorial to the dead emperor (cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 83, where the meaning is uncertain); here perhaps the reference is to a structure built by Trajan while alive.
- ¹³ An official title, something like grand vizier.
- ¹⁴ Also an official title; the Saracens were divided into twelve *phylae*, or tribes, each presided over by a phylarch, or malechus; an emir.
- ¹⁵ For *limites*, in this sense, see xxiii. 6, 55, above.
- ¹⁶ Xenophon saw these walls, which enclose a canal (*Anab.* i. 7, 16 f.).
- ¹⁷ Cf. xxiii. 6, 25.
- ¹⁸ That is, it is a lighthouse; the Pharos at Alexandria (see xxii. 16, 9) became a general term for such structures.
- ¹⁹ This was round and of large size.
- ²⁰ This is not mentioned in Polybius, or elsewhere.
- ²¹ That is, Julian's exploit, incredible as it may seem, is vouched for by one equally incredible; in fact, as he goes on to say, Julian's was greater and more difficult.
- ²² The projecting arch above the gate.

- ²³ City-taker, described in xxiii. 4, 10-13.
- ²⁴ “Besieger of cities.”
- ²⁵ See xxiv. 2, 4.
- ²⁶ If the reference is to decimation, Ammianus does not express himself clearly.
- ²⁷ I.e. *denarii*.
- ²⁸ This had been done since Domitian’s time by all the emperors of his sort.
- ²⁹ For this work there was a special corps, the *utricularii*; see Index II., vol. i.
- ³⁰ Apamia, cf. xxiii. 6, 43.
- ³¹ The Caspian.
- ³² See Gellius, ii. 26, 10; iii. 9, 9, *palmae termes ex arbore cum fructu “spadix” dicitur*. Ammianus alone uses the form *spadicum* (n.).
- ³³ Cf. Hdt. i. 193.
- ³⁴ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xiii. 34 f. Herodotus, i. 193, thinks that an insect carries the seed from the male to the female tree.
- ³⁵ That is, the blossoms of the female tree.
- ³⁶ The tree to which the female tree is attracted is drawn to her by the perfume of her blossoms. The perfume was carried by insects; cf. Hdt. i. 193.
- ³⁷ T. Manlius Torquatus; see Gellius, ix. 13.
- ³⁸ M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus; see Gellius, ix. 11.
- ³⁹ I.e. troops; of. xix. 2, 2.
- ⁴⁰ See xxiii. 4, 14.
- ⁴¹ See xxiii. 4, 4-5.
- ⁴² C. Fabricius Luscinus relieved the people of Thurii, when they were besieged by the Brutii and the Lucanians under Stenius Statilius, and slew 20,000 of the enemy; cf. Val. Max. i. 8, 6 (who gives the name as Staius Statilius).
- ⁴³ Mural crowns (*coronae murales*) would have been more appropriate; the siege-crown was given to the general who relieved a beleaguered city; cf. Gellius, v. 6, 8-9 and 16.
- ⁴⁴ Text and meaning are uncertain. Perhaps he paid three *aurei* for the boy, or perhaps that was his estimated value.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. Polyb. x. 19, 3 f.; Val. Max. iv. 3, 1; Curt. iii. 12, 21; iv. 10, 24. Cyrus might have been added to the list.

- ⁴⁶ The text is very uncertain. There was probably a lacuna between *qui* and *bus*.
- ⁴⁷ M. Aurelius Carus, emperor from 282-283. Cf. Eutro. pius, ix. 8.
- ⁴⁸ Cf. 2, 21, above.
- ⁴⁹ Maiozamalcha; see ch. 4, 26, above.
- ⁵⁰ Perhaps Sabatha (Zosimus).
- ⁵¹ Cf. *egere segnius*, § 9, above.
- ⁵² *cohors* is commonly used of the infantry, but Ammi- anus probably refers to the horsemen mingled with the foot-soldiers, who may have been most to blame. Vegetius tells us that each cohort had its horsemen.
- ⁵³ Cf. § 6, above.
- ⁵⁴ An unusual meaning of *munitio*, which commonly implies defence, but cf. xxi. 12, 12, where *munitores*, "besiegers," is contrasted with *prohibitores*, "besieged."
- ⁵⁵ Cf. xxiii. 6, 25; xxiv. 2, 7; 6, 1.
- ⁵⁶ A canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris was made by the earliest Assyrian kings (Hdt. i. 193), and a branch of it was carried to Seleucia by Seleucus Nikator, the founder of that city. According to Cassius Dio., lxxviii. 28, Trajan's attempt was not successful because the bed of the Euphrates was then much higher.
- ⁵⁷ See Plut. *Sert.* 3, 1.
- ⁵⁸ That is, in crossing the Tigris. Büchele takes it to refer to Sertorius, but in that case there is no contrast.
- ⁵⁹ *Iliad*, iv. 297 ff.
- ⁶⁰ This was especially the Spartan method of advance; see Gell. i. 11, 1-5; Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 2.37; Val. Max. ii. 6, 2.
- ⁶¹ Or, in hot haste *armiess metonymice pro armatis*), T.L.L.
- ⁶² Achilles.
- ⁶³ On these heroes see respectively Hdt. ix. 74, 75; viii. 93; vi. 114; Justin. ii. 9, 16 ff.; Val. Max. iii. 2, 22.
- ⁶⁴ Zosimus, iii. 25, says that 2500 Persians were killed and not more than seventy-five Romans.
- ⁶⁵ See Gell. v. 6.
- ⁶⁶ Here there seems to be an extensive lacuna, since the sending of envoys to Julian by Sapor (Socrat. iii. 19) and other important events are missing; see crit. note.

⁶⁷ Gregory Nazianzen says that a Persian, who played the part of Zopyrus (see xviii. 5, 3, note), advised Julian to take this step; cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 29; v. 21.

⁶⁸ See § 4, above.

⁶⁹ In the lacuna at the end of § 2; cf. xxiii. 2 and 3. The Roman troops that had remained behind on the other bank of the Tigris made no move, partly from fear and partly because of discord among their generals.

⁷⁰ Agesilaus used a similar artifice against the Persians; cf. Xenophon, *Ages.*, i. 28 (, *L.C.L.*); and Plut. *Ages.*, 9, 5.

⁷¹ For this meaning of *squalidius*, cf. xxv. 2, 3, below.

BOOK XXV

The Persians attack the Romans on their march, but are bravely repulsed.

Now this night, which was lighted by the gleam of no stars, we passed as is usual in difficult and doubtful circumstances, as fear prevented anyone from daring to sit down or to close his eyes in sleep. But no sooner had the first light of day appeared, than the glittering coats of mail, girt with bands of steel, and the gleaming cuirasses, seen from afar, showed that the king's forces were at hand. [2] Our soldiers, inflamed by this sight, since only a small stream separated them from the enemy, were in haste to attack them, but the emperor restrained them; however, a fierce fight took place not far from our very rampart between our outposts and those of the Persians, in which Machameus, general of one of our battalions, fell. His brother Maurus, later a general in Phoenicia, tried to protect him, and after cutting down the man who had killed his brother, he terrified all who came in his way, and although he was himself partly disabled by an arrow through his shoulder, by main strength he succeeded in bringing off Machameus, already pale with approaching death, from the fray.

[3] And when, because of the almost unendurable heat and the repeated attacks, both sides were growing weary, finally the enemy's troops were utterly routed and fled in all directions. As we withdrew from the spot, the Saracens followed us for some distance but were forced to retreat through fear of our infantry; a little later they joined with the main body of the Persians and attacked with greater safety, hoping to carry off the Romans' baggage; but on seeing the emperor they returned to the cavalry held in reserve. [4] Leaving this region we came to an estate called Hucumbra, where contrary to our expectation we refreshed ourselves for two days, procuring everything that was useful and an abundance of grain; then we moved on after immediately burning everything except such things as time allowed us to carry off.

[5] On the following day, as the army was advancing more quietly, the Persians unexpectedly attacked the last division, which on that day chanced to have the duty of bringing up the rear, and would have slain them with little trouble, had not our cavalry, who were near by, quickly noticed this, and, spreading widely over the open valleys, prevented so great a disaster, inflicting wounds on those who came up with them. [6] In this battle Adaces, a distinguished satrap, fell; he had once been sent as an envoy to the emperor Constantius and kindly received. The man who killed him brought his armour to Julian and received the reward which he deserved. [7] On that same day the legions made complaint of the cavalry troop of the Tertiaci, on the ground that just as they themselves were forcing their way into the opposing lines of the enemy, the Tertiaci had gradually given way and so had damped the ardour of almost the entire army. [8] At this the emperor was roused to righteous

indignation, had their standards taken from them and their lances broken, and forced all those who were charged with running away to march with the packs, baggage, and prisoners; but their leader, who alone had fought bravely, was given the command of another troop, whose tribune was found guilty of having shamefully left the field. [9] Also four other tribunes of the cavalry were dismissed for similar disgraceful conduct; for in view of the impending difficulties the emperor contented himself with this mild form of punishment.

[10] We then advanced for seventy stadia, while every kind of supplies grew less, since the grass and grain had been burned and every man had to snatch from the very flames whatever produce and fodder he could carry. [11] Leaving this place as well, the whole army had come to a district called Maranga, when near daybreak a huge force of Persians appeared with Merena, general of their cavalry, two sons of the king, and many other magnates. [12] Moreover, all the companies were clad in iron, and all parts of their bodies were covered with thick plates, so fitted that the stiff joints conformed with those of their limbs; and the forms of human faces were so skilfully fitted to their heads, that, since their entire bodies were plated with metal, arrows that fell upon them could lodge only where they could see a little through tiny openings fitted to the circle of the eye, or where through the tips of their noses they were able to get a little breath. [13] Of these some, who were armed with pikes, stood so motionless that you would think them held fast by clamps of bronze. Hard by, the archers (for that nation has especially trusted in this art from the very cradle) ¹ were bending their flexible bows with such wide-stretched arms that the strings touched their right breasts, while the arrow-points were close to their left hands; and by a highly skilful stroke of the fingers the arrows flew hissing forth and brought with them deadly wounds. [14] Behind them the gleaming elephants, with their awful figures and savage, gaping mouths could scarcely be endured by the faint-hearted; and their trumpeting, their odour, and their strange aspect alarmed the horses still more. [15] Seated upon these, their drivers carried knives with handles bound to their right hands, remembering the disaster suffered at Nisibis; and if the strength of the driver proved no match for the excited brute, that he might not turn upon his own people (as happened then) and crush masses of them to the ground, he would with a mighty stroke cut through the vertebra which separates the head from the neck. For long ago Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, discovered that in that way brutes of this kind could quickly be killed. ² [16] Although these sights caused no little fear, the emperor, guarded by troops of armed men and with his trustworthy generals, full of confidence, as the great and dangerous power of the enemy demanded, drew up his soldiers in the form of a crescent with curving wings to meet the enemy. [17] And in order that the onset of the bowmen might not throw our ranks into confusion, he advanced at a swift pace, and so ruined the effectiveness of the arrows. ³ Then the usual signal for battle was given, and the Roman infantry in close order with mighty effort drove the serried ranks of the enemy before them. [18] And in the heat of the

combat that followed, the clash of shields, the shouts of the men, and the doleful sound of the whirring arrows continued without intermission. The plains were covered with blood and dead bodies, but the Persian losses were greater; for they often lacked endurance in battle and could with difficulty maintain a close contest man to man, since they were accustomed to fight bravely at long range, but if they perceived that their forces were giving way, as they retreated they would shoot their arrows back like a shower of rain and keep the enemy from a bold pursuit. So by the weight of great strength the Parthians were driven back, and when the signal for retreat was given in the usual manner, our soldiers, long wearied by the fiery course of the sun, returned to their tents, encouraged to dare greater deeds of valour in the future.

[19] In this battle (as was said) the loss of the Persians was clearly the greater, while that of our men was very slight. But noteworthy among the various calamities of the combats was the death of Vetrano, ⁴ a valiant fighter, who commanded the legion of the Zianni.

The army is hard pressed by scarcity of grain and fodder. Julian is alarmed by omens.

After this three days were devoted to a truce, while each man gave attention to his own wound or his neighbour's, but since we were without supplies we were tormented by hunger that was already unendurable; and because grain and fodder had everywhere been burned, and both men and animals experienced extreme danger, a great part of the food which the pack-animals of the tribunes and generals carried was distributed even to the lowest soldiers, who were in dire want. [2] And the emperor, who had no dainties awaiting him, after the manner of princes, but a scant portion of porridge under the low poles of a humble tent — a meal which would have been scorned even by one who served as a common soldier- ⁵ regardless of himself distributed through the tents of the poorer of his men whatever was demanded for his own needs. [3] Moreover, when he was forced for a time to indulge in an anxious and restless sleep, he threw it off in his usual manner, and, following the example of Julius Caesar, did some writing in his tent. Once when in the darkness of night he was intent upon the lofty thought of some philosopher, he saw somewhat dimly, as he admitted to his intimates, that form of the protecting deity of the state which he had seen in Gaul when he was rising to Augustan dignity, ⁶ but now with veil over both head and horn of plenty, sorrowfully passing out through the curtains of his tent. [4] And although for a moment he remained sunk in stupefaction, yet rising above all fear, he commended his future fate to the decrees of heaven, and now fully awake, the night being now far advanced, he left his bed, which was spread on the ground, and prayed to the gods with rites designed to avert their displeasure. Then he thought he saw a blazing torch of fire, like a falling star,

which furrowed part of the air and disappeared. And he was filled with fear lest the threatening star of Mars had thus visibly shown itself. ⁷

[5] That fiery brilliance was of the kind that we call διάσσω, ⁸ which never falls anywhere or touches the earth; for anyone who believes that bodies can fall from heaven is rightly considered a layman, ⁹ or a fool. But this sort of thing happens in many ways, and it will be enough to explain a few of them.

[6] Some believe that sparks glowing from the ethereal force, are not strong enough to go very far and then are extinguished; or at least that beams of light are forced into thick clouds, and because of the heavy clash throw out sparks, or when some light has come in contact with a cloud. For this takes the form of a star, and falls downward, so long as it is sustained by the strength of the fire; but, exhausted by the greatness of the space which it traverses, it loses itself in the air, passing back into the substance whose friction gave it all that heat. ¹⁰

[7] Accordingly, before dawn the Etruscan soothsayers were hastily summoned, and asked what this unusual kind of star portended. Their reply was, that any undertaking at that time must be most carefully avoided, pointing out that in the Tarquitian books, ¹¹ under the rubric “On signs from heaven” it was written, that when a meteor was seen in the sky, battle ought not to be joined, or anything similar attempted. [8] When the emperor scorned this also, as well as many other signs, the soothsayers begged that at least he would put off his departure for some hours; but even this they could not gain, since the emperor was opposed to the whole science of divination, ¹² but since day had now dawned, camp was broken.

When the emperor rushed into battle rashly without his coat of mail, in order to drive back the Persians, who were pressing us on all sides, he was wounded by a spear and taken to his tent; there he addresses those who stood about him and after a draught of cold water dies.

When we marched on from this place, the Persians, since their frequent losses made them dread regular battles with the infantry, laid ambuscades, and secretly attended us, from the high hills on both sides watching our companies as they marched, so that the soldiers, suspicious of this, all day long neither raised a palisade nor fortified themselves with stakes. [2] And while the flanks were strongly protected and the army, as the nature of the ground made necessary, advanced in square formation, but with the battalions in open order, it was reported to the emperor, who even then unarmed had gone forward to reconnoitre, that the rear guard ¹³ had suddenly been attacked from behind. [3] Excited by the misfortune, he forgot his coat of mail, ¹⁴ and merely caught up a shield in the confusion; but as he was hastening to bring aid to those in the rear, he was recalled by another danger — the news that the van, which he had just left, was just as badly off. [4] While he was hastening to

restore order there without regard to his own peril, a Parthian band of mailed cavalry on another side attacked the centre companies, and quickly overflowed the left wing, which gave way, since our men could hardly endure the smell and trumpeting of the elephants, they were trying to end the battle with pikes and volleys of arrows. [5] But while the emperor rushed hither and thither amid the foremost ranks of the combatants, our light-armed forces leaped forth upon them, and as the Persians turned in flight, they hacked at their legs and backs, and those of the elephants. [6] Julian, careless of his own safety, shouting and raising his hands tried to make it clear to his men that the enemy had fled in disorder, and, to rouse them to a still more furious pursuit, rushed boldly into the fight. His guards, ¹⁵ who had scattered in their alarm, were crying to him from all sides to get clear of the mass of fugitives, as dangerous as the fall of a badly built roof, when suddenly — no one knows whence ¹⁶ — a cavalryman's spear grazed the skin of his arm, pierced his ribs, and lodged in the lower lobe of his liver. [7] While he was trying to pluck this out with his right hand, he felt that the sinews of his fingers were cut through on both sides by the sharp steel. Then he fell from his horse, all present hastened to the spot, he was taken to camp and given medical treatment. [8] And soon, as the pain diminished somewhat, he ceased to fear, and fighting with great spirit against death, he called for his arms and his horse in order by his return to the fight to restore the confidence of his men, and troubling nothing about himself, to show that he was filled with great anxiety for the safety of the others; with the same vigour, though under different conditions, with which the famous leader Epaminondas, when mortally wounded at Mantinia and carried from the field, took particular care to ask for his shield. ¹⁷ And when he saw it near him, he died of his terrible wound, happy; for he who gave up his life without fear dreaded the loss of his shield. [9] But since Julian's strength was not equal to his will, and he was weakened by great loss of blood, he lay still, having lost all hope for his life because, on inquiry, he learned that the place where he had fallen was called Phrygia. ¹⁸ For he had heard that it was fate's decree that he should die there. [10] But when the emperor had been taken to his tent, the soldiers, burning with wrath and grief, with incredible vigour rushed to avenge him, clashing their spears against their shields, resolved even to die if it should be the will of fate. And although the high clouds of dust blinded the eyes, and the burning heat weakened the activity of their limbs, yet as though discharged ¹⁹ by the loss of their leader, without sparing themselves, they rushed upon the swords of the enemy. [11] On the other hand, the exulting Persians sent forth such a shower of arrows that they prevented their opponents from seeing the bowmen. Before them slowly marched the elephants, which with their huge size of body and horrifying crests, struck terror into horses and men. Further off, the trampling of the combatants, the groans of the falling, the panting of the horses, and the ring of arms were heard, until finally both parties were weary of inflicting wounds and the darkness of night ended the battle. [13] On that day fifty Persian

grandees and satraps fell, besides a great number of common soldiers, and among them the distinguished generals Merena²⁰ and Nohodares²¹ were slain. The boastfulness of antiquity may view with amazement the twenty battles of Marcellus in various places;²² it may add Sicinius Dentatus,²³ honoured with a multitude of military crowns; it may besides admire Sergius,²⁴ who (they say) was wounded twenty-three times in different battles, and whose last descendant Catiline tarnished the glorious renown of these victories with an indelible stain. Yet the joy in our success was marred by sorrow.²⁵ [14] For while the fight went on everywhere after the withdrawal of the leader, the right wing of the army was exhausted, and Anatolius, at that time chief marshal of the court, was killed. Salutius, the prefect, was in extreme danger, but was saved by the help of his adjutant, and by a fortunate chance escaped death, while Phosphorius, a councillor who chanced to be at his side, was lost. Some of the court officials²⁶ and soldiers, amid many dangers, took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, and were able to rejoin the army only after three days.

[15] While all this was going on, Julian, lying in his tent, addressed his disconsolate and sorrowful companions as follows: "Most opportunely, friends, has the time now come for me to leave this life, which I rejoice to return to Nature, at her demand, like an honourable debtor, not (as some might think) bowed down with sorrow, but having learned from the general conviction of philosophers how much happier the soul is than the body, and bearing in mind that whenever a better condition is severed from a worse, one should rather rejoice than grieve. Thinking also of this, that the gods of heaven themselves have given death to some men of the greatest virtue²⁷ as their supreme reward. [16] But this gift, I know well, was given to me, that I might not yield to great difficulties, nor ever bow down and humiliate myself; for experience teaches me that all sorrows overcome only weaklings, but yield to the steadfast. [17] I do not regret what I have done, nor does the recollection of any grave misdeed torment me; either when I was consigned to the shade and obscurity, or after I attained the principate, I have preserved my soul, as taking its origin from relationship with the gods, stainless (in my opinion), conducting civil affairs with moderation, and making and repelling wars only after mature deliberation. And yet success and well-laid plans do not always go hand in hand, since higher powers claim for themselves the outcome of all enterprises. [18] Considering, then, that the aim of a just rule is the welfare and security of its subjects, I was always, as you know, more inclined to peaceful measures, excluding from my conduct all license, the corrupter of deeds and of character. On the other hand, I depart rejoicing that, so often as the state, like an imperious parent, has exposed me deliberately to dangers, I have stood four-square, accustomed as I am to tread under foot the storms of fate. [19] And I shall not be ashamed to admit, that I learned long ago through the words of a trustworthy prophecy, that I should perish by the sword. And therefore I thank the eternal power that I meet my end, not from secret plots, nor from the pain of a tedious illness, nor by the fate of a criminal, but that in the mid-career of

glorious renown I have been found worthy of so noble a departure from this world. For he is justly regarded as equally weak and cowardly who desires to die when he ought not, or he who seeks to avoid death when his time has come. [20] So much it will be enough to say, since my vital strength is failing. But as to the choice of an emperor, I am prudently silent, lest I pass over some worthy person through ignorance, or if I name someone whom I consider suitable, and perhaps another is preferred, I may expose him to extreme danger. But as an honourable foster-child of our country, I wish that a good ruler may be found to succeed me.”

[21] After having spoken these words in a calm tone, wishing to distribute his private property to his closer friends, as if with the last stroke of his pen, he called for Anatolius, his chief court-marshal. And when the prefect Salutius replied “He has been happy,” he understood that he had been slain, and he who recently with such courage had been indifferent to his own fate, grieved deeply over that of a friend. [22] Meanwhile, all who were present wept, where- upon even then maintaining his authority, he chided them, saying that it was unworthy to mourn for a prince who was called to union with heaven and the stars. [23] As this made them all silent, he himself engaged with the philosophers Maximus²⁸ and Priscus in an intricate discussion about the nobility of the soul. ²⁹ Suddenly the wound in his pierced side opened wide, the pressure of the blood checked his breath, and after a draught of cold water for which he had asked, in the gloom of midnight he passed quietly away in the thirty-second year of his age. Born in Constantinople, he was left alone in childhood by the death both of his father Constantius (who, after the decease of his brother Constantinus, met his end with many others in the strife for the succession to the throne)³⁰ and of his mother Basilina, who came from an old and noble family.³¹

Julian's merits and defects, his bodily form and stature.

He was a man truly to be numbered with the heroic spirits, distinguished for his illustrious deeds and his inborn majesty. For since there are, in the opinion of the philosophers, four principal virtues,³² moderation, wisdom, justice, and courage and corresponding to these also some external characteristics, such as knowledge of the art of war, authority, good fortune, and liberality, these as a whole and separately Julian cultivated with constant zeal.

[2] In the first place, he was so conspicuous for inviolate chastity that after the loss of his wife³³ it is well known that he never gave a thought to love: bearing in mind what we read in Plato,³⁴ that Sophocles, the tragic poet, when he was asked, at a great age, whether he still had congress with women, said no, adding that he was glad that he had escaped from this passion as from some mad and cruel master. [3] Also, to give greater strength to this principle, Julian often repeated the saying of the lyric poet Bacchylides, whom he delighted to read, who declares that as a skilful painter gives a face beauty, just so chastity gives charm to a life of high aims. This blemish in the mature

strength of manhood he avoided with such care, that even his most confidential attendants never (as often happens) accused him even of a suspicion of any lustfulness.

[4] Moreover, this kind of self-restraint was made still greater through his moderation in eating and sleeping, which he strictly observed at home and abroad. For in time of peace the frugality of his living and his table excited the wonder of those who could judge aright, as if he intended soon to resume the philosopher's cloak. And on his various campaigns, he was often seen partaking of common and scanty food, sometimes standing up like a common soldier. [5] As soon as he had refreshed his body, which was inured to toil, by a brief rest in sleep, he awoke and in person attended to the changing of the guards and pickets, and after these serious duties took refuge in the pursuit of learning. [6] And if the nightly lamps amid which he worked could have given oral testimony, they would certainly have borne witness that there was a great difference between him and some other princes, since they knew that he did not indulge in pleasure, even to the extent which nature demanded.

[7] Then there were very many proofs of his wisdom, of which it will suffice to mention a few. He was thoroughly skilled in the arts of war and peace, greatly inclined to courtesy, and claiming for himself only so much deference as he thought preserved him from contempt and insolence. He was older in virtue than in years. He gave great attention to the administration of justice, and was sometimes an unbending judge; also a very strict censor in regulating conduct, with a calm contempt for riches, scorning everything mortal; in short, he often used to declare that it was shameful for a wise man, since he possessed a soul, to seek honour from bodily gifts.

[8] By what high qualities he was distinguished in his administration of justice is clear from many indications: first, because taking into account circumstances and persons, he was awe-inspiring but free from cruelty. Secondly, because he checked vice by making examples of a few, and also because he more frequently threatened men with the sword than actually used it. [9] Finally, to be brief, it is well known that he was so merciful towards some open enemies who plotted against him, that he corrected the severity of their punishment by his inborn mildness.

[10] His fortitude is shown by the great number of his battles and by his conduct of wars, as well as by his endurance of excessive cold and heat. And although bodily duty is demanded from a soldier, but mental duty from a general, yet he once boldly met a savage enemy in battle and struck him down,³⁵ and when our men gave ground, he several times alone checked their flight³⁶ by opposing his breast to them. When destroying the kingdoms of the raging Germans and on the burning sands of Persia he added to the confidence of his soldiers by fighting among the foremost. [11] There are many notable evidences of his knowledge of military affairs: the sieges of cities and fortresses, undertaken amid the extremest dangers, the varied forms in which he arranged his lines of battle, the choice of safe and healthful places for

camps, the wisely planned posting of frontier guards and field pickets. [12] His authority was so well established that, being feared as well as deeply loved as one who shared in the dangers and hardships of his men, he both in the heat of fierce battles condemned cowards to punishment, and, while he was still only a Caesar, ³⁷ he controlled his men even without pay, when they were fighting with savage tribes, as I have long ago said. And when they were armed and mutinous, he did not fear to address them and threaten to return to private life, if they continued to be insubordinate. [13] Finally, one thing it will be enough to know in token of many, namely, that merely by a speech he induced his Gallic troops, accustomed to snow and to the Rhine, to traverse long stretches of country and follow him through torrid Assyria to the very frontiers of the Medes.

[14] His success was so conspicuous that for a long time he seemed to ride on the shoulders of Fortune herself, his faithful guide as he in victorious career surmounted enormous difficulties. And after he left the western region, so long as he was on earth all nations preserved perfect quiet, as if a kind of earthly wand of Mercury were pacifying them.

[15] There are many undoubted tokens of his generosity. Among these are his very light imposition of tribute, his remission of the crown-money, ³⁸ the cancellation of many debts made great by long standing, ³⁹ the impartial treatment of disputes between the privy purse and private persons, the restoration of the revenues from taxes to various states along with their lands, except such as previous high officials ⁴⁰ had alienated by a kind of legal sale; furthermore, that he was never eager to increase his wealth, which he thought was better secured in the hands of its possessors; and he often remarked that Alexander the Great, when asked where his treasures were, gave the kindly answer, "in the hands of my friends."

[16] Having set down his good qualities, so many as I could know, let me now come to an account of his faults, although they can be summed up briefly. In disposition he was somewhat inconsistent, but he controlled this by the excellent habit of submitting, when he went wrong, to correction. [17] He was somewhat talkative, and very seldom silent; also too much given to the consideration of omens and portents, so that in this respect he seemed to equal the emperor Hadrian. Superstitious rather than truly religious, he sacrificed innumerable victims without regard to cost, so that one might believe that if he had returned from the Parthians, there would soon have been a scarcity of cattle; like the Caesar Marcus, ⁴¹ of whom (as we learn) the following Greek distich was written:

We the white steers do Marcus Caesar greet.
Win once again, and death we all must meet.

[18] He delighted in the applause of the mob, and desired beyond measure praise for the slightest matters, and the desire for popularity often led him to converse with unworthy men.

[19] But yet, in spite of this, his own saying might be regarded as sound, namely, that the ancient goddess of Justice, whom Aratus ⁴² raised to heaven because of her impatience with men's sins, returned to earth again during his rule, were it not that sometimes he acted arbitrarily, and now and then seemed unlike himself. [20] For the laws which he enacted were not oppressive, but stated exactly what was to be done or left undone, with a few exceptions, For example, it was a harsh law that forbade Christian ⁴³ rhetoricians and grammarians to teach, unless they consented to worship the pagan deities. [21] And also it was almost unbearable that in the municipal towns he unjustly allowed persons to be made members of the councils, who, either as foreigners, or because of personal privileges or birth, were wholly Exempt from such assemblies. ⁴⁴

[22] The figure and proportion of his body were as follows. He was of medium stature. His hair lay smooth as if it had been combed, his beard was shaggy and trimmed so as to end in a point, his eyes were fine and full of fire, an indication of the acuteness of his mind. His eyebrows were handsome, his nose very straight, his mouth somewhat large with a pendulous lower lip. His neck was thick and somewhat bent, his shoulders large and broad. Moreover, right from top to toe he was a man of straight well-proportioned bodily frame and as a result was strong and a good runner.

[23] And since his detractors alleged that he had stirred up the storms of war anew, to the ruin of his country, they should know clearly through the teachings of truth, that it was not Julian, but Constantine, who kindled the Parthian fires, when he confided too greedily in the lies of Metrodorus, ⁴⁵ as I explained fully some time ago. ⁴⁶ [24] This it was that caused the annihilation of our armies, the capture so often of whole companies of soldiers, the destruction of cities, the seizure or overthrow of fortresses, the exhaustion of our provinces by heavy expenses, and the threats of the Persians which were soon brought into effect, as they claimed everything as far as Bithynia and the shores of the Propontis. [25] But in Gaul, where barbarian arrogance grew apace, as the Germans swarmed through our territories, and the Alps were on the point of being forced with the resulting devastation of Italy, after the inhabitants had suffered many unspeakable woes, nothing was left save tears and fears, since the recollection of the past was bitter and the anticipation of what threatened was sadder still: all this that young man, sent to the western region, a Caesar in name only, ⁴⁷ wholly corrected with almost incredible speed, driving kings before him like common slaves. [26] And in order to restore the Orient with similar energy, he attacked the Persians, and he would have won from them a triumph and a surname, if the decrees of heaven had been in accord with his plans and his splendid deeds. [27] And although we know that some men thoughtlessly laugh at experience to such an extent that they sometimes renew wars when defeated, and go to sea again after shipwreck, ⁴⁸ and return to meet difficulties to which they have often yielded, there are some who blame a prince who had been everywhere victorious for

trying to equal his past exploits.

Jovian, commander of the household troops, in tumultuous haste is chosen emperor.

After this there was no time for laments or tears. For after caring for Julian's body as well as the means at hand and the circumstances allowed, in order that he might be laid to rest in the place which he had previously chosen, ⁴⁹ at dawn of the following day, which was the twenty-seventh of June, with the enemy swarming about us on every side, the generals of the army assembled, and having called in the commanders of the legions and of the squadrons of cavalry, they consulted about choosing an emperor. [2] They were divided into turbulent factions, for Arintheus and Victor, with the other survivors of the palace officials of Constantius, looked around for a suitable man from their party; on the other hand, Nevitta and Dagalaifus, as well as the chiefs of the Gauls, sought such a man among their fellow-soldiers. [3] After some discussion, all by general agreement united on Salutius, and when he pleaded illness and old age, one of the soldiers ⁵⁰ of higher rank, perceiving Salutius' determined opposition, said: "What would you do if the emperor (as often happens) had in his absence committed to you the conduct of this war? Would you not put aside everything else and save the soldiers from the threatening dangers? Do that now, and if we are permitted to see Mesopotamia, the united votes of both armies ⁵¹ will decide upon a lawful emperor."

[4] During this delay, which was slight considering the importance of the matter, before the various opinions had been weighed, a few hot-headed soldiers (as often happens in an extreme crisis) chose an emperor in the person of Jovianus, commander ⁵² of the household troops, who had claims for some slight consideration because of the services of his father. For he was the son of Varronianus, a well-known count, ⁵³ who not long since, after ending his military career, had retired to a quieter life. [5] Now Jovian, as soon as he had been clothed in the imperial robes and suddenly brought out from his tent, already hastening through the ranks of the soldiers, who were getting ready to march. [6] And since the army extended for four miles, those in the van, on hearing some men shouting "Jovianus Augustus," repeated the same sounds much more loudly; for struck by the near relationship of the name, since it differed in only one letter, ⁵⁴ they thought that Julian had recovered and was being brought out amid the usual great acclaim. But when Jovianus a taller and bent man was seen advancing, they suspected what had happened, and all burst into tears and lamentation. [7] But if any onlooker of strict justice with undue haste blames such a step taken in a moment of extreme danger, he will, with even more justice, reproach sailors, if after the loss of a skilled pilot, amid the raging winds and seas, they committed the guidance of the helm of their ship to any companion in their peril, whoever he might be. [8] When this

had been done as described, as if by the blind decree of fortune, the standard-bearer of the Joviani, ⁵⁵ formerly commanded by Varronianus, who was at odds with the new emperor even when he was still a private citizen, just as he had been a persistent critic of his father, fearing danger from an enemy who had now risen above the ordinary rank, deserted to the Persians. And as soon as he had the opportunity of telling what he knew to Sapor, who was already drawing near, he informed the king that the man whom he feared was dead, and that an excited throng of camp-followers had chosen a mere shadow of imperial power in the person of Jovian, up to that time one of the bodyguard, and a slothful, weak man. On hearing this news, for which he had always longed with anxious prayers, the king, elated by the unexpected good fortune, added a corps of the royal cavalry to the army opposed to us and hastened on, ordering an attack upon the rear of our army.

The Romans, hastening to return from Persia, and already on their way, are assailed in frequent battles by the Persians and Saracens, but repel them with great loss.

While these arrangements were being made on both sides, in Jovian's behalf ⁵⁶ victims were killed, and when the entrails were inspected it was announced that he would ruin everything, if he remained within the rampart of his camp (as he thought of doing), but would be victor if he marched out. [2] But when we accordingly were just beginning to leave, the Persians attacked us, with the elephants in front. By the unapproachable and frightful stench of these brutes horses and men were at first thrown into confusion, but the Joviani and Herculiani, ⁵⁷ after killing a few of the beasts, bravely resisted the mail clad horsemen. [3] Then the legions of the Jovii and the Victores came to the aid of their struggling companions and slew two elephants, along with a considerable number of the enemy. On our left wing some valiant warriors fell, Julianus, Macrobius and Maximus, tribunes of the legions which then held first place in our army. [4] Having buried these men as well as the pressing conditions allowed, when towards nightfall we were coming at rapid pace to a fortress called Sumere, we recognized the corpse of Anatolius ⁵⁸ lying in the road, and it was hastily committed to the earth. Here, too, we recovered sixty soldiers with some court officials, who (as I have related above) ⁵⁹ had taken refuge in a deserted stronghold.

[5] On the next day we pitched our camp in the best place we could find, a broad plain in a valley; it was surrounded as if by a natural wall, and had only one exit, which was a wide one, and all about it we set stakes with sharp ends like the points of swords. [6] On seeing this, the enemy from the wooded heights assailed us with weapons of all kinds and with insulting language, as traitors and murderers of an excellent prince. For they also had heard from the mouths of deserters, in consequence of an unfounded rumour, that Julian had been killed by a Roman weapon. ⁶⁰ [7] Finally, some troops of horsemen

meanwhile ventured to break through the praetorian gate and to come near the very tent of the emperor, but with the loss of many killed and wounded they were vigorously driven back.

[8] Then we set out on the following night and took possession of the place called Charcha; ⁶¹ here we were safe because there were mounds along the banks, constructed by men's hands to prevent the Saracens from continually making raids on Assyria, and no one harassed our lines, as had been done before this. [9] And from here, having completed a march of thirty stadia, on the first of July we reached a city called Dura. ⁶² Our horses were tired, and their riders, who marched on foot and fell to the rear, were surrounded by a throng of Saracens, and would at once have perished, had not some squadrons of our light-armed cavalry brought help to them in their distress. [10] We found these Saracens hostile for the reason that they had been prevented by Julian's order from receiving pay and numerous gifts, ⁶³ as in times past, and when they complained to him, had received the simple reply that a warlike and watchful emperor had steel and not gold. [11] In this place the persistence of the Persians delayed us for four days. For when we began to march, they followed us, and by frequent onsets forced us to turn back; if we halted to do battle with them, they little by little retired and harassed us by continual delays. But now (since to those who are in fear of the worst even false reports are commonly welcome) the rumour was circulated that the frontiers of our possessions were not far distant; whereupon the army, with mutinous bluster, demanded that they be allowed to cross the Tigris. [12] The emperor, as well as the generals, opposed them, and pointing to the river, which was in flood, since the dog-star had already risen, begged them not to trust themselves to the dangerous currents, declaring that very many could not swim, and adding that scattered bands of the enemy had beset the banks of the swollen stream in various places. [13] But when these warnings, though several times repeated, had no effect, and the loud shouts of the excited soldiers threatened violence, Jovian reluctantly consented that the Gauls, mingled with the northern Germans, should enter the river first of all, to the end that if these were swept away by the force of the stream, the obstinacy of the rest might be broken down; or if they accomplished their purpose without harm, the rest might try to cross with greater confidence. [14] For this attempt the most skilful men were chosen, who from early childhood were taught in their native lands to cross the greatest of all rivers. and as soon as the quiet of night gave an opportunity for concealment, as if starting all together in a race, ⁶⁴ they gained the opposite bank more quickly than could have been expected, and after trampling under foot and killing a great number of the Persians, who had been posted to guard the places, but from a feeling of security were buried in quiet sleep, they raised their hands and waved their mantles, to show that their bold attempt had succeeded. [15] When this was seen from afar, the soldiers, now eager to cross, were delayed only by the promise of the pontoon builders to make bridges of bladders from the hides of slain animals. ⁶⁵

Jovianus Augustus, led by the hunger and want of his men, makes a peace with Sapor which was necessary, but shameful, giving up five provinces, as well as Nisibis and Singara.

While these vain attempts were being made, King Sapor, both when far away and when he had come near, learned from the true accounts of scouts and deserters of the brave deeds of our men and the shameful defeats of his army, accompanied by a greater loss of elephants than he had ever known in his reign; also that the Roman army, inured to constant hardship after the loss of their glorious leader, were looking out (as they said), not for their safety, but for revenge, and would end the difficulties of their situation by either a decisive victory or a glorious death. [2] This news filled his mind with fear for many reasons: for he knew by experience that the troops scattered in great numbers through the provinces could easily be assembled by one little ticket, ⁶⁶ and he was aware that his own subjects, after the loss of so many men were in a state of extreme panic, and, besides, that in Mesopotamia a Roman army had been left which was not much smaller. ⁶⁷ [3] More than all, it dulled his anxious mind that five hundred men together in one swim had crossed unharmed the swollen river, had slain his guards, and had roused their comrades who had remained behind to similar boldness.

[4] Meanwhile our men, since the raging waters prevented bridges from being made, and everything edible had been used up, passed two days in wretchedness, deprived of everything useful; excited by hunger and wrath, they were in a state of frenzy and eager to lose their lives by the sword rather than by starvation, the most shameful kind of death.

[5] However, the eternal power of God in heaven was on our side, and the Persians, beyond our hopes, took the first step and sent as envoys for securing peace the Surena and another magnate, being themselves also low in their minds, which the fact that the Roman side was superior in almost every battle shook more and more every day. [6] Nevertheless, they offered conditions which were difficult and involved, for they pretended that from feelings of humanity the most merciful of kings would allow the remnants of the army to return, if the emperor and his most distinguished generals would comply with his demands. [7] In reply to this Arintheus ⁶⁸ was sent to him with the prefect Salutius, but, while a deliberate discussion was going on as to what ought to be determined, four days passed by, full of torments from hunger and worse than any death. [8] If the emperor, before letting these envoys go, had used this space of time to withdraw gradually from the enemy's territories, he could surely have reached the protection of Corduena, ⁶⁹ a rich region belonging to us, and distant only a hundred miles from the spot where all this took place.

[9] Now the king obstinately demanded the lands which (as he said) were his and had been taken from him long ago by Maximianus; but, in fact, as the negotiations showed, he required as our ransom five provinces on the far side

of the Tigris: Arzanena,⁷⁰ Moxoëna,⁷¹ and Zabdicena,⁷² as well as Rehimena⁷³ and Corduena with fifteen fortresses, besides Nisibis,⁷⁴ Singara⁷⁵ and Castra Maurorum,⁷⁶ a very important stronghold. [10] And whereas it would have been better to fight ten battles than give up any one of these, the band of flatterers pressed upon the timid emperor, harping upon the dreaded name of Procopius,⁷⁷ and declaring that if he returned⁷⁸ on learning of the death of Julian, he would with the fresh troops under his command easily and without opposition make himself emperor. [11] Jovian, inflamed by these dangerous hints too continually repeated, without delay surrendered all that was asked, except that with difficulty he succeeded in bringing it about that Nisibis and Singara should pass into control of the Persians without their inhabitants, and that the Romans in the fortresses that were to be taken from us should be allowed to return to our protection. [12] To these conditions there was added another which was destructive and impious, namely, that after the completion of these agreements, Arsaces, our steadfast and faithful friend⁷⁹ should never, if he asked it, be given help against the Persians. This was contrived with a double purpose, that a man who at the emperor's order⁸⁰ had devastated Chiliocomum might be punished, and that the opportunity might be left of presently invading Armenia without opposition. The result was that later this same Arsaces was taken alive,⁸¹ and that the Parthians amid various dissensions and disturbances seized a great tract of Armenia bordering on Media, along with Artaxata.

[13] When this shameful treaty was concluded, lest anything contrary to the agreements should be done during the truce, distinguished men were given on both sides as hostages: from our side Nemota, Victor, and Bellovaedius,⁸² tribunes of famous corps, and from the opposite party Bineses, one of the distinguished magnates, and three satraps besides of no obscure name. [14] And so a peace of thirty years was made and consecrated by the sanctity of oaths; but we returned by other routes, and since the places near the river were avoided as rough and uneven, we suffered from lack of water and food.

The Romans, after crossing the river Tigris and suffering continued and great scarcity of food, which they endured with fortitude, at length arrive in Mesopotamia. Jovianus Augustus sets in order, so far as possible, the affairs of Illyricum and Gaul.

But the peace which was granted under pretence of humanity caused the destruction of many, who, tormented by hunger up to their last breath, and so going ahead unnoticed by the army,⁸³ were either, being unskilled in swimming, swallowed up in the depths of the river, or if they mastered the power of the stream and reached the opposite bank, were seized by the Saracens or Persians (who, as I said shortly before, had been routed by the Germans),⁸⁴ and were either cut down like so many cattle, or led off farther inland to be sold. [2] But as soon as the trumpets' blast openly gave the signal

for crossing the river, it was remarkable with what great eagerness and haste they rushed into all kinds of danger. Each man strove to outstrip all others and hastened to save himself from so many terrors; some used the hastily constructed rafts, holding to their horses as they swam here and there, others seated themselves on bladders, still others under the pressure of necessity found various other helps and rushed in an oblique direction into the waves of the onrushing waters. [3] The emperor himself with a few others crossed in the small boats, which, as I have said, survived the burning of the fleet, and ordered the same craft to go back and forth, until we were all transported. At last all of us (except those who were drowned) reached the opposite bank, saved from danger by the favour of the supreme deity after many difficulties.

[4] While the fear of impending disasters oppressed us, we learned from the report of our scouting cavalry, that the Persians, too far off to be seen, were making a bridge, in order that when all hostilities should cease after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and our men were marching carelessly, they might attack the sick and the animals which had long been exhausted; but when they found that they were discovered, they gave up their wicked design.

[5] Relieved now from this anxiety and hastening on by forced marches, we approached Hatra, an old city lying in the midst of a desert and long since abandoned. The warlike emperors Trajan⁸⁵ and Severus tried at various times to destroy it, but almost perished with their armies; I have related these acts also in telling of their careers. [6] Here we learned that on a plain extending for seventy miles through dry regions only water that was salt and ill-smelling could be found, and nothing to eat except southernwood, wormwood, dragonwort and other plants of the most wretched sort. Therefore the vessels which we carried with us were filled with fresh water, and by killing camels and other pack animals we provided ourselves with food, unwholesome⁸⁶ though it was.

[7] And after completing a march of six days and finding not even grass as the solace of their extreme necessity, Cassianus, the duke⁸⁷ commanding the army in Mesopotamia,⁸⁸ and the tribune Mauricius (who had been sent long before for the purpose) came to a Persian stronghold called Ur⁸⁹ and brought food from the supplies which the army left with Procopius and Sebastianus had saved by frugal living. [8] From here another Procopius, a state-secretary, and the military tribune Memoridus were sent to the lands of Illyricum and Gaul, to announce the death of Julian, and the elevation of Jovian (after Julian's decease) to Augustan rank. [9] To them the emperor had also given instructions to hand his father-in-law Lucillianus,⁹⁰ who after his dismissal from the army had retired to a life of leisure and was then living at Sirmium, the commission as commander of the cavalry and infantry which he had delivered to them, and urge him to hasten to Milan, in order to attend to any difficulties there, or if (as was now rather to be feared) any new dangers should arise, to resist them. [10] To these instructions the emperor had added a secret letter, in which he also directed Lucillianus to take with him some men

selected for their tried vigour and loyalty, with the view of making use of their support as the condition of affairs might suggest. [11] And he took the prudent step of appointing Malarichus, who also was even then living in Italy in a private capacity, as successor to Jovinus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, sending him the insignia of that rank. Thereby he aimed at a double advantage: first, in getting rid of a general of distinguished service and therefore an object of suspicion; and, second, the hope that a man of slight expectations, when raised to a high rank, might show great zeal in supporting the position of his benefactor, which was still uncertain. [12] Also the men who were commissioned to carry out these plans were ordered to set the course of events in a favourable light, and wherever they went, to agree with each other in spreading the report that the Parthian campaign had been brought to a successful end. They were to hasten their journey by adding night to day, to put into the hands of the governors and the military commanders of the provinces the messages of the new emperor, to secretly sound the sentiments of all of them, and to return speedily with their replies, in order that as soon as it was learned how matters stood in the distant provinces, timely and careful plans might be made for safeguarding the imperial power.

[13] Meanwhile rumour, the swiftest messenger of sad events, outstripping these messengers, flew through provinces and nations, and most of all struck the people of Nisibis with bitter grief; when they learned that their city had been surrendered to Sapor, whose anger and hostility they feared, recalling as they did what constant losses he had suffered in his frequent attempts to take their city. [14] For it was clear that the entire Orient might have passed into the control of Persia, had not this city with its advantageous situation and mighty walls resisted him. Nevertheless, however much the unhappy people were tormented with great fear of the future, yet they could sustain themselves with one slight hope, namely, that the emperor would, of his own accord or prevailed upon by their entreaties, keep the city in its present condition, as the strongest bulwark of the Orient.

[15] While varied rumours were spreading the news of the course of events everywhere, in the army, since the few provisions which (as I have said) we had brought with us were used up, we should have been forced to resort to human bodies, had not the flesh of the slain pack-animals held out for a time; but the result was, that many arms and packs were thrown away; for we were so wasted by fearful hunger, that if anywhere a modius ⁹¹ of flour was found (which seldom happened) it was sold for ten gold-pieces, ⁹² and that was considered a cheap price.

[16] Setting out from there, we came to Thilsaphata, where Sebastianus and Procopius, with the tribunes and officers of the soldiers which had been entrusted to them for the defence of Mesopotamia, came out to meet us as formal usage required. And after having been courteously received, they joined our march. [17] After this we went on more speedily, and looking eagerly at Nisibis, the emperor made a permanent camp outside of the city;

but in spite of the earnest request of many of the populace to enter and take up his residence in the palace as was usual with the emperors, he obstinately refused, from shame that during his own stay within its walls the impregnable city should be handed over to the enemy. [18] There, as the darkness of evening was then approaching, Jovianus, chief among all the secretaries, who (as I have already said ⁹³) at the siege of the city of Maiozamalcha had with others been first to come out through the mine, was taken from the dining-table, led to a secluded spot, thrown headlong into a dry well, and crushed by a great number of stones that were thrown upon him. The reason for this undoubtedly was that, after Julian's death, he too was named by a few as worthy of the throne, and that after the election of Jovian he had not acted with moderation, but was overheard whispering this and that about some business, and from time to time had even invited military officers to his table.

Bineses, a noble Persian, receives the impregnable city of Nisibis from Jovian. The citizens were compelled against their will to leave the city and move to Amida. The five provinces, with the city of Singara and sixteen strongholds, in accordance with the treaty were handed over to Persian grandees.

On the following day Bineses, one of the Persians, who (as I have said) was eminent beyond all others, ⁹⁴ hastening to fulfil the orders of his king, urgently demanded what had been promised. Therefore, with the permission of the Roman emperor, he entered the city and raised the flag of his nation on the top of the citadel, announcing to the citizens their sorrowful departure from their native place. [2] And when all were commanded to leave their homes at once, with tears and outstretched hands they begged that they might not be compelled to depart, declaring that they alone, without aid from the empire in provisions and men, were able to defend their hearths, trusting that Justice herself would, as they had often found, aid them in fighting for their ancestral dwelling-place. But suppliantly as the council and people entreated, all was spoken vainly to the winds, since the emperor (as he pretended, while moved by other fears) did not wish to incur the guilt of perjury. [3] Thereupon Sabinus, distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his wealth and high birth, declared in impassioned language that Constantius once, when the flames of a cruel war were raging, had been defeated by the Persians and finally had been driven in flight with a few followers to the unprotected post of Hibita, where he was obliged to live on a bit of bread which he begged from an old peasant woman; yet up to his last day he had lost nothing, whereas Jovian at the beginning of his principate, had abandoned the defences of provinces whose bulwarks had remained unshaken from the earliest times. [4] But when nothing came of this, since the emperor the more stoutly maintained the sanctity of his oath; and when for a time he had refused the crown ⁹⁵ that was offered him but was finally forced to accept it, one Silvanus, a pleader at the bar, was bold

enough to say: "Thus may you be crowned, O emperor, by the rest of the cities," Exasperated by these words, the emperor gave orders that all must leave the walls within three days, they the while expressing horror at such a condition of affairs.

[5] Accordingly, men were appointed to drive them out, and threatened with death all who hesitated to leave. Lamentation and grief filled the city, and in all its parts no sound save universal wailing was to be heard; the matrons tore their hair, since they were to be sent into exile from the homes in which they were born and reared; mothers who had lost their children, and widows bereft of their husbands, mourned that they were driven far from the ashes of their loved ones; and the weeping throng embraced the doors or the thresholds of their homes. [6] Then the various roads were filled with people going wherever each could find refuge. In their haste many secretly carried off such of their own property as they thought they could take with them, disregarding the rest of their possessions, which, though many and valuable, they were obliged to leave behind for lack of pack-animals. ⁹⁶

[7] You are here justly censured, O Fortune of the Roman world! that, when storms shattered our country, you did snatch the helm from the hands of an experienced steersman and entrust it to an untried ⁹⁷ youth, who, since he was known during his previous life for no brilliant deeds in that field, cannot be justly either blamed or praised. [8] But what grieved the very heart of every patriotic citizen was this, that fearful of a rival to his power and bearing in mind that it was in Gaul and Illyricum that many men had taken the first steps to loftier power, in his haste to outstrip the report of his coming, under pretext of avoiding perjury he committed an act unworthy of an emperor, betraying Nisibis, which ever since the time of King Mithridates' reign had resisted with all its might the occupation of the Orient by the Persians. ⁹⁸ [9] For never (I think) since the founding of our city can it be found by a reader of history that any part of our territory has been yielded to an enemy by an emperor or a consul; but that not even the recovery of anything that had been lost was ever enough for the honour of a triumph, but only the increase of our dominions. [10] Hence it was that triumphs were refused ⁹⁹ to Publius Scipio for the recovery of Spain; to Fulvius, when Capua was overcome after long contests, and to Opimius, when, after shifting fortunes of war, the people of Fregellae, at that time our deadly enemies, were forced to surrender. [11] In fact, the ancient records teach us that treaties made in extreme necessity with shameful conditions, even when both parties had taken oath in set terms, were at once annulled by a renewal of war. For example, when in days of old our legions were sent under the yoke at the Caudine Forks in Samnium ¹⁰⁰ ; when Albinus in Numidia devised a shameful peace ¹⁰¹ ; and when Mancinus, the author of a disgracefully hasty treaty, was surrendered to the people of Numantia. ¹⁰²

[12] So then, after the inhabitants had been withdrawn, and the city had been handed over, the tribune Constantius was sent to deliver the strongholds, with the surrounding country, to the Persian grandees. Then Procopius was sent

with the remains of Julian, in order to inter him, as he had directed when still alive,¹⁰³ in the suburb of Tarsus. [13] Procopius set out to fulfil his mission,¹⁰⁴ but immediately after burying the body he disappeared and in spite of the most careful search could not be found anywhere,¹⁰⁵ until long afterwards he suddenly appeared at Constantinople, clad in the purple.

Jovian, fearful of an uprising, quickly marched through Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Galatia. At Ancyra he assumed the consulship with his infant son Varronianus, and shortly afterwards died suddenly at Dadastana.

After this business had been thus attended to, we came by long marches to Antioch; where for successive days, as though the divinity were angered, many fearful portents were seen, which those skilled in such signs declared would have sad results. [2] For the statue of the Caesar Maximianus, which stood in the vestibule of the royal palace, suddenly dropped the brazen ball, in the form of the globe of heaven, which it was holding,¹⁰⁶ the beams of the council hall gave forth an awful creaking, and in broad daylight comets were seen, about which the views of those versed in natural history are at variance.¹⁰⁷ [3] For some think that they are so called because they are numerous stars united in one body,¹⁰⁸ and send out writhing fires resembling hair.¹⁰⁹ Others believe that they take fire from the dryer exhalations of the earth, which gradually rise higher. Others again think that the rays streaming from the sun are prevented by the interposition of a heavier cloud from going downward, and when the brightness is suffused through the thick substance, it presents to men's eyes a kind of star-spangled light. Yet others have formed the opinion that this phenomenon occurs when an unusually high cloud is lit up by the nearness of the eternal fires, or at any rate, that comets are stars like the rest, the appointed times of whose rising and setting¹¹⁰ are not understood by human minds. Many other theories about comets are to be found in the writings of those who are skilled in knowledge of the universe; but from discussing these I am prevented by my haste to continue my narrative.

[4] The emperor lingered for a time at Antioch, bowed down by the weight of divers cares, but pursued by an extraordinary desire for getting out of the place. Accordingly, he left there on a day in the dead of winter, sparing neither horse nor man, although many signs (as has been said) forbade, and entered Tarsus, the famous city of Cilicia, of whose origin I have already spoken.¹¹¹ [5] Though in excessive haste to leave that place, he determined to adorn the tomb of Julian,¹¹² situated just outside the walls on the road which leads to the passes of Mount Taurus. But his remains and ashes, if anyone then showed sound judgement, ought not to be looked on by the Cydnus,¹¹³ although it is a beautiful and clear stream, but to perpetuate the glory of his noble deeds they should be laved by the Tiber, which cuts through the eternal city and flows by the memorials of the deified emperors of old.

[6] After this the emperor left Tarsus, and making long marches arrived at

Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, where on their return the secretary Procopius and the tribune Memoridus ¹¹⁴ met him. They gave him an account of their missions, beginning (as order demanded) with the entry of Lucillianus with the tribunes Seniauchus and Valentinianus, whom he had taken with him, into Mediolanum; but on learning that Malarichus refused to accept the position ¹¹⁵ he had gone at full speed to Rheims. [7] Then, as if that nation were in profound peace, he ran off the track (as the saying is), and quite out of season, since everything was not yet secure, devoted his attention to examining the accounts of a former actuary. This man, being conscious of deceit and wrongdoing, fled for refuge to the army and falsely asserted that Julian was still alive and that a man of no distinction had raised a rebellion; in consequence of his falsehoods a veritable storm broke out among the soldiery, and Lucillianus and Seniauchus were killed. For Valentinianus, who was shortly afterwards emperor, in terror and not knowing where to turn, was safely gotten out of the way by Primitivus, his guest-friend. [8] This sad news was followed by another message, this time a happy one, namely, that soldiers sent by Jovian, heads of the divisions, ¹¹⁶ as camp parlance termed them, were on the way, reporting that the Gallic army embraced with favour the rule of Jovian.

[9] On receipt of this news Valentinian, who had returned with the others, was entrusted with the command of the second division of the targeteers, and Vitalianus, formerly a soldier in the division of the Eruli, was made a member of the household troops; long afterwards he was raised to the rank of Count, but suffered a defeat in Illyricum. Arintheus was hastily sent to Gaul, bearing letters to Jovinus, urging him to act firmly in holding his position; he was also bidden to punish the originator of the disturbance and to send the ringleaders in the rebellion in fetters to the court. [10] After these arrangements had been made as seemed expedient, the officers of the Gallic troops had audience with the emperor at Aspuna, a small town of Galatia; when they entered the council chamber, the news which they brought was heard with pleasure, and after receiving rewards, they were ordered to return to their posts.

[11] When the emperor had entered Ancyra, after the necessary arrangements for his procession had been made, so far as the conditions allowed, he assumed the consulship, taking as his colleague in the office his son Varronianus, who was still a small child ¹¹⁷; and his crying and obstinate resistance to being carried, as usual, on the curule chair, were an omen of what presently occurred.

[12] From here also the destined day for ending his life drove Jovian swiftly on. For when he had come to Dadastana, which forms the boundary between Bithynia and Galatia, he was found dead that night. As to his taking-off, many doubtful points have come up. [13] For it is said that he was unable to endure the unwholesome odour of a recently plastered bedroom, or that his head was swollen from the burning of a great amount of charcoal and so he died, or at any rate that he had a fit of acute indigestion from an immoderate amount of food of different kinds. ¹¹⁸ At all events he died in the thirty-third year of his

age.¹¹⁹ The end of his life was like that of Scipio Aemilianus,¹²⁰ but so far as I know no investigation was made of the death of either.

[14] He walked with a dignified bearing; his expression was very cheerful. His eyes were gray. He was so unusually tall that for some time no imperial robe could be found that was long enough for him. He took as his model Constantius, often spending the afternoon in some serious occupation, but accustomed to jest in public with his intimates. [15] So too he was devoted to the Christian doctrine and sometimes paid it honour.¹²¹ He was only moderately educated, of a kindly nature, and (as appears from the few promotions that he made) inclined to select state officials with care. But he was an immoderate eater, given to wine and women, faults which perhaps he would have corrected out of regard for the imperial dignity. [16] It was said that his father, Varronianus, learned what would happen long beforehand from the suggestion of a dream, and trusted the information to two of his confidential friends, adding the remark that the consular robe¹²² would be conferred also on himself. But although one prophecy was fulfilled, he could not attain the other prediction. For after learning of the elevation of his son, he was overtaken by death before seeing him again. [17] And since it was foretold to the old man in a dream that the highest magistracy awaited one of that name, his grandson Varronianus, then still a child, was (as I have before related) made consul together with his father Jovianus.

NOTES.

¹ The Persian boys from the age of five were taught to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth (Hdt. i. 136).

² Livy, xxvii. 49, 1 ff.

³ By reaching the enemy before they could use their bows at all (*ante iactum sagittarum* (Justin, l. c.)), or with good effect. Cf. Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 2, 5, *Ventidius . . . ita procursione subita . . . se admovit, ut sagittas, quibus ex longinquo usus est, comminus adplicitus eluderet*. Similar tactics were used by Miltiades at Marathon; Hdt. vi. 112; Just. ii. 9, 11.

⁴ osimus., iii. 28, calls him Brettanio. The Zianni were probably a Thracian tribe; see Index II.

⁵ Contrasted with the *beneficiarius*, who had special privileges; see Veget. ii. 7.

⁶ Cf. xx. 5, 10

⁷ Cf. xxiv. 6, 17.

⁸ ἀστὴρ διαίσων, “a shooting star”; of. *Iliad*, iv. 75-77.

⁹ I.e. not versed in astronomy.

¹⁰ Cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* ii. 14.

¹¹ So-called from their author Tarquitius, whom some identify with Tages; cf. xvii. 10, 2; xxi. 1, 10.

¹² I.e. when it opposed his plans. As Montaigne (Book II, ch. 19) rightly says, “he was besotted with the art of divination” cf. xxii. 1, 1; xxiii. 3, 3; xxv. 4, 17.

¹³ *Arma cogentium* = *agmen cogentium*, with *arma*=*armatos*, as often in Ammianus. Cf. xvi. 2, 10, where *arma cogentes* probably has the same meaning as *arma cogentium* in this passage.

¹⁴ Zonaras (xiii. 13, B) says that he had taken it off because of its weight and the excessive heat.

¹⁵ See Index II., vol. i, s.v. *candidati*; cf. xv. 5, 16.

¹⁶ Libanius said that he was killed by some Christian in his own army, but some other writers agree with Ammianus.

¹⁷ Val. Max. iii. 2, ext.; Just. vi. 11, 8; of. Nepos, *Epam.* 9, 3.

¹⁸ He had been told in a dream that he would die in Phrygia; see Zonaras, xiii. 13, A.

¹⁹ And so released from discipline.

²⁰ Cf. 1, 11, above.

- ²¹ Cf. xviii. 6, 16.
- ²² Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 92, and Solinus, 1,107, speak of thirty-nine.
- ²³ Val. Max. iii. 2, 24; Gell. ii. 11, 2; etc.
- ²⁴ Cf. Pliny and Solin., *l.c.*
- ²⁵ This sentence comes in abruptly: Büchele seems to refer it to what precedes.
- ²⁶ Cf. xxv. 6, 11.
- ²⁷ Probably referring to Cleobis and Biton and Agamedes and Trophonius; Cic. *T.D.* i. 47; 113 f.
- ²⁸ Cf. xxii. 7, 3.
- ²⁹ After the example of Socrates and others; of Thræsea, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 34.
- ³⁰ Constantine left the rule to his three sons, but Constantius had all his relatives slain, except Gallus and Julian, who were then children.
- ³¹ She was a daughter of the praetorian prefect Julianus, and died a few years after the birth of her only child.
- ³² Cicero, *De Off.* i. 5, 15.
- ³³ Cf. xxi. 1, 5.
- ³⁴ *Rep.* i, 329, B-C; cf. Cic. *De Senec.* 14, 47.
- ³⁵ Cf. xxiv. 4, 4.
- ³⁶ Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 62.
- ³⁷ Under the authority of Constantius; see *Introd.*, p. xxiv.
- ³⁸ The *coronarium* was the money presented to the emperor personally by the provinces on his ascension to the throne, which was often a great amount. Avaricious rulers claimed it on other occasions, such as victories over the barbarians, and the like. Augustus, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Alexander Severus had not exacted it.
- ³⁹ On taxes, cf. xvi. 5, 14.
- ⁴⁰ The praetorian prefects, etc. Also, Constantine, Constantius, and Valentinian sold or gave away lands belonging to the temples.
- ⁴¹ Marcus Aurelius.
- ⁴² Cf. xxii. 10, 6.
- ⁴³ Cf. xxii. 10, 7.

⁴⁴ It must be remembered that such offices were a burden which many sought to avoid; cf. xxii. 9, 12.

⁴⁵ Metrodorus, a philosopher, in the time of Constantine the Great, is said to have made his way to farthest India with the intention of going around the world. Winning the favour of the Brachmanae and being admitted to their shrines, he stole many pearls and other gems. The king of the Indi also gave him many jewels of great price, which he was to offer to Constantine in the name of the king. When Metrodorus returned to Byzantium, he presented these to Constantine as his own gift, and said that he had sent many more to him by the land route, but that they had all been seized by the Persians. When Constantine demanded their return from Sapor, he received no reply, and thus the peace between the Romans and the Persians was broken. This story is told by Georgius Cedrenus in his *Chron. anno xxi Constantini* (A f.), but it is regarded as apocryphal.

⁴⁶ In a lost book.

⁴⁷ I.e. although he had the title, he was subject to surveillance, was kept short of funds, and was hampered in many ways.

⁴⁸ Cf. Sen., *De Benef.* i. 1, 10; *adeoque adversus experimenta pertinaces sumus, ut bella victi et naufragi maria repetamus.*

⁴⁹ At Tarsus; see xxiii. 2, 5; and 10, 5, below.

⁵⁰ Gibbon thinks this was Ammianus himself.

⁵¹ The eastern and the western army.

⁵² According to Hieronymus' *Chron.* he was *primicerius*, ranking after the *comes* and the *tribunus*. Cf. xxvii. 10, 16, *domesticorum omnium primus.*

⁵³ As the context shows, he was a general; see vol. i, *Introd.*, p. xxix, and § 8, below.

⁵⁴ Namely *ν* for *l*. The sound of *Iu* and *Io* is so similar that Ammianus disregards it.

⁵⁵ Legions so named by Diocletian, who was called Jovius.

⁵⁶ The Church Fathers call Jovian a Christian. Gibbon, because of this passage, thinks not; but the sacrifice may not have been made by Jovian's order.

⁵⁷ Legions named from the colleague of Diocletian, called Herculus.

⁵⁸ Cf. 3, 14, above.

⁵⁹ See note 3, .

⁶⁰ See 3, 6, above, and note.

⁶¹ Cf. xviii. 10, 1.

⁶² On the far side of the Tigris; different from the city of the same name in Mesopotamia (xxiii. 5, 8; xxiv. 1, 5), where excavations have lately been made.

⁶³ To buy peace from them and prevent their raids.

⁶⁴ Cf. xxii. 11, 22, note. Here the meaning is “with one accord,” “all at once.” Wagner took *transenna* of the rope stretched before contestants in a footrace, which was dropped at a given signal, so that the runners started all together; others, of a bowstring.

⁶⁵ Cf. xxiv. 3, 11, note.

⁶⁶ The watchword, and orders of various kinds, were written on small square tablets, called *tesserae*; cf. xiv. 2, 15; Suet., *Galba*, 6, 2; etc.

⁶⁷ I.e. than the one which had invaded Persia.

⁶⁸ Cf. xxiv. 1, 2.

⁶⁹ Cf. xviii. 6, 20; the distance was fourteen geographic, or nautical, miles.

⁷⁰ In Armenia.

⁷¹ In Armenia.

⁷² In Mesopotamia.

⁷³ Unknown.

⁷⁴ A strong city thrice vainly besieged by the Persians.

⁷⁵ Cf. xviii. 5, 7; xx. 6.

⁷⁶ xviii. 6, 9.

⁷⁷ Julian had named Procopius as his successor; see xxiii. 3, 2.

⁷⁸ He was in hiding, probably at Chalcedon; cf. xxvi. 6, 3-5.

⁷⁹ Cf. note to xxiv. 7, 8.

⁸⁰ Cf. xxiii. 3, 6.

⁸¹ Cf. xxvii. 12, 3.

⁸² The names are evidently corrupted and there should be four Roman hostages; see crit. note.

⁸³ Since hunger drove them to try to cross before the rest.

⁸⁴ Cf. 6, 14, above.

⁸⁵ Dio. lxviii. 31, 2.

⁸⁶ Büchele thinks the text means “which eventually cost us dear,” since they lost the use of these animals.

⁸⁷ *Duces* were usually military commanders, but some- times governors; see Index II., vol. i.

s.v.

⁸⁸ Ur of the Chaldeans, mentioned also in the books of Moses.

⁸⁹ *Duces* were usually military commanders, but some- times governors; see Index II., vol. i. s.v.

⁹⁰ Jovian's wife was a daughter of Lucillianus; her name was Charito.

⁹¹ Not more than twenty-five pounds.

⁹² About ten pounds or fifty dollars.

⁹³ Cf. 7, 13, above.

⁹⁴ Cf. 7, 13 above.

⁹⁵ See note on *coronarium*, 4, 15, above.

⁹⁶ Cf. Virg., *Aen.* ii. 490; Val. Flacc. iv. 373. The whole passage suggests Livy's account of the destruction of Alba Longa (i. 29).

⁹⁷ *consummando* = *inconsummato* "unfinished."

⁹⁸ See Dio. xxxvi. 6, 1 ff.

⁹⁹ Cf. Val. Max. ii. 8, 4 an

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Val. Max. ii. 8, 4 an

¹⁰¹ See Sallust, *Jug.* 38.

¹⁰² See xiv. 11, 32; Florus, i. 34, 4 ff.

¹⁰³ Cf. xxiii. 2, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Or perhaps, on the analogy of *exsequiae*, "on his mournful errand," or "for the funeral."

¹⁰⁵ He perhaps wished to escape the fate of Jovianus; see 8, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. xxi. 14, 1, note.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 91 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Democritus and Anaxagoras, cf. Arist., *Meteor.* I, 1; opposed by Sen. *Nat., Quaest.* vii. 7.

¹⁰⁹ The view of Aristotle and the Peripatetics; cometa is from coma (Greek κομη), "hair." This opinion, which is nearest the truth, is attributed by Aristotle and Plutarch to Pythagoras.

¹¹⁰ I.e. their appearance and disappearance.

¹¹¹ Cf. xiv. 8, 3.

¹¹² See 9, 12, above. According to Zonaras and others, Julian's body was later taken to Constantinople.

¹¹³ Cf. Curt. iii. 4, 8.

¹¹⁴ They had been sent to Illyricum and Gaul; see 8, 8, above.

¹¹⁵ Of general of the cavalry; see 8, 11, above.

¹¹⁶ There were many military *scholae* (see Index II., vol. i. s.v., and cf. xiv. 7, 9); *capita* is a general term for the various officers commanding them; cf. *capita contubernii*, Veget. ii. 8 and 13.

¹¹⁷ Previous emperors had had their sons or Caesars declared by the Senate to be of sufficient age for office. This is the first instance of the choice of a minor.

¹¹⁸ Sozomenus, vi. 6, Orosius, vii. 31. Zonaras, xiii. 14, D, A, gives the coal gas as the cause. The latter adds that he had drunk to excess and (as some said) was given a poisoned sponge; Chrysostom, *Homilia*, xv., says directly that he was poisoned. Ammianus, by his reference to Aemilianus, seems to imply that he was strangled; cf. Cic., *Pro Milone*, 7, 16; *Ad Fam.* ix. 21, 3.

¹¹⁹ Having reigned 8 months.

¹²⁰ Livy, Epit. lix.; Val. Max. iv. 1, 12, 3; viii. 15, 4.

¹²¹ At Antioch he annulled Julian's edicts against Christianity.

¹²² The *trabea* was a white toga, with horizontal stripes of purple. It was worn by the early Roman kings and by the consuls on ceremonial occasions. The usual dress of the consul was the *toga praetexta*.

BOOK XXVI

Valentinianus, tribune of the second division of the targeteers, by general consent of the civil and military officials, is chosen emperor at Nicaea in his absence. And on the principle of the bisextile year.

Having narrated the course of events with the strictest care up to the bounds of the present epoch, I had already determined to withdraw my foot from the more familiar tracks, partly to avoid the dangers which are often connected with the truth, and partly to escape unreasonable critics of the work which I am composing, who cry out as if wronged, if one has failed to mention what an emperor said at table, or left out the reason why the common soldiers were led before the standards for punishment, or because in an ample account of regions he ought not to have been silent about some insignificant forts; also because the names of all who came together to pay their respects to the city-praetor ¹ were not given, and many similar matters, which are not in accordance with the principles of history; for it is wont to detail the high lights of events, not to ferret out the trifling details of unimportant matters. For whoever wishes to know these may hope to be able to count the small indivisible bodies which fly through space, and to which we give the name of atoms. [2] This is what some of the writers of old feared, who during their lifetime set down their knowledge of various historical events with eloquent pen, but did not publish them while they lived: as also Cicero, a witness worthy of respect, declares in a letter to Cornelius Nepos. ² Accordingly, disregarding the ignorance of the vulgar, let us hasten to continue our narrative.

[3] So this ferocity of changeable circumstances came to a lamentable end after the death of three emperors ³ at short intervals; and the body of the deceased prince was embalmed and sent to Constantinople, to be laid to rest among the remains of the Augusti. But the army marched on towards Nicaea, which is the metropolis of the Bithynian cities; and the principal civil and military leaders, busied with important cares for the general welfare, and some of them puffed up with vain hopes, were looking about for a ruler who had long been proved and possessed dignity.

[4] And rumour, in the obscure whispers of a few, touched on the name of Aequitius, who was at that time tribune of the first division of the targeteers, but he did not find favour in the judgement of the more important authorities, because he was rude and somewhat boorish. Then fickle favour was transferred to Januarius, a relative of Jovian, who had charge of the commissary department in Illyricum. [5] He also was rejected because he was living far away, and under the inspiration of the powers of heaven Valentinian was chosen without a dissenting voice, as being fully up to the requirements and suitable; he was commander of the second division of the targeteers, and

had been left behind at Ancyra, to follow later according to orders. And as it was agreed without contradiction that this was to the advantage of the state, envoys were sent to urge him to hasten his coming; but for ten days no one held the helm of the empire, which the soothsayer Marcus, on inspection of the entrails at Rome, had declared to have happened at that time.⁴

[6] Meanwhile, however, to prevent any interference with the decision that had been made, and to keep the fickle temper of the soldiers, who are always ready for a change, from turning towards someone who was on the spot, Aequitius made earnest efforts, and with him Leo; the latter was still holding the office of military paymaster under Dagalaifus, commander of the cavalry, and later played a deadly part as chief-marshal of the court. Both endeavoured, so far as their efforts could prevail, being Pannonians⁵ and adherents of the emperor elect, to maintain the decision which the whole army had made.

[7] When the emperor arrived in answer to the summons, informed either by presentiments about the task he must fulfil (as was given to be understood) or by repeated dreams, he did not let himself be seen next day, nor would he appear in public, avoiding the bisextile⁶ day of the month of February, which dawned at that time and (as he had heard) had sometimes been unlucky for the Roman state. Of this day I will give a clear explanation.

[8] The extent of the revolving year is completed, according to the calculations of men of old who were versed in the movements of the universe and the stars, of whom the most eminent are Meton, Euctemon, Hipparchus, and Archimedes, when the sun, in accordance with the eternal law of the heavenly bodies, has traversed the signs of the heaven which in Greek are called ζῳδιακός, the zodiac, and after the course of 365 days and nights returns to the same turning-point; that is (for instance) when it has started from the second degree of the Ram and after completing its course has returned to the same place. [9] But the true length of a year ends, in the said 365 days and six hours besides, at high noon, and the first day of the next year will extend from the end of the sixth hour to evening. The third year begins with the first watch and ends with the sixth hour of the night. The fourth goes on from midnight until broad daylight. [10] Therefore, in order that this computation because of the variations in the beginning of the year (since one year commences after the sixth hour of the day and another after the sixth hour of the night) may not confuse all science by a disorderly diversity, and an autumnal month may not sometimes be found to be in the spring,⁷ it was decided to combine those series of six hours, which in four years amounted to twenty-four, into one day and an added night. [11] And after deep consideration, by the agreement of many learned men it was arranged that the completion of the year's course has a single definite end, and is neither changeable nor uncertain; so that the reckoning of the sun's course no longer appears beclouded by any error, and the months retain their appointed seasons. [12] The Romans were long ignorant of all this, since their realm was

not yet widely extended, and for many centuries they were involved in obscure difficulties; and they wandered in still deeper darkness of error when they gave over the power of intercalation to the priests, who lawlessly served the advantage of tax-collectors or of parties in litigation by arbitrarily subtracting or adding days. [13] From this beginning many other errors arose, which I think it superfluous to mention here. These were done away with by Octavianus Augustus ⁸ who, following the Greeks, corrected the confusion and brought order into this inconsistency by adopting after great deliberation the arrangement of twelve months and six hours, during which the sun in its eternal course through the twelve signs completes a whole year. [14] This reason for the “bisextile year” ⁹ Rome, which will live even through the centuries, with the aid of the divine power approved and firmly established. Now let us go on to the rest of our narrative.

When Valentinian, on being summoned from Ancyra had quickly come to Nicaea, he was again chosen emperor by the unanimous voice of all. Wearing the purple robe and a diadem, and hailed as Augustus, he addressed the soldiers.

When the day unfavourable (as some think) for beginning great enterprises had passed, just as evening was coming on, at the motion of the prefect Salutius it was promptly and unanimously decided that, under penalty of death, no one who held high authority, or had been suspected of aiming at a higher station, should appear in public on the following morning. [2] And when to the chagrin of many, tormented by their vain hopes, the night ended and day at last appeared, the whole army was assembled. Then Valentinian appeared on the plain, was allowed to mount a tribunal raised on high and after the custom of elections was chosen by the favourable votes of all present as a man of serious purpose, to be the ruler of the empire. [3] Then, wearing the imperial robes and a coronet, with all the praises which the charm of novelty could call forth he was hailed as Augustus, and was already getting ready to make the speech he had prepared. But as he bared his arm, in order to speak more conveniently, a threatening murmur arose, as the centuries and maniples made a loud noise and all the common maniples clashed their shields and all the common soldiers persistently urged that a second emperor should at once be named. [4] But although some thought that a few had been bribed to do this, in favour of those who had been passed over, yet such a suspicion seemed to have no ground, for the reason that the shouts which were heard were not purchased, but came unanimously as an expression of the wish of the whole throng, since from a recent example ¹⁰ they dreaded the frailty of lofty fortunes. Then the whispers of the uproarious army seemed likely to be succeeded by a violent outbreak, and men began to fear the recklessness of the soldiers, who sometimes break out in deeds of violence. [5] Since Valentinian more than all others feared lest this should happen, quickly raising his hand,

with the authority of an emperor who was full of confidence, he had the courage to upbraid some of them as rebellious and intractable. Then, without further interruption, he delivered the speech which he had prepared: —

[6] “I rejoice, brave defenders of our provinces, and I maintain and always shall maintain that it is your services that have bestowed on me, rather than another, the rule of the Roman world, which I neither hoped for nor desired. [7] The task, then, which was placed in your hands before the ruler of the empire was chosen you carried out expediently and gloriously, by raising to the pinnacle of honours one whom from his earliest youth until the present prime of life you know by experience to have lived with distinction and uprightness. Therefore, I beg of you, listen with friendly ears while I tell you in simple words what I think is best for the common welfare. [8] That to meet all chances necessity demands the choice of a colleague with equal powers, at the demands of much varied reasoning I neither doubt nor dispute, since I myself also, as a man, fear masses of cares and varied changes of circumstances. But with all our strength we must strive for harmony, through which even the weakest states grow strong; and this will easily be attained, if your calmness combined with fairness willingly allows me what belongs to my position. [9] For Fortune (I hope) which aids good purposes, so far as I can accomplish this and effect it, will give me after careful search a man of sober character. ¹¹ For as the philosophers teach us, not only in royal power, where the greatest and most numerous dangers are found, but also in the relations of private and everyday life, a stranger ought to be admitted to friendship by a prudent man only after he has first tested him; not tested after he has been admitted to friendship. [10] This I promise you with the hope of a happier future. Do you, while the winter rest allows, retain your firmness and loyalty of conduct and refresh your strength of spirit and body: then be sure that you will receive without delay what is your due ¹² because of your imperial nomination of myself.

[11] Having finished his address, to which his unexpected assumption of authority had given greater weight, the emperor gained the favour of the soldier received five *aurei*. The custom was finally abolished by Justinian. whole assembly; and even those who shortly before were with excited cries making another demand followed his advice and escorted him to the imperial quarters, surrounded by eagles and standards, with a splendid retinue of various ranks, and already an object of fear.

On the city prefecture of Apronianus at Rome.

While the changing lots of the fates were unfolding these events in the Orient, Apronianus, prefect of the eternal city, a just and strict official, among urgent cares with which that office is often burdened, made it his first main effort that the sorcerers, who at that time were becoming few in number, should be arrested, and that those who, after having been put to the question, were clearly convicted of having harmed anybody, after naming their accomplices,

should be punished with death; and that thus through the danger to a few, the remainder, if any were still in concealment, might be driven away through dread of a similar fate. [2] In this work he is said to have shown special activity for the following reason, namely, that after his appointment by authority of Julian, when he was still living in Syria, he had lost one eye on the way, and suspecting that he had been attacked by wicked arts, with justifiable but extraordinary resentment he tracked out these and other crimes with great energy. In this he seemed cruel to some because more than once during the races in the ampitheatre, while throngs of people were crowding in, he investigated the greatest crimes. ¹³ [3] Finally, after many punishments of the kind, a charioteer ¹⁴ called Hilarinus was convicted on his own confession of having entrusted his son, who had barely reached the age of puberty, to a mixer of poisons to be instructed in certain secret practices forbidden by law, in order to use his help at home without other witnesses; and he was condemned to death. But since the executioner was lax in guarding him, the man suddenly escaped and took refuge in a chapel of the Christian sect; however, he was at once dragged from there and beheaded. [4] But efforts were still made to check these and similar offences, and none, or at any rate very few, who were engaged in such abominations defied the public diligence. But later, long-continued impunity nourished these monstrous offences, and lawlessness went so far that a certain senator followed the example of Hilarinus, and was convicted of having apprenticed a slave of his almost by a written contract to a teacher of evil practices to be initiated into criminal secrets; but he bought escape from the death penalty, as current gossip asserted, for a large sum of money. [5] And this very man, after being freed in the manner alleged, although he ought to be ashamed of his life and his offence, has made no effort to get rid of the stain on his character, but as if among many wicked men he alone was free from any fault, mounts a caparisoned horse and rides over the pavements, and even now is followed by great bands of slaves, by a new kind of distinction aiming to draw special attention to himself. Just as we hear of Duillius of old, that after that glorious sea-fight, he assumed the privilege, when he returned home after a dinner, of having a flute-player play soft music before him. ¹⁵

[6] However, under this Apronianus there was such a constant abundance of all necessary articles of food, that there never arose even the slightest murmur about a scarcity of victuals — a thing which constantly happens in Rome.

Valentinian appoints his brother Valens tribune of the stable at Nicomedia; then in the Hebdomum ¹⁶ at Constantinople, with the consent of the army, he takes him as colleague in the imperial power.

Now Valentinian was chosen emperor in Bithynia (as we have said before). He gave the signal for the march for the next day but one, and assembling the chief civil and military officials, as if ready to follow safe and sound advice

rather than his own inclination, inquired who ought to be chosen as partner in the rule. When all the rest were silent, Dagalaifus, at that time commander of the cavalry, boldly answered: "If you love your relatives, most excellent emperor, you have a brother; if it is the state that you love, seek out another man to clothe with the purple." [2] The emperor, angered by this, but keeping silence and concealing his thoughts, forcing the pace, entered Nicomedia on the first of March, and appointed his brother Valens chief of his stable with the rank of tribune. [3] Then, on his arrival in Constantinople, after much counsel with himself, considering that he was already unequal to the amount of pressing business and believing that there was no room for delay, on the twenty-eighth of March he brought the aforesaid Valens into one of the suburbs ¹⁷ and with the consent of all (for no one ventured to oppose) proclaimed him Augustus. Then he adorned him with the imperial insignia and put a diadem on his head, and brought him back in his own carriage, thus having indeed a lawful partner in his power, but, as the further course of our narrative will show, one who was as compliant as a subordinate.

[4] No sooner were these arrangements perfected without disturbance than both emperors were seized with violent and lingering fevers; but as soon as their hope of life was assured, being more successful in investigating various matters than in settling them, they commissioned Ursatius, the chief-marshal of the court, a rough Dalmatian, and Viventius of Siscia, ¹⁸ who was then quaestor, to make a strict investigation of what they suspected to be the cause of these diseases. Persistent rumour had it, that their purpose was, by asserting that they had been harmed by secret sorcery, to rouse hatred of the memory of the emperor Julian and his friends. But this charge was easily shown to have nothing in it, since no evidence of such plots was found, even in a single word. ¹⁹

[5] At this time, as if trumpets were sounding the war-note throughout the whole Roman world, the most savage peoples roused themselves and poured across the nearest frontiers. At the same time the Alamanni were devastating Gaul and Raetia, the Sarmatae and Quadi Pannonia, while the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti ²⁰ were harassing the Britons with constant disasters. The Austoriani and other Moorish tribes raided Africa more fiercely than ever and predatory bands of Goths were plundering Thrace and Pannonia. [6] The king of the Persians was laying hands on Armenia, hastening with mighty efforts to bring that country again under his sway, under the false pretext that after the death of Jovian, with whom he had concluded a treaty of peace, nothing ought to prevent his recovery of what he claimed had formerly belonged to his forefathers.

The two emperors share the generals and the army between them, and shortly afterward, the one at Mediolanum and the other at Constantinople, enter on their first consulship. The Alamanni devastate Gaul; Procopius attempts a revolution in the Orient.

So, then, the emperors spent the winter quietly in perfect harmony, the one eminent through the choice that had fallen upon him, the other joined with him in the office, but only in appearance. After hastening through Thrace, they came to Naessus,²¹ where in a suburb called Mediana, distant three miles from the city, they shared the generals between them in view of their coming separation. [2] To Valentinian, in accordance with whose wish the matter was settled, fell Jovinus, who had previously been promoted by Julian to be commander of the cavalry²² in Gaul, and Dagalaifus, whom Jovian had raised to the same rank. But it was arranged that Victor, who had also been promoted by the decision of the aforesaid emperor, should follow Valens to the Orient, and with him Arintheus was associated. For Lupicinus, who also had formerly been made commander of the cavalry by Jovian, was already in charge of the eastern provinces. [3] At the same time Aequitius,²³ who was not yet a commander-in-chief,²⁴ but only a count, was put in charge of the army in Illyricum, and Serenianus, who some time before had been retired from service, being a Pannonian²⁵ girded on his sword and was joined with Valens in command of a part of the bodyguard. After matters had been thus arranged, the troops also were divided between the two emperors.

[4] And when after this the two brothers had entered Sirmium, after sharing the places of residence according to the wishes of the superior, Valentinian went off to Mediolanum, Valens to Constantinople. [5] The Orient was governed by Salutius with the rank of prefect, Italy with Africa and Illyricum by Mamertinus, and the Gallic provinces by Germanianus. [6] Living therefore in the cities named, the emperors for the first time assumed the consular robes; and this whole year brought heavy losses to the Roman state. [7] For the Alamanni broke through the frontiers of Germany, being unusually hostile for the following reason: when their envoys had been sent to the headquarters, in order as usual to receive the regular appointed gifts, smaller and cheaper ones were given them, which they received with indignation and threw away as unworthy of them. And being roughly treated by Ursatius, who was then court-marshal, a hot-tempered and cruel man, they returned home, and exaggerating what had happened, aroused the savage peoples, on the ground that they had been grievously insulted.

[8] And about that time, or not much later, in the Orient Procopius had started a revolution. This and the Alamannic revolt were reported to Valentinian on one and the same day about the first of November as he was on his way to Paris.

[9] Then Valentinian ordered Dagalaifus to go in haste to meet the Alamanni, who after devastating places near the frontier had withdrawn to a distance without the loss of a man. But as to checking the attempt of Procopius before it became ripe, he was distracted by doubt and anxiety, being especially troubled because he did not know whether Valens was alive or whether his death had led Procopius to aspire to the throne. [10] For

Aequitius knew of the matter only from the report of the tribune Antonius, who commanded the soldiers in central Dacia and gave a vague account of the affair from that which he himself had heard; and Aequitius himself had not yet heard anything trustworthy, and so merely reported the circumstance to the emperor in simple words. [11] Upon hearing the news, Valentinian, after raising the said Aequitius to the rank of a commander-in- chief, ²⁶ decided to go back to Illyricum, lest the rebel after rushing through Thrace and being already formidable should invade Pannonia with a hostile army. For he was greatly alarmed by a recent example, recalling that Julian a short time before, making light of an emperor ²⁷ who had been victor in all civil wars, contrary to all hope and expectation had passed with incredible speed from city to city. [12] But his eager longing to return was modified by the advice of his confidential friends, who advised, nay begged him, not to give up Gaul to the savages who threatened destruction, and not under that pretext to abandon provinces which needed strong support. These were supported by deputations from famous cities, who begged that he should not leave unprotected in such hard and doubtful times cities which by his presence he could save from the greatest dangers, since the glory of his name would strike fear into the Germans. [13] At last, after giving careful thought to what was expedient, he followed the view of the majority, often repeating that Procopius was only his own and his brother's enemy, but the Alamanni were enemies of the whole Roman world; and so he resolved for the present nowhere to leave the boundaries of Gaul. [14] And having returned as far as Rheims, and feeling anxious about Africa, for fear that it might suddenly be invaded, he decided that Neoterius, afterwards consul ²⁸ but at that time a secretary, should go to protect that province, and also Masaucio, an officer of the household troops, bearing in mind that, having had long training there under his father, the former Count Cretio, ²⁹ he knew all the suspected places; and he joined with them Gaudentius, an officer of the targeteers, a loyal man who long had been known to him.

[15] Because, then, at one and the same time lamentable storms arose on both sides, we shall set down the single events in their proper place, first giving an account of a part of what took place in the Orient, then of the wars with the savages: since most of the events both in the west and in the east took place in the same months; for I fear that by hastening to return from one place to another by leaps and bounds we might confuse everything and involve the course of events in the deepest darkness.

The native land, race, character and dignities of Procopius; his hiding-places under Jovian: and how he was proclaimed emperor at Constantinople.

Procopius was born in Cilicia ³⁰ of a distinguished family and correspondingly educated, and for the reason that he was related to Julian, ³¹ who was afterwards emperor, he was conspicuous from his first entry into a public position; and as he was somewhat strict in his life and character,

although retiring and silent, he served for a long time with distinction as state-secretary and tribune, and already had prospects of attaining the highest positions. But when after the death of Constantius he became through the change in the situation a relative of the emperor,³² he aimed higher and entered the order of counts; and it was evident that, if ever he had the opportunity, he would be a disturber of the public peace. [2] When Julian invaded Persia, he left Procopius in Mesopotamia, in association with Sebastianus, who was given the same rank, with a strong force of soldiers,³³ and ordered him (as rumour darkly whispered, for no one vouched for the truth of the report) to act in accordance with the conditions that arose, and if he learned that the Roman power in Persia was weakened, to take measures quickly to have himself named emperor. [3] Procopius followed these directions with moderation and prudence, but when he learned that Julian had been mortally wounded and died, and that Jovian had been raised to the rule of the empire, and that the false report was circulated that Julian had with the last breath of his failing life declared that it was his wish that Procopius should be entrusted with the helm of the state, he feared that on that account he might be put to death without a trial. Accordingly, he withdrew from public sight; and he was in special fear after the death of Jovianus, the chief of all the secretaries, because he had learned that after Julian's death Jovianus had been named by a few soldiers as worthy of imperial power, and that from that time on he had been suspected of rebellious designs and had suffered a cruel death.³⁴ [4] And because Procopius had learned that he was being tracked with extreme care, in order to avoid the weight of greater hatred he retreated to still more remote and secret places. Then hearing that Jovianus was diligently hunting for his hiding-places, and being already thoroughly wearied of living the life of a wild beast — for being cast down from a lofty station to a lower condition and confined to desert places, he actually suffered from hunger and was deprived of intercourse with mankind — under the compulsion of extreme necessity he came by round-about ways to the vicinity of Chalcedon. [5] There, since it seemed to him a safe refuge,³⁵ he hid himself with the most loyal of his friends, a certain Strategius, a soldier of the court guards who rose to be a senator, often going as secretly as possible to Constantinople, as was afterwards known from the testimony of that same Strategius when frequent investigations were held of the accomplices in the cabal. [6] And so, after the fashion of some clever spy, being unrecognizable because of his unkempt appearance and his leanness, he gathered the gossip, which was then becoming frequent, of many who, since men are always discontented with present conditions, were finding fault with Valens, as being inflamed with a desire of seizing the property of others. [7] To the emperor's cruelty deadly incentive was given by his father-in-law³⁶ Petronius, who from the command of the Martensian legion³⁷ had by a sudden jump been promoted to the rank of patrician.³⁸ He was a man ugly in spirit and in appearance, who, burning with an immoderate longing to strip everyone

without distinction, condemned guilty and innocent alike, after exquisite tortures, to fourfold indemnities, looking up debts going back to the time of the emperor Aurelian,³⁹ and grieving excessively if he was obliged to let any one escape unscathed. [8] Along with his intolerable character he had this additional incentive to his devastations, that while he was enriching himself through the woes of others, he was inexorable, cruel, savage and fearlessly hardhearted, never capable of giving or receiving reason, more hated than Cleander,⁴⁰ who, as we read, when prefect under the emperor Commodus, in his haughty madness had ruined the fortunes of many men; more oppressive than Plautianus,⁴¹ also a prefect under Severus, who with superhuman arrogance would have caused general confusion, if he had not perished by the avenging sword. [9] These lamentable occurrences, which under Valens, aided and abetted by Petronius, closed the houses of the poor and the palaces of the rich in great numbers, added to the fear of a still more dreadful future, sank deeply into the minds of the provincials and of the soldiers, who groaned under similar oppression, and with universal sighs everyone prayed (although darkly and in silence) for a change in the present condition of affairs with the help of the supreme deity.

[10] All this Procopius observed from his hiding- place, and thinking that when a more favourable turn of fortune should occur, the crown of supreme power could be gained with little trouble, he lay in wait like a beast of prey, ready to leap forth at once on seeing anything which he could seize. [11] And while he was burning with impatience to hasten his designs, fate offered him this most timely opportunity. For Valens at the end of winter hastened to Syria and had already crossed the frontier of Bithynia, when he learned from the reports of his generals that the Gothic tribes, at that time unassailed⁴² and therefore very savage, were conspiring together and making preparations to invade the Thracian provinces. On learning this, in order that he himself might reach his destination without hindrance, Valens ordered a sufficient reinforcement of cavalry and infantry to be sent to the places where inroads of the savages were feared. [12] And so, since the emperor was removed to a distance, Procopius, worn out by long-continued troubles, and thinking that even a cruel death would be more merciful than the evils by which he was tormented, hazarded at one cast all perils whatsoever; and without fear now of suffering the worst, led by a desperate resolve he essayed the bold deed of hastening to tempt the legions of Divitenses and the Younger Tungricani,⁴³ who had been ordered with other troops to hasten to the urgent service in Thrace, and as usual were to remain for two days in Constantinople.⁴⁴ This he did by hastening to appeal to certain acquaintances that he had among those same troops; but because it would be dangerous and difficult to speak with all, he confided in only a few. [13] These men, enticed by the hope of great rewards, promised under the sanctity of an oath that they would do everything that he wished, guaranteeing also the favour of their comrades, with whom they held an important place in giving advice, since they were the highest paid

⁴⁵ and the most deserving. ^[14] So, as had been agreed, as soon as the sun's rays illumined the day, the aforesaid Procopius, full of conflicting emotions, went to the Anastasian Baths, named for the sister of Constantine, ⁴⁶ where he knew that the legions had their quarters. There he learned from the confidants of his secrets that their whole number in a meeting by night had united in his support. Then, after a pledge of safety was willingly given him, he was received by the throng of venal soldiers and treated indeed with honour, although he seemed in a way to be held as a prisoner; for just as once before, after the death of Pertinax, the praetorians took up Julianus, ⁴⁷ when he was a bidder for the imperial power, so now also these troops, with an eye to every possible gain, defended Procopius, as he plotted to enter upon his ill-starred rule.

^[15] So there he stood rather wasted (you would think that he had come up from the lower world), and because a purple robe could nowhere be found, he was dressed in a gold-embroidered tunic, like an attendant at court, but from foot to waist he looked like a page in the service of the palace ⁴⁸ ; he wore purple shoes on his feet, and bore a lance, and a small piece of purple cloth in his left hand; just as sometimes on the stage you might think that a splendidly decorated figure was suddenly made to appear as the curtain was raised, or through some mimic deception. ⁴⁹ ^[16] Raised in a laughable manner to this dishonour of all honours, ⁵⁰ he addressed his supporters with servile flattery, and promised them ample riches and dignities as the first-fruits of his principate. Then he appeared in public, surrounded by a number of armed men, and now advancing with more confidence and with upraised standards, attended with a fearful din of shields mournfully clashing together, which the soldiers from fear of his being pelted from housetops with stones or pieces of tile held closely joined together over the very crests of their helmets.

^[17] And as he advanced more boldly, ⁵¹ the people neither opposed nor favoured him; nevertheless, they were aroused by the sudden charm of novelty which is inborn in most of the commons, and they were still more strongly moved because they one and all (as we have already said) hated Petronius, who was enriching himself by violence, and was reviving transactions that were long since buried, and debts of the misty past brought up again against all classes. ⁵² ^[18] Accordingly, when the said Procopius had mounted the tribunal, ⁵³ and all were filled with amazement, fearing the gloomy silence, and believing (as indeed he had expected) that he had merely come to a steeper road to death, since a trembling which pervaded all his limbs hindered his speaking, he stood for a long time without a word. Finally, he began with broken and dying utterance to say a little, justifying his action by his relationship with the imperial family; then at first by the low whispers of a few, who had been hired for the purpose, later by the tumultuous acclamations of the people, he was hailed as emperor in disorderly fashion, and hastily went on to the Senate House. There finding none of the distinguished senators, but only a few persons of low rank, with rapid steps he

hastened to the palace and entered it with ill-omened step.

[19] Certainly some may wonder that so laughable a reign, rashly and blindly begun, broke out into such lamentable disasters to the state, if perchance they are unacquainted with previous instances, and think that this happened for the first time. [20] It was thus that Andriscus of Adramytium,⁵⁴ a man born to the lowest condition, raised himself to the title of a Pseudophilippus and added to the Macedonian wars a third, full of danger. It was thus, when the emperor Macrinus was living at Antioch, that Heliogabalus Antoninus⁵⁵ burst forth from Emesa.⁵⁶ Thus, by the unexpected uprising of Maximinus, Alexander⁵⁷ was murdered with his mother Mamaea. Thus in Africa the elder Gordian was hurried to the throne, but when he found himself entangled in the terror of coming dangers, ended his life with the noose.⁵⁸

Procopius reduces Thrace under his power without bloodshed. By promises he gains the support of a division of cavalry and infantry, who were marching through Thrace, and by a speech he wins over the Jovii and Victores, who had been sent against him by Valens.

Thus the dealers in cheap dainties, the palace attendants, or those who had once been such, and former soldiers who had now retired to a more peaceful mode of life, a part unwillingly, others voluntarily, were induced to participate in the uncertainties of this unusual enterprise.⁵⁹ But some, thinking that anything was safer than the present condition, secretly left the city and went at rapid pace to the emperor's camp.

[2] All these were outstripped by the swift course of Sophronias, at that time a secretary and later city-prefect in Constantinople. He met Valens just as he was on the point of leaving Caesarea in Cappadocia, in order to go to his residence at Antioch, since the oppressive heat in Cilicia was already somewhat diminished, and after telling him what had happened, induced him, discouraged by this event and amazed, as was natural at such a crisis, to go to Galatia, in order to take hold of affairs while they were still unsettled.

[3] While Valens was hastening on by forced marches, Procopius with strictest attention was busy day and night, and brought forward certain emissaries, who with crafty assurance pretended that they had come, some from the Orient, others from Gaul, and falsely announced that Valentinian was dead and that everything was open to the new and beloved emperor. [4] And because attempts at revolution, even though audaciously begun, are sometimes wont to be strengthened by quick action, accordingly, that nothing might be neglected which could arouse fear, Nebridius, recently promoted to be praetorian prefect in place of Salutius by the party of Petronius, and Caesarius, prefect of the city of Constantinople, were thrown into chains. Phronimius⁶⁰ was ordered to take charge of the city with the usual powers,

and Euphrasius was made chief-marshal of the court; both were Gauls, distinguished for their training in the noble arts. The direction of military affairs was entrusted to Gomoarius and Agilo, who were recalled to service — being an unwise appointment, as the result of their treachery revealed. ^[6] ^[5] Therefore because it was feared that Count Julius, ^[6] who commanded the military forces in Thrace, if he should hear of the attempt, would march from the neighbouring posts to crush the rebels, an effective plan was devised. For a letter was extorted by violence from Nebridius, who was still in prison, in which it was pretended that by Valens' order Julius was to discuss serious measures relating to the disturbances among the barbarians; and so he was summoned to Constantinople and there held in strict confinement. Through this clever trick the warlike nations of Thrace were now won over without bloodshed, and this powerful support was gained by the rebellious venture. ^[6] After this had been effected with such happy success, Araxius by soliciting the favour of the court became praetorian prefect, under pretext that he was supported by his son-in-law Agilo; and many others were employed in various services at court or in administrative posts in the provinces, some against their will, others because they offered themselves and paid for the positions. ^[7] And as commonly happens in times of civil strife, some rose from the dregs of the people, led by desperation or by blind ambitions, while on the other hand some men of distinguished origin fell from their high estate even to death and exile.

^[8] When through these and like conditions the party seemed firmly established, it remained to muster a sufficient force of soldiers, and a thing which in public disturbances has often times hampered bold enterprises even when their origin was justified, was managed with ease. ^[9] For some divisions of cavalry and infantry which had been raised for the campaign in Thrace passed that way; they were received courteously and generously, and when they were all united in one body, ^[6] there was already the appearance of an army. Eager for the riches that were promised, they swore allegiance to Procopius with dire penalties for disloyalty, promising to stand by him and protect him with their lives. ^[10] There was found, besides, a very favourable means of winning them over, namely, that Procopius took in his arms the little daughter of Constantius, whose memory they honoured, and carried her about, claiming kinship with the former emperor. And he gained another timely advantage in that Faustina, the girl's mother, happened to be present when he had received some insignia forming a part of the imperial adornment. ^[11] Also he added another stroke which was to be hastened with swift energy; for certain men chosen for their foolhardy daring were sent to take possession of Illyricum; these set out relying on no other aid than their impudence, using for their purpose goldpieces bearing the image of the new emperor and trying other devices for enticement; but Aequitius, the military commander in those regions, seized them and put them to death in various ways. ^[12] Then, through fear of similar attempts, Aequitius blockaded the three narrow passes leading

to the northern provinces, one through Dacia Ripensis, ⁶⁴ a second, the best known, through Succia, ⁶⁵ the third through Macedonia, and called Acontisma. ⁶⁶ And in consequence of these prudent measures, the usurper of illegitimate power was disappointed in his vain hope of seizing Illyricum and lost a great source of material for the war.

[13] While these things were thus going on, Valens, shocked by the terrible news and already returning through Galatia, on hearing what had happened at Constantinople advanced with distrust and fear. His sudden terror made him unfit for all ways of precaution, and his spirit had sunk so low that he even thought of casting aside his imperial robes as a heavy burden; and he would actually have done so, had he not been kept by the remonstrances of his intimates from the shameful intention and given courage by the advice of better men; accordingly, he ordered two legions, named the Jovii and the Victores, to go on ahead and attack the rebels in their camp. [14] When these were already approaching, Procopius himself, having returned from Nicaea, to which place he had gone shortly before, with the Divitenses and a promiscuous rabble of deserters which he had got together in a brief space of time, hastened to Mygdus, a place laved by the river Sangarius. [15] There the legions were already advancing upon each other, ready for battle, when Procopius rushed alone between them, while they were exchanging volleys, as if he wished to challenge the enemy. And by a stroke of good fortune as if he recognised in the enemy's lines a certain Vitalianus — whether he actually knew him is a matter of doubt — he saluted him courteously in Latin, and called him forward in a friendly fashion. Then he held out his hand to him and kissed him, to the amazement of all on both sides, and cried out: [16] “So this is the old loyalty of Roman armies and their oaths bound by firm religious rites! Is this your pleasure, my brave men? All this mass of Roman swords uplifted for strangers! That a base Pannonian should shake and trample upon the world, to gain a throne which he never so much as dared to pray for, we groan over your wounds and ours! No, no — follow rather the house of your own royal line, one who has taken up arms with the greatest justice, not in order to seize what is another's, but to restore himself to the possession of his ancestral majesty.”

[17] Through these calm words, all the men who had come to fight hotly against him were pacified, and willingly went over to his side with the eagles and the tips of their standards lowered; and in place of terrible shouts that the barbarians call *barritus* ⁶⁷ he was hailed as emperor; all crowded about him in the customary manner, and in harmony escorted him back to the camp, swearing, in the soldiers' manner, by Jupiter that Procopius would be invincible.

After Nicaea and Chalcedon have been freed from siege, Bithynia is brought under the sway of Procopius, and later, by the taking of Cyzicus, Hellespontus also.

To this success of the rebels was added another still happier event. For a tribune called Rumitalca, who had been won over to the party of Procopius and given the charge of the palace, upon a carefully devised plan crossed the sea with his soldiers and came to the place formerly called Drepanum, now Helenopolis, ⁶⁸ and then with unexpected speed seized Nicaea. ^[2] To besiege this city Valens sent, besides others skilled in that kind of fighting, Vadomarius, a former general and king of the Alamanni, ⁶⁹ and went on himself to Nicomedia. Leaving that place, he carried on the siege of Chalcedon with great vigour, from the walls of which city insults were hurled at him and he was derisively addressed as Sabaiaarius. Now sabaia is a drink of the poorer people in Illyricum, a liquor made from barley or some other grain. ⁷⁰ ^[3] Finally, worn out by scarcity of supplies and the very obstinate resistance of the defenders, he was already pre-paring to depart, when those who had meanwhile been blockaded at Nicaea suddenly opened the gates and rushed out, and after slaying a great part of the besiegers, headed by their bold leader, Rumitalca, hastened eagerly on with the purpose of surrounding Valens from the rear; for he had not left the suburb of Chalcedon. And they would have been successful, if the emperor had not from an earlier rumour learned of the danger that threatened him, and by a hasty retreat by way of the Sunonian lake ⁷¹ and the many windings of the river Gallus ⁷² outwitted the enemy, who were close upon his heels in vain pursuit. And by this mischance Bithynia also fell into the power of Procopius.

^[4] When Valens had returned thence by rapid marches to Ancyra and learned that Lupicinus ⁷³ with a force not to be despised was drawing near from the Orient, his hopes for better success were aroused, and he sent his best general Arintheus ⁷⁴ to attack the enemy. ^[5] When Arintheus reached Dadastana, the station where, as we have said, ⁷⁵ Jovian died, he suddenly saw Hyperechius and his forces opposed to him; he had before been merely in charge of the commander's supplies (that is, a servant of his belly and gullet), but Procopius had entrusted him as a friend with the command of a band of auxiliaries. And scorning to overcome in battle so despicable a man, relying on his authority and his imposing stature, Arintheus ordered the enemy themselves to put their leader in irons; and thus this shadow of a commander was taken prisoner by the hands of his own men.

^[6] While affairs were proceeding in this way, a certain Venustus, an attendant on the state-treasury under Valens, who had been sent long before to Nicomedia, in order to distribute into the soldiers' hands the money that had been raised for the pay of those stationed in various parts of the Orient, hearing of this unfortunate occurrence, and seeing that the time was unfavourable for his task, quickly made his way to Cyzicus with the money he had received. ^[7] There he chanced to meet Serenianus, at that time commander of the household troops, who had been sent to protect the treasures there; and since the city had an impregnable circuit of walls, and was known because of

its old monuments, he tried to hold it, relying on the hastily formed garrison. Procopius had appointed a strong force to storm that city, in order to join Hellespontus to his side now he held Bithynia. [8] However, the success of the work was delayed because often whole masses of the besiegers were slain by arrows, slingshots, and other missiles, and through the skill of the garrison the entrance to the port had been barred by a very strong iron chain, which was fastened to the land on both sides, so that even the armoured ships of the enemy could not force their way in. [9] This chain, after various efforts of the soldiers and their leaders, who were exhausted by the hot fighting, was broken through by a tribune called Aliso, a distinguished and skilful warrior, in the following manner. He fastened together three boats and built upon them a protective covering after this fashion: in front stood armed men on the thwarts with their shields held close together over their heads, those behind them stooped down somewhat lower, and those in the third rank gradually lower still, so that, since the hindmost rested on their hams, the whole gave the appearance of an arched building. This kind of device, used in battles against walls, has this form in order that the volleys of missiles and rocks, gliding down the sloping side, may flow off like showers of rain. [10] Thus Aliso, defended for the time being from the volleys of missiles, being a man of great bodily strength, placed a block underneath and struck the chain heavy blows with an axe, breaking it in such a way that it fell apart and opened a broad entrance; and by this result the city was exposed unprotected to the enemy's attack. Because of this, when the ring-leader of the whole rebellion was later killed, and the members of his party were cruelly treated, this same tribune, being allowed to keep his life and his position in the army in view of his brilliant exploit, was slain long afterwards in Isauria at the hands of a predatory band.

[11] When Cyzicus had been opened to him by this martial stroke, Procopius quickly hastened to the city; he pardoned all who had opposed him, except Serenianus alone, who was by his order put in irons and taken to Nicaea to be closely guarded. [12] And immediately afterwards Ormisdas, a mature young man, son of the royal prince of the same name, ⁷⁶ was given the rank of proconsul, and therewith according to ancient usage the control of civil and military affairs. This man acted with great mildness, in accordance with his disposition, and when he was on the point of being seized by a sudden onset of the soldiers whom Valens had sent through by-paths of Phrygia, he made his escape with such vigorous courage, that he embarked on board a ship which he had got ready in case of danger, and carried off his wife safely amid volleys of arrows when she followed him and was all but taken prisoner; she was a rich and distinguished matron, whose high reputation and commendable firmness later saved her husband amid extreme dangers.

[13] By this victory Procopius was elated, beyond what is lawful for mortals, and forgetting that any happy man, if Fortune's wheel turns, may before evening become most wretched, he ordered the house of Arbitio, full of

priceless furniture, to be completely stripped. Hitherto he had spared it as if it were his own, believing that the man was on his side; but he had been incensed because he had summoned Arbitio several times to come to him and Arbitio had put him off, pleading the infirmities of age and illness. [14] And although for this reason the usurper feared serious consequences, nevertheless, since he could now boldly invade the oriental provinces without opposition, in fact even with the free consent of all — as those provinces were eager to see any change, from their dislike of the strict rule under which they were then held — for the purpose of winning over some cities of Asia and surrounding himself with men skilled in raising money (as likely to be helpful to him in the numerous great battles which he expected) he slothfully delayed and became blunt, just as a sharp sword might. [15] Exactly so formerly Pescennius Niger,⁷⁷ when often summoned by the Roman people to aid them in their expectation of extreme need, while he was delaying a long time in Syria, was defeated by Severus at the Issic Gulf (which is in Cilicia, where Alexander routed Darius), and driven from the field lost his life in a suburb of Antioch at the hands of a common soldier.

Procopius, deserted by his followers in Bithynia, Lycia, and Phrygia, and delivered alive to Valens, is beheaded.

This is what happened in the mid-winter of the consulship of Valentinian and Valens.⁷⁸ But when the highest magistracy passed to Gratianus,⁷⁹ who was as yet a private citizen, and to Dagalaifus, after the beginning of spring Valens called forth his troops and joining with him Lupicinus and a strong force of auxiliaries, he hastened to Pessinus,⁸⁰ formerly a town of Phrygia, now of Galatia. [2] Having safely garrisoned this place in order to suffer no surprise in those parts, he marched along the foot of the lofty mountain called Olympus,⁸¹ and over rocky paths, towards Lycia, planning to attack Gomoarius, while he loitered there half asleep,⁸² [3] But he was met with general and obstinate resistance, for this reason in particular — that his enemy (as has been mentioned) both on the march and when they were almost in battle array, carried about with him in a litter the little daughter⁸³ of Constantius, and her mother Faustina; and thereby had inflamed the passions of the soldiers to fight more bravely in defence of the imperial stock, with which he claimed that he himself was connected. Just so once the Macedonians, when on the point of engaging with the Illyrians, placed their king, who was still an infant, in his cradle behind the battle line, and from fear that he might be taken prisoner, beat down their adversaries with greater valour.⁸⁴

[4] Against this crafty device the emperor aided his wavering cause by a clever expedient; for he urged the ex-consul Arbitio, who had long been in retirement, to come to him, in order that respect due to one of Constantine's generals might calm the savage spirits of the rebels; and so it turned out. [5]

For Arbitio, who was older than the rest and of higher rank, showing to many who were inclined to rebellion his venerable gray hair, called Procopius a public brigand, while he pleaded with the soldiers who had followed the usurper's delusion as with his children and comrades in his former labours; and he begged them rather to obey him, as a parent who was known for his successful campaigns, than a profligate wretch who was already on the point of being deserted and was approaching his fall. [6] Gomoarius, on learning of this, might have eluded the enemy and returned safely whence he had come; but since the emperor's camp was conveniently near, he went over to it under pretext of being a prisoner, pretending that he had been surrounded by a throng of the enemy who had suddenly appeared.

[7] Fired with eagerness at this, Valens marched on to Phrygia, and the two sides had already joined battle near Nacolia, when Agilo at the critical point in the contest turned traitor by suddenly going over to the enemy; then many others followed him who were already brandishing their pikes and swords, and deserted to the emperor with their standards and with their shields reversed, which is the most evident sign of defection.

[8] By this sight, unexpected by all, Procopius was bereft of every aid to safety; so he took to flight and sought a hiding-place in the surrounding woods and mountains, followed by Florentius and the tribune Barchalba, who from the time of Constantius had gained fame in the fiercest wars, and had been led to treason by necessity, not by inclination. [9] The greater part of the night had passed. The moon, brightly shining from its evening rise until dawn, increased the fear of Procopius; and since on all sides the opportunity for escape was cut off and he was completely at a loss, he began, as is usual in extreme necessity, to rail at Fortune as cruel and oppressive; and so, overwhelmed as he was by many anxieties, he was suddenly tightly bound by his companions and at daybreak was taken to the camp and handed over to the emperor, silent and terror-stricken. He was at once beheaded, and so put an end to the rising storm of civil strife and war. His fate was like that of Perpenna⁸⁵ of old, who after killing Sertorius at table, for a short time was in possession of the rule, but was dragged from the thickets where he had hidden himself, brought before Pompey, and by his order put to death.

[10] In the same heat of resentment Florentius and Barchalba, who had brought Procopius in, were at once put to death without consideration of reason. For if they had betrayed a legitimate prince, even Justice herself would declare that they were justly executed; but if he whom they betrayed was a rebel and a disturber of the public peace, as he was said to be, they ought to have been given great rewards for a noteworthy deed.

[11] Procopius departed this life at the age of forty years and ten months. Personally he was a tall man and not bad looking; he was somewhat dark complexioned, and walked with his gaze always fixed on the ground. In his secretive and gloomy nature he was like that Crassus⁸⁶ who, as Lucilius and Cicero declare, laughed only once in his life; but the surprising thing is, that

throughout all his life he was not stained with bloodshed.

Marcellus, an officer of the Guard, a relative of Procopius, and many adherents of the usurper's party are executed.

At about the same time Marcellus, an officer of the guard and a relative of Procopius, commanding the garrison at Nicaea and learning of the betrayal of the usurper by the soldiers and his consequent death, at the fearful hour of midnight unexpectedly attacked Serenianus, who was imprisoned within the palace,⁸⁷ and killed him; and his death saved the lives of many. [2] For if this man of rude nature, burning with a cruel desire to hurt, had survived the victory, being dear to Valens because of their likeness of character and their common fatherland, and well aware of the secret wishes of a prince inclined to cruelty, he would have caused the death of many innocent people.

[3] After killing Serenianus, Marcellus quickly got possession of Chalcedon, and, supported by the cheers of a few, whom their worthlessness and desperation drove to crime, seized the shadow of a fatal principate. He was deceived by two ideas, first because the kings of the Goths, who had now been conciliated, had sent three thousand men⁸⁸ to the aid of Procopius, led by his show of relationship to Constantius, and Marcellus thought that these men could for a small sum be brought over to his side; and secondly, because he had not yet learned what had happened in Illyricum.

[4] In the midst of this great confusion Aequitius, who had learned from trustworthy sources that the whole burden of the war had been transferred to Asia, marched through the pass of Succia and with all his might tried to open Philippopolis, formerly Eumolpias,⁸⁹ which had been closed by the enemy's garrison; for that city was very favourably situated and, if left in his rear, could hinder his attempt, if he should be compelled to hasten to Haemimontus⁹⁰ in order to bring reinforcements to Valens; for he had not yet learned what had happened at Nacolia.⁹¹ [5] But learning a little later of the vain presumption of Marcellus, he at once sent bold and active soldiers who seized him and imprisoned him as a guilty slave. A few days later the usurper was brought out, his body was soundly scourged, and after his accomplices had been similarly treated, he was put to death: a man who deserves credit only for making away with Serenianus, who was cruel as Phalaris, and loyal to Procopius because of the accursed science which for vain reasons he pretended to have.⁹²

[6] Through the death of the leader⁹³ the horrors of war were rooted out; but many were punished more severely than their errors or faults demanded, especially the defenders of Philippopolis, who surrendered the city and themselves most reluctantly, and only when they saw the head of Procopius, which was being taken to Gaul. [7] Some, however, through the influence of those who interceded for them, were treated more leniently, among them notably Araxius, who in the very heat of the conflagration had solicited and

gained the prefecture; ⁹⁴ he, through the intercession of his son-in-law Agilo, was deported to an island, but soon afterwards made his escape. ^[8] Euphrasius, however, and also Phronimius were sent to the west and left to the decision of Valentinian. ⁹⁵ Euphrasius was pardoned, but Phronimius was banished to the Chersonesus, ⁹⁶ receiving a severer punishment for the same offence because he had been well regarded by the deified Julian, whose noteworthy merits both the imperial brothers ⁹⁷ depreciated, without being his equal or anywhere near it.

^[9] To these events were added other more serious matters, far more to be feared than those of wartime. For executioner, instruments of torture, and bloody inquisitions raged without any distinction of age or of rank through all classes and orders, and under the mantle of peace ⁹⁸ abominable robbery was carried on, while all cursed the ill-omened victory, which was worse than any war, however destructive. ^[10] For amid arms and clarions, equality of condition makes dangers lighter; the force of martial valour either destroys what it attacks, or ennobles it; and death (if it comes) is attended with no sense of shame and brings with it at once an end of life and of suffering. But when the laws and statutes are pretexts for impious designs, and judges take their seats in false imitation of the character of a Cato or a Cassius, ⁹⁹ but everything is decided according to the will of men of swollen powers, and by their caprice the question of the life or death of all those who come before them is weighed, then, destruction results that is deadly and sudden. ^[11] For when any one at that time had become powerful for any reason, and having almost royal authority and being consumed with longing to seize the goods of others, accused some clearly guiltless person, he was welcomed as an intimate and loyal friend, ¹⁰⁰ who was to be enriched by the ruin of other men. ^[12] For the emperor, rather inclined himself to do injury, lent his ear to accusers, listened to death-dealing denunciations, and took unbridled joy in various kinds of executions; unaware of that saying of Cicero's which asserts that those are unlucky who think that they have power to do anything they wish. ^[13] This implacability in a cause which was most just, but where victory brought shame, ¹⁰¹ delivered many innocent victims to the torturers, either placing them on the rack until they were bowed down ¹⁰² or exposing them to the sword-stroke of a cruel executioner. It would have been better for them (if nature allowed it), to lose even ten lives in battle, rather than though free from all blame, with lacerated sides, amid general groans to suffer punishment for alleged treason, with their bodies first mutilated, a thing which is more awful than any death. ^[14] When finally ferocity was overcome by the grief that it caused, and had burnt itself out, the most distinguished men suffered proscription, exile, and other punishments which seem lighter to some, terrible though they are; and in order that another might be enriched, a man of noble birth and perhaps richer in deserts was deprived of his patrimony and driven headlong into banishment, there to waste away from sorrow, or to support his life by beggary; and no limit was set to the deadly cruelties, until

the emperor and his nearest friends were glutted with wealth and bloodshed.

[15] While that usurper ¹⁰³ of whose many deeds and his death we have told, still survived, on the twenty-first of July in the first consulship of Valentinian with his brother, ¹⁰⁴ horrible phenomena suddenly spread through the entire extent of the world, such as are related to us neither in fable nor in truthful history. [16] For a little after daybreak, preceded by heavy and repeated thunder and lightning, the whole of the firm and solid earth was shaken and trembled, the sea with its rolling waves was driven back and withdrew from the land, so that in the abyss of the deep thus revealed men saw many kinds of sea-creatures stuck fast in the slime; and vast mountains and deep valleys, which Nature, the creator, had hidden in the unplumbed depths, then, as one might well believe, first saw the beams of the sun. [17] Hence, many ships were stranded as if on dry land, and since many men roamed about without fear in the little that remained of the waters, to gather fish and similar things ¹⁰⁵ with their hands, the roaring sea, resenting, as it were, this forced retreat, rose in its turn; and over the boiling shoals it dashed mightily upon islands and broad stretches of the mainland, and levelled innumerable buildings in the cities and wherever else they were found; so that amid the mad discord of the elements the altered face of the earth revealed marvellous sights. [18] For the great mass of waters, returning when it was least expected, killed many thousands of men by drowning; and by the swift recoil of the eddying tides a number of ships, after the swelling of the wet element subsided, were seen to have foundered, and the lifeless bodies of shipwrecked persons lay floating on their backs or on their faces. ¹⁰⁶ [19] Other great ships, driven by the mad blasts, landed on the tops of buildings (as happened at Alexandria), and some were driven almost two miles inland, like a Laconian ship which I myself in passing that way saw near the town of Mothone, ¹⁰⁷ yawning ¹⁰⁸ apart through long decay.

NOTES.

¹ On the first of January, when he entered upon his office; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* i. 5, 11, *ipse me Regulus convenit in praetoris officio*; Spart., *Hadr.* 9, 7.

² The letter is not extant.

³ Constantius died in 361; Julian in 363; Jovian, Feb. 17, 364.

⁴ Cf. Gellius, xv. 18.

⁵ Hence, fellow-countrymen of Valentinian.

⁶ Because, in Julius Caesar's reform, every fourth year Feb. 24 (*a.d. vi Kal. Mart.*) was counted twice as *a.d. bis vi Kal. Mart.*

⁷ To effect this it was necessary to add two months to the year 46 B.C.; see Suet., *Jul.* 40, 2.

⁸ Actually it was Julius Caesar; cf. Suet., *Jul.* 40; *Aug.* 31, 2; though Augustus corrected a misinterpretation of Caesar's scheme.

⁹ See note 2, ; *bisextile* is the correct spelling.

¹⁰ I.e. the sudden death of Jovian.

¹¹ As colleague in the imperial power.

¹² The emperors chosen by the soldiers, on entrance into power often gave them gifts (*donativa*). According to Dio, this was repeated every fifth and tenth year, and each

¹³ Cf. xv. 7, 2, of Leontius.

¹⁴ Such men used poison and magic against the horses of their rivals; cf. xxviii. 1, 27; 4, 25.

¹⁵ Val. Max. iii. 5, 4; Cic., *de Senec.* 13, 44.

¹⁶ A suburb of Constantinople (see § 3, below).

¹⁷ See note 2, ; it was called Hebdomum, and also Septimum, because it was distant seven miles from the city. Later, other emperors were proclaimed there.

¹⁸ In Pannonia.

¹⁹ According to Zosimus (xiii. 14, 15 f.), these designs were frustrated by the activity of the praetorian prefect Salutius.

²⁰ Cf. xxvii. 8, 5.

²¹ Cf. xxi. 10, 5.

²² ee xxi. 12, 2, and Introd., p. xxxiv, note 3.

²³ See xxvi. 1, 4.

²⁴ He was later made *magister armorum*; see § 11, below.

²⁵ Hence a fellow-countryman of Valentinian and Valens.

²⁶ lit. “of a magister”; here, *magister militum per Illyricum*; cf. xxvi. 7, 11. He had been a count; cf. § 3, above. He was consul with Gratian in 374.

²⁷ Constantius; cf. xiv. 10, 16; 11, 8.

²⁸ In 390.

²⁹ Cf. xxi. 7, 4.

³⁰ Cf. Zosimus, iv. 4-8.

³¹ He was his cousin on his mother’s side; she was a sister of Basilina, Julian’s mother.

³² I.e. Julian.

³³ Cf. xxiii. 3, 2.

³⁴ Cf. xxv. 8, 18.

³⁵ Probably because he thought that he would not be looked for in so important a city.

³⁶ The wife of Valens was Albia Dominica.

³⁷ Apparently so named from the Marteni, a people of Babylonia. On the *praepositi*, see vol. i., Index II.

³⁸ See Introd., vol. i, p. xxviii.

³⁹ He ruled from 270-275.

⁴⁰ See Dio, lxii. 12, 13; Lamprid., *Commodus*, 6, 7.

⁴¹ See Dio, lxxv. 14-16.

⁴² They had remained quiet since the time of Constantine the Great, but were aroused to anger by the appointment of two emperors of provincial birth

⁴³ Cf. xxvii. 1, 2.

⁴⁴ For rest and preparation for the campaign.

⁴⁵ A soldier’s pay differed in the various branches of the army, and was increased according to his years of service; cf. Veget. ii. 21.

⁴⁶ Anastasia, wife of Bassianus Caesar; according to Zosimus, v. 9, 3, these and the Carosian baths were named from the two daughters of Valens. The other was Carosa, apparently the wife of Procopius, Socrat. iv. 9; Sozom. vi. 9.

⁴⁷ I.e. Didius Julianus. The praetorians publicly announced that they would bestow the purple on the man who would pay the highest price. When Sulpicianus, prefect of the city, had promised 25,000 sesterces to each praetorian, Julianus offered 30,000 and won the prize.

⁴⁸ The *paedagogium* was the apartment where pages or slaves were trained for service; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 27, 13, and xxix. 3, 3, below.

⁴⁹ The language is far from clear, but the general meaning is that he resembled some grotesque actor in a stage-play or mime; Salvète (see Bibliogr. Note, vol. i.) seems to take it to be a figure painted on the curtain. In that case “through the curtain” would mean “by the curtain,” as it was raised at the end of a performance; cf. Virg., *Georg.* iii. 24 f., *vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque purpureas intexti tollant aulaea Britannii*. The curtain as it rises shows the figure a part at a time and the representation in a mime would be grotesque; Ammianus seems to have combined the two ideas. It is hard to see how *per aulaeum* can mean “behind the curtain,” as Büchele takes it, or that a figure on the stage could be seen through the curtain. Yonge omits *per aulaeum* altogether.

⁵⁰ One of Ammianus’ few word-plays; cf. Sail., *Hist.* i. 55, 22, Maur.; Gell. xii. 9, 3 ff.; Treb. Poll., *Claud.* 5, 4.

⁵¹ Val. takes *intimidus* as equivalent to *timidus*, comparing Vell. ii. 37, 2, *armis infractus*.

⁵² See § 7, above.

⁵³ It was opposite the palace near the Senate House.

⁵⁴ Cf. xiv. 11, 30.

⁵⁵ Cf. Lamprid., *Heliog.* i. 5, *Scr. Hist. Aug.* ii. , note, *L.C.L.*

⁵⁶ A city of Apamene, north of Coelesyria

⁵⁷ Alexander Severus; cf. Jul. Cap., *Max.* 7, 8; and Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.* 61.

⁵⁸ Capit., *Gord.* 16, 2; for his cenotaph, see xxiii. 5, 7, above.

⁵⁹ I.e. to join the new emperor.

⁶⁰ Cf. ch. 10.

⁶¹ Cf. 9, 6, 7, below.

⁶² Cf. xxxi. 16, 8.

⁶³ For this sense of *quaesitae in unum* cf. xxix. 1, 23, *quaesitus in unum impiorum hominum globus*, “a united body of these godless men”; also xv. 7, 7; xvii. 5, 2.

⁶⁴ Dacia was divided by the Danube into Dacia Ripensis on the south and Dacia Mediterranea on the north.

⁶⁵ Cf. xxi. 10, 2.

⁶⁶ Cf. xxvii. 4, 8.

⁶⁷ The battle-cry, or war-song, of the Gauls and Germans described in xvi. 12, 43; the word seems to be of Germanio origin, but was borrowed, with the battle-cry itself, by the Romans, xxi. 13, 15; xxxi. 7, 11, *quam, gentilitate, barri. turn vacant*.

⁶⁸ Named from the mother of Constantine the Great.

⁶⁹ Mentioned in xxi. 3, 5, as general in Phoenicia; cf. xxix. 1, 2.

⁷⁰ A kind of beer.

⁷¹ Near Nicomedia, mentioned by the geographer Ascanius.

⁷² The Gallus is in Phrygia, but nothing is known of its windings. There was, however, a river Drako at Helenopolis in Bithynia, which in a journey to Bithynia one had to cross twenty times.

⁷³ Appointed commander of the infantry (*magister militum*) by Jovian in the Orient, probably the man mentioned in xx. 1, 2; 4, 3, 9; 9, 9. He did good service against Procopius and was made consul in the following year.

⁷⁴ Cf. xxv. 5, 2; 7,

⁷⁵ Cf. xxv. 10, 12.

⁷⁶ See xvi. 10, 16; xxiv. 1, 2; etc. The text varies in the spelling.

⁷⁷ Cf. Herodian, iii. 4, 4 ff.

⁷⁸ In 365.

⁷⁹ Son of Valentinian; he was not yet seven years old.

⁸⁰ Cf. xxii. 9,

⁸¹ In Galatia.

⁸² Literally, "yawning"; for *oscitantem* in this sense, cf. xviii. 6, 8; Terence, *Andr.* 181; Cic., *De Nat. Deo.* i. 72.

⁸³ Cf. 7, 10. Faustina, also called Constantia Postuma, who married the emperor Gratianus and was daughter of another Faustina wife of Constantius II. The daughter was born after her father's death.

⁸⁴ Cf. Justin, vii. 2, 5 ff., who gives the infant king's name as Aëropus; see crit. note.

⁸⁵ Perperna is the better form; cf. Liv., *Epit.* 96; Vell. ii. 30, 1; Plutarch, *Sert.* 26, has Perpenna.

⁸⁶ M. Licinius Crassus; cf. Lucil. 1299, 1300, Marx; *Remains of Old Latin* (L.C.L.), III, ; Cic., *De Fin.* v. 30, 92.

⁸⁷ Cf. 8, 11.

⁸⁸ Zosimus, iv. 7, says 10,000.

⁸⁹ Cf. xxii. 2, 2.

⁹⁰ A place on Mt. Haemus.

⁹¹ See xxvi. 9, 7, above.

⁹² Ammianus apparently refers to magic and prophecy, to which Serenianus was given (cf. xiv. 7, 7, 8; 11, 23).

⁹³ Marcellus.

⁹⁴ Cf. 7, 6, above.

⁹⁵ They were Gauls; cf. 7, 4, above.

⁹⁶ The Tauric Chersonesus.

⁹⁷ Valentinian and Valens.

⁹⁸ Implying that in time of war the laws were suspended.

⁹⁹ See xxii. 9, 9, note; and cf. Cic. *In Verr.* ii. 3, 62, 146 *non quaero indices Cassianos, veterem iudiciorum severitatem non requiro.*

¹⁰⁰ Of the emperor. The text and exact meaning are uncertain, although the general sense is clear; *regio imperio prope accedens* can hardly mean "having access to the court," or "hastening to the court," as the vulgate reading *regiae prope accedens* did.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Cic., *De Off.* ii. 8, 27, of Julius Caesar, *ergo in illo secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria.*

¹⁰² With *sub eculeo locavit incurvos* cf. xxviii. 1, 19, *quamquam incurvus sub eculeo staret*. In both passages *sub eculeo* is to be taken with the adjective (*incurvos*), which is proleptic, meaning "under (the torture of) the rack." It cannot be taken *literally* with *locavit* and *staret*, since the *eculeus* was a wooden instrument shaped somewhat like a horse (*ecus, equus*) on which the victim was placed with weights on his feet. There he might also be flogged or tortured in other ways. Though commonly translated "rack," the *eculeuo* was not like the medieval rack.

¹⁰³ Procopius.

¹⁰⁴ 365.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. shells.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 77: *observatum est. . . virorum cadavera supina fluitare, feminarum prona, velut pudori defunctarum parcente natura.*

¹⁰⁷ Called Methone by Thucydides, ii. 25. It was in the southern part of Messenia. There was another Methone in Magnesia.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Virg., *Aen.* i. 123, *rimisque fatiscunt*.

BOOK XXVII

The Alamanni rout the Romans in battle and kill the generals Charietto and Severianus.

While throughout the Orient the changing ¹ course of events was developing as we have narrated, the Alamanni, after the sad losses and wounds which they had suffered from their frequent battles with Julianus Caesar, having at last renewed their strength (which yet did not equal its old vigour), and being an object of dread for the reasons which we have mentioned above, ² were already overleaping the frontiers of Gaul. And immediately after the first of January, while throughout those icebound regions the grim season of winter bristled, they hurried forth in divisions, ³ and, without restraint a host was ranging everywhere. [2] Charietto, ⁴ who was then commanding general throughout both Germanies, along with soldiers eager for war, set out to meet their first division, taking as a partner in the campaign Severianus, who was also a general, an aged and feeble man, who at Cabillona ⁵ commanded the Divitenses and Tungricani. ⁶ [3] Accordingly, when the force had been more closely united in one, and with the speed of haste they had built a bridge over a small stream, the Romans, on seeing the savages at a distance, assailed them with arrows and other light missiles, which the enemy vigorously returned throw for throw. [4] But when the forces came to close quarters and fought with drawn swords, our men's lines were broken by the foe's fiercer onset, and found no means either of resisting or of acting bravely. And when they Severianus, who had been thrown from his horse and pierced through by a missile, they were all terrified and put to flight. [5] Lastly Charietto himself, by boldly opposing his body and by reproachful words, held back his retreating men, and by confidence caused by his long stand, tried to wipe out shame and disgrace; but fell pierced by a fatal shaft. [6] After his death the standard of the Eruli and Batavians was taken, which the barbarians with insulting cries and dancing with joy frequently raised on high and displayed, until after hard struggles it was recovered.

Jovinus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, unexpectedly attacks two companies of the Alamanni and cuts them to pieces. He vanquishes a third part of the savages in a battle at Châlons-surMarne, where 6000 of the enemy were killed and 4000 wounded.

The news of this disaster was received with extreme grief, and Dagalaifus was sent from Paris to make good the defeat; but since he delayed for a long time under pretext that it was impossible for him to attack the barbarians while they were scattered over various places, he was recalled a little later in order to receive the consular insignia with Gratianus, ⁷ who was still a private

citizen. Then Jovinus, commander of the cavalry, was appointed to the task, and after being most thoroughly equipped and prepared, carefully guarding both wings of his army, he arrived near a place called Scarponna; ⁸ there he suddenly fell upon a great throng of the savages, took them by surprise before they could arm themselves, and in a short time utterly annihilated them. [2] Then he led on his soldiers, rejoicing in the glory of this bloodless victory, to destroy the second division of the enemy; and the glorious leader was advancing slowly, when he learned from a trustworthy scouting party, that after plundering the neighbouring farmhouses a predatory band was resting near the river. ⁹ On coming nearer, and being hidden in a valley concealed by a thick growth of trees, he saw that some were bathing, others were reddening their hair after their national custom, ¹⁰ and still others were drinking. [3] So taking advantage of this most favourable time, he suddenly gave the signal with the clarions and broke into the robbers' camp, while on the other hand the Germans, merely uttering boastfully vain threats and shouts, were pressed so hard by the victor that they could not gather up their arms, which were lying about here and there, nor form in line, nor rally for a stout resistance. Therefore most of them fell, run through by pikes and swords, except such as took to their heels and found shelter on the winding and narrow paths.

[4] His confidence now increased by this successful stroke, the result of both valour and good fortune, Jovinus led on his soldiers, sending ahead an efficient scouting party, and hastily advanced against the remaining third division; and when by a rapid march he came near Châlons, ¹¹ he found the enemy fully ready for battle. [5] Having measured off a stockade to suit the conditions, and refreshed his men with food and sleep, so far as time allowed, at the first coming of dawn he drew up his line of battle in the open plain; and he extended it with such skilful art, that the Romans, who were inferior in number (though equal in strength), by occupying a greater space appeared to be as numerous as the enemy. ¹² [6] And so, when the signal had been given by the trumpet and they began to engage at close quarters, the Germans stood amazed, terrified by the fearful sight of the gleaming standards. For a while their ardour was blunted, but they quickly recovered and prolonged the fighting to the end of the day; and our vigorously attacking soldiers would have gained the fruit of victory without loss, had not Balchobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard, a man by nature both boastful and cowardly, withdrawn in disorder at the approach of evening. And if the rest of the cohorts had followed his example and left the field, the affair would have come to such a sad ending that not one of our number could have survived to tell what had happened. [7] But the soldiers resisted with bold energy and courage, and were so superior in strength that they wounded 4000 of the enemy and killed 6000 more, while they themselves lost not more than 1200, and had only 200 wounded. [8] When therefore the battle was now broken off by the coming of night, and the wearied soldiers had recovered their strength, their distinguished general towards daybreak led forward his army in square

formation ¹³ ; and finding that the savages had slipped away under cover of darkness, free from worry about ambushes he followed them over the open and easy plains, trampling underfoot the dying, and the contracted bodies of those whom, since the severity of the cold had drawn their wounds together, the extreme pain had taken off. ^[9] Then, after advancing farther but returning on finding none of the enemy, he learned that the Ascarii ¹⁴ (whom he himself had sent by another route to plunder the tents of the Alamanni) had captured a king of the hostile army with a few of his followers, and had gibbeted him. Angered at this, he decided to punish the tribune who had ventured to take this action without consulting higher authority; and he would have condemned him to death, if it had not been clear from convincing evidence that the cruel deed had been committed through passion to which soldiers are prone. ¹⁵

^[10] When Jovinus returned to Paris after these brilliant victories, Valentinian went out joyfully to meet him, and shortly afterwards made him consul; ¹⁶ and, you may be sure it added to his great happiness that he had received at that same time the head of Procopius, sent to him by Valens. ^[11] Besides these battles, many others less worthy of mention were fought in various parts of Gaul, which it would be superfluous to describe, both because their results led to nothing worth while, and because it is not fitting to spin out a history with insignificant details.

Of the three prefects of the City, Symmachus, Lampadius, and Iuventius; ¹⁷ and of the contest under the last-named of Damasus and Ursinus for the Bishopric of Rome.

At this time or a little earlier ¹⁸ a new form of portent appeared in Annonarian Tuscany, ¹⁹ and how it would turn out even those who were skilled in interpreting prodigies were wholly at a loss to know. For in the town of Pistoria, ²⁰ at about the third hour of the day, in the sight of many persons, an ass mounted the tribunal and was heard to bray persistently, to the amazement both of all who were present and of those who heard of it from the reports of others; and no one could guess what was to come, until later the portended event came to pass. ^[2] For one Terentius, born in that city, a fellow of low origin and a baker by trade, by way of reward because he had brought Orfitus, an ex-prefect, into court on the charge of embezzlement, held the position of governor in that province. Emboldened ²¹ by this, he proceeded to stir up many disturbances, and being convicted of cheating in a matter of business with some ship-captains, ²² as was reported, he met death at the hands of the executioner when Claudius was city-prefect. ²³

^[3] However, long before this happened, Apronianus was succeeded by Symmachus, ²⁴ a man worthy to be classed among the conspicuous examples of learning and moderation, through whose efforts the sacred city enjoyed an unusual period of quiet and prosperity, and prides itself on a handsome bridge, ²⁵ which Symmachus himself, by the decision of our mighty emperors,

dedicated, and to the great joy of the citizens, who proved ungrateful, as the result most clearly showed. [4] For after some years had passed, they set fire to Symmachus' beautiful house in the Transtiberine district, spurred on by the fact that a common fellow among the plebeians had alleged, without any informant or witness, that the prefect had said that he would rather use his own wine for quenching lime-kilns ²⁶ than sell it at the price which the people hoped for.

[5] Symmachus was succeeded as prefect of the city by Lampadius, ²⁷ a former praetorian prefect, a man who took it very ill if even his manner of spitting was not praised, on the ground that he did that also with greater skill than anyone else; but yet he was sometimes strict and honest. [6] When this man, in his praetorship, gave magnificent games and made very rich largesses, being unable to endure the blustering of the commons, who often urged that many things should be given to those who were unworthy of them, ²⁸ in order to show his generosity and his contempt of the mob, he summoned some beggars from the Vatican ²⁹ and presented them with valuable gifts. [7] But of his vanity, not to digress too far, it will suffice to give this single instance, insignificant indeed, but something to be shunned by high officials. For through all quarters of the city which had been adorned at the expenses of various emperors, he had his own name inscribed, not as the restorer of old buildings, but as their founder. From this fault the emperor Trajan also is said to have suffered, and for that reason he was jestingly called "wall-wort." ³⁰

[8] As prefect, Lampadius was disturbed by frequent outbreaks, the greatest of all being when a mob, composed of the dregs of the populace, by throwing fire-brands and fire-darts upon his house near the Baths of Constantine would have burned it, had not his friends and neighbours quickly rushed to the spot and driven them off by pelting them with stones and tiles from the house-tops. [9] He himself, terrified by such violence in the first stages of a growing tumult, fled to the Mulvian bridge ³¹ — which the elder Scaurus ³² is said to have built — as though to wait there for the cessation of the tumult, which a serious cause had aroused. [10] For when preparing to erect new buildings or restoring old ones, he did not order materials to be obtained from the usual taxes, ³³ but if there was need of iron, lead, bronze, or anything of the kind, attendants were set on, in order that they might, under pretence of buying the various articles, seize them without paying anything. In consequence, he was barely able by swift flight to avoid the anger of the incensed poor, who had repeated losses to lament.

[11] As his successor came Viventius, a former ³⁴ court-chancellor, a just and prudent man of Pannonia, whose administration was quiet and mild, and rich in an abundance of everything. But he, too, was alarmed by sanguinary outbreaks of the factions of the people, which were caused by the following affair. [12] Damasus and Ursinus, burning with a superhuman desire of seizing the bishopric, engaged in bitter strife because of their opposing interests; and the supporters of both parties went even so far as conflicts ending in

bloodshed and death. Since Viventius was able neither to end nor to diminish this strife, he was compelled to yield to its great violence, and retired to the suburbs. [13] And in the struggle Damasus was victorious through the efforts of the party which favoured him. It is a well-known fact that in the basilica of Sicininus,³⁵ where the assembly of the Christian sect is held, in a single day a hundred and thirty-seven corpses of the slain were found, and that it was only with difficulty that the long-continued frenzy of the people was afterwards quieted.

[14] Bearing in mind the ostentation in city life, I do not deny that those who are desirous of such a thing ought to struggle with the exercise of all their strength to gain what they seek; for when they attain it, they will be so free from care that they are enriched from the offerings of matrons, ride seated in carriages, wearing clothing chosen with care, and serve banquets so lavish that their entertainments outdo the tables of kings. [15] These men might be truly happy, if they would disregard the greatness of the city behind which they hide their faults, and live after the manner of some provincial bishops, whose moderation in food and drink, plain apparel also, and gaze fixed upon the earth, commend them to the Eternal Deity and to his true servants as pure and reverent men. But this will be a sufficient digression; let me now return to the course of events.

A description of the six provinces of Thrace and their peoples, and of the famous cities in each.

While the above-mentioned events were taking place in Gaul and Italy, a new campaign was set on foot in Thrace. For Valens, in accordance with the desire of his brother, whom he consulted and by whose will he was guided, took up arms against the Goths, influenced by a just reason, namely, that they had sent aid to Procopius, when he began his civil war. It will be fitting, then, to sketch hastily in a brief digression the early history and the topography of those regions.

[2] A description of Thrace would be easy, if the pens of the earlier writers agreed; but since their obscurity and their differences lend no aid to a work whose aim is truth, it will suffice to set forth what I myself remember to have seen. [3] That this land formerly consisted of a boundless expanse of gentle plains and lofty mountains, we know from the immortal testimony of Homer, who imagines that the north and west winds begin to blow from there;³⁶ but this is either a fable, or else in former times the widely extended tracts marked out to be the home of barbarian tribes were all included under the name of Thrace. [4] A part of these were inhabited by the Scordisci,³⁷ who are now widely separated from those same provinces: a people formerly cruel and savage, and, as ancient history declares, accustomed to offer up their prisoners as victims to Bellona and Mars, and from their hollowed skulls greedily to drink human blood. By their savageness the Roman state was often sorely

troubled and after many lamentable calamities finally lost a whole army with its commander.³⁸

[5] But, as we now see them, those same places, formed in the shape of a crescent moon, present the appearance of a beautiful theatre. At its western summit are the steep mountains through which the narrow pass of Succia opens, separating Thrace from Dacia. [6] The left side,³⁹ towards the northern stars, is shut in by the lofty heights of Mount Haemus and the Hister,⁴⁰ which, where it washes Roman soil, borders on many cities, fortresses, and castles. [7] On the right, which is the south side, extend the cliffs of Rhodope, and where the morning star rises it is bounded by the strait which flows with an abundance of water from the Euxine, and going on with alternating current to the Aegaeon, opens a narrow cleft⁴¹ between the lands. [8] But on the eastern corner the land is connected with the frontiers of Macedonia by a steep and narrow pass, which is called Acontisma.⁴² Next to this is the postingstation of Arethusa, in which is to be seen the tomb of Euripides,⁴³ noted for his lofty tragedies, and Stagira, known as the birthplace of Aristotle, who, as Cicero says,⁴⁴ poured forth a golden stream. [9] These regions also were occupied in former times by barbarians, who differed from one another in customs and language. Of these the Odrysae are noted for their savage cruelty beyond all others, being so habituated to the shedding of human blood that when there were no enemies at hand, at their feasts, after a satiety of food and drink they plunged the sword into the bodies of their own countrymen, as if they were those of foreigners.

[10] But when our country increased in power, and the rule of consuls was in full sway, Marcus Didius, with great determination, checked these tribes that before had been always invincible and were roaming about without civilization or laws. Drusus confined them within their own bounds. Minucius utterly defeated them in a battle near the river Hebrus, which flows from the high mountains of the Odrysae, and after these the survivors were completely annihilated by the proconsul Appius Claudius in a hot fight.⁴⁵ Indeed, the Roman fleets took possession of the towns situated on the Bosphorus and the Propontis. [11] After these came General Lucullus,⁴⁶ who was the first of all to encounter the savage tribe of the Bessi and in the same onslaught overcame the Haemimontani in spite of their stout resistance.⁴⁷ While he threatened that region, all parts of Thrace passed under the sway of our forefathers, and in this way, after dangerous campaigns, six provinces were won for the republic.

[12] The first of these on the side bordering on Illyricum is called Thrace in the narrower sense, and is adorned by the splendid cities of Philippopolis, formerly Eumolpias,⁴⁸ and Beroea. After this, Haemimontus⁴⁹ has Hadrianopolis,⁵⁰ also once called Uscudama, and Anchialos,⁵¹ both great and rich cities. Then comes Mysia,⁵² with Marcianopolis (so named from the sister of the emperor Trajan). Dorostorus, Nicopolis, and Odessus. Hard by is Scythia, in which the more famous towns are Dionysopolis, Tomi, and Callatia. Europa, the remotest province of all, in addition to various towns, is

conspicuous for two cities, Apri and Perinthus, in later times called Heraclea.⁵³ [13] Rhodopa,⁵⁴ next to this, has Maximianopolis, Maronea and Aenus, which Aeneas founded and abandoned,⁵⁵ and after long wanderings under continued good auspices, reached Italy.

[14] Now it is well known, as constant reports have spread abroad, that almost all the country folk who dwell in the high mountains throughout the lands just described surpass us in health and strength, and in the prerogative (so to speak) of prolonging life; and it is thought that this is due to abstinence from a conglomeration of diet and from hot baths,⁵⁶ and a lasting freshness knits their bodies through cold sprinklings with dew; and they enjoy the sweetness of a purer air; further they are first of all to feel the rays of the sun, which are by their own nature life-giving, before they are infected with any stains from human affairs. After having thus given an account of these matters, let us return to our task.

Valens Augustus makes war on the Goths, who had sent aid to Procopius against him, and after three years concludes peace with them.

After Procopius had been vanquished in⁵⁷ Phrygia, and the source of internal strife lulled to rest, Victor, commander of the cavalry, was sent to the Goths,⁵⁸ in order to get clear information why a people friendly to the Romans and bound by the treaties of a long-continued peace had lent support to a usurper who was making war on the legitimate emperors. They, in order to excuse their action by a strong defence, presented a letter from the said Procopius, in which he asserted that he had assumed the sovereignty that was due him as nearly related to the family of Constantine;⁵⁹ and they maintained that their error was pardonable.

[2] When this was learned from the report of the⁶⁰ aforesaid Victor, Valens, taking little account of so trivial an excuse, marched against the Goths, who already knew of the coming activity. Getting his army together at the beginning of spring, he measured off a camp near the fortress called Daphne;⁶¹ and having made a bridge of planks over the gangways of ships, he crossed the river Hister without any opposition. [3] And now he was exalted in confidence, since, as he hastened hither and thither, he found no one whom he could conquer or terrify; for all had been struck with fear at the approach of the soldiers with their splendid equipment, and made for the mountains of the Serri, which are lofty and inaccessible except to those who are thoroughly familiar with them. [4] Therefore, to avoid wasting the whole summer and returning without accomplishing anything, he sent Arintheus, commander of the infantry, with plundering bands and seized some of the families which could be captured before they reached the steep and winding mountainregions and while they were still wandering over the level plains. And after having attained only this, which was what chance offered him, he returned harmlessly with his men, without having inflicted or suffered serious harm.

[5] In the following year, having attempted with ⁶² equal energy to invade the enemy's territory, he was prevented by extensive floods of the Danube and remained inactive, near a village of the Carpi in a permanent camp which he had made, until the end of autumn. And since he was cut off by the extent of the waters from doing anything, he returned from there to Marcianopolis for winter quarters.

[6] With like persistence in the third year also he ⁶³ made a bridge of boats to cross the river at Novidunum and forced his way into the barbarian territory; and after continuous marches he attacked the warlike people of the Greuthungi, who lived very far off, and after some slight contests Athanaricus, ⁶⁴ at that time their most powerful ruler, ⁶⁵ who dared to resist with a band which he believed to be more than sufficient for himself, was forced to flee, in fear of utter destruction. Then he himself with all his men returned to Marcianopolis as a suitable place (considering that region) for passing the winter.

[7] After the many vicissitudes of these three years timely opportunities arose for ending the war. ⁶⁶ First, because the long stay of the emperor was increasing the enemy's fears; secondly, because the savages, since commerce was cut off, were so distressed by extreme scarcity of the necessities of life that they often sent suppliant deputations to beg for pardon and peace. [8] The emperor was indeed inexperienced, but very reasonable as yet in his judgment of conditions, until he was led astray by the fatal blandishments of his flatterers and inflicted on his country losses ever to be lamented; therefore, consulting for the common welfare, he decided that peace ought to be granted. [9] Accordingly, he in his turn sent as envoys Victor and Arintheus, of whom one then commanded the cavalry and the other the infantry, and when their trustworthy report had informed him that the Goths agreed to the conditions which he offered, a convenient place was appointed for concluding peace. But since Athanaricus declared that he was bound by an oath accompanied ⁶⁷ by a fearful imprecation, and thus prevented by his father's orders from ever setting foot on Roman soil, and since he could not be induced to do so, and it was unbecoming and degrading for the emperor to cross to him, it was decided by those of good judgment that ships should be rowed into mid-stream, one carrying the emperor with his guard, the other the Gothic ruler with his men, and that thus a treaty of peace should be struck, as had been agreed. [10] When this had been arranged and hostages received, Valens returned to Constantinople, where later Athanaricus, driven from his native land by a faction of his kinsmen, died a natural death and was buried after our fashion with splendid rites. ⁶⁸

Valentinian with the consent of the army appoints his son Gratianus an Augustus, exhorts the boy, who is clad in the purple, to brave deeds, and commends him to the care of the soldiers.

Meanwhile, when Valentinian was attacked by a severe illness and was at the point of death, the Gauls who were at court in the emperor's service, at a secret conference demanded that Rusticus Julianus, then master of the rolls, should be made emperor: a man who, as if smitten by a blast of madness, was as greedy for human blood as a wild beast, as he showed when governing Africa with proconsular power. [2] For as prefect of the city, ⁶⁹ in the administration of which office he died, through fear of the precarious situation of the tyrant, ⁷⁰ through whose choice he had risen to that high position as if for the lack of worthy men, he was compelled to assume the appearance of mildness and clemency. [3] Against these Gauls some with higher aims strove in the cause of Severus, then commander of the infantry, as a man fitted for attaining that rank; and, although he was strict and feared, yet he was more endurable and in every way to be preferred to the aforementioned aspirant.

[4] But while these designs were being agitated to no purpose, the emperor was restored with the help of numerous remedies; and observing that he was hardly yet rescued from the danger of death, ⁷¹ he purposed to bestow the imperial insignia upon his son Gratianus, who had by this time nearly reached the age of puberty. ⁷² [5] And when everything was ready, when the soldiers had been won over to accept this with willing minds, and Gratianus had appeared, the emperor advanced into the plain and mounted the tribunal; then, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of men of high rank, he took the boy by the hand, led him into their midst, and commended the future emperor to the army in the following public address: —

[6] "It is a propitious sign of your devotion to me that I parade this robe of imperial rank, by which I have been judged preferable to other men, many and distinguished; so taking you as partners in my plans and favourers of my wishes, I shall proceed to an act of dutiful affection, which is timely since the god, through whose eternal aid the Roman state will endure unshaken, now promises success. [7] Therefore, my valiant men, accept I pray you with friendly minds my heart's desire, convinced that we have wished this action, which the duties of affection sanction, not only to be brought to your knowledge, but also to be confirmed by your approval as agreeable to you and likely to be advantageous. [8] This son of mine, Gratianus, now become a man, has long lived among your children, and you love him as a tie between you and me; therefore, in order to secure the public peace on all sides, I plan to take him as my associate in the imperial power, if the propitious will of the god of heaven and of your dignity shall support what a father's love suggests. He has not been, as we have been, brought up in a severe school from his very cradle, nor trained in the endurance of adversity, and (as you see) he is not yet able to endure the dust of Mars; but, in harmony with the glory of his family and the great deeds of his forefathers, he will forthwith rise (I speak with moderation, in fear of Nemesis) to greater heights. [9] For as I am wont to think, when I consider, as I often do, his character and his inclinations, although they are not yet fully developed: when he enters on the years of

youth, since he has been instructed in the liberal arts and in the pursuit of skilful accomplishments, he will weigh with impartial justice the value of right and wrong actions; he will so conduct himself that good men will know that he understands them; he will rush forward to noble deeds and cling close to the military standards and eagles; he will endure sun and snow, frost and thirst, and wakeful hours; he will defend his camp, if necessity ever requires it; he will risk his life for the companions of his dangers; and, what is the first and highest duty of loyalty, he will know how to love his country as he loves the home of his father and grandfather.”

[10] The emperor had not yet ended his address when his words were received with joyful acclaim, and the soldiers, each according to his rank and feeling, striving to outdo the others, as though sharers in this prosperity and joy, hailed Gratianus as Augustus, with loud shouts mingled with the favouring clash of arms. [11] On perceiving this, Valentinian, filled with greater joy and confidence, adorned his son with the crown and the robes of supreme rank, and kissed him; then, resplendent as Gratianus was and listening attentively to his father’s words, Valentinian addressed him as follows: —

[12] “Behold, my dear Gratian, you now wear, as we have all hoped, the imperial robes, bestowed upon you under favourable auspices by my will and that of our fellow-soldiers. Therefore prepare yourself, considering the weight of your urgent duties, to be the colleague of your father and your uncle and accustom yourself fearlessly to make your way with the infantry over the ice of the Danube and the Rhine, to keep your place close beside your soldiers, to give your life’s blood, with all thoughtfulness, for those under your command, and to think nothing alien to your duty, which affects the interests of the Roman empire. [13] This will suffice for the present by way of admonition; for the future I shall not cease to advise you. Now for the rest I turn to you, great defenders of our country, whom I beg and implore with firm affection to watch over your emperor, not yet grown up, thus entrusted to your loyalty.”

[14] After these words had been ratified with all solemnity, Eupraxius, a Moor of Caesariensis, then master of the rolls, was the first of all to cry out: “The house of Gratianus is worthy of this”; whereupon he was at once advanced to the quaestorship. He was a man who left many proofs of noble self-confidence worthy of imitation by sensible men, one who never deviated from the principles of a fearless nature, but was always firm and resembled the laws, which, as we know, in the manifold cases in court speak with one and the same voice; ⁷³ and he then remained truer to the side of justice which he had espoused, even when the emperor, becoming arbitrary, assailed him with threats when he gave him good advice. [15] After this, all rose up to praise the elder and the younger emperor, and especially the boy, who was recommended by the fierier gleam of his eyes, the delightful charm of his face and his whole body, and the noble nature of his heart; these qualities would have completed an emperor fit to be compared with the choicest rulers of the olden time, had this been allowed by the fates and by his intimates, who, by

evil actions, cast a cloud over his virtue, which was even then not firmly steadfast.

16. However, in this affair Valentinian overstepped the usage established of old, in that he named his brother and his son, not Caesar, but Augustus, generously enough. For before that no one had appointed a colleague of equal power with himself except the emperor Marcus,⁷⁴ who made his adopted brother Verus his partner, but without any impairment of his own imperial majesty.

The propensity to anger, savageness, and cruelty of Valentinianus Augustus.

Scarcely had a few days passed since these affairs were settled according to the desire of the emperor and the soldiers,⁷⁵ when Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect,⁷⁶ on his return from Rome, to which he had gone to correct certain abuses, was charged with peculation⁷⁷ by Avitianus, a former deputy governor.⁷⁸ [2] Therefore he was displaced by Vulcatius Rufinus, a man excellent in all respects, who seemed to be displaying the crown of an honoured old age,⁷⁹ except that he never let slip a favourable opportunity for gain, if there was hope of concealment. [3] As soon as he gained the imperial ear, he brought it about that Orfitus, a former prefect of Rome, was freed from banishment,⁸⁰ and, after restoration of his lost patrimony, was restored to his home.

[4] Valentinian was known to be a cruel man, and although in the early part of his reign, in order to lessen his reputation for harshness, he sometimes strove to keep his savage impulses under his mind's control, yet the fault, as yet lurking and postponed, little by little broke forth without restraint and caused the destruction of many men; and was increased by fierce outbreaks of hot anger. For the philosophers define anger as a long-continued, sometimes permanent, ulcer of the mind, usually caused by weakness of the intellect; and they give for their opinion the plausible ground that the sickly are more inclined to anger than the sound, women than men, the old than the young, and the wretched than the fortunate.⁸¹

[5] Most conspicuous, however, at that time was the death (among the executions of other persons of low rank⁸²) of Diodes, former head of the state treasury in Illyricum, whom the emperor ordered to be burned to death because of some small offences; and also that of Diodorus, former state agent, and of three attendants of the deputy-governor of Italy; all these suffered cruel execution because the commanding general complained to the emperor that Diodorus had implored the aid of the law against him, as was his right,⁸³ and that the officials,⁸⁴ by order of the judge, had ventured to summon him as he was going on a journey, to answer to the action according to law. The memory of these victims is still honoured by the Christians in Milan,⁸⁵ who call the place where they are buried "The Place of the Innocents".

[6] Later, in the affair of a certain Maxentius of Pannonia, when the judge had rightly commanded a speedy execution, the emperor ordered the death of the decurions of three towns; but Eupraxius, who was then quaestor, intervened, saying: "Act more mercifully, most dutiful emperor, for these men whom you order to be put to death as criminals the Christian religion will honour as martyrs (that is to say, as beloved of God)." ⁸⁶ [7] Eupraxius' helpful self-confidence was imitated by the prefect Florentius ⁸⁷ when he heard that, because of some pardonable offence, the emperor had flown into a passion and ordered the execution likewise of three decurions in each of a number of cities; for he said: "What is to be done, then, if any town does not have so many decurions?" ⁸⁸ To the rest this also should be added, ⁸⁹ that they shall be killed, when the town has them." [8] To this ruthlessness was added another thing, dreadful to do or even to tell of, namely, that if anyone came before him to avoid being tried before some powerful enemy, and asked that another judge be assigned him, the request was denied and the man was sent back to the person whom he feared, however many just reasons for the change he might present. Still another horrible thing was talked about; for when he learned that any debtor ⁹⁰ could pay nothing because of the pressure of want, the emperor ruled that he ought to be put to death. ⁹¹

[9] That some princes commit these and similar arbitrary acts with lofty arrogance is because they do not allow their friends the opportunity of dissuading them from unjust designs or deeds, and that because of their great power they make their enemies afraid to speak. No correction is possible of the perverse actions of those who believe that what they desire to do must be the highest virtue. ⁹²

When the Picts, Attacotti, and Scots, after killing a general and a count, were devastating Britain without resistance, Count Theodosius routed them and took their booty from them.

Having set out then from Amiens and hastening ⁹³ to Treves, ⁹⁴ Valentinian was alarmed by serious news which showed that Britain was brought into a state of extreme need by a conspiracy of the savages, that Nectaridus, the commanding general of the seacoast region, had been killed, and that another general, Fullofaudes, had been ambushed by the enemy and taken prisoner. [2] This report aroused great horror, and the emperor sent Severus, who at that time was still commander of the household troops, to set right the disasters, if chance should offer the desired opportunity. But he was recalled a little later, and Jovinus . . . having set out for the same regions, allowed them to return at quick step, intending to seek the support of a strong army; for he declared that this was demanded by the pressing necessities of the situation. ⁹⁵ [3] Finally, because of the many alarming things which constant rumours reported about that same island, Theodosius, a man most favourably known for his services in war, was chosen to be sent there with all speed, and having enrolled legions

and cohorts of courageous young men, he hastened to depart, preceded by brilliant expectations.

[4] And, since in giving an account of the history of the emperor Constans I described the ebb and flow of the ocean⁹⁶ and the situation of Britain, as well as my powers permitted, I have thought it superfluous to unfold again what has once been set forth, just as Homer's Ulysses among the Phaeacians⁹⁷ shrinks from repeating the details of his adventures because of the excessive difficulty of the task.

[5] It will, however, be in place to say, that at⁹⁸ that time the Picts, divided into two tribes, called Dicalydones⁹⁹ and Verturiones, as well as the Attacotti, a warlike race of men, and the Scots, were ranging widely and causing great devastation; while the Gallic regions,¹⁰⁰ wherever anyone could break in by land or by sea, were harassed by the Franks and their neighbours, the Saxons, with cruel robbery, fire, and the murder of all who were taken prisoners.

[6] In order to prevent these outrages, if favourable fortune gave an opportunity, that most energetic leader hastened to the world's end, and reached the coast of Bononia,¹⁰¹ which from the spacious lands opposite is separated only by a narrow space of a sea wont in turn to swell with dreadful surges, and again, without any danger for sailors, to sink to the form of a level plain. From there he quietly crossed the strait and landed at Rutupiae,¹⁰² a quiet haven on the opposite coast. [7] When the Batavi, Heruli, Jovii, and Victores, who followed him, had arrived, troops confident in their strength, he began his march and came to the old town of Lundinium,¹⁰³ which later times called Augusta.¹⁰⁴ There he divided his troops into many parts and attacked the predatory bands of the enemy, which were ranging about and were laden with heavy packs; quickly routing those who were driving along prisoners and cattle, he wrested from them the booty which the wretched tribute-paying people had lost. [8] And when all this had been restored to them, except for a small part which was allotted to the wearied soldiers, he entered the city, which had previously been plunged into the greatest difficulties, but had been restored more quickly than rescue could have been expected, rejoicing and as if celebrating an ovation.

[9] While he lingered there, encouraged by the successful outcome to dare greater deeds, he carefully considered what plans would be safe; and he was in doubt about his future course, since he learned from the confessions of the captives and the reports of deserters that the widely scattered enemy, a mob of various natives and frightfully savage, could be overcome only by secret craft and unforeseen attacks. [10] Finally, he issued proclamations, and under promise of pardon summoned the deserters to return to service, as well as many others who were wandering about in various places on furlough. In consequence of this demand and strongly moved by his offer, most returned, and Theodosius, relieved of his anxious cares, asked that Civilis be sent to him to govern Britain as deputy-prefect, a man of somewhat fiery temper, but steadfast in justice and uprightness, and also Dulcitius, a general distinguished

for his knowledge of the art of war.

The Moorish tribes devastate Africa. Valens checks the brigandage of the Isaurians. Of the city prefecture of Praetextatus.

This is what was happening in Britain. But ¹⁰⁵ Africa from the very beginning of Valentinian's reign was sore distressed by the madness of the savages, who made daring forays, and were eager for wholesale bloodshed and robbery. This evil was increased by the slackness of the army and its greed for seizing the property of others; and especially by the conduct of the governor, Romanus by name. [2] He, having an eye to the future and being an adept in shifting odium to others, was hated by many because of his savage disposition, but especially for his haste to outdo the enemy in devastating the provinces. He relied especially on his relationship with Remigius, then chief marshal of the court, who sent in false and contradictory reports; hence the emperor, in spite of the great caution which in his own opinion he exhibited, for a long time remained unaware of the lamentable losses of the people of Africa.

[3] The complete series of events in those regions, the death of the governor Ruricius and of the ambassadors and the other mournful occurrences I shall set forth carefully when my plan calls for it. [4] But since I have a free opportunity of saying what I think, I shall declare openly that Valentinian was the first of all emperors to increase the arrogance of the military, ¹⁰⁶ to the injury of the commonwealth, by raising their rank and power to excess; moreover (a thing equally to be deplored, both publicly and privately), he punished the peccadilloes of the common soldiers with unbending severity, while sparing those of higher rank; so that these assumed that they had complete licence for their sins, and were aroused to shameful and monstrous crimes. In consequence, they are so arrogant as to believe that the fortunes of all without distinction are dependent on their nod. [5] In order to diminish their bluster and self-importance, the lawgivers of old were of the opinion that sometimes even some innocent persons should be punished with death. And this often happens when, because of the wrongdoings of any multitude, through the injustice of fate, some guiltless persons suffer; for that sometimes has applied to the trials of private citizens.

[6] Now in Isauria bands of brigands were over- ¹⁰⁷ running the neighbouring places, ¹⁰⁸ harassing towns and rich villas with unrestrained pillage, and inflicting great losses on Pamphylia and the Cilicians. ¹⁰⁹ Musonius, the deputy-governor ¹¹⁰ of Asia at that time, who had formerly been a teacher of rhetoric in Attic Athens, perceived that, since no one resisted them, they were devastating everything with utter destruction; so at last, finding the situation deplorable and that the luxury of the soldiers made their aid administer all the parts (dioceses) of his province, the *vicarius* took his place. feeble, he gathered together a few half-armed troops, whom they call

Diogmitæ, ¹¹¹ and attempted to attack. one band of the marauders, if the opportunity should offer. But in passing down through a narrow and winding pass he came into an ambuscade from which he could not escape, and was slain there with those whom he was leading. When the brigands, highly elated by this success, with greater confidence extended their raids in various directions, at last our troops were called out and after killing some of them drove the rest to the rocky retreats in the mountains where they live. Then, since no opportunity was revealed there for taking rest or finding anything fit for food, they called a truce and asked that peace be granted them, following the advice of the Germanicopolitani, ¹¹² whose opinions were always decisive with them, as if they were those of the standard-bearers in battle. Then they gave the hostages that were demanded, and remained quiet for a long time, without venturing on any hostile act.

[8] Meanwhile Praetextatus, who with high distinction acted as prefect of the city of ¹¹³ Rome, ¹¹⁴ through repeated acts of honesty and uprightness, for which he was famous from early youth, attained what rarely falls to a man's lot; for although he was feared by his fellow-citizens, he did not lose their love, which as a rule is apt to be less strong towards officials who are dreaded. [9] Through his authority and his decisions based upon justice and truth the outbreak which was stirred up by the quarrels of the Christians ¹¹⁵ was quelled, and after the banishment of Ursinus profound quiet reigned, which most suited the wish ¹¹⁶ of the citizens of Rome; and the fame of this illustrious ruler increased because of his many salutary measures. [10] For he removed all the Maeniana, ¹¹⁷ the building of which in Rome was forbidden by early laws also, and he separated from the sacred buildings the walls of private houses, which had been irreverently built against them. He established standard weights in every quarter of the city, since otherwise the greed of many, who rigged up their balances after their own inclination, could not be dealt with. And in the examination of legal cases he deserved above all others the distinction which Cicero mentions in the commendation of Brutus, ¹¹⁸ that although he did nothing to gain favour, yet everything that he did was looked upon with favour.

Valentinianus Augustus, after crossing the Rhine, ¹¹⁹ routs and puts to flight the Alamanni, who had fled to the mountain heights; but not, however, without bloodshed on both sides.

At about this same time, Valentinian had begun his campaign with wariness, ¹²⁰ as he himself thought, when a prince of the Alamanni called Rando, after long preparation for his design, with a lightarmed band equipped for plundering, secretly made his way into Mogontiacus, ¹²¹ which had no garrison. [2] And since he chanced to find that a festival of the Christian religion ¹²² was being celebrated, he was not hindered in carrying off defenceless men and women of every kind of station along with no small

amount of household goods.

[3] Then, after a brief interval, the hope of better fortune unexpectedly dawned upon the Roman state. For since King Vithicabius, son of Vadomarius, who was somewhat weak and sickly in appearance, but valiant and vigorous, again and again kindled the flames of war against us, no efforts were spared to dispose of him by any possible manner of death. [4] And because after several attempts he could in no way be overcome or treacherously surrendered, he was slain by the perfidy of an attendant on his private life ¹²³ through the earnest solicitation of our men; and after his death the enemy's raids slackened somewhat. But the assassin, through fear of the punishment which he dreaded in case the affair should become known, hastened to take refuge on Roman soil.

[5] After this, with especially diligent care and with troops of various kinds, a more serious campaign than common was prepared against the Alamanni, since the public safety imperiously demanded it; for from a race that so easily recovered its strength treacherous attacks were to be feared; and the soldiers were equally incensed against them, since the untrustworthy nature of an enemy who was at one time abject and suppliant and soon afterwards threatening the worst, allowed them no rest or cessation from warfare.

[6] Therefore a mighty mass of troops was assembled from all quarters and carefully provided with arms and supplies of food, Count Sebastianus ¹²⁴ was summoned with the Illyrian and Italian legions which he commanded, and as soon as the warm season began, Valentinian with Gratianus crossed the Main. Seeing no one, the emperor divided his army and advanced in square formation with himself in the centre and the generals ¹²⁵ Jovinus and Severus guarding the flanks on both sides, in order that they might not be exposed to a sudden attack. [7] Then, guided by men who knew the roads, and carefully reconnoitering the approaches, they at once marched slowly onward, through a widely extended tract of country, while the soldiers, more and more eager for battle, ground their teeth in a threatening way, as if they had already come upon the savages. But since after the lapse of several days no one could be found to oppose them, all the cornfields and dwellings which they saw were laid waste by devouring flames kindled by a band of the cohorts, with the exception of such foodstuffs as doubt about the outcome of affairs forced them to gather and keep. [8] After this the emperor went on at slower pace, and when he had come near a place called Solicinum, ¹²⁶ he halted as if checked by some barrier, since he was reliably informed by the scouting troops in the van that the savages had been seen at a distance. [9] And, in fact, the enemy, seeing no way left to save their lives except to defend themselves by a swift onset, trusting to their knowledge of the ground and in general agreement with one another, had stationed themselves on a lofty mountain, ¹²⁷ surrounded on all sides by rocky and precipitous heights and inaccessible except on the northern side, where it has an easy and gentle slope. At once our standards were planted in the usual manner, while everywhere the call to arms was sounded;

but, at the command of the emperor and his generals, the well-disciplined ¹²⁸ soldiers stood fast, waiting for the raising of the banner, which was the signal that it was the fit time to begin the battle. ^[10] Therefore, because little or no time for deliberation was given, since on one side the impatience of our soldiers was alarming, and on the other the Alamanni were yelling dreadfully all round, need for quick action made this plan advisable: that Sebastianus with his men should seize the northern part of the mountains, which (as we have said) had a gentle slope, in order that, if fortune should so decree, they might with little trouble strike down the Germans as they fled. The plan thus agreed upon was hastily carried out, and Gratianus, whose youth was even then unequal to battles and toil, was kept back with the legion of the Joviani, while Valentinian, as a deliberate and cautious leader, with uncovered head surveyed the centuries and maniples; and without taking anyone of the higher officers into his confidence he dismissed his throng of attendants, and with a few companions, known to him for their energy and fidelity, hastened off to inspect the foot of the hills, declaring (for he had a lofty opinion of his own judgment) that another way besides that which the scouts had seen could be found leading to the steep heights. ^[11] Then, as he was making his way by devious paths over unknown places and marshy bogs, a band of the enemy placed in ambush in a hidden spot would have slain him by a sudden attack, had he not resorted to the last means of safety, put spurs to his horse, ridden away through the slippery mud, and taken refuge in the bosom of his legions after an imminent danger to which he was so very close that the chamberlain who carried the emperor's helmet, adorned with gold and precious stones, completely disappeared together with the helmet itself, and could be found later neither alive nor dead.

^[12] Then, after the troops had been given a rest for recovering their strength, and the standard had been raised, which is accustomed to rouse men to battle, urged on by the menacing blare of trumpets they advanced to the attack with bold confidence. Two choice young warriors, Salvius and Lupicinus, the one a targeteer, the other belonging to the troop of gentiles, ¹²⁹ at the very beginning of the struggle, ¹³⁰ at once dashed forward before the others, urging on the battle with terrifying shouts. Brandishing their lances, they came to the opposing mass of rocks, and while the Alamanni were trying to push them back and they were striving to mount higher, the whole weight of our army came up, and, led by the same champions through places rough and shaggy with thickets, by a mighty effort scrambled up to the lofty heights. ^[13] Then with bitterness of spirit on both sides the conflict was essayed with levelled lances; on one side soldiers more skilled in the art of war, on the other the savages, fierce but reckless, joined in hand-to-hand conflict. Finally, our army, extending its lines and encircling the enemy on both flanks, began to cut them down, terrified as they were by the din, by the neighing of horses, and by the blare of trumpets. ^[14] Nevertheless, the foe took courage and resisted, and the contest continued with mighty struggles, the fortune of battle

being for a long time undecided, while dire death and mutual destruction accompanied the fighting. ^[15] But at last the Alamanni were thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the Romans, and, disordered from fear, the foremost were mingled with the hindmost, and as they turned and fled they were pierced through by our javelins and pikes. At last, in panting and exhausted flight they exposed to their pursuers their hams, calves and backs. Then, after many had been laid low, Sebastianus, who had been posted with his reserve troops at the back of the mountains, surrounded a part of the fugitives on their exposed flank and slaughtered them; the rest in scattered flight took refuge in their haunts in the forests.

^[16] In this battle some of our fathers also were not insignificant persons. Among them were Valerianus, first officer of all the household troops, and Natuspardo, one of the targeteers, a warrior so distinguished that he may be compared with Sicinius and Sergius ¹³¹ of old. After finishing the campaign with these varied fortunes, the soldiers returned to their winter quarters, and the emperors to Treves.

Of the noble birth, wealth, honours, and character of Probus.

In the course of this time Vulcacius Rufinus ended his life while still in office, ¹³² and Probus ¹³³ was summoned from Rome to fill the office of praetorian prefect, a man known for the distinction of his family, his influence, and his great wealth, throughout the whole Roman world, in almost all parts of which he possessed estates here and there, whether justly or unjustly is not a question for my humble judgement. ^[2] This man was carried on the swift wings — as the poets' fancy expresses it — of a kind of congenital good fortune, which showed him to be now generous and ready to advance his friends, but sometimes a cruel schemer, working harm by his deadly jealousies. And although he had great power so long as he lived, because of the sums that he gave away ¹³⁴ and his constant resumption of offices, yet he was sometimes timid when boldly confronted, though arrogant against those who feared him; so that in his moments of confidence he seemed to thunder from tragic buskin, and when he was afraid, to be more humble than any wearer of the slipper. ¹³⁵

^[3] And as the finny tribe, ¹³⁶ when removed from its own element, does not breathe very long on dry land, so he pined away when not holding prefectures; these he was compelled to seek because of the constant lawlessness of certain families which on account of their boundless avarice were never free from guilt, and in order to carry out their many evil designs with impunity, plunged their patron into affairs of state. ¹³⁷ ^[4] Now it must be admitted that he had such natural greatness of spirit that he never ordered a client or a slave to do anything illegal; but, on the other hand, if he learned that any one of them had committed any crime, even though Justice herself cried out against the man, without investigating the matter and without regard to honour and virtue, he defended him. That is a fault which Cicero ¹³⁸ censures in the following words: "For what difference is there between one who advises an act and one

who approves it? Or what does it matter whether I wished anything to happen or rejoice that it has happened?" ^[5] Yet he was suspicious, and fortified by his own character; he could smile rather bitterly and sometimes resorted to flattery in order to work harm. ^[6] He had, moreover, what is a conspicuous evil in such characters, especially when one thinks to be able to conceal it, in that he was so merciless and unbending, that if he had made up his mind to injure anyone, he could not be made to relent nor induced to pardon errors; indeed, his ears seemed to be stopped, not with wax, ¹³⁹ but with lead. At the very height of riches and honours he was worried and anxious, and hence always troubled with slight illnesses. This was the course of events throughout the western regions.

The Romans and the Persians fight with each other over Armenia and Hiberia.

Now the king of the Persians, the famous ¹⁴⁰ Sapor, now aged, ¹⁴¹ and from the very outset of his reign given over to the pleasure of plunder, after the death of the emperor Julian and the shameful treaty of peace that was struck, ¹⁴² for a time appeared with his subjects to be friendly to us. But then, trampling under foot the promise of the pact made under Jovian, ¹⁴³ he laid his hand on Armenia, with the intention of bringing the country under his sway, as if all force of the agreements that had been made was at an end. ^[2] At first he tried to accomplish his purpose through various arts of deception, and he inflicted slight losses on this powerfully populous nation, by soliciting some of the grandees and satraps and surprising others by unexpected forays. ^[3] Then, by carefully calculated flattery mingled with perjury, King Arsaces himself was tricked; for after being invited to a banquet he was taken according to orders to a secret rear-door; there, after his eyes had been gouged out, he was bound in silver chains, which among that people is regarded as a consolation, though an empty one, for the punishment of men of rank, ¹⁴⁴ and then he was banished to a fortress called Agabana, where after being tortured he was slain by the penal steel. ^[4] After this, in order to leave nothing unstained by treachery, Sapor drove out Sauromaces, who by Rome's authority had been given the rule of Hiberia, and appointed a certain Aspacures ¹⁴⁵ to govern that same people; and besides he bestowed on him the crown, in order to show his contempt of our authority. ^[5] After thus effecting these abominable designs, he entrusted Armenia to Cylaces, a eunuch, and to Arrabannes, both of whom he had long before received as deserters — of these the former was said to have been previously a governor in that nation, the latter, a commander-in-chief-giving them orders to use all care to destroy Artogerassa, a powerful town with strong walls, which guarded the treasury of Arsaces, as well as his son and his wife. ¹⁴⁶ ^[6] These leaders began the siege according to their orders. And since they could not gain access to the fortress, which was situated on a rough mountain, because the weather was then stiff

with snow and frost, Cylaces, being a eunuch and skilled in cajoling like a woman, in company with Arrabannes, having first obtained a pledge that their lives would be spared, came quickly up to the very walls; and when at his request he was allowed to enter with his colleague, he persuaded the defenders and the queen, also using threats, that by a speedy surrender they should try to mollify the violent nature of Sapor, who was a man of unexampled cruelty. [7] After this there was much discussion pro and con and the queen lamented the cruel fate of her husband; whereupon the most zealous inciters to the act of perfidy were turned to pity and changed their plan. Encouraged by the hope of greater rewards, ¹⁴⁷ in secret conferences they arranged that at an appointed hour of the night the gates should suddenly be thrown open and a strong force should sally forth and suddenly attack the enemy's camp with murderous intent; and they promised to see to it that their attempt should not be known. [8] When this promise had been confirmed by an oath, they left the city, and by asserting that the besieged had asked that two days be allowed them to consider what course they ought to take, they brought over the besiegers into inaction. Then, in the watches of the night when all men, free from care, are in deep sleep, and snoring, the gate of the city was unbarred, young warriors rushed quickly out, with noiseless step and drawn swords crept up to the camp, where men were in no fear of danger, then rushed in, and without opposition butchered a great many as they lay asleep. [9] This unexpected treachery and the unforeseen slaughter of the Persians aroused reasons for frightful hatred between ourselves and Sapor, which was made still worse because Papa, son of Arsaces, ¹⁴⁸ at the persuasion of his mother, had departed with a few followers from the fortified town ¹⁴⁹ and been received by the emperor Valens, who advised that he stay a while at Neocaesarea, a wellknown city of Pontus Polemoniacus, ¹⁵⁰ where he was to receive liberal support and education.

This act of clemency encouraged Cylaces and Arrabannes to send envoys to Valens to ask that he aid them and give them the said Papa as their king. [10] The aid, however, was denied them for the time, but Papa was sent back to Armenia through the general Terentius, ¹⁵¹ that he might rule the land for a time, but without any emblems of royal rank; a condition which was complied with for a legitimate reason, namely, that we might not be charged with breaking the treaty and violating the peace.

[11] On learning of this course of events, Sapor was filled with superhuman wrath, and mustering greater forces began to devastate Armenia with open pillage. By his coming Papa, as well as Cylaces and Arrabannes, were seized with such fear that, after looking about and seeing no help from any source, they sought the refuge of the high mountains which separate our territory from Lazica. ¹⁵² There they remained concealed in the deep woods and defiles of the hills for five months, and eluded the many attempts which the king made to find them. [12] Since Sapor saw, as the winter stars were galling, ¹⁵³ that he was wasting his labour to no purpose, after burning the fruit-bearing trees and the

fortified castles and strongholds that he had taken by force or by betrayal, he blockaded Artogerassa with the whole weight of his forces and after some battles of varying result and the exhaustion of the defenders, forced his way into the city and set it on fire, dragging out and carrying off the wife and the treasures of Arsaces.

[13] For these reasons Count Arintheus ¹⁵⁴ was sent to those parts with an army, to render aid to the Armenians in case the Persians should try to harass them in a second campaign.

[14] Meanwhile Sapor, who was immensely crafty and according to his advantage either humble or arrogant, under pretence of a future alliance, upbraided Papa through secret messengers as regardless of his own interests in being the slave of Cylaces and Arrabannes under the semblance of royal power. Papa, in headlong haste, and using the allurements of flattering blandishments, had the two men killed, and, when they were slain, sent their heads to Sapor as a sign of his submission.

[15] The news of this disaster spread widely and all Armenia would have been lost for lack of defenders, had not the Persians, terrified by the coming of Arintheus, postponed a second invasion of the land. For the present they contented themselves with merely sending envoys to the emperor, asking that, in accordance with the agreement that Jovian had made with Sapor, ¹⁵⁵ he should not defend that nation. [16] This proposal was rejected, and Sauromaces, who (as I have already said) had been driven from the throne of Hiberia, was sent back there with Terentius and twelve legions. And when he had nearly reached the river Cyrus, ¹⁵⁶ Aspacures begged him that they should, being cousins, ¹⁵⁷ rule the country with conjoint authority, pleading that he could not withdraw or go over to the Roman side, for the reason that his son Ultra was still held in the condition of a hostage by the Persians.

[17] When the emperor learned of this, in order by a prudent plan to appease the disturbances that would be aroused from this affair also, he consented to a division of Hiberia with the river Cyrus as the boundary line. Sauromaces was to hold the part of that country bordering on Armenia and the Lazi, and Aspacures the part next to Albania and the Persians. ¹⁵⁸

[18] At this Sapor was greatly incensed, declaring that he was shamefully treated in that help was given to the Armenians contrary to the provisions of the treaties, and that the deputation which he had sent to remonstrate against this had come to nothing; also, because without his consent or knowledge it had been decided to divide the kingdom of Hiberia. Accordingly, having bolted, as it were, the door to friendship, he sought aid from the neighbouring nations and got his own army ready, in order that with the opening of mild weather he might overturn everything that the Romans had contrived to their own interests.

NOTES.

¹ 365–6 A.D.

² The ill-treatment of their envoys; see xxvi. 5, 7.

³ There were three divisions; see 2, 2 and 4.

⁴ Cf. xvii. 10, 5.

⁵ To-day Châlôn-sur-Saône; cf. xiv. 10, 3, 5; xv. 11, 11.

⁶ See xxvi. 6, 12.

⁷ Cf. xxvi. 9, 1.

⁸ Now Charpeigne on the Moselle.

⁹ The Moselle.

¹⁰ Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 47. So also the Roman women of early times, Val. Max. ii. 1, 5; Diod. Sic. v. 28, 1.

¹¹ Châlons-sur-Marne.

¹² Cf. xxiv. 1, 3.

¹³ I.e., ready for battle; see note, .

¹⁴ Named, with the Eruli and the Batavi, among the court troops: (*erant inter auxilia Palatina sexaginta quinque* (*Not. Imper. Occid.* v. 157, Seeck).

¹⁵ That is, without the tribune's knowledge and giving him no chance to intervene.

¹⁶ In 367.

¹⁷ See crit. note 1.

¹⁸ 360–363.

¹⁹ Tuscia, or Etruria, was divided into Tuscia Annonaria ("grain-bearing") and Tuscia Urbicaria or Suburbicaria ("near the city," i.e. Rome).

²⁰ Modern Pistoia.

²¹ 374 A.D.

²² The *navicularii* brought grain from abroad.

²³ A.D. 374. The omen seems to have been that of an unfit person making trouble in a high position; there is perhaps a connection with the asses used to turn the mills in a bakery.

²⁴ City-prefect in 364 and 365, father of the Symmachus from whom we have a collection of letters.

²⁵ The Pons Aurelius, later called Pons Antoninus, now the Ponte Sisto (see *Top. Diet. Anc. Rome*, s.v. Pons Aurelius). It was restored by Valentinian in 365–6 and bore his name for a time. It was not *built* (*condidit*) by Symmachus (see crit. note), but he dedicated it by the emperors' orders *after* his prefecture. See Dessau, *Inscr.* 769; *C.I.L.*, vi. 31402.

²⁶ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 181.

²⁷ In 365.

²⁸ Such as mimes, actors, and charioteers; cf. xiv. 6, 14.

²⁹ The Vatican hill, where there was an Apostles' Church before whose doors the people begged for alms.

³⁰ Pseud.-Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 41, 13, says that Constantine gave this name to Trajan, because he had his name put on many buildings (*ob titulos multis aedibus inscriptos*).

³¹ See Livy, xxvii. 51, 2, for the first reference to this bridge (207 B. C.).

³² So also Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *De Viris III.* 72, 8. This is M. Aemilius Scaurus, censor in 110 B.C., but the Pons Mulvius (Ponte Molle) must have been built as early as 220 B.C., to carry the Via Flaminia across the Tiber, and Scaurus restored it. Mulvius is unknown.

³³ I.e., a fund set aside for such purposes; see Exc. 67. For *tituli* see xxx. 5, 6.

³⁴ 366–7 A.D.

³⁵ In the Fifth Region, also called *Basilica Liberii* (see Val. in Wagner-Erfurdt); now Santa Maria Maggiore.

³⁶ *Iliad*, ix. 5.

³⁷ In the time of Ammianus included in Pannonia.

³⁸ The consul of 114 B.C., M. Porcius Cato; Dio, xxvi. 88 (vol. ii. *L.C.L.*); Florus i. 39, 3 f.; Eutr. iv. 24. Nothing is said of Cato's death by these writers.

³⁹ This reverses the directions usual on our maps; but it is correct, since he begins at the west.

⁴⁰ The Danube.

⁴¹ The Thracian Bosphorus, separating Europe (Thrace) from Asia (Mysia). It has a central surface-current flowing from the Euxine, and a deeper one, and also alongshore currents, flowing towards the Euxine.

⁴² Cf. xxvi. 7, 12.

⁴³ Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi. 28.

⁴⁴ *Acad.* ii. 38, 119.

- ⁴⁵ Florus, i. 39, 5, 6; Ruf. Fest. 9, 2.
- ⁴⁶ M. Lucullus, Eutr. vi. 10.
- ⁴⁷ Ruf. Fest. 9, 2–3.
- ⁴⁸ Cf. xxii. 2, 2; xxvi. 10, 4. See Map 1, Vol. II.
- ⁴⁹ Also called Thracia Secunda.
- ⁵⁰ Cf. xiv. 11, 15.
- ⁵¹ Cf. xxii. 8, 43.
- ⁵² Here for Mysia (or Moesia) Secunda, or Inferior; Mysia Prima belonged to Illyricum.
- ⁵³ Cf. xxii. 2, 3.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. xxii. 8, 4.
- ⁵⁵ Cf. xxii. 8, 3, note.
- ⁵⁶ With *calidis* sc. *aquis*.
- ⁵⁷ 366 A.D.
- ⁵⁸ The Moeso-Goths in Dacia. Zos. iv. 10, 11, calls them Scythians.
- ⁵⁹ See xxvi. 6, 1; 7, 10.
- ⁶⁰ 367 A.D.
- ⁶¹ In Moesia Secunda, a province formed by Constantine the Great to oppose the Goths, and therefore called on coins by the name of Constantiniana Daphne.
- ⁶² 368 A.D.
- ⁶³ 369 A.D.
- ⁶⁴ When Fritigern with the Goths crossed the Danube and planned to war upon Achaia, they feared to leave Athanaricus behind, since he had remained true to the Romans. He was received at Constantinople by Theodosius in a friendly manner and died in 381. The Goths who had come with Athanaricus were so pleased by his royal funeral that they fought bravely for Theodosius. Cf. Zosimus, iv. 34.
- ⁶⁵ See Introd., Vol. I, p. xxvi, note 2, for this use of *iudex*.
- ⁶⁶ 367 A.D.
- ⁶⁷ 367 A.D.
- ⁶⁸ See , note 1.

⁶⁹ This was later. He was proconsul in 371 and 372, and city prefect in 388.

⁷⁰ Maximus, who slew Gratian and ruled for five years. His rise and fall are vividly described by Kipling in *Puck of Pooke's Hill*.

⁷¹ And so might be left without a successor.

⁷² He was nine years old.

⁷³ Cf. Cic., *De Off.* ii. 12, 41 f., *eademque constituendarum legum fuit causa quae regum. Ius enim semper est quaesitum aequabile . . . id si ab uno iusto et bono viro consequerentur, erant eo contenti; cum id minus contin- geret, leges sunt inventae, quae cum omnibus semper una atque eadem voce loquerentur.*

⁷⁴ Marcus Aurelius. Titus is not an exception; see *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xlv. (1914), p f.

⁷⁵ At Amiens, Aug. 24, 367.

⁷⁶ In Illyricum, Africa, and Italy; cf. xxvi. 5, 5.

⁷⁷ In 365.

⁷⁸ In Africa.

⁷⁹ Cf. Cic., *De Sen.* 17, 61, *apex est autem senectutis auctoritas.*

⁸⁰ Cf. 3, 2.

⁸¹ Cf. Sen., *De Ira*, i. 13, 5; ii. 19, 4.

⁸² Diocles was not a person of low rank; for this use of *alius*, which is fairly frequent in Ammianus, see xxiii. 3, 9, crit. note 5. The same is perhaps true of Diodorus.

⁸³ I.e., as was the right of a citizen; cf. Apul., *Metam.* x. 6. *civiliter*, if it is the correct reading, gives the opinion of Ammianus, not of the accuser; see crit. note.

⁸⁴ The attendants of the deputy-governor.

⁸⁵ The seat of the deputy-governor of Italy.

⁸⁶ An incorrect definition of *martyres*, which is correctly defined by Ammianus in xxii. 11, 10; *id est . . . acceptos* is probably a gloss, as Valesius and Wagner thought.

⁸⁷ Praetorian prefect in Gaul.

⁸⁸ For the reluctance of citizens to serve as decurions see xxii. 9, 8, note 5.

⁸⁹ I.e., this provision should be added to the law; *suspendi* seems to mean "posted" ("hung up"), cf. *legem figere*.

⁹⁰ To the fiscus.

⁹¹ This was in accordance with a law of the XII Tables, which was nominally rescinded by

the Lex Poetelia of 326 B.C. or later.

⁹² For other examples of Valentinian's cruelty see xxix. 8, 2 ff.

⁹³ 367–8 A.D.

⁹⁴ In order to make war on the Alamanni; cf. 10.

⁹⁵ Text and meaning are very uncertain; see crit. notes.

⁹⁶ In a lost book; the same expressions are used by Gellius, xiv. 1, 3, but in the order usual in English, *senescit adolescitque*.

⁹⁷ *Odyss.* xii. 452 f.

⁹⁸ 368 A.D.

⁹⁹ Called Caledonians by Tacitus, Dio, and others.

¹⁰⁰ The coast of Gaul opposite Britain.

¹⁰¹ Boulogne.

¹⁰² Modern Richborough, cf. xx. 1, 3.

¹⁰³ London.

¹⁰⁴ Probably in honour of some emperor, but the date is uncertain.

¹⁰⁵ 364–8 A.D.

¹⁰⁶ I.e., of the officers.

¹⁰⁷ 368 A.D.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. xiv. 2, 1 ff.; xix. 13, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Zos. iv. 20.

¹¹⁰ The lieutenant-governor was a subordinate of the pretorian prefect. In so far as the latter could not himself

¹¹¹ From διωγμός, "pursuit," so-called because they were employed as light-armed troops to pursue the enemy; cf. Capit., *Ant. Phil.*, 21, 7.

¹¹² Germanicopolis was the principal city of the free Isaurians; Seleucia, of Roman Isauria.

¹¹³ 367–8 A.D.

¹¹⁴ In A.D. 367; he was formerly proconsular governor in Achaia; cf. xxii. 7, 6.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 3, 11 f.

¹¹⁶ *proposito* = *votis*, Wagner.

¹¹⁷ Balconies on houses, or colonnades, at first constructed for viewing the games in the Forum by a certain Maenius, and named from him; cf. Pseud.-Asconius on Cic. *in Caecilium*, 16, 50.

¹¹⁸ *Orat.* 10, 34.

¹¹⁹ 368 A.D.

¹²⁰ The narrative returns to the war with the Alamanni; see 2. The date is 368.

¹²¹ Mainz.

¹²² Perhaps Easter.

¹²³ Cf. xiv. 1, 7; xxi. 16, 6.

¹²⁴ Cf. xxvi. 6, 2.

¹²⁵ See Vol. I, p. xxxiv.

¹²⁶ Perhaps Schwetzingen, near Heidelberg.

¹²⁷ In xxviii. 2, 5, Pirus, apparently the Heilige Berg at Heidelberg.

¹²⁸ Cf. xvi. 12, 10; xix. 6, 3; xxiv. 3, 8.

¹²⁹ Cf. xiv. 7, 9, note 3.

¹³⁰ Or: "among the very first to encounter danger."

¹³¹ Cf. xxv. 3, 13, notes.

¹³² Cf. xxvii. 7, 2.

¹³³ His full name was C. Anicius Petronius Probus.

¹³⁴ Cf. Claud. *in cons. Oyb. et Prob.* 42 f., hic non divitias iji(rantibus abdicat antris, nec tenebris damnavit opes; sed largior imbre sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas.

¹³⁵ Of an actor of comedy.

¹³⁶ Cf. xxvi. 10, 16.

¹³⁷ That is, they used their power secretly by controlling a high magistrate; *mergentium* suits the metaphor of "the finny tribe."

¹³⁸ *Philipp.* ii. 12, 29.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Odys.* xii. 47–9.

¹⁴⁰ 368–70 A.D.

¹⁴¹ He was now 70 years old.

¹⁴² Cf. xxv. 7, 9 ff.

¹⁴³ Cf. xxv. 7, 14.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Curtius, v. 12, 20, *ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis compedibus Dareum vinciunt*; Hdt. iii. 130.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. xxx. 2, 2, and , note 1.

¹⁴⁶ She was called Olympias.

¹⁴⁷ From the Romans.

¹⁴⁸ See § 3, above.

¹⁴⁹ Artogerassa; see § 5, above.

¹⁵⁰ A Roman province, a division of the Diocese of Pontus; see Map 1, Vol. I.

¹⁵¹ Cf. xxx. 1, 2, 4.

¹⁵² The name given at the time to what was formerly Colchis.

¹⁵³ With cold; cf. *urentē*, xvi. 12, 15.

¹⁵⁴ Called *magister peditum* in 5, 4; cf. *equitum et peditum* in 5, 9.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. xxv. 7, 12. 3xxvii. 12, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Modern Kur.

¹⁵⁷ I.e., Sauromaces and Aspacures.

¹⁵⁸ Hiberia lay north of Armenia, between the Lazi and the Albani, allies of the Persians. On the east was Albania; on the west, Colchis, or Lazica.

BOOK XXVIII

Many people, even senators and women of senatorial families are accused at Rome of poisoning, fornication, and adultery, and executed.

While among the Persians (as I have already related) ¹ the perfidy of the king was arousing unexpected disturbances, and in the eastern regions wars were rising with renewed strength, somewhat more than sixteen years after the death of ² Nepotianus, ³ Bellona, raging throughout the Eternal City, set all ablaze, being aroused from insignificant beginnings to lamentable massacres; and I could wish that everlasting silence had consigned these to oblivion, lest haply at some time similar crimes should be attempted, which might do more harm from their general example and precedent than through the offences themselves. ^[2] And although, after long consideration of various circumstances, well-grounded dread restrained me from giving a minute account of this series of bloody deeds, yet I shall, relying on the better morals of the present day, set forth briefly such of them as are worthy of notice and I shall not be sorry to tell concisely what I have feared from events of antiquity. ^[3] When in the first Medic war the Persians had plundered Asia, they besieged Miletus with mighty forces, threatened the defenders with death by torture, and drove the besieged to the necessity, overwhelmed as they all were by a weight of evils, of killing their own dear ones, consigning their movable possessions to the flames, and each one striving to be first to throw himself into the fire, to burn on the common funeral pyre of their country. ^[4] Soon after this, Phrynichus composed a play with this disaster as its plot, which he put upon the stage at Athens in the lofty language of tragedy. At first he was heard with pleasure, but as the sad story went on in too tragic style, the people became angry and punished ⁴ him, thinking that consolation was not his object but blame and reproach, when he had the bad taste to include among stage-plays a portrayal even of those sufferings which a well-beloved city had undergone, without receiving any support from its founders. ⁵ For Miletus was a colony of the Athenians founded by Nileus, the son of Codrus (who is said to have sacrificed himself for his country in the Dorian war) and by other Ionians. ⁶ ^[5] But let us come to our subject.

Maximinus, who formerly held the office of vice- ⁷ prefect at Rome, was born at Sopianae, a town of Valeria, ⁸ of very humble parents, his father being an accountant in the governor's office ⁹ and sprung from ancestors who were Carpi, a people whom Diocletian drove from its ancient abode ¹⁰ and transferred to Pannonia. ^[6] Maximinus, after some slight study of the liberal arts, and after acting as a pleader without acquiring distinction, became governor of Corsica, also of Sardinia, and finally of Tuscia. ¹¹ then, because his successor lingered too long on the ¹² way, although transferred to the charge of the city's grain supply, he retained also the rule of Tuscia, and at the

beginning acted with moderation, for a three-fold reason. [7] First, because the prophecies of his father were still warm ¹³ in his ears, a man exceedingly skilful in interpreting omens from the flight or the notes of birds, who declared he would attain to high power, but would die by the sword of the executioner; secondly, because he had got hold of a man from Sardinia who was highly skilled in calling up baneful spirits and eliciting predictions from the ghosts of the dead. This man he himself afterwards put to death, so the rumour went, in a treacherous fashion, — so long as he survived, Maximinus was more yielding and mild, for fear that he might be betrayed — finally, because while creeping through low places like a serpent under ground ¹⁴ he could not yet stir up causes for death on a larger scale.

[8] The first opportunity to widen the sphere of his operations arose from the following affair. Chilo, a former deputy-governor, and his wife Maxima made complaint before Olybrius, at that time prefect of the city, ¹⁵ declaring that their life had been attempted by poison; and they managed that those whom they suspected should at once be seized and put in prison. The accused were an organ-builder ¹⁶ Sericus, a wrestler ¹⁷ Asbolius, and a soothsayer Campensis. [9] But as the affair languished because of a severe illness with which Olybrius was long affected, those who had brought the charge, impatient of delay, presented a petition, asking that the examination of the dispute should be turned over to the prefect of the grain supply; and from a desire for a speedy decision this was granted. [10] Thus Maximinus gained the power of doing harm and poured out the natural cruelty implanted in his hard heart, as often happens with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, when they break in pieces the back-gates and are at last set free.

And while the business was being looked into in many ways, as if in a kind of preliminary practice, and some persons, whose sides had been torn into furrows, had named certain nobles as having, through their clients and other common people who were notorious as malefactors and informers, made use of men skilled in harmful practices, the hellish judge, "going beyond his last" ¹⁸ (as the saying is), in a malicious report to the emperor informed him that the offences which many men had committed at Rome could not be investigated or punished except by severer measures. ¹⁹ 11. On hearing this, the emperor, in anger, being rather a cruel than a strict foe of vices, gave one general judicial sentence to cover cases of the kind, which he arbitrarily fused with the design of treason, and ruled that all those whom the justice of the ancient code and the edicts of deified emperors had made exempt from inquisitions by torture should, if circumstances demanded, be examined with torments. 12. And that with doubled power and higher rank Maximinus might patch together a greater heap of calamities, the emperor gave him a temporary appointment as acting prefect at Rome; ²⁰ ²¹ and he associated with him in the investigation of these charges which were being devised for the peril of many the secretary Leo, afterward chief-marshal of the court, ²² a Pannonian and a grave-robber, ²³ snorting forth cruelty from the grinning jaws of a wild beast, and no less

insatiable in his thirst for human blood than Maximinus. 13. The persistent natural bent of Maximinus to cruel conduct was increased by the coming of a colleague of the same character and by the charm of a commission conferring lofty rank. Therefore, full of joy, he turned his steps this way and that, seeming to dance rather than walk, and seeking to imitate the Brahmins, who march (as some say) above the earth among their altars. ²⁴

[14] And now, as the trumpets sounded the signal for the murder of citizens and all were stupified by the horrible situation, besides many harsh and merciless acts, which because of their variety and number cannot be enumerated, the execution of Marinus, a public advocate, was conspicuous. This man was accused of having dared by forbidden arts to try to gain a certain Hispanilla as his wife, and when the truthfulness of the evidence had been perfunctorily examined, Maximinus condemned him to death. [15] And since I think that perchance some of my readers by careful examination may note and bring it against me as a reproach that this, and not that, happened first, or that those things which they themselves saw are passed over, I must satisfy them to this extent: that not everything which has taken place among persons of the lowest class is worth narrating; and if this were necessary to be done, even the arrays of facts to be gained from the public records themselves would not suffice, when there was such a general fever of evils, and a new and unbridled madness was mingling the highest with the lowest; for it was clearly evident that it was not a judicial trial which was to be feared, but a suspension of legal proceedings. ²⁵

[16] Then Cethegus, a senator, was accused of adultery and beheaded, Alypius, a young man of noble birth, was banished for a trifling fault, and others of lower rank were publicly put to death; and every one, seeing in their unhappy fate the picture (as it were) of his own danger, dreamt of the torturer and of fetters and lodgings of darkness.

[17] At the same time, the case of Hymetius also, a man of distinguished character, was tried, of which we know this to have been the course of events. When he was governing Africa as proconsul he took from the storehouses grain intended for the Roman people ²⁶ and sold it to the Carthaginians, who were by that time worn out from lack of food, and a little later, when the crops were again abundant, without any delay completely restored what he had taken. [18] Moreover, since ten bushels had been sold to the needy for one gold-piece, while he himself now bought thirty, ²⁷ he sent the profit from the difference in price to the emperor's treasury. ²⁸ And so Valentinian, suspecting that he had sent less than he should have sent as the result of his trafficking, punished him with a fine of a part of his property. [19] To add to his calamity, this also had happened at that same time, which was not less fatal. The soothsayer Amantius, at that time especially notorious, was betrayed on secret evidence of having been employed by the said Hymetius, for the purpose of committing certain criminal acts, to perform a sacrifice; but when brought to trial, although he stood bent double upon the rack, ²⁹ he denied it with

obstinate insistence. [20] Upon his denial, his secret papers were brought from his house and a memorandum in the handwriting of Hymetius was found, begging him that by carrying out a solemn sacrifice he should prevail upon the deity to make the emperors ³⁰ milder towards him; and at the end of the document were read some reproaches of Valentinian as avaricious and cruel. [21] When the emperor learned this from the report of the judges, who gave what had been done a harsh interpretation, he issued orders that the affair should be investigated with excessive strictness. And since Frontinus, an adviser ³¹ of the said Hymetius, was charged with having drawn up the form of prayer that was made, he was mangled with rods, and having confessed his guilt, was exiled to Britain; but Amantius was later found guilty of a capital crime and executed. [22] After this course of events Hymetius was taken to the town of Oriculum, ³² to be heard by Ampelius, prefect of the city, ³³ and Maximinus, the deputy-prefect; and when it was evident that he would immediately be condemned to death, he boldly appealed to the emperor's protection, when the opportunity was given him, and, defended under the refuge of that name, saved his life. [23] When the emperor was consulted ³⁴ about this matter, he referred the business to the senate. And when they had weighed the case in the scales of justice and learned the truth and had exiled the accused to Boae, ³⁵ a place in Dalmatia, they could hardly bear the wrath of the emperor, who was greatly incensed on learning that a man whom he had intended to be condemned to death had been punished with a milder sentence.

[24] On account of this occurrence and many others of the same kind, the fate which was seen to overtake a few persons began to be feared by all. And lest, by so many evils that were ignored, and gradually creeping on, the mass of troubles should be increased, by resolution of the nobles envoys were sent to the emperor. These were Praetextatus, ³⁶ former prefect of the city, Venustus, a one-time deputy-prefect, ³⁷ and Minervius, who had been a consular governor. They were to ask that punishments should be inflicted that were not too severe for the offences, ³⁸ and that no senator should, in a fashion neither practised nor permitted, be subjected to torture. [25] When the deputation had been admitted to the council-chamber and had presented their request, Valentinian said that he had never made such a decree, and cried out that he was the victim of calumny. But the quaestor Eupraxius ³⁹ mildly contradicted him, and through his freedom of speech the cruel order, which surpassed all examples of harshness, was rescinded.

[26] At about that same time Lollianus, a youth just growing his first beard, son of the ex-prefect Lampadius, ⁴⁰ as the result of a strict examination by Maximinus, was convicted of having written a book on destructive magic arts, when adult age had not yet endowed him with sound judgment. And when it was feared that he would be exiled, by his father's advice he appealed to the emperor and was ordered to be taken to his court; but he went from the smoke (as the saying is) ⁴¹ into the fire; for he was handed over to Phalangius,

consular governor of Baetica, and died at the hand of the dread executioner.

[27] Besides these also Tarracius Bassus, afterwards prefect of the city, ⁴² his brother Camenius, a certain Marcianus, and Eusaphius, all men of senatorial rank, were brought to trial on the ground that they were said to be making much of the charioteer ⁴³ Auchenius, and were his accomplices in the use of poisons; but because the evidence was even then doubtful, they were acquitted, as widespread rumour declared, through the influence of Victorinus, who was the closest friend of Maximinus.

[28] Not even women were more immune from similar calamities. For many of high birth belonging to this sex too were charged with the disgrace of adultery or of fornication, and put to death. Conspicuous among these were Charitas and Flaviana, of whom the latter, when she was led to death, was stripped of the clothing which she wore, being allowed not even to keep sufficient covering for the secret parts of her body. But for that reason the executioner was convicted of having committed a monstrous crime, and was burned alive.

[29] Nay more, two senators, Paphius and Cornelius, both of whom confessed to having disgraced themselves by the wicked practices of poisons, by the sentence of the same Maximinus were put to death. Even the head of the mint ⁴⁴ perished by a like fate. But Sericus and Asbolius, mentioned above, ⁴⁵ because when he urged them to name indiscriminately such accomplices as they wished, he had declared on oath that he would order no one to be punished with fire or steel, he killed with heavy blows of lead. ⁴⁶ And after this he consigned the soothsayer Campensis to the flames, being bound in his case by no oath.

[30] It is, I think, fitting now to set forth the cause which drove Aginatus headlong to death, a man of noble descent from his early ancestors, as persistent report declared; for as to this there is no trustworthy documentary evidence. [31] Maximinus, breathing blasts of arrogance, while he was still prefect of the grain supply, and finding no slight incentives to his audacity, went so far as to insult Probus, ⁴⁷ the most distinguished man among all the highest officials, and governing several provinces with the rank of praetorian prefect. [32] Aginatus, filled with indignation at this, and resentful because Maximinus, in conducting examinations, was preferred to him by Olybrius, although he himself was vice-prefect of Rome, secretly informed Probus in a confidential communication ⁴⁸ that the worthless man, one who quarrelled with high merits, could easily be brought low, if Probus decided that it should be done. [33] This letter Probus, as some maintained, without the knowledge of anyone except the bearer, ⁴⁹ sent to Maximinus, fearing him as a man already very highly trained in wickedness and in favour with the emperor. On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against Aginatus, after the manner of a serpent crushed by a wound from some unknown person. [34] There was added to this another more powerful impulse to treacherous attacks, which ruined the said

Aginatius. For he accused Victorinus after his death of having sold decisions⁵⁰ of Maximinus during his lifetime, although he himself had received no contemptible legacies from Victorinus' will; and with like impudence he threatened Anepsia also, Victorinus's widow, with charges and litigious suits. [35] The woman, fearful of these troubles, and wishing to protect herself by the help of Maximinus, pretended that her husband in a will which he had made shortly before his death had left him 3000 pounds of silver. Maximinus then, enflamed with excessive greed — for he was not free from that vice also — demanded half of her inheritance. But by no means content even with this, which he thought too little, he devised another plan, honourable and safe (as he thought), and in order not to lose the opportunity which was offered him for profiting from rich estate, he asked for the hand of the step-daughter of Victorinus (Anepsia's own child) for his son; and this was quickly secured with the woman's consent.

[36] Through these and other equally lamentable crimes, which were a blot on the fair aspect of the Eternal City, this man, to be named only with groans, made his violent way over the ruins of many fortunes, passing beyond the limits afforded by the courts. For he is said to have had a cord hanging from a secluded window of his palace, the lower end of which could pick up certain seemingly incriminating charges, supported, it is true, by no evidence, but nevertheless likely to injure many innocent persons.⁵¹ And sometimes he ordered Mucianus and Barbarus, his attendants, who were most skilled in deception, severally to be cast out of his house. [37] These two then, as if bewailing the fate by which they pretended to be overwhelmed, exaggerated the cruelty of the judge and often repeated the assertion that the accused had no other means of saving their lives than by charging men of high rank with serious crimes; for they declared that by involving such men in the same accusations with themselves they could easily secure an acquittal.

[38] Because of this, with a ruthlessness now passing all bounds, the hands of very many were bound in fetters, and men of noble birth were seen in mourning garb and in distress. And none of them could rightly be blamed, since very often when waiting upon him with bodies bent so as almost to touch the ground, they constantly heard that brigand with the heart of a wild beast shout that no one could be found innocent without his consent. [39] Such words, which accomplishment quickly followed, would surely have terrified men like Numa Pompilius, and a Cato. For, in fact, the business was conducted in such a way that some people could not even contemplate the ills of others with dry eyes, a thing which often happens in the many difficult trials of life. [40] Nevertheless, the iron-hearted judge, often as he deviated from law and justice, was endurable in what may be called one special thing. For at times he could be prevailed upon to show mercy to some; although this, we read in the following passage in Cicero,⁵² is almost a vice: "For," he says, "when anger is implacable, there is extreme severity; but if it yields to entreaties, the greatest inconstancy: yet the latter, as a choice of evils, is to be

preferred to severity.”

[41] After this, Maximinus received a successor,⁵³ and was summoned to the emperor’s court, as Leo⁵⁴ had been before him; and there, being promoted to the praetorian prefecture, he was no whit milder, but like the basilisk,⁵⁵ was harmful even from a distance. [42] At that time, or not much earlier, the brooms with which the assembly-hall of the nobles was swept were seen to bloom, and this was an omen that some men of the most despised station would be raised to high rank in the offices of state.

[43] Although it is high time to return to the course of the history which we have begun, yet, in order not to interfere with the connection of events, I shall linger over a few of the wrongful acts committed by the iniquity of the vice-prefects in the city, since it was according to the nod and wish of Maximinus that they were done by those same subordinates — I might say “attendants”.

[44] After him came Ursicinus, inclined to milder measures; he, wishing to be prudent and kindly, had referred to the Court the information that Esaias (with others who had been imprisoned because of adulterous relations with Rufina) was trying to bring a charge of treason against her husband, Marcellus, a former agent of the state. In consequence, Ursicinus was despised as inactive and unfit for the vigorous prosecution of such matters, and was forced to withdraw from his deputyship. [45] To him succeeded Simplicius⁵⁶ of Hemona, a former teacher of literature and later an adviser⁵⁷ of Maximinus, a man who during the administration of the prefecture was neither proud nor arrogant, but excited fear by his sidelong glance, and in language of studied moderation plotted severity for many. And first he put to death Rufina, with all who were implicated in, or aware of, the adultery that she had committed, whose case (as we have previously said)⁵⁸ Ursicinus had referred to the Court; and then many others, regardless of whether they were guilty or innocent. [46] For vying in bloody rivalry with Maximinus, as his leader,⁵⁹ he strove to outdo him in cutting the sinews of distinguished families, imitating Busiris of old, and Antaeus and Phalaris⁶⁰ to such a degree that he seemed to lack only the Argentine bull of the last-named.

[47] Amid these and such acts so perpetrated a matron called Hesychia, who because of an attempted crime was committed to an official’s attendant to be guarded at his house, and was in fear of much cruel treatment, pressed her face in the feather bed on which she was lying and so stopped her nose and her breath and gave up the ghost.

[48] There was added to these another no less cruel evil. For Eumenius and Abienus, both of senatorial rank, being accused under Maximinus of improper conduct with Fausiana, a woman of position, after the death of Victorinus, under whose protection they lived with less anxiety, terrified by Simplicius’ coming who with threats planned no less cruelty than Maximinus, fled to secret retreats. [49] But after Fausiana had been found guilty, a charge was made against them also; but though summoned by edicts,⁶¹ they kept themselves in still closer concealment, and Abienus remained hidden for a

long time in the house of Anepsia. But as unexpected chances often aggravate lamentable disasters, a slave of Anepsia, Sapaudulus by name, seized with resentment because his wife ⁶² had been flogged, went by night to Simplicius and reported the matter; then attendants were sent and dragged the accused, whose whereabouts had been pointed out, from their hiding-places. [50] And Abienus, assailed with an additional accusation of improper relations which he was said to have had with Anepsia, was punished with death. But the woman, that she might have strong hope of retaining her life by putting off her punishment, declared that she had been worked upon by evil arts and had suffered violence in the house of Aginatius. [51] Simplicius gave the emperor a spiteful account of what had been done, and Maximinus, who was at court, and, for the reason which I have given above, ⁶³ was hostile to Aginatius, while his hatred was set ablaze with his rise in power, strongly urged the emperor to give him a warrant for putting Aginatius to death; and this the mad and powerful instigator easily brought to pass. [52] But Maximinus, fearing the weight of greater hatred, if a man of patrician stock should die by the sentence of Simplicius, who was his adviser and his friend, kept back the emperor's order for some time, in perplexity and doubt as to whom he would find most trustworthy and efficient in carrying out the cruel design. [53] At last, since like and like readily flock together, ⁶⁴ a Gaul called Doryphorianus was found, reckless to the point of insanity, on whom, since he promised to accomplish the business in a short time, he arranged to have the post of deputy conferred. Accordingly, he gave him with the epistle of Augustus ⁶⁵ a letter of advice instructing the savage but inexperienced man how he might quickly and without any hindrance destroy Aginatius, who, if he gained any possible respite, would perhaps make his escape. [54] Doryphorianus, as had been ordered, hastened to Rome by long days' journeys, and at the beginning of his administration ⁶⁶ cast about with great energy, to see by what act of violence he could without anyone's help destroy a senator of conspicuous lineage. And on learning that Aginatius had long since been found, and was under guard in his own villa, he arranged personally to examine him, and Anepsia as well, as the chief of the guilty persons, in the midst of the horrors of night, when men's minds are commonly dulled in the bonds of terrors: as among countless other instances is shown by Homer's Ajax, ⁶⁷ who wished rather to die by daylight than endure the additional suffering of dread by night. [55] And since the judge, nay, rather the godless brigand, intent only on keeping his promise, carried everything to excess, having ordered Aginatius to be put to the question, he caused a whole train of executioners to enter, and amid the gloomy clanking of chains had the slaves, who were already drooping through long continued filth and neglect, tortured to the very verge of death, to give evidence to endanger their master's life: a thing which our merciful laws forbade to be done in a trial for fornication. [56] Finally, when tortures already almost mortal had extorted from a maid-servant a few ambiguous words, without fully examining the trustworthiness of the testimony, he ordered

Aginatius to be led off to execution, hastily and without a hearing, although with loud cries he called upon the emperors' names. Accordingly he was hoisted up ⁶⁸ and put to death; and Anepsia was executed on a like sentence. While Maximinus was thus busied in person when he was in Rome and through his emissaries when he acted from a distance, the Eternal City wept bitterly for its dead.

[57] But the final curses of his victims did not sleep. For, under Gratian, as shall be told later at the proper time, ⁶⁹ not only did this same Maximinus, because of his intolerable arrogance, fall victim to the executioner's sword, but Simplicius also was beheaded in Illyricum. Doryphorianus, too, was charged with a capital crime and thrown into the prison called Tullianum, ⁷⁰ but Gratian, at the suggestion of his mother, had him taken from there, and on his return home put him to death with tremendous tortures. But let us return to the point from which we made this digression. This, if I may say so, was the state of affairs in Rome. ⁷¹

Valentinian Augustus fortifies the entire Gallic bank of the Rhine with fortresses, castles, and towers. The Alamanni kill some Romans who were building a fortification on the far side of the Rhine. Maratocuprenian freebooters, by order of Valens Augustus, were destroyed in Syria with their children and their village.

But Valentinian, meditating important and ⁷² useful plans, fortified the entire Rhine from the beginnings of Raetia as far as the strait of the Ocean ⁷³ with great earthworks, erecting lofty fortresses and castles, and towers at frequent intervals, in suitable and convenient places as far as the whole length of Gaul extends; in some places also works were constructed even on the farther bank of the river, ⁷⁴ which flows by the lands of the savages. [2] Finally, when he considered that a lofty and secure fortification (which he himself had built from its very foundations) since a river called the Nicer ⁷⁵ flowed at its foot could gradually be undermined by the immense force of the waters, he even thought of turning the course of the stream in a different direction; and after he had hunted up men skilled in hydraulic work, the difficult task was begun with a great force of soldiers. [3] For during many days beams of oak were bound together ⁷⁶ and placed in the bed of the river; but although they were fastened again and again by great piles driven close to them on both sides, they were forced from their place by the rising waters, and finally were swept away by the force of the current and lost. [4] Yet finally the day was won by the efficient supervision of the emperor and the labour of his obedient soldiers, who as they worked were often sunk chin-deep in the water; and at last, though not without danger to some of the men, the defensive works, relieved of the pressure of the snarling river, are now strong.

[5] Being joyful and exultant because of these and similar successes, the emperor then, considering the time of year and the state of the season, as

became a dutiful prince devoted himself to those matters which would be helpful to the commonwealth. And thinking it most suitable for accomplishing what he had in mind, he planned hastily to build a fortification on the farther side of the Rhine on Mount Pirus,⁷⁷ which is in the country of the savages. And in order that speed might make the accomplishment of the work secure, through Syagrius, at that time a secretary, afterwards prefect and consul,⁷⁸ he ordered the general Arator to try to speed that work, while deep quiet reigned everywhere. [6] The general at once crossed the river with the secretary, as was ordered, and, with the soldiers under his command, had begun to dig the foundations, when Hermogenes was appointed as his successor. At the same moment⁷⁹ some chiefs of the Alamanni arrived, fathers of the hostages whom we were holding in accordance with the treaty as important pledges of the continued permanence of peace. [7] They on bended knees begged that the Romans, whose fortune consistent trustworthiness had raised to skies, should not, regardless of their security, be led astray by a perverse error, and, treading their promises under foot, enter upon an unworthy undertaking. [8] But, since they said these and similar things to no purpose, as they were not listened to, and perceived that they would receive no peaceful nor mild reply, they withdrew, weeping at the fate of their sons. Scarcely had they left the place, when a band of barbarians who were awaiting the reply to be made (as they were given to understand) at that time to their chiefs, dashing forth from the hollow defile of a neighbouring hill, attacked our soldiers, who were half-nude and still carrying earth,⁸⁰ and quickly drawing their swords were cutting them down; and with them also both leaders were slain. [9] Not a single man survived to tell what had happened, except Syagrius. He, after all the others had been slain, returned to the court, but by sentence of the angry emperor he was cashiered and went to his home, being considered by a cruel judgment to have deserved this because he alone had escaped.

[10] Meanwhile throughout Gaul there spread, to the ruin of many, a savage frenzy for brigandage, which kept watch of the frequented roads and fell indiscriminately upon everything profitable that fell in its way. Finally, in addition to many others who fell victim to such ambushades, Constantianus,⁸¹ chief of the imperial stables, a relative by marriage of Valentinian and own brother to Cerealis and Justina,⁸² was surprised by an unexpected attack and presently slain.

[11] But at a distance from there, as if the furies were stirring up similar troubles, the Maratocupreni, a fierce race of brigands, were ranging about on every side; they dwelt in a village of the same name situated near Apamia in Syria, were exceedingly numerous, skilled in crafty wiles, and dreaded because they roamed about quietly under the guise of honourable traders and soldiers, and fell upon rich houses, estates, and towns. [12] No one could guard against their unexpected coming, since they did not assail previously chosen places, but various quarters and those that were far removed, breaking out wherever the wind took them — the same reason that makes the Saxons

feared before all other enemies for their sudden raids.⁸³ But although these confederate bands destroyed the property of many, and, driven by the gadfly of the madness which they had conceived, caused lamentable slaughter, being no less greedy for blood than for booty, yet for fear that by giving a minute account of their deeds I may somewhat delay the direct course of my project, it will suffice to tell of this one destructive and welldevised stroke of theirs. [13] A united⁸⁴ body of these godless men, disguised as the retinue of a state treasurer, and one of them as that official himself, in the darkness of evening, preceded by the mournful cry of a herald, entered a city and beset with swords the fine house of a distinguished citizen, as if he had been proscribed and condemned to death. They seized all his valuable furniture, and since the servants were struck with sudden fear, and in their bewilderment did not defend their master, they killed many of them, and before the return of daylight departed at quick step. [14] But when, after being enriched by the booty of many men, they abandoned the sweet pleasure of robbery, which was interrupted by a movement of the emperor's forces, they were crushed, and perished to the last man. Even their children, who were still small, in order that they might not grow up to follow the example of their fathers, were destroyed in the same fate; and the houses which they had built in showy fashion at the sorrowful expense of others were torn down. These things, then, happened in the connection in which they have been told.⁸⁵

Theodosius restores the cities of Britain which had been devastated by the savages, repairs the fortresses, and recovers for the island the province which was called Valentia.

But Theodosius,⁸⁶ that leader of celebrated name, filled with courageous vigour sallied forth from Augusta, which was earlier called Lundinium, with a force which he had mustered with energy and skill, and rendered the greatest aid to the troubled and confused⁸⁷ fortunes of the Britons. He secured beforehand everywhere the places suitable for ambushing the savages, requiring nothing of the common soldiers in which he himself did not smartly take the first tasks. In this way, while he performed the duties of an active common soldier and observed the care of a distinguished general, after having routed and put to flight various tribes which an insolence fostered by impunity was inflaming with a desire to attack the Romans, he completely restored the cities and strongholds which had been founded to secure a long period of peace, but had suffered repeated misfortunes.

[3] But while he was thus engaged, a dread event had taken place, which would have resulted in grave danger, if it had not been crushed in the very beginning of its attempt. [4] A certain Valentinus, born in Valeria, a part of Pannonia, a man of haughty spirit, brother-in-law of that pernicious vice-governor Maximinus, who was afterwards prefect, had been exiled to Britain because of a serious crime. There, impatient of quiet like a noxious beast, he

roused himself to new and destructive plans, nursing a certain grudge against Theodosius, since he perceived that he was the only one who could resist his abominable designs. [5] However, after a good deal of looking about secretly and openly, driven by the swelling gale of his vast ambition, he began to tempt exiles and soldiers by promising for bold deeds as enticing rewards as his circumstances at the time permitted. [6] And already the time for carrying out the plans was near at hand, when that leader, ⁸⁸ eager for deeds of daring, learning of this from a prearranged source, ⁸⁹ resolved with lofty heart to punish those who were found guilty: Valentinus indeed, along with a few of his closest associates, he had consigned to the general Dulcitius, ⁹⁰ to be punished with death; but with the military knowledge in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, he divined future dangers, and as to the rest of the conspirators forbade the carrying on of investigations, lest by spreading fear among many the disturbances in the provinces, which had just been lulled to sleep, should be revived.

[7] Then, after the danger had been wholly removed, since it was common knowledge that propitious fortune had failed him in none of his undertakings, he turned his attention to making many necessary improvements, restoring the cities and defences, as we have said, and protecting the frontiers by sentinels and outposts. And so completely did he recover a province which had passed into the enemy's hands and restore it to its former condition, that, in the words of his report, it had a legitimate governor; and it was henceforth called Valentia, ⁹¹ in accordance with the emperor's wish, who, one might almost say, celebrated an ovation in his joy on hearing the priceless news.

⁹² [8] In the midst of such important events the ⁹³ Arcani, ⁹⁴ a class of men established in early times, about which I said something in the history of Constans, ⁹⁵ had gradually become corrupted, and consequently he removed them from their posts. For they were clearly convicted of having been led by the receipt, or the promise, of great booty at various times to betray to the savages what was going on among us. For it was their duty to hasten about hither and thither over long spaces, to give information to our generals of the clashes of rebellion among neighbouring peoples.

[9] After the above-mentioned affairs and other similar ones had been so brilliantly managed, Theodosius was summoned to the court, leaving the provinces dancing for joy, after distinguishing himself by many helpful victories like Furius Camillus or Papirius Cursor. And because of his general popularity he was escorted as far as the strait. where he crossed with a light wind, and came into ⁹⁶ the emperor's company. He was received with joy and words of praise, and succeeded to the position of Jovinus, ⁹⁷ commander of the cavalry forces, whom the emperor Valentinian considered to be lacking in energy.

Of the city-prefecture of Olybrius and Ampelius; and of the faults of the senate and people of Rome.

After long lasting and serious dispersion from ⁹⁸ affairs in Rome, constrained by the great mass of foreign events, I shall return to a brief account of these, beginning with the prefecture of Olybrius, ⁹⁹ which was exceedingly peaceful and mild; for he never allowed himself to be turned from humane conduct, but was careful and anxious that no word or act of his should ever be found harsh. He severely punished calumny, cut down the profits of the privy-purse wherever it was possible, fully and impartially distinguished justice from injustice, and showed himself most lenient towards those whom he governed. ¹⁰⁰ [2] But a cloud was thrown over all these merits by a fault which indeed was not harmful to the community, but yet was a stain on a high official; for almost his whole private life, since he was inclined to luxury, he spent in playhouses and love affairs, though the latter were neither unlawful nor incestuous.

[3] After him Ampelius ¹⁰¹ governed the city, a man who himself also lusted after pleasures. Born at Antioch, he had been formerly marshal of the court, was twice raised to the rank of proconsul, ¹⁰² and then, long afterwards, to the high honour of the prefecture. Although admirable in other respects and well suited to gaining the favour of the people, he was nevertheless sometimes hard, and I wish he had been steadfast of purpose; for he could have corrected in part, even though to a small extent, the incitements of appetite and gross gluttony, if he had not let himself be turned to laxity and thus lost enduring fame. [4] For he gave orders that no wine-shop should be opened before the fourth hour, ¹⁰³ that no one of the common people should heat water, ¹⁰⁴ that up to a fixed hour of the day no victualler should offer cooked meat for sale, ¹⁰⁵ and that no respectable man should be seen chewing anything in public. [5] These shameful acts, and others worse than these, had, by being constantly overlooked, blazed up to such unbridled heights that not even that celebrated Cretan Epimenides, ¹⁰⁶ if, after the manner of myth, he had been called up from the lower world and returned to our times, would have been able single-handed to purify Rome; such was the stain of incurable sins that had overwhelmed most people.

[6] And first, as often, according to the quantity of topics, ¹⁰⁷ I shall give an account of the delinquencies of the nobles and then of the common people, condensing the events in a rapid digression. [7] Some men, distinguished (as they think) by famous fore-names, pride themselves beyond measure in being called Reburri, Flavonii, Pagonii, Gereones, and Dalii, along with Tarracii and Pherrasii, and many other equally fine-sounding indications of eminent ancestry. [8] Others, resplendent in silken garments, as though they were to be led to death, ¹⁰⁸ or as if (to speak without any evil omen) they were bringing up the rear ¹⁰⁹ preceded by an army, are followed by a throng of slaves drawn up in troops, amid noise and confusion. [9] When such men, each attended by fifty servants, have entered the vaulted rooms of a bath, they shout in threatening tones: "Where on earth are our attendants?" If they have learned

that an unknown courtesan has suddenly appeared, some woman who has been a common prostitute of the crowd of our city, some old strumpet, they all strive to be the first to reach her, and caressing the new-comer, extol her with such disgraceful flattery as the Parthians do Samiramis, the Egyptians their Cleopatras, the Carians Artemisia, or the people of Palmyra Zenobia. And those who stoop to do such things are men in the time of whose forefathers a senator was punished with the censor's brand of infamy, if he had dared, while this was still considered unseemly, to kiss his wife in the presence of their own daughter.¹¹⁰

[10] Some of these men, when one begins to salute them breast to breast, like menacing bulls turn to one side their heads, where they should be kissed, and offer their flatterers their knees to kiss or their hands, thinking that quite enough to ensure them a happy life; and they believe that a stranger is given an abundance of all the duties of courtesy, even though the great men may perhaps be under obligation to him, if he is asked what hot baths or waters he uses, or at what house he has been put up.

[11] And although they are so important and, in their own opinion, such cultivators of the virtues, if they learn that someone has announced that horses or chariots are coming from anywhere whatever, they hover over this same man and ask him questions as anxiously as their ancestors looked up to the two sons of Tyndareus,¹¹¹ when they filled everything with joy by announcing those famous victories of olden days.

[12] Their houses are frequented by idle chatterboxes, who with various pretences of approval applaud every word of the man of loftier fortune, emulating the witty flatteries of the parasites in the comedies. For just as the parasites puff up boastful soldiers by attributing to them the sieges and battles against thousands of enemies, comparing them with the heroes of old, so these also, admiring the rows of columns hanging in the air with lofty facade, and the walls gleaming with the remarkable colours of precious stones, raise these noble men to the gods. [13] Sometimes at their banquets the scales are even called for, in order to weigh the fish, birds, and dormice¹¹² that are served, whose great size they commend again and again, as hitherto unexampled, often repeating it to the weariness of those present, especially when thirty secretaries stand near by, with pen-cases and small tablets, recording these same items, so that the only thing lacking seems to be a schoolmaster.¹¹³

[14] Some of them hate learning as they do poison, and read with attentive care only Juvenal and Marius Maximus,¹¹⁴ in their boundless idleness handling no other books than these, for what reason it is not for my humble mind to judge.¹¹⁵ [15] Whereas, considering the greatness of their fame and of their parentage, they ought to pore over many and varied works; they ought to learn that Socrates,¹¹⁶ when condemned to death and thrown into prison, asked a musician, who was skilfully rendering a song of the lyric poet Stesichorus, that he might be taught to do this while there was still time. And when the musician asked of what use that could be to him, since he was to die

on the following day, Socrates replied: "In order that I may know something more before I depart from life."

[16] But a few among them are so strict in punishing offences, that if a slave is slow in bringing the hot water, they condemn him to suffer three hundred lashes; if he has intentionally killed a man, although many people insist that he be condemned to death, his master will merely cry out: "What should a worthless fellow do, notorious for wicked deeds? But if he dares to do anything else like that hereafter, he shall be punished."

[17] But the height of refinement with these men at present is, that it is better for a stranger to kill any man's brother than to decline his invitation to dinner. For a senator thinks that he is suffering the loss of a rich property, if the man whom he has, after considerable weighing of pros and cons, invited once, fails to appear at his table.

[18] Some of them, if they make a longish journey to visit their estates, or to hunt by the labours of others,¹¹⁷ think that they have equalled the marches of Alexander the Great or of Caesar; or if they have sailed in their gaily-painted boats from the Lake of Avernus to Puteoli, it is the adventure of the golden fleece, especially if they should dare it in the hot season. And if amid the gilded fans flies have lighted on the silken fringes, or through a rent in the hanging curtain a little ray of sun has broken in, they lament that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians.¹¹⁸ [19] Then when they come from the bath of Silvanus or from the healing waters of Mamaea,¹¹⁹ as any one of them emerges he has himself dried with the finest linens, opens the presses and carefully searches amongst garments shimmering with shifting light, of which he brings enough with him to clothe eleven men. At length, some are chosen and he puts them on; then he takes back his rings, which, in order that the dampness may not injure them, he has handed to a servant, and after his fingers have been as good as measured to receive them, he departs.

[20] And, indeed, if any veteran has recently retired because of his years from service with the emperor, such a company of admirers attend him that . . . is considered to be the leader of the old song; the others quietly listen to what he says. He alone, like the father of a family, tells irrelevant stories and entertaining tales, and in most of them cleverly deceiving his hearers.¹²⁰

[21] Some of these, though few in number, shrink from the name of gamblers, and therefore desire to be called rather *tesserarii*,¹²¹ persons who differ from each other only as much as thieves do from brigands. But this must be admitted, that while all friendships at Rome are lukewarm, those alone which are formed at the gambling table, as if they were gained by glorious toil, have a bond of union and are united by complete firmness of exceeding affection; whence some members of these companies are found to be so harmonious that you would take them for the brothers Quintilius.¹²² And so you may see a man of low station, who is skilled in the secrets of dice-playing, walking abroad like Porcius Cato¹²³ after his unexpected and unlooked-for defeat for the praetorship, with a set expression of dignity and

sorrow because at some great banquet or assemblage a former proconsul was given a higher place of honour.

[22] Some lie in wait for men of wealth, old or young, childless or unmarried, or even for those who have wives or children — for no distinction is observed in this respect — enticing them by wonderful trickeries to make their wills; and when they have set their last decisions in order and left some things to these men, to humour whom they have made their wills in their favour, they forthwith die; so that you would not think that the death was brought about by the working of the allotment of destiny, nor could an illness easily be proved by the testimony of witnesses; nor is the funeral of these men attended by any mourners.

[23] Another, who attained some rank, moderate though it be, walking with neck puffed up, looks askance at his former acquaintances, so that you might think that a Marcellus was returning after the taking of Syracuse.

[24] Many of them, who deny that there are higher powers in heaven, neither appear in public nor eat a meal nor think they can with due caution take a bath, until they have critically examined the calendar ¹²⁴ and learned where, for example, the planet Mercury is, or what degree of the constellation of the Crab the moon occupies in its course through the heavens.

[25] Another, if he finds a creditor of his demanding his due with too great urgency, resorts to a charioteer ¹²⁵ who is all too ready to dare any enterprise, and causes the creditor to be charged with being a poisoner; and he is not let off until he has surrendered the bill of indebtedness and paid heavy costs. And besides, the accuser has the voluntary debtor ¹²⁶ put in prison as if he were his property, and does not set him free until he acknowledges the debt.

[26] In another place a wife by hammering day and night on the same anvil — as the old proverb has it ¹²⁷ — drives her husband to make a will, and the husband insistently urges his wife to do the same. Skilled jurists are brought in on both sides, one in a bedroom, the other, his rival, in the dining-room to discuss disputed points. These are joined by opposing interpreters of horoscopes, ¹²⁸ on the one side making profuse promises of prefectures and the burial of rich matrons, on the other telling women that for their husbands' funerals now quietly approaching they must make the necessary preparations. And a maid-servant bears witness, by nature somewhat pale,. . . ¹²⁹ As Cicero says: ¹³⁰ "They know of nothing on earth that is good unless it brings gain. Of their friends, as of their cattle, they love those best from whom they hope to get the greatest profit."

[27] When these people seek any loan, you will see them in slippers like a Micon or a Laches; ¹³¹ when they are urged to pay, they wear such lofty buskins and are so arrogant that you would think them Cresphontes and Temenus, the famous Heraclidae. ¹³² So much for the senate.

[28] Let us now turn to the idle and slothful commons. Among them some who have no shoes are conspicuous as though they had cultured names, such as the Messores, Statarii, Semicupae and Serapini, and Cicymbricus, with

Glutrinus and Trulla, and Lucanicus with Porclaca and Salsula, and countless others. ¹³³ [29] These spend all their life with wine and dice, in low haunts, pleasures, and the games. Their temple, their dwelling, their assembly, and the height of all their hopes is the Circus Maximus. You may see many groups of them gathered in the fora, the cross-roads, the streets, ¹³⁴ and their other meeting-places, engaged in quarrelsome arguments with one another, some (as usual) defending this, others that. [30] Among them those who have enjoyed a surfeit of life, influential through long experience, often swear by their hoary hair and wrinkles that the state cannot exist if in the coming race the charioteer whom each favours is not first to rush forth from the barriers, and fails to round the turning-point closely with his ill-omened ¹³⁵ horses. [31] And when there is such a dry rot of thoughtlessness, as soon as the longed-for day of the chariot-races begins to dawn, before the sun is yet shining clearly they all hasten in crowds to the spot at top speed, as if they would outstrip the very chariots that are to take part in the contest; and torn by their conflicting hopes about the result of the race, the greater number of them in their anxiety pass sleepless nights.

[32] If from there they come to worthless theatrical pieces, any actor is hissed off the boards who has not won the favour of the low rabble with money. And if this noisy form of demonstration is lacking, they cry in imitation of the Tauric race ¹³⁶ that all strangers — on whose aid they have always depended and stood upright ¹³⁷ — ought to be driven from the city. All this in foul and absurd terms, very different from the expressions of their interests and desires made by your commons of old, of whose many witty and happy sayings tradition tells us. ¹³⁸ [33] And it has now come to this, that in place of the lively sound of approval from men appointed to applaud, at every public show an actor of afterpieces, a beast-baiter, a charioteer, every kind of player, and the magistrates of higher and lower rank, nay even matrons, are constantly greeted with the shout “You should be these fellows’ teachers!”; but what they ought to learn no one is able to explain.

[34] The greater number of these gentry, given over to over-stuffing themselves with food, ¹³⁹ led by the charm of the odour of cooking ¹⁴⁰ and by the shrill voices of the women, like a flock of peacocks screaming with hunger, stand even from cockcrow beside the pots ¹⁴¹ on tip-toe and gnaw the ends of their fingers ¹⁴² as they wait for the dishes to cool. Others hang over the nauseous mass of half-raw meat, while it is cooking, watching it so intently that one would think that Democritus ¹⁴³ with other dissectors was examining the internal organs of dismembered animals and showing by what means future generations might be cured of internal pains.

[35] But enough for the present of this account of affairs in the city. Now let us return to the other events which were caused by various incidents in the provinces.

The Saxons in Gaul, after a truce had been made, were ambushed by the

Romans. Valentinian, under promise of joining forces with them, roused the Burgundians to invade Alamannia, but they, after being betrayed and deceived, killed all their prisoners and returned home.

In the third consulship of the two Augusti a ¹⁴⁴ horde of Saxons ¹⁴⁵ broke out, and after overcoming the dangers of the Ocean advanced at rapid pace towards the Roman frontier, ¹⁴⁶ having often been glutted with the slaughter of our people. The storm of this first inroad was met by Nannenus, the general in charge of those regions, a leader approved by long experience in wars. [2] But meeting then with a people resolved ¹⁴⁷ to fight to the death, after he had lost some of his men and had himself been wounded, he perceived that he would be unequal to frequent contests with them. Accordingly, having reported to the emperor what ought to be done, he managed that Severus, commander of the infantry, ¹⁴⁸ should come to help him in his difficult situation. 3. When he, bringing forces adequate for the purpose, had reached the spot and the troops had been drawn up in divisions, he so terrified and confused the arrogant barbarians before the struggle began, that they did not oppose him in strife, but, dazzled by the gleam of the standards and eagles, begged for pardon and peace. 4. And after a long and varied discussion, since it seemed to be in the interest of the state, a truce was agreed upon, and in accordance with the conditions that were proposed the Saxons gave us as hostages many young men fit for military service, and then were allowed to depart and return without hindrance to the place from which they had come. 5. When they thought themselves now free from all fear and were preparing to return, foot-soldiers were secretly sent and laid an ambushade in a secluded valley, from which they could attack the Saxons with slight trouble as they passed by. But the result was far otherwise than was hoped. 6. For, excited by the sound of the approaching Saxons, some of our men rushed out before the proper time; on their sudden appearance the savages raised terrible howls, and while the Romans were hastening to steady themselves, they were put to flight. Presently, however, they halted and massed themselves together, and as their dangerous plight gave them strength (though somewhat impaired), they were forced to fight; but after suffering great losses they were routed and would have perished to a man, had not a troop of mail-clad horsemen, which had been similarly stationed on another side, near a byway, to cause danger to the savages as they passed by, been aroused by their cries of terror, and quickly come to their aid. [7] Then the contest became hotter and the Romans with fortified courage pressed upon the Saxons from all sides, surrounded them, and slew them with their drawn swords; not one of them could again return to his native home, not a single one was allowed to survive the slaughter of his comrades. And although some just judge will condemn this act as treacherous and hateful, yet on careful consideration of the matter he will not think it improper that a destructive band of brigands was destroyed when the opportunity at last offered.

[8] After these affairs had been so successfully concluded, ¹⁴⁹ Valentinian, turning over various thoughts in his mind, was oppressed by anxious care, as he thought over many plans and considered by what devices he might break the arrogance of the Alamanni and their king Macrianus, ¹⁵⁰ who without limit or measure was confusing the Roman state by his restless disturbances. [9] For this savage nation, although from its very cradle weakened by a variety of disasters, so often recovers its youthful strength, that people think it has been unassailed for long ages. And the emperor finally decided, after favouring first one plan and then another, to bring about their destruction through the Burgundians, a warlike people, rich in the strength of countless young warriors, and therefore a cause of terror to all their neighbours. [10] Accordingly, he often sent letters to their kings through silent and loyal messengers, urging them to attack the Alamanni at an appointed time, and promising that he too would cross the Rhine with the Roman armies and, if the Alamanni tried to avoid the unexpected weight of armed forces, would intercept them in their panic.

[11] The emperor's letters were gladly received for two reasons: first, because the Burgundians know that they are descendants of the Romans from ancient times; ¹⁵¹ and then, since they frequently quarrelled with the Alamanni about salt-pits ¹⁵² and boundaries. ¹⁵³ They therefore sent their choicest troops, which, before our soldiers were gathered together, advanced as far as the banks of the Rhine; and while the emperor was still occupied with the building of fortifications, they caused the very greatest alarm to our people. [12] And so they halted for a time, but when Valentinian did not appear on the appointed day, as he had agreed, and they saw that none of his promises had been fulfilled, they sent envoys to the emperor's camp, demanding that support be given them for their return to their homes, in order that they might not expose their unprotected rear to the enemy. [13] And when they perceived that by subterfuges and delays their request was practically denied, they went off from there in sorrow and indignation. And their kings, on learning what had happened, furious at being mocked, killed all their prisoners and returned to their native lands.

[14] In their country a king is called by the general name Hendinos, and, according to an ancient custom, lays down his power and is deposed, if under him the fortune of war has wavered, or the earth has denied sufficient crops; just as the Egyptians commonly blame their rulers for such occurrences. ¹⁵⁴ On the other hand the chief priest among the Burgundians is called Sinistus, holds his power for life, and is exposed to no such dangers as threaten the kings.

[15] Taking advantage of this very timely occasion, ¹⁵⁵ Theodosius, at that time commander of the cavalry, ¹⁵⁶ made an attack through Raetia upon the Alamanni, who through fear of the aforesaid people ¹⁵⁷ were scattered; he killed many of them, and by the emperor's order sent all his prisoners to Italy, where they received fertile cantons, and now live as our subjects on the banks of the Po. ¹⁵⁸

Disasters are inflicted upon the province of Tripolis and on the Lepcitani and Oeenses by the Austoriani, but through the duplicity of the commanding general, Romanus, these are concealed from Valentinian, and left unpunished.

From here, as if moving to another part ¹⁵⁹ of the world, let us come to the sorrows of the African province of Tripolis, over which (I think) even Justice herself has wept; and from what cause these blazed out like flames will appear when my narrative is completed.

[2] The Austoriani, ¹⁶¹ who are neighbours to those regions, are savages, always ready for sudden raids and accustomed to live by murder and robbery. These were subdued for a time, but then returned to their natural turbulence, for which they seriously alleged this reason:- [3] A certain man of their country, Stachao by name, when he was wandering freely in our territory, it being a time of peace, committed some violations of the laws, among which the most conspicuous was, that he tried by every kind of deceit to betray the province, ¹⁶² as was proved by most trustworthy testimony. Accordingly he was burned to death.

[4] To avenge his execution, under the pretext that he was a countryman of theirs and had been unjustly condemned, like beasts aroused by madness, they sallied forth from their homes while Jovian was still ruling, and, fearing to come near Lepcis, a city strong in its walls and population, they encamped for three days in the fertile districts near the city. There they slaughtered the peasants, whom sudden fear had paralysed or had compelled to take refuge in caves, burned a great deal of furniture which could not be carried off, and returned laden with immense spoils, taking with them also as prisoner one Silva, the most eminent of the local magistrates, who chanced to be found in the country ¹⁶³ with his wife and children.

[5] The people of Lepcis, greatly alarmed by this sudden calamity, before the evils which the insolence of the barbarians threatened should increase, implored the protection of Romanus, the newly-promoted commanding-general for Africa. As soon as he arrived, leading his military forces, and was asked to lend his aid in these troubles, he declared that he would not move his camp unless provisions in abundance should first be brought and 4000 camels equipped. [6] The unhappy citizens were stupefied by this answer, and declared that after suffering from fires and pillage they could not procure a remedy for their tremendous losses by providing such enormous supplies. Whereupon the general, after deluding them by spending forty days there, marched away without actually attempting anything.

[7] The people of Tripolis, disappointed in this hope and fearing the worst, when the lawful day for the popular assembly (which with them comes once a year) had arrived, appointed Severus and Flaccianus as envoys, who were to take to Valentinian golden statues of Victory because of his accession to power, and to tell him fearlessly of the lamentable ruin of the province. [8] As

soon as Romanus heard of this, he sent a swift horseman to Remigius, the chief-marshal of the court, a relative of his by marriage and ¹⁶⁴ a partner in his robberies, asking him to see to it that the investigation of this affair should be assigned by the emperor's authority to the deputy governor Vincentius and himself. ^[9] The envoys came to the court, and being given audience with the emperor, stated orally what they had suffered; and they presented decrees, containing a full account of the whole affair. Since the emperor, after reading these, neither believed the communication of the marshal, who countenanced the misdeeds of Romanus, nor the envoys, who gave contrary testimony, a full investigation was promised, but it was put off, in the way in which supreme powers ¹⁶⁵ are usually deceived among the distractions to which the powerful are liable.

^[10] While the people of Tripolis were long in a state of anxiety and suspense, looking for some aid from the emperor's military support, the hordes of barbarians again came up, given confidence by what had happened before; and after overrunning the territory of Lepcis and Oea ¹⁶⁶ with death and devastation, went away again, laden with vast heaps of booty; a number of decurions ¹⁶⁷ were put to death, among whom the former high-priest Rusticianus and the aedile Nicasius were conspicuous. ^[11] But the reason why this inroad could not be prevented was that, although at the request of the envoys the charge of military affairs also had been entrusted to the governor Ruricius, ¹⁶⁸ it was soon afterwards transferred to Romanus. ^[12] When now the news of this newly inflicted catastrophe was sent to Gaul, it greatly angered the emperor. Accordingly, Palladius, a tribune and secretary, was sent to pay the wages that were due the soldiers in various parts of Africa, and to investigate and give a fully trustworthy report of what had happened at Tripolis.

^[13] However, during such delays caused by consultations ¹⁶⁹ and waiting for replies, the Austeriani, made insolent by two successful raids, flew to the spot like birds of prey made more savage by the incitement of blood, and after slaying all those who did not escape danger by flight, carried off the booty which they had previously left behind, besides cutting down the trees and vines. ^[14] Then one Mychon, a highborn and powerful townsman, was caught in the suburbs but gave them the slip before he was bound; and because he was lame and it was wholly impossible for him to make good his escape, he threw himself into an empty well; but the barbarians pulled him out with his rib broken, and placed him near the city gates; there, at the pitiful entreaties of his wife, he was ransomed but was drawn up by a rope to the battlements, and died after two days. ^[15] Then the savage marauders, roused to greater persistence, assailed the very walls of Lepcis, which re-echoed with the mournful wailing of the women, who had never before been besieged by an enemy, and were half-dead with a terror to which they were unused. But after blockading the city for eight days together, during which some of the besiegers were wounded without accomplishing anything, they returned in

saddened mood to their own abodes.

[16] Because of this the citizens, despairing of being saved and resorting to the last hope, although the envoys they had already sent had not yet returned, dispatched Jovinus and Pancratius to give the emperor a trustworthy account of what they had seen and had personally suffered. These envoys, by inquiring of those mentioned above (Severus, whom they met at Carthage, and Flaccianus), what they had done, learned that they had been ordered to make their report to the deputy and the general. Of these Severus was at once attacked by a painful illness and died; but the aforementioned envoys nevertheless ¹⁷⁰ hastened by long marches to the court.

[17] After this, Palladius had entered Africa, and Romanus, intending to block in advance the purpose for which he had come, in order to secure his own safety, had ordered the officers of the companies through certain confidants of his secrets, that they should hand over to Palladius the greater part of the pay which he had brought, since he was an influential man and in close relations with the highest officials of the palace; and so it was done. [18] Palladius immediately, being thus enriched, proceeded to Lepcis, and in order to succeed in ferreting out the truth, he took with him to the devastated regions two eloquent and distinguished townsmen, Erechthius and Aristomenes, who freely told him of their own troubles and those of their fellow-citizens and neighbours. [19] They openly showed him everything, and after he had seen the lamentable ashes of the province, he returned, and reproaching Romanus for his inactivity, threatened to give the emperor a true report of everything that he had seen. Then Romanus, filled with anger and resentment, assured him that he also would then at once report that Palladius, sent as an incorruptible notary, had diverted to his own profit all the money intended for the soldiers. [20] Therefore, since his conscience was witness to disgraceful acts, Palladius then came to an understanding with Romanus, and on his return to the palace, he misled Valentinian by the atrocious art of lying, declaring that the people of Tripolis had no cause for complaint. Accordingly, he was sent again to Africa with Jovinus, the last of all the envoys (for Pancratius had died at Treves), in order with the deputy to examine in person the value of the work of the second deputation also. Besides this, the emperor gave orders that the tongues of Erechthius and Aristomenes should be cut out, since the aforesaid Palladius had intimated that they had made some offensive statements.

[21] The secretary, following the deputy, as had been arranged, came to Tripolis. As soon as Romanus learned of this, with all speed he sent his attendant thither, and with him an adviser of his, Caecilius by name, a native of that province. Through these all the townspeople were induced whether by bribes or deceit is uncertain-to make grave charges against Jovinus, positively declaring that they had given him no commission to report what he had reported to the emperor. In fact, their dishonesty went so far that even Jovinus himself was forced to endanger his own life by confessing that he had lied to

the emperor.

[22] When this was known through Palladius, who ¹⁷¹ had now returned, Valentinian, being rather inclined to severity, gave orders that Jovinus, as the originator of the false statement, with Caelestinus, Concordius, and Lucius as accomplices and participants, should suffer capital punishment; further, that Ruricius, the governor, should suffer death as the author of a false report, ¹⁷² the following also being counted against him — that there were read in his report certain expressions of his which seemed immoderate. [23] Ruricius was executed at Sitifis, the rest were punished at Utica through sentence of the deputy-governor Crescens. Flaccianus, however, before the death of the other envoys, was heard by the deputy and the general; and when he stoutly defended his life, he was all but killed by the angry soldiers, who rushed upon him with shouts and abusive language; for they declared against him that the Tripolitani could not possibly be defended for the reason that they themselves had declined to furnish what was necessary for the campaign. [24] And for this reason Flaccianus was imprisoned, until the emperor, who had been consulted about him, should make up his mind what ought to be done. But he bribed his guards — so it was permissible to believe — and made his escape to the city of Rome, where he kept in hiding until he passed away by a natural death.

[25] In consequence of this remarkable end of the affair, Tripolis, though harassed by disasters from without and from within, remained silent, but not without defence; for the eternal eye of Justice watched over her, as well as the last curses ¹⁷³ of the envoys and the governor. For long afterwards the ¹⁷⁴ following event came to pass: Palladius was dismissed from service, and stripped of the haughtiness with which he swelled, and retired to a life of inaction. [26] And when Theodosius, that famous leader of armies, had come into Africa to put an end to the dangerous attempts of Firmus, ¹⁷⁵ and, as he had been ordered, examined the moveable property of the outlawed Romanus, there was found also among his papers the letter of one Meterius, containing the words, “Meterius to Romanus his Lord and patron,” and at the end, after much matter that would here be irrelevant: “The disgraced Palladius salutes you, and says that he was deposed for no other reason than that in the cause of the people of Tripolis he spoke to the sacred ears what was not true.” [27] When this letter had been sent to the Palace and read, Meterius, on being seized by order of Valentinian, admitted that the letter was his. Therefore Palladius was ordered to be produced, but thinking of the mass of crimes that he had concocted, at a halting-station, as darkness was coming on, noticing the absence of the guards, who on a festal day of the Christian religion ¹⁷⁶ were spending the whole night in church, he knotted a noose about his neck and strangled himself. [28] When this favourable turn of fortune was fully known and the instigator of the awful troubles put to death, Erechthius and Aristomenes, who, when they learned that it had been ordered that their tongues should be cut out, ¹⁷⁷ as over-lavishly used, had withdrawn to far remote and hidden places, now hastened from concealment; and when the

emperor Gratian — for Valentinian had died — was given trustworthy information of the abominable deception, they were sent for trial to the proconsul Hesperius ¹⁷⁸ and the deputy Flavianus. ¹⁷⁹ These officials, being men of impartial justice combined with most rightful authority, having put Caecilius to the torture, learned from his open confession that he himself had persuaded his citizens to make trouble for the envoys by false statements. This investigation was followed by a report, which disclosed the fullest confirmation of the acts which had been committed; to this no reply was made.

[29] And that these dramas should leave no awful ¹⁸⁰ tragic effect untried, this also was added after the curtain had dropped. ¹⁸¹ Romanus, setting out to the Palace, brought with him Caecilius, who intended to accuse the judges of having been biased in favour of the province; and being received with favour by Merobaudes, ¹⁸² he had sought that some more witnesses whom he needed should be produced. [30] When these had come to Milan, and had shown by credible evidence that they had been brought there under false pretences to satisfy a grudge, they were discharged and returned to their homes. Nevertheless, in Valentinianus' lifetime, in consequence of what we have stated above, Remigius also after retiring into private life strangled himself, as I shall show in the proper place. ¹⁸³

NOTES.

¹ xxvii. 12, 11 ff.

² 366 A.D.

³ He fell in 350. He was the son of Eutropia, and assumed the purple in rivalry with Magnentius. See Vol. I, Introd., pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁴ With a fine of 1000 drachmas. The play was the *Capture of Miletus*, produced soon after 494 B.C.; cf. Herodotus, vi. 21.

⁵ For *auctores* in this sense, cf. Suet., *Claud.* 25, 3.

⁶ Ammianus' purpose in telling this story is to show that he might dread to give a description of the degeneracy of the Romans, for fear of what befel Phrynichus.

⁷ 368 A.D.

⁸ Formerly a part of Pannonia (cf. xix. 11, 4).

⁹ Cf. *praesidialis apparitor*, xvii. 3, 6.

¹⁰ I.e., from Dacia, 294–6.

¹¹ Etruria (in 366).

¹² 369–70 A.D.

¹³ Cf. xxii. 12, 2; xxii. 16, 17.

¹⁴ I.e., while holding offices of minor importance.

¹⁵ Rome in 368.

¹⁶ Cf. Suet., *Nero*, 41, 2; 44, 1; xiv, 6, 18.

¹⁷ Or wrestling-teacher.

¹⁸ On *supra plantain* see Val. Max. viii. 12, ext. 3, *artifex (Apelles) qui in opere suo moneri se a suture de crepida et ansulis passus, de crure etiam disputare incipientem, supra plantam ascendere vetuit*. In the form *supra crepidam*, it became proverbial (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 85). Here it means “beyond the powers which had been given him.”

¹⁹ *Suppliciis* refers both to tortures in order to exact information and executions accompanied by torture.

²⁰ During the illness of Olybrius.

²¹ 371–72 A.D.

²² Cf. xxx. 2, 10.

²³ Cf. *tartareus*, xv. 6, 1; *funereus*, xxix. 5, 46; *bustuarius* also used of a gladiator who fought at funeral games, Cic. In *Pisonem*, 9, 19.

²⁴ Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, iii. 15, says that the Brahmins sometimes levitated themselves two cubits high from the ground . . . walking with the sun.

²⁵ One of Ammianus' few word-plays; but see Blomgren, p ff.

²⁶ Egypt and Africa supplied the Romans with grain until the division of the empire, after which Africa supplied Rome, and Egypt Constantinople.

²⁷ For the same amount; i.e., one gold-piece.

²⁸ I.e., to the treasury in charge of the praetorian prefect, who had general supervision of the grain-supply; see Introd., Vol. I, pp. xxxi.-xxxii.

²⁹ Tortured until he was permanently disfigured. For *sub eculeo* see xxvi. 10, 13, note.

³⁰ Valentinian and Gratian.

³¹ For *consiliarius* = *minister*, cf. Suet., *Tib.* 55; *Claud.* 12, 2. He was one of the governor's assistants, appointed to aid him in making judicial decisions, and corresponding to the members of the emperor's *consistorium*; see Index II, Vol. I, s.v. *consiliarius*.

³² Modern Otricoli.

³³ He was city prefect in 371 and 372. Ammianus includes the whole time of the investigation.

³⁴ 368 ff. A.D.

³⁵ An island on the Dalmatian Coast.

³⁶ Cf. xxvii. 9, 8.

³⁷ Cf. xxiii. 1, 4.

³⁸ The punishment should fit the crime. According to Capitolinus, 24, 1, Marcus Aurelius punished all offences with a milder penalty than the laws allowed.

³⁹ Cf. xxvii. 6, 14.

⁴⁰ Cf. xxvii. 3, 5.

⁴¹ Cf. "from the frying-pan into the fire" and xiv. 11, 12.

⁴² In 390.

⁴³ For the bad repute of charioteers cf. 4, 25, below; xxvi. 3, 3.

⁴⁴ Called *monetae praepositus*, xxii. 11, 9.

⁴⁵ See 1, 8.

⁴⁶ Probably with the knout, whips of leather with balls of lead on the ends of each lash; cf. xxix. 1, 40, and Zos. V. 2, σφαίραις μολιβδίναις αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τένοντος ἐνεκελεύετο παίεσθαι. Cf. also note 1 on page 340.

⁴⁷ Cf. xxxvii. 11, 1.

⁴⁸ I.e., by letter, see § 33.

⁴⁹ For this meaning of *baiuihs*, cf. xv. 5, 10.

⁵⁰ I.e., favourable decisions, acquittals.

⁵¹ The text is very uncertain, and probably corrupt; see the crit. note. The general meaning is clear.

⁵² *Ad Quint. Frat. i.* 1, 13, 39.

⁵³ Ursicinus; see § 44, below.

⁵⁴ Cf. 1, 12, above.

⁵⁵ Cf. xxii. 15, 27, and Spenser, *F.Q.* iv. 8, 39:

Like as the Basiliske, of serpents seede,
From powrefull eyes close venim doth convey
Into the lookers hart, and killeth farre away.

⁵⁶ In 375.

⁵⁷ See note on § 21, above.

⁵⁸ § 44, above.

⁵⁹ Ammianus uses *antipilanus* in the sense of *antesignanus*; for its usual meaning see xvi. 12, 20, note.

⁶⁰ Cf. xxvi. 10, 5; he had a brazen bull constructed, in which he burned his victims alive; the first of these was its inventor Perillus, the last Phalaris himself.

⁶¹ I.e., by offers of rewards for their arrest

⁶² Properly, concubine.

⁶³ See §§ 31 ff.

⁶⁴ Cf. Homer, *Od.* xvii. 218; Plato, *Sym.* 195 b, which Cicero, *De Sen.* 3, 7, renders by *pares vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur*.

⁶⁵ I.e., the warrant conferring the office. According to Wagner *commonitorium* is the warrant, but the meaning given in the text seems more natural.

- ⁶⁶ As *vicarius*.
- ⁶⁷ *Iliad*, xvii. 645 ff.
- ⁶⁸ Cf. xv. 3, 9.
- ⁶⁹ Ammianus does not say more about him, except for a casual reference in xxix. 3, 1. His death was in 376.
- ⁷⁰ The dungeon at Rome; cf. Sail., *Cat.* 55, 3 ff.
- ⁷¹ Cf. Florus, ii. 6, 8 (i. 22, 8, *L.C.L.*).
- ⁷² 369 A.D.
- ⁷³ The Belgic Channel, a part of the North Sea at the mouth of the Rhine.
- ⁷⁴ The Rhine.
- ⁷⁵ The Neckar.
- ⁷⁶ In the form of a chest or coffer-dam.
- ⁷⁷ Cf. xxvii. 10, 9, note.
- ⁷⁸ In 381.
- ⁷⁹ Cf. *temporis brevi puncto*, xxvii. 2, 1.
- ⁸⁰ As they worked on the fortification on Mount Pirus (see § 5, above).
- ⁸¹ Perhaps the one mentioned in xxiii. 3, 9.
- ⁸² Wife of Valentinian, previously married to Magnentius; cf. xxx. 10, 4.
- ⁸³ Cf. xxx. 7, 8.
- ⁸⁴ For this meaning of *quaesitus in unum*, cf. xv. 7, 7; xxvi. 7, 9, note.
- ⁸⁵ I.e., in 369.
- ⁸⁶ Here Ammianus takes up his narrative from xxvii. 8.
- ⁸⁷ Through the raids of the Picts and Scots.
- ⁸⁸ Theodosius.
- ⁸⁹ From those ordered to watch Valentinus.
- ⁹⁰ Cf. xxvii. 8, 10.
- ⁹¹ This was a fifth province, added to the four into which Britain was originally divided; these were Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis, Britannia Prima, and Britannia Secunda.

Valentia means “Health and Strength.”

⁹² 369 A.D.

⁹³ 368 ff. A.D.

⁹⁴ This word occurs nowhere else; the Arcani would seem to be connected with the secret service (*agentes in rebus*), to judge from the name and the description of their duties. They were perhaps the same as the *Angarii*, so called from ἄγγαρος an old Greek word for a Persian mounted courier, and were in charge of the Roman courierservice; see *Cod. Theod.* viii, *de cursu publico*, tit. 5.

⁹⁵ In a lost book.

⁹⁶ 369 A.D.

⁹⁷ Cf. xxvii. 2, 1, 4. He later, at Rheims, built the *basilica loviana*, in honour of the Holy Agricola.

⁹⁸ 368 ff. A.D.

⁹⁹ 368 — 370.

¹⁰⁰ I.e., the citizens of Rome.

¹⁰¹ 371–372.

¹⁰² In Achaia and in Africa.

¹⁰³ About nine o'clock in the morning.

¹⁰⁴ For mixing with wine.

¹⁰⁵ Such laws were passed first by Tiberius; cf. Suet., *Tib.* [34] They were renewed by Claudius (Dio, lx. 6, 7) and Nero (Suet., *Nero*, 16, 2).

¹⁰⁶ He lived in the sixth century B.C., and according to the myth, lived in a cave for a time variously given as 40, 50 or 78 years. Later, called to the help of the Athenians when they were in trouble, he carried out many reforms. He actually came to Athens in 596 B.C., to purify the city from the pestilence caused by the crimes of Cylon, a generation before.

¹⁰⁷ Or possibly, “so far as space allowed.”

¹⁰⁸ Cf. xvi. 5, 5, where Lind. cites *reflabilis tori plumeo sepulcro superba* from Zeno Veronensis, *Orat. de Spiritu et Corp.*, .

¹⁰⁹ As commanders of the army; see xxv. 1, 5.

¹¹⁰ Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 17, 7, says that Manilius, who was thought to have good prospects of the consulship, was expelled from the senate for similar conduct.

¹¹¹ Castor and Pollux, who were present at the battle at Lake Regillus, 496 B.C., and brought news of victory to Rome; cf. Florus, i. 5, 4; Val. Max. i. 8, 1–2. They are said also to have

announced the victories over Perseus at Pydna (Flor. i. 28, 15) and over the Cimbri (i. 38, 20).

¹¹² These were considered a delicacy; cf. Apicius, viii. 9; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 223.

¹¹³ The meaning is not clear. Perhaps it is that only a schoolmaster is lacking to make the place look like a school; or to praise the host in eloquent language. The former seems more probable; the secretaries (and the guests?) would be the pupils.

¹¹⁴ City prefect under Macrinus (Dio, lxxix. 14, 3) who wrote biographies of the Caesars. On him see Vopiscus, *Firmus*, 1, 2: *homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*. The association of Juvenal with this writer is a strange one, if the poet is meant.

¹¹⁵ Cf. xxvii. 11, 1.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Val. Max. viii. 7, Ext. 8; Cic., *De Senec.* 8, 26; Socrates' reply is in the words of Solon, about whom a somewhat similar story is told (ἵνα μαθὼν αὐτὸ ἀποθάνω), and perhaps Ammianus confused the two, as Valesius thought.

¹¹⁷ I.e., their slaves do the hunting; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxix. 19; Pliny the younger, *Epist.* i. 6.

¹¹⁸ In the extreme north, on the Dnieper; also a fabled people of Italy, near Baiae, who hid by day in dark caves: hence the land of perpetual darkness, the home of Somnus, *Odyss.* xi. 114 ff.; cf. xxix. 2, 4, below

¹¹⁹ No such places are known in Rome. There was a pool of Mamaea at Baiae; see Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.* 26, 10, *et in Baiano palatium cum stagno, quod Mamaeae nomine hodieque censetur* ("officially listed"); hence the *Silvani lavacrum* also was probably in Campania.

¹²⁰ The text of this section is corrupt, and there are several lacunae; see crit. notes, .

¹²¹ Perhaps a word-play on the two meanings of *tesserarii*, "players with dice" and "keepers of the watchword." According to Wagner, there was somewhat more skill called for with the *tesserae*, while with the *aleae* it was mainly luck.

¹²² Condianus and Maximus. They lived under the reign of Commodus, held office together, and were executed together by his order; cf. Dio, lxiii. 5, 3; Lamprid., *Comm.* 4, 9.

¹²³ Cato Uticensis is meant.

¹²⁴ I.e., an astronomical calendar; see Juvenal, vi, 573 ff., which Lindenbrog thought that Ammianus had in mind.

¹²⁵ Charioteers were notorious for the use of magic arts against their rivals, and in general; see xxvi. 3, 3, note; xxviii. 1, 27.

¹²⁶ The "voluntary debtor" is one who, to avoid a criminal charge, promises his accuser a sum of money; see Sen., *De Benef.* v. 19, 6, *dico me tibi obligatm pro filio; non quia sum, sed quia volo me offerre tibi debitorem volun. tarium*. He thus becomes a debtor, and is put in prison.

¹²⁷ Cf. Cic., *De Orat.* ii. 39, 162, and xviii. 4, 2.

¹²⁸ Cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.*, 11, 1.

¹²⁹ The rest of this sentence seems hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible.

¹³⁰ *De Amic.* 21, 79.

¹³¹ Characters in comedy; i.e., they are humble and obsequious.

¹³² Rulers respectively of Messene and of Argos, hence characters in tragedy, contrasted with Micon and Laches.

¹³³ Cf. xxviii. 4, 7. Ammianus is satirical, since these names are derived from humble occupations.

¹³⁴ See *Class. Phil.* xxxii (1937), 49 ff.

¹³⁵ Perhaps implying that magic arts have been used against him; but see crit. note. In general, cf. Hor., *Odes*, i. 1, 4 f., *metaque fervidis evitata rotis*.

¹³⁶ Referring to the myth that the Tauri (xxii. 8, 33) sacrificed strangers at the altar of Diana.

¹³⁷ Cf. Aurel. Vict., *Caesares*, 11, 13, *mihi quidem . . . plane compertum urbem Romam externorum virtute . . . praecipue crevisse*.

¹³⁸ Cf. xvi. 10, 13.

¹³⁹ Cf. xxii. 12, 6, for similar language.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Suet., *Claud.*, 33, 1, *ictus nidore prandii*.

¹⁴¹ Wagner and *T.L.L.* take *aulis* = *ollis*, which suits the context; cf. Gell. xvii. 8, 2, 3, etc.

¹⁴² Cf. Plaut., *Pseud.* 881 ff. *ego ita convivis cenam conditam dabo . . . ut quisque quidque conditum gustaverit, ipsus sibi faciam ut digitos praerodat suos*.

¹⁴³ The famous Greek physical philosopher, from Abdera; cf. xv. 1, 4; xiv. 5, 1. There is a word-play on *anatomis* and *anatomicis*; see , note 2.

¹⁴⁴ 370 A.D.

¹⁴⁵ Hieronymus puts the defeat of the Saxons in 374, Cassiodorus in 3 [73] They first appear in history under Diocletian, and had their home in what is now Hqlstein.

¹⁴⁶ Of Gaul.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *destinatis animis*, xvii. 2, 2.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. xxvii. 6, 3.

¹⁴⁹ 369 f. A.D.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. xviii. 2, 15.

¹⁵¹ Possibly from the Romans whom Drusus, and later Tiberius, left behind on the Elbe and elsewhere to defend the frontier.

¹⁵² This was a frequent cause of war; cf. Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 57; Strabo, vii. 5, 11 (C. 318); and for these salt-pits, John of Salisbury, *Epist.* 196.

¹⁵³ Cf. xviii. 2, 15.

¹⁵⁴ Since they regarded them as gods; see Diod. Sic., i. 90, 3.

¹⁵⁵ 370 A.D.

¹⁵⁶ I.e., in Gaul.

¹⁵⁷ The Burgundians.

¹⁵⁸ Further wars with the Alamanni are described in xxix. 4, and xxx. 3.

¹⁵⁹ For this partitive use of the adjective ¹⁵⁹ cf. Hor., *Odes*, iii. 23, 8, *pomifer annus*; Sail., *Jug.* 107, 1, *nudum et caecum corpus*.

¹⁶⁰ 363 ff. A.D.

¹⁶¹ Ammianus, in xxvi. 4, 5, counts them among the people of Mauritania.

¹⁶² Apparently by rousing the barbarians against the Romans.

¹⁶³ I.e., his country estate.

¹⁶⁴ For *vel* = 'and' cf. , n. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. xxix. 5, 2, end.

¹⁶⁶ Modern Tripoli.

¹⁶⁷ Local magistrates and officials.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. xxvii. 9, 3.

¹⁶⁹ 365 ff A.D.

¹⁷⁰ I.e., in spite of what they had learned.

¹⁷¹ 370 A.D.

¹⁷² He had reported the invasion and pillage by the barbarians. Note the alliteration *mendacem morte multari*.

¹⁷³ Cf. 1, 57, note 2.

¹⁷⁴ 376 A.D.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. xxix. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Vigils were held on various sacred anniversaries, e.g., on the night of the birth of the Saviour, Lact., *Div. Inst.*, vii. 19, 3; at Easter, Tertull., *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 4; etc.

¹⁷⁷ See 6, 20, above.

¹⁷⁸ In 376.

¹⁷⁹ In 382 and 391 he was praetorian prefect; and according to Symmachus, 2, 82, 83, he received the consulship, apparently from the usurper Eugenius.

¹⁸⁰ 370 ff. A.D.

¹⁸¹ See xvi. 6, 3, note; here the meaning is different, since what follows was the *exodium*, or afterpiece, at the end of the tragedy. Hence the curtain was not put away, but *raised* (or, as we should say, lowered).

¹⁸² Consul in 377; he was then perhaps court-marshal.

¹⁸³ xxx. 2, 10 ff.

BOOK XXIX

Theodorus, a notary, aspires to the throne, and being accused of treason at Antioch before Valens and convicted, along with many accomplices of his crime he is put to death.

At the end of the winter Sapor, king of the ¹ Persian nations, made immoderately arrogant by the confidence inspired by his former battles, having filled up the number of his army and greatly strengthened it, had sent his mailed horsemen, archers, and mercenary soldiers to invade our territories. [2] To meet these forces the general Trajanus and Vadamarius, the former king of the Alamanni, advanced with very powerful forces, appointed by the emperor's order to observe the policy of keeping off the Persians rather than attacking them. [3] When they had come to Vagabanta, ² a favourable place for the legions, they met unwillingly the swift attacks of the enemy's cavalry fiercely rushing upon them, and purposely retreated, in order not to be first to wound anyone of their adversaries and thus be judged guilty of violating the treaty; but at last, driven by extreme necessity, they engaged in battle, and, after slaying many of the Persians, came off victorious. [4] But during the delay which followed, several skirmishes were tried by both sides, which ended with varying results; and an armistice having been concluded by common consent, and the summer having ended, the leaders of both sides departed in different directions, still at enmity with each other. Now the king ³ of the Parthians returned home, to spend the winter in Ctesiphon; but the Roman emperor entered Antioch. And while the latter was staying there, free from anxiety from foreign foes for the time, he almost fell victim to domestic treason, as an account of the series of events will show.

[5] A certain Procopius, a turbulent man, always ⁴ given over to a lust for disturbances, had charged two courtiers named Anatolias and Spudasius, about whom orders had been given that money of which they had defrauded the treasury be exacted of them, with having attempted the life of Count Fortunatianus, notorious as being a tiresome dunner. He, being hot-tempered, was immediately aroused to a mad degree of wrath, and by the authority of the office which he held, ⁵ handed over a certain Palladius, a man of low birth, as one who had been hired as a poisoner by the afore-mentioned courtiers, and an interpreter of the fates by horoscope, Heliodorus by name, to the court of the praetorian prefecture, in order that they might be forced to tell what they knew about the matter. [6] But when they came to a vigorous investigation of the deed, or the attempt, Palladius boldly cried out that those matters about which they were inquiring were trivial and negligible; that if he were allowed to speak, he would tell of other things more important and fearful, which had already been plotted with great preparations, and unless foresight were used would upset the whole state. And on being bidden to tell freely what he knew,

he uncoiled an endless cable of crimes, ⁶ declaring that the ex-governor Fidustius, and Pergamius, with Irenaeus, by detestable arts of divination, had secretly learned the name of the man who was to succeed Valens. ^[7] Fidustius was seized on the spot — for he chanced to be near by — and was brought up secretly, and on being faced with the informer, he did not attempt to veil with any denial a matter already publicly known, but disclosed the deadly details of the whole plot; he freely admitted that he had, with Hilarius and Patricius, men skilled in divination, of whom the former had served in the household troops, sought information about the succession, and that the predictions inspired by secret arts had both foretold the naming of an excellent prince, and for the questioners themselves a sad end. ^[8] And while they were in doubt who there was at the time that was superior to all in strength of character, it seemed to them that Theodorus ⁷ surpassed all others; he had already gained second rank among the secretaries, and was in fact such a man as they thought him. For he was born of a clan famous in olden times in Gaul, liberally educated from earliest childhood, and so eminent for his modesty, good sense, refinement, charm, and learning that he always seemed superior to every office and rank that he was holding, ⁸ and was dear alike to high and low. He was also almost the only man whose mouth was closed by no fear of danger, since he bridled his tongue and reflected on what he was going to say. ^[9] Fidustius, already tortured almost to death, also added to this that Theodorus had learned all these prophecies from information which he himself had given him through Euserius, a man of remarkable learning and highly honoured; for shortly before that he had governed Asia with the rank of vice-prefect. ^[10] When Euserius also was put in prison, and the record of what had been done had been read to the emperor as usual, Valens' monstrous savagery spread everywhere like a fiercely blazing torch, and was increased by the base flattery of many men, and in particular by that of Modestus, ⁹ who was then praetorian prefect. ^[11] This man, being daily terrified by the thought of a successor, by tricking Valens, who was somewhat simple-minded, with veiled but clever flattery tried to wheedle over the emperor's favour in various ways, calling his rough, crude words 'choice Ciceronian posies'; and to increase his vanity he declared that, if Valens should order it, even the stars could be brought down and displayed for him.

^[12] Accordingly, orders were given that Theodorus also should be with swift dispatch hurried there ¹⁰ from Constantinople, to which he had gone on domestic business, and while he was being brought back, as the result of sundry preliminary trials, which were carried on day and night, a number of men, conspicuous for their rank and high birth, were brought from widely separated places. ^[13] And, since neither the public dungeons, already full to overflowing, nor private houses could contain the throngs of prisoners, although they were crammed together in hot and stifling crowds, and since the greater number of them were in irons, they all dreaded their own fate and that of their nearest relatives. ^[14] Finally Theodorus himself also arrived, half dead

with fear and in mourning garb, and when he had been hidden in a remote part of the country,¹¹ and everything was ready that the coming inquiries required, the trumpets were already sounding the signal for the murder of citizens.

[15] And because that man does not seem less deceitful who knowingly passes over what has been done, than one who invents things that never happened, I do not deny — and in fact there is no doubt about it — that Valens' life, not only often before through secret conspiracies, but also on this occasion, was plunged into extreme danger, and that a sword was almost driven into his throat by the soldiers; it was thrust away and turned aside by the hand of Fate only because she had destined him to suffer lamentable disasters in Thrace.¹² [16] For when he was quietly sleeping after midday in a wooded spot between Antioch and Seleucia, he was attacked by Sallustius, then one of the targeteers; but although at other times many men often eagerly made plots against his life, he escaped them all, since the limits of life assigned him at his very birth curbed these monstrous attempts. [17] The same thing sometimes happened during the reigns of Commodus and Severus, whose life was often attempted with extreme violence, until finally the one, after escaping many varied dangers within the palace, as he was entering the pit of the amphitheatre to attend the games, was dangerously wounded with a dagger by the senator Quintianus, a man of unlawful ambition, and almost disabled;¹³ the other, when far advanced in years, would have been stabbed by the centurion Saturninus (who at the instigation of the prefect Plautianus made an unexpected attack on him as he lay in bed) had not his young son borne him aid. [18] Therefore Valens also deserved excuse for taking every precaution to protect his life, which treacherous foes were trying in haste to take from him. But it was inexcusable that, with despotic anger, he was swift to assail with malicious persecution guilty and innocent under one and the same law, making no distinction in their deserts; so that while there was still doubt about the crime, the emperor had made up his mind about the penalty, and some learned that they had been condemned to death before knowing that they were under suspicion. [19] This persistent purpose of his increased, spurred on as it was both by his own greed and that of persons who frequented the court at that time, and opened the way to fresh desires, and if any mention of mercy was made — which rarely happened — called it slackness. These men through their bloodthirsty flatteries perverted in the worst possible direction the character of a man who carried death at the tip of his tongue,¹⁴ and blew everything down with an untimely hurricane, hastening to overturn utterly the richest houses. [20] For he was exposed and open to the approach of plotters through his dangerous tendency to two faults: first, he was more prone to intolerable anger, when to be angry at all was shameful; secondly, in his princely pride he did not condescend to sift the truth of what, with the readiness of access of a man in private life, he had heard in secret whispers, but accepted as true and certain. [21] The result was that many innocent persons under the appearance of mercy were thrust forth from their homes, and driven

headlong into exile; and their property, which was consigned to the treasury, the emperor himself turned to his own profit, ¹⁵ while the condemned, worn out by the privations of fearful poverty, were reduced to beggary — and that is a fate to avoid which the wise old poet Theognis advises us actually to hurl ourselves into the sea. ¹⁶ [22] And even if anyone should admit that these things were right, yet their excess alone was hateful. Whence it was observed that the maxim is true, that no sentence is more cruel than one which conceals great severity under the guise of mercy.

[23] Accordingly, when the highest officials, to whom the investigations had been entrusted together with the praetorian prefect, had been called together, the racks were made taut, the leaden weights ¹⁷ were brought out along with the cords and the scourges. The whole place echoed with the horrible cries of a savage voice, as those who did the awful work shouted amid the clanking of chains: “Hold him; clamp; tighten; away with him.” ¹⁸ [24] And, since I have seen many condemned after horrible tortures, but everything is a jumble of confusion as in times of darkness, I shall, since the complete recollection of what was done has escaped me, give a brief and summary account of what I can recall.

[25] First, after some unimportant questions, Pergamius was called in, betrayed (as has been said) ¹⁹ by Palladius of having foreknowledge of certain things through criminal incantations. Since he was very eloquent and was prone to say dangerous things, while the judges were in doubt what ought to be asked first and what last, he began to speak boldly, and shouted out in an endless flood the names of a very large number of men as accomplices, demanding that some be produced from all but the ends of the earth, to be accused of great crimes. He, as the contriver of too hard a task, ²⁰ was punished with death; and after him others were executed in flocks; then finally they came to the case of Theodorus himself, as if to the dusty arena of an Olympic contest. [26] And that same day, among very many others, this sad event also happened, that Salia, shortly before master of the treasures ²¹ in Thrace, when he was brought out of prison to be heard, just as he was putting his foot into his shoe, as if under the stroke of great terror suddenly falling upon him, breathed his last in the arms of those who held him.

[27] Well then, when the court was ready to act, while the judges called attention to the provisions of the laws, but nevertheless regulated their handling of the cases according to the wish of the ruler, terror seized upon all. For Valens had entirely swerved from the high-way of justice, and had now learned better how to hurt; so he broke out into frenzied fits of rage, like a wild beast trained for the arena if it sees that anyone brought near to the barrier has made his escape.

[28] Then Patricius and Hilarius were brought in and ordered to give a connected account of what had happened. In the beginning they were at variance with each other, but when their sides had been furrowed and the tripod which they were in the habit of using was brought in, they were driven

into a corner, and gave a true account of the whole business, which they unfolded from its very beginning. First Hilarius said:

[29] “O most honoured judges, we constructed from laurel twigs under dire auspices this unlucky little table which you see, in the likeness of the Delphic tripod, and having duly consecrated it by secret incantations, after many long-continued rehearsals we at length made it work. Now the manner of its working, whenever it was consulted about hidden matters, was as follows. [30] It was placed in the middle of a house purified thoroughly with Arabic perfumes; on it was placed a perfectly round plate made of various metallic substances. Around its outer rim the written forms of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet were skilfully engraved, separated from one another by carefully measured spaces. [31] Then a man clad in linen garments, shod also in linen sandals and having a fillet wound about his head, carrying twigs from a tree of good omen, after propitiating in a set formula the divine power from whom predictions come, having full knowledge of the ceremonial, stood over the tripod as priest and set swinging a hanging ring fitted to a very fine linen ²² thread and consecrated with mystic arts. This ring, passing over the designated intervals in a series of jumps, and falling upon this and that letter which detained it, made hexameters corresponding with the questions and completely finished in feet and rhythm, like the Pythian verses which we read, or those given out from the oracles of the Branchidae. ²³ [32] When we then and there inquired, ‘what man will succeed the present emperor’?, since it was said that he would be perfect in every particular, and the ring leaped forward and lightly touched the two syllables *θεο*, adding the next letter, ²⁴ then one of those present cried out that by the decision of inevitable fate Theodorus was meant. And there was no further investigation of the matter; for it was agreed among us that he was the man who was sought.”

[33] And when Hilarius had laid the knowledge of the whole matter so clearly before the eyes of the judges, he kindly added that Theodorus was completely ignorant of what was done. After this, being asked whether they had, from belief in the oracles which they practised, known beforehand what they were now suffering, they uttered those familiar verses which clearly announced that this work of inquiring into the superhuman would soon be fatal to them, but that nevertheless the Furies, breathing out death and fire, threatened also the emperor himself and his judges. Of these verses it will suffice to quote the last three:

“Avenged will be your blood. Against them too
Tisiphonê’s deep wrath arms evil fate,
While Ares rages on the plain of Mimas.
“

When these verses had been read, both were terribly torn by the hooks of the torturers and taken away senseless. [34] Later, in order wholly to lay bare this factory of the crimes that had been meditated, a group of distinguished

men was led in, comprising the very heads of the undertaking. But since each one had regard for nothing but himself, and tried to shift his ruin to another, by permission of the inquisitors Theodorus began to speak; at first lying prostrate in a humble prayer for pardon, but then, when compelled to talk more to the point, he declared that he had learned of the affair through Euserius and tried more than once to report it to the emperor, but was prevented by his informant, who assured him that no illicit attempt to usurp the throne, but some inevitable will of fate, would realize their hopes without effort on their part. [35] Then Euserius, under bloody torture, made the same confession, but Theodorus was convicted by a letter of his own written in ambiguous and tortuous language to Hilarius, in which he did not hesitate about the matter, but only sought an opportunity to attain his desire, having already a strong confidence begotten from the soothsayers.

[36] When these had been removed after this information, Eutropius, ²⁵ then governing Asia with proconsular authority, was summoned on the charge of complicity in the plot. But he escaped without harm, saved by the philosopher Pasiphilus, who, although cruelly tortured to induce him to bring about the ruin of Eutropius through a false charge, could not be turned from the firmness of a steadfast mind. [37] There was, besides these, the philosopher Simonides, a young man, it is true, but of anyone within our memory the strictest in his principles. When he was charged with having heard of the affair through Fidustius and saw that the trial depended, not on the truth, but on the nod of one man, he said that he had learned of the predictions, but as a man of firm purpose he kept the secret which had been confided to him.

[38] After all these matters had been examined with sharp eye, the emperor, in answer to the question put by the judges, under one decree ordered the execution of all of the accused; and in the presence of a vast throng, who could hardly look upon the dreadful sight without inward shuddering and burdening the air with laments — for the woes of individuals were regarded as common to all — they were all led away and wretchedly strangled except Simonides; him alone that cruel author of the verdict, maddened by his steadfast firmness, had ordered to be burned alive. [39] Simonides, however, ready to escape from life as from a cruel tyrant, and laughing at the sudden disasters of human destiny, stood unmoved amid the flames; imitating that celebrated philosopher Peregrinus, surnamed Proteus, ²⁶ who, when he had determined to depart from life, at the quinquennial Olympic festival, in the sight of all Greece, mounted a funeral pyre which he himself had constructed and was consumed by the flames. [40] And after him, in the days that followed, a throng of men of almost all ranks, whom it would be difficult to enumerate by name, involved in the snares of calumny, wearied the arms of the executioners after being first crippled by rack, lead, and scourge. Some were punished without breathing-space or delay, while inquiry was being made whether they deserved punishment; everywhere the scene was like a slaughtering of cattle.

[41] Then, innumerable writings and many heaps of volumes were hauled out from various houses and under the eyes of the judges were burned in heaps as being unlawful, to allay the indignation at the executions, although the greater number were treatises on the liberal arts and on jurisprudence.

[42] And not so very long afterward that famous philosopher Maximus, a man with a great reputation for learning, through whose rich discourses Julian stood out as an emperor well stored as regards knowledge, ²⁷ was alleged to have heard the verses of the aforesaid oracle. And he admitted that he had learnt of them, but out of regard for his philosophical principles had not divulged secrets, although he had volunteered the prediction that the consultors of the future would themselves perish by capital punishment. Thereupon he was taken to his native city of Ephesus and there beheaded; ²⁸ and taught by his final danger he came to know that the injustice of a judge was more formidable than any accusation. [43] Diogenes also was entangled in the snares of an impious falsehood. He was a man born of noble stock, eminent for his talent, his fearless eloquence, and his charm; he was a former governor of Bithynia, but was now punished with death in order that his rich patrimony might be plundered. [44] Lo! even Alypius also, former vice-governor of Britain, ²⁹ a man amiable and gentle, after living in leisure and retirement — since even as far as this had injustice stretched her hand — was made to wallow in utmost wretchedness; he was accused with his son Hierocles, a young man of good character, as guilty of magic, on the sole evidence of a certain Diogenes, a man of low origin, who was tortured with every degree of butchery, to lead him to give testimony agreeable to the emperor, or rather to the instigator of the charge. Diogenes, when not enough of his body was left for torture, was burned alive; Alypius himself also, after confiscation of his goods, was condemned to exile, but recovered his son, who was already being led to a wretched death, ³⁰ but by a lucky chance was reprieved.

Many in the Orient, accused of magic and other crimes and condemned, are put to death, some justly, others unjustly.

During all this time, the notorious Palladius, the fomenter ³¹ of all these troubles, who, as we said at first, ³² was taken in custody by Fortunatianus, being by the very lowness of his condition ready to plunge into anything, by heaping disaster on disaster, had drenched the whole empire with grief and tears. [2] For having gained leave to name all whom he desired, without distinction of fortune, as dabbling in forbidden practices, like a hunter skilled in observing the secret tracks of wild beasts, he entangled many persons in his lamentable nets, some of them on the ground of having stained themselves with the knowledge of magic, others as accomplices of those who were aiming at treason. [3] And in order that even wives should have no time to weep over the misfortunes of their husbands, men were immediately sent to

put the seal³³ on the houses, and during the examination of the furniture of the householder who had been condemned, to introduce privily old-wives' incantations or unbecoming love-potions, contrived for the ruin of innocent people. And when these were read in a court where there was no law or scruple or justice to distinguish truth from falsehood, without opportunity for defence young and old without discrimination were robbed of their goods and, although they were found stained by no fault, after being maimed in all their limbs were carried off in litters to execution. [4] As a result, throughout the oriental provinces owners of books, through fear of a like fate, burned their entire libraries; so great was the terror that had seized upon all.³⁴ Indeed, to speak briefly, at that time we all crept about as if in Cimmerian darkness,³⁵ feeling the same fears as the guests of the Sicilian Dionysius, who, while filled to repletion with banquets more terrible than any possible hunger, saw with a shudder the swords hanging over their heads from the ceilings of the rooms in which they reclined and held only by single horsehairs.³⁶

[5] At that time Bassianus also, one of a most illustrious family and serving as a secretary of the first class,³⁷ was accused of trying to gain foreknowledge of higher power, although he himself declared that he had merely inquired about the sex of a child which his wife expected; but by the urgent efforts of the kinsfolk by whom he was defended, he was saved from death; but he was stripped of his rich patrimony.

[6] Amid the crash of so many ruins Heliodorus, that hellish contriver with Palladius of all evils, being a mathematician³⁸ (in the parlance of the vulgar) and pledged by secret instructions from the imperial court, after he had been cajoled by every enticement of kindness to induce him to reveal what he knew or could invent, now put forth his deadly stings. [7] For he was most solicitously pampered with the choicest foods, and earned a great amount of contributed money for presents to his concubines; and so he strode about anywhere and everywhere, displaying his grim face, which struck fear into all. And his assurance was the greater because, in his capacity as chamberlain, he constantly and openly visited the women's apartments, to which, as he himself desired, he freely resorted, displaying the warrants³⁹ of the Father of his People,⁴⁰ which were to be a cause of grief to many. [8] And through these warrants Heliodorus instructed Palladius (as though he were an advocate in public law-suits) what to put at the beginning of his speech, in order the more easily to make it effective and strong, or with which figures of rhetoric he ought to aim at brilliant passages.⁴¹

[9] And since it would be a long story to tell all this gallows-bird⁴² contrived, I will recount this one case, showing with what audacious confidence he smote the very pillars of the patriciate. For made enormously insolent by secret conferences with people of the court, as has been said, and through his very worthlessness easy to be hired to commit any and every crime, he accused that admirable pair of consuls, the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius⁴³ (connections by marriage of the late emperor Constantius) of

having aspired to a desire for a higher fortune, and of having made inquiries and formed plans about the sovereignty; and he added to the path ⁴⁴ which he had falsely devised for his fabrication that royal robes had even been made ready for Eusebius. ^[10] Eagerly drinking this in, the menacing madman, ⁴⁵ to whom nothing ought to have been permitted, since he thought that everything, even what was unjust, was allowed him, ⁴⁶ inexorably summoned from the farthest boundaries of the empire all those whom the accuser, exempt from the laws, with profound assurance had insisted ought to be brought before him, and ordered a calumnious trial to be set on foot. ^[11] And when in much-knotted bonds of constriction justice had long been trodden down and tied tightly, and the wretched scoundrel persisted in his strings of assertions, severe tortures could force no confession, but showed that these distinguished men were far removed even from any knowledge of anything of the kind. Nevertheless, the calumniator was as highly honoured as before, while the accused were punished with exile and with fines; but shortly afterwards they were recalled, had their fines remitted, and were restored to their former rank and honour unimpaired.

^[12] Yet after these so lamentable events Valens acted with no more restraint or shame; since excessive power does not reflect that it is unworthy for men of right principles, even to the disadvantage of their enemies, willingly to plunge into crime, and that nothing is so ugly as for a cruel nature to be joined to lofty pride of power. ⁴⁷ ^[13] But when Heliodorus died (whether naturally or through some deliberate violence ⁴⁸ is uncertain; I would rather not say “too late”: I only wish that even the facts did not speak to that effect!) his body was carried out by the undertakers, and many men of rank, clad in mourning, were ordered to precede it, including the brothers who had been consuls. ⁴⁹ ^[14] Thereby the entire rottenness of the folly of the empire’s ruler was then completely revealed; for although he was earnestly besought to refrain from this inexcusable insult, ⁵⁰ yet he remained so inflexible that he seemed to have stopped his ears with wax, ⁵¹ as if he were going to pass the rocks of the Sirens. ^[15] At last, however, he yielded to insistent prayers, and ordered that some persons should precede the ill-omened bier of the body-snatcher ⁵² to the tomb, marching with bare heads and feet, ⁵³ some also with folded hands. ⁵⁴ My mind shrinks from recalling, during that suspension of justice, ⁵⁵ how many men of the highest rank, especially exconsuls, after having carried the staves of honour and worn purple robes, and having their names made known to all the world ¹⁰ in the Roman calendar, were seen exposed to humiliation. ^[16] Conspicuous among all of these was our Hypatius, a man recommended from his youth by noble virtues, of quiet and calm discretion, and of a nobility and gentleness measured as it were by the plumb-line; ⁵⁶ he conferred honour on the fame of his ancestors ⁵⁷ and himself gave glory to posterity by the admirable acts of his two prefectures. ⁵⁸

^[17] At the time Valens added this also to the rest of his glories, that while in other instances he was so savagely cruel as to grieve that the great pain of his

punishments could not continue after death, ⁵⁹ yet he spared the tribune Numerius, a man of surpassing wickedness! This man was convicted at that same time on his own confession of having dared to cut open the womb of a living woman and take out her unripe offspring, in order to evoke the ghosts of the dead and consult them about a change of rulers; yet Valens, who looked on him with the eye of an intimate friend, in spite of the murmurs of the whole Senate gave orders that he should escape unpunished, and retain his life, his enviable wealth, and his military rank unimpaired.

[18] O noble system of wisdom, by heaven's gift bestowed upon the fortunate, thou who hast often ennobled even sinful natures! How much wouldst thou have corrected in those dark days, if it had been permitted Valens to learn through you that royal power — as the philosophers declare — is nothing else than the care for others' welfare; ⁶⁰ that it is the duty of a good ruler to restrain his power, to resist unbounded desire and implacable anger, and to know — as the dictator Caesar used to say — that the recollection of cruelty is a wretched support ⁶¹ for old age. And therefore, if he is going to pass judgment affecting the life and breath of a human being, who forms a part of the world and completes the number of living things, he ought to hesitate long and greatly and not be carried away by headlong passion to a point where what is done cannot be undone; ⁶² of which we have a very well-known instance in olden times. [19] A woman of Smyrna confessed before Dolabella, ⁶³ the proconsul of Asia, that she had poisoned her husband and her own son by him, because (as she said) she had discovered that they had killed her son by a former marriage; but she was ordered to appear again two days later. ⁶⁴ Since the council, to which according to custom the matter was referred, uncertain what distinction ought to be made between revenge and crime, hesitated to decide, she was sent before the Areopagites, those strict judges at Athens, whose justice is said to have decided disputes even among the gods. ⁶⁵ They, after having considered the case, ordered the woman to appear before them with her accuser a hundred years later, since they did not wish either to acquit a poisoner or punish an avenger of her kindred; for that is never thought late which is the last of all things.

[20] After these various deeds of injustice which have already been mentioned, and the marks of torture shamefully branded upon the bodies of such free men as bad survived, the never-closing eye of Justice, the eternal witness and avenger of all things, was watchfully attentive. For the last curses of the murdered, moving the eternal godhead through the just ground of their complaints, had kindled the firebrands of Bellona; so that the truth of the oracle was confirmed, which had predicted that no crimes would go unpunished.

[21] While these events, which have just been ⁶⁶ described, during the cessation of the Parthian storm were being spread abroad at Antioch in the form of internal troubles, the awful band of the Furies, after making a rolling flood of manifold disasters, left that city and settled on the shoulders of all

Asia, in the following way. [22] A certain Festinus of Tridentum, a man of the lowest and most obscure parentage, was admitted by Maximinus ⁶⁷ even into the ties of affection which true brothers show, for he had been his boon companion and with him had assumed the manly gown. By decree of the fates this man passed over to the Orient, and there in the administration of Syria, and after serving as master of the rolls, ⁶⁸ he left behind him praiseworthy examples of mildness and of respect for law; and when later he was advanced to the governorship of Asia with proconsular authority, he sailed to glory with a fair wind, as the saying is. [23] But hearing that Maximinus planned to wipe out all decent men, from that time on he decried his actions as dangerous and shameful. But when he learned that Maximinus, merely through the recommendation of the deaths of those whom he had impiously slain, had attained the honour of prefect contrary to his deserts, he was aroused to similar deeds and hopes. Like an actor, suddenly changing his mask, he conceived the desire of doing harm and stalked about with intent and cruel eyes, imagining that the prefecture would soon be his if he also should have stained himself with the punishment of the innocent. [24] And although many of the various acts which he committed were very harsh, to express it mildly, yet it will suffice to mention a few which are familiar and generally known, and done in emulation of those which had taken place in Rome. For the principle of good or bad deeds is the same everywhere, even if the greatness of the situation is not the same. ⁶⁹ [25] He executed a philosopher called Coeranius, a man of no slight merit, after he had resisted tortures of savage cruelty, because in a letter to his wife of a personal nature he had added in Greek: "But do you take note and crown the house door," which is a common proverbial expression, used in order that the hearer may know that something of greater importance than usual is to be done. [26] There was a simple-minded old woman who was in the habit of curing intermittent fevers with a harmless charm. He caused her to be put to death as a criminal, after she had been called in with his own knowledge and had treated his daughter. [27] Among the papers of a distinguished townsman, of which an examination had been ordered for some business reason, the horoscope of a certain Valens was found; when the person concerned was asked why he had cast the nativity of the emperor, he defended himself against the false charge by saying that he had had a brother named Valens, and that he had died long ago. He promised to show this by proofs of full credibility, but they did not wait for the truth to be discovered, and he was tortured and butchered. [28] In the bath a young man was seen to touch alternately with the fingers of either hand first the marble ⁷⁰ and then his breast, and to count the seven vowels, ⁷¹ thinking it a helpful remedy for a stomach trouble. He was haled into court, tortured and beheaded.

Various instances of the ferocity and savage cruelty of Valentinianus Augustus in the western regions.

At this point, as I turn my pen to Gaul, the order and series of events is a turmoil, since we find Maximus, who is now prefect, in the midst of many cruel deeds; for being in possession of extensive power, he was added as an ill-omened incentive to the emperor, ⁷² who united with the majesty of his position unendurable tyranny. Therefore, whoever ponders what I have told, should also carefully weigh the rest which are passed over in silence; and, like a reasonable person, he will pardon me for not including everything which deliberate wickedness committed by exaggerating the importance of the charges. [2] For Valentinian, who was naturally savage, as bitterness (which is a foe to righteous conduct) increased in him after the coming of the aforesaid Maximinus, having no one to give better advice or to restrain him, was carried as if by surging waves and tempests from one cruel act to another; to such a degree that, when he was in a passion, often his voice and expression, his gait and his colour, were changed. For his cruelty we have the testimony of various sure pieces of evidence, of which it will suffice to set down a few.

[3] A well-grown youth of the class called pages ⁷³ was posted, holding in leash a Spartan hound, to watch for game at a hunt; but he let the dog loose before the designated time, because the animal in an effort to escape leaped at him in a rush and bit him; for that he was beaten to death with cudgels and buried the same day. [4] A man in charge of a smithy brought to the emperor a breastplate artistically embellished, and expected a reward for it; but Valentinian ordered him to be put to death with equal cruelty because the piece ⁷⁴ of iron armour had a little less weight than he had stipulated. An elder of the Christian faith from Epirus, who was a favourite of Octavianus, ⁷⁵ the former proconsul, . . . and the author of the charges was sent back, although somewhat tardily, to his home. ⁷⁶ [5] Constantianus, an officer of the stable, ⁷⁷ was sent to Sardinia to test horses to be used for military service, and because he had dared to exchange a few of them, he was stoned to death by the emperor's order. Athanasius, a favourite charioteer of the day, so suspected by him for his general light-mindedness that he was ordered to be burned alive if he should try anything of the kind, ⁷⁸ not long afterward used magic arts and was charged therewith; and without indulgence being granted to a man who was an artist in entertainments, he was condemned to be burned to death. [6] Africanus, a busy pleader of cases at law in the city, after governing a province, aspired to the rule of another; but when Theodosius, general of the cavalry, supported him in his request, the kind emperor gave this somewhat boorish reply: "Go, general, and change his head for him, since he wants a change in his province." And by this pronouncement ⁷⁹ an eloquent man lost his life merely for hastening, like many, for advancement. [7] Claudius and Sallustius, of the Jovian legion, who had advanced as far as the rank of tribune, were accused by a fellow whose low origin in itself made him an object of contempt, on the ground that when Procopius had aspired to the imperial power they had spoken some good words for him; but although constant inquisitions revealed nothing, the emperor ordered the generals of the

cavalry, who were hearing the case, to drive Claudius into exile and condemn Sallustius to death, promising to pardon the latter on his way to execution. But when this had been done according to the directions, Sallustius' life was not spared and Claudius was not freed from the sorrow of banishment until after the death of the aforesaid Valentinian ⁸⁰ . . . decidedly refused, although they were repeatedly tortured. [8] Accordingly, although inquisitions followed thick and fast, and some died in consequence of excessive torture, not even a trace of the alleged crimes was found. In this business even the bodyguards who had been sent to arrest persons . . . ⁸¹ were beaten to death with cudgels, contrary to all precedent.

[9] My mind shrinks from enumerating all the cases, and at the same time I dread seeming to give the impression of purposely having sought out merely the defects of a prince who was a very proper man in other ways. Yet one thing it is just neither to pass over nor to leave unmentioned, namely this, that having two savage, man-eating she-bears, one called Goldflake and the other Innocence, he looked after them with such extreme care that he placed their cages near his own bedroom, and appointed trustworthy keepers, who were to take particular care that the beasts' lamentable savageness should not by any chance be destroyed. Finally, after he had seen the burial of many corpses of those whom Innocence had torn to pieces, he allowed her to return to the forest unhurt, as a good and faithful servant, in the hope that she would have cubs like herself . . .

Valentinianus Augustus crosses the Rhine on a bridge of boats, but although Macrianus, king of the Alamanni, was off his guard, he was prevented from capturing him through the fault of the soldiers.

These, then, are undeniable indications of Valentinian's character and his blood-thirsty tendency. But, on the other hand, no one, not even one of his persistent detractors, will reproach him with lack of ingenuity in behalf of the state, especially if one bears in mind that it was a more valuable service to check the barbarians by frontier defences than to defeat them in battle. And when he had given ⁸² . . . if any of the enemy made a move, he was seen from above from the watchtowers, and overcome.

[2] But among many other cares, his first and principal aim was to capture alive by violence or by craft King Macrianus, ⁸³ just as, long before, Julian took Vadomarius; for Macrianus, amid the frequent changes in the policy followed towards him, had increased in power, and now was rising against our countrymen with full-grown strength. Accordingly, having first provided what the circumstances and the time demanded, and having learned from the reports of deserters where the said king, who expected no hostile move, could be seized, Valentinian threw a pontoon across the Rhine as quietly as his means allowed, lest anyone should interfere with the bridge while it was being put together. [3] And first Severus, who commanded the infantry forces, took

the lead by marching against Mattiacae Aquae; ⁸⁴ but alarmed when he considered the small number of his soldiers, he halted, fearing that he might be unable to resist the onrushing hordes of the enemy, and so might be overcome by them. [4] There he chanced to find some of the traders ⁸⁵ leading slaves intended for sale, and because he suspected that they would quickly run off and report what they had seen, he took their wares ⁸⁶ from them and killed them all. [5] Then the generals, ⁸⁷ encouraged by the arrival of additional troops, encamped, with a view to a very short stay, since no one had a pack-animal or a tent, except the emperor, for whom a rug and a rough blanket ⁸⁸ sufficed for such a shelter. Then, after delaying for a time on account of the darkness of night, as soon as the morning-star uprose, since the campaign called for haste, they advanced farther, led by guides who knew the roads; and a large force of cavalry was ordered to precede them under command of Theodosius, that nothing might be unobserved ⁸⁹ . . . was lying at the time; but he was prevented by the continuous noise made by his men; for although he constantly commanded them to abstain from plundering and setting fires, he could not make them obey. For the crackling flames and the dissonant shouts awakened the king's attendants, and suspecting what had happened, they placed him in a swift wagon and hid him in a narrow pass of the precipitous hills. [6] Valentinian was robbed of this glory, ⁹⁰ not by his own fault or that of his generals, but by the indiscipline of the soldiers, which has often caused the Roman state heavy losses; so, after reducing the enemy's territory to ashes for fifty miles, ⁹¹ he returned sadly to Treves. [7] There, as a lion, because he has lost a deer or a goat, gnashes his empty jaws, just when the forces of the enemy were broken and scattered by fear, in place of Macrianus he made Fraomarius king of the Bucinobantes, a tribe of the Alamanni dwelling opposite Mainz. And soon afterwards, since a recent invasion had utterly devastated that, canton, he transferred him to Britain with the rank of tribune, and gave him command of a troop ⁹² of the Alamanni which at that time was distinguished for its numbers and its strength. Bitheridus, indeed, and Hortarius (chiefs of the same nation) he appointed to commands in the army; but of these Hortarius was betrayed by a report of Florentius, commander in Germany, of having written certain things to the detriment of the state to Macrianus and the chiefs of the barbarians, and after the truth was wrung from him by torture he suffered the penalty of death by burning.

Theodosius, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, in many battles exhausts the Moor Firmus, son of prince Nubel, who had revolted from Valentinian, and after finally driving him to suicide restores peace to Africa.

Then amid ⁹³ . . . it has seemed best to give an account, without a break, of what happened next, lest while, amongst matters and places widely separated, others are intruded, the survey of many varying events may inevitably be

confused.

[2] Nubel, as a petty king, had great power among the Moorish peoples; on departing from life, besides legitimate sons he left some that were the offspring of concubines. Of the latter Zammac, who was beloved by the general called Romanus, ⁹⁴ was secretly murdered by his brother Firmus, an act which occasioned dissensions and wars. For Romanus, hastening with extreme zeal to avenge his death, resorted to many formidable means for the destruction of the assassin; and, as persistent rumours divulged, even at court vigorous measures were taken to make sure that the reports of Romanus, which heaped up many serious charges against Firmus, should be gladly received and read out to the emperor; and many voices united in supporting these reports. But, on the contrary, the arguments which Firmus through his friends frequently presented in his defence for the purpose of saving his life, although they were received, were long concealed; for Remigius, at that time marshal of the court, a relative and friend of Romanus, declared that amid the more important and pressing business of the emperor such trivial and superfluous communications could not be read until opportunity offered.

[3] When the Moor perceived that these things were being done to break down his defence, he was now in dread of the worst; and fearing that the rebuttal which he offered would be set aside and he would be executed without a trial as dangerous and unruly, he revolted from the rule of the empire, and sought the help of neighbouring peoples . . . for devastating ⁹⁵ . . .

⁹⁶ [4] To avert this danger before an implacable enemy should increase in strength, Theodosius, commander of the cavalry, was sent with the aid of a small body of the court troops, since in his merits (as a man efficient in accomplishing his ends) he surpassed all others of his time. He might well be compared with Domitius Corbulo and Lusius ⁹⁷ of old, of whom the former under Nero, the latter during Trajan's reign, were famed for many brave deeds. [5] Then setting out from Arles under favourable auspices and crossing the sea with the fleet under his command, preceded by no report of his coming he landed on the coast of Sitifian ⁹⁸ Mauritania, which the natives call Igilgilitanum. There he chanced upon Romanus, whom he addressed courteously, and sent him to take charge of the guards and frontier defences, with a very slight rebuke for the conduct ⁹⁹ which made him apprehensive. [6] When Theodosius had departed to Caesarean Mauritania, he sent Gildo, ¹⁰⁰ the brother of Firmus, and Maximus to arrest Vincentius, who as second in command to Romanus participated in his insolence and thefts. [7] Then, after being joined by his troops somewhat tardily, since they were delayed by the long sea-voyage, he hastened to Sitifis, and gave orders that Romanus should, with his attendants, be handed over to the guard, to be kept in custody. During his stay in that town Theodosius was torn with twofold anxiety and turned over many things in his mind, considering by what way and by what devices he might lead his soldiers, who were accustomed to a cold climate, through lands parched with heat, or might capture an enemy who was a runabout,

making sudden moves and trusting rather to secret ambuscades than to stand-up fights.

[8] When this became known to Firmus, at first through uncertain rumour and then through definite information, overcome by the arrival of so brilliant a general, he sent envoys with a letter to ask pardon and indulgence for what had happened, declaring that he had not of his own volition taken a hasty step which he knew to be criminal, but because of unjust and outrageous treatment by Romanus, as he promised to show. [9] When the general had read the letter, he accepted hostages and promised peace; he then proceeded to the station called Pancharia, in order to review the legions which were guarding Africa and had been bidden to assemble in that place. There he aroused the hope of all by a lofty, but discreet, address, and returned to Sitifis, where he united the native troops and those which he himself had brought; then, impatient of further delay, he hastened with all speed to open the campaign. [10] But among many other excellent measures he made himself immensely more beloved by this — that he did not allow the provincials to furnish supplies for the army, declaring with splendid confidence that the harvests and stores of the enemy were the granaries of our valorous troops. ¹⁰¹

[11] After these arrangements had thus been made to the joy of the land-owners, he marched to Tubusuptum, a town near Mount Ferratus, but declined to receive a second deputation from Firmus, because, contrary to the previous agreement, it had brought no hostages with it. From there he carefully examined into everything, so far as present circumstances allowed, and then advanced rapidly against the peoples of the Tyndenses and the Masinissenses, who were provided only with light arms and were led by Mascizel ¹⁰² and Dius, brothers of Firmus. [12] When the enemy, active in all their limbs, were in sight, a fierce battle began after volleys of missiles from both sides; amid the groans of the dying and the wounded the mournful howls of the barbarians were heard, as they were taken prisoner or killed; and when the contest was ended, many fields were plundered and burned. [13] Among such disasters conspicuous were those to an estate called Petrensis, which its owner, Salmaces, a brother of Firmus had built up in the manner of a city, ¹⁰³ and which was utterly destroyed. The victor, elated by this success, with remarkable speed seized the town of Lamfoctum, situated among the aforesaid peoples, where he caused an abundance of provisions to be stored, so that if on penetrating farther into the country he met with a scarcity of food, he might order it to be brought from near at hand. [14] During the course of these events Mascizel, having recovered his strength by bringing in helpers from neighbouring tribes, engaged with our men; but when very many of his troops were routed, he himself barely escaped the danger of death through the swiftness of his horse.

[15] Firmus, weakened by the losses of two battles and chafing in his inmost heart, in order not to neglect even one last measure, sent priests of the Christian sect with hostages to beg for peace. These were received

courteously and, on their promise to furnish the necessities of life for the soldiers, as was ordered, they brought back a favourable reply and peace; whereupon the Moor himself, after sending presents, went with some confidence to the Roman general, mounted upon a horse that would prove useful in times of danger; and when he had come near, dazzled by the gleaming standards and the fear-inspiring expression of Theodosius, he sprang from his mount, and with bowed neck almost prostrate on the ground blamed with tears his rashness, and begged for pardon and peace. [16] Being received with a kiss, since the interests of the state so demanded, he was now filled with joyful hope, furnished a sufficient amount of provisions, left some of his relatives by way of hostages, and went away, after agreeing to fulfil his promise and return the captives which he had taken at the very beginning of the rebellion. Two days later, without hesitation, he restored, as had been ordered, the town of Icosium, of whose founders I spoke before, ¹⁰⁴ the military standards, and the priestly crown, ¹⁰⁵ as well as the rest of the booty which he had taken.

[17] When after this our general had hurried through long marches and was now entering Tipasa, to envoys from the Mazices, who had joined with Firmus, and humbly begged for pardon, he replied with lofty spirit that he would at once take the field against them as traitors. [18] And when they, paralysed with fear of the imminent danger, had been ordered to return to their homes, he went on to Caesarea, ¹⁰⁶ formerly a powerful and famous city, the origin of which I have also fully discussed in my description of the topography ¹⁰⁷ of Africa. ¹⁰⁸ On entering the city, and finding it almost wholly burned down from widespread fires, and the pavingstones white with mould, he decided to station the first and second legions there for a time, with orders to clear away the heaps of ashes and keep guard there, to prevent the place from being devastated by a renewed attack of the savages.

[19] When these events had been spread abroad by frequent and trustworthy rumours, the officials of the province and the tribune Vincentius ¹⁰⁹ came out of the hiding-places in which they had taken refuge, and at last, free from fear, quickly appeared before the general. He, after having seen and received them gladly, being then still at Caesarea, inquired carefully about the true state of affairs; he learned that Firmus, under pretence of fear and submission, was secretly forming the plan of throwing our army into confusion, as if by a sudden tempest, while it feared no hostile demonstration. [20] Therefore he turned from there and came to the municipal town of Sugabarritanum, on the slope of the Transcellian mountain, where he found the horsemen of the fourth cohort of archers, which had gone over to the rebel; and to show that he was content with a somewhat mild punishment, he degraded them all to the lowest class of the service; then he ordered them and a part of the Constantian ¹¹⁰ infantry, with their tribunes, one of whom had placed his neckchain, in place of a diadem, on Firmus' head, to come to Tigaviae. [21] While this was going on, Gildo and Maximus returned, bringing Belles, one of the chiefs of

the Mazices, and Fericius, prefect ¹¹¹ of the tribe, who had aided the party of the disturber of the public peace ¹¹² . . . [22] When this had been done according to order, at daybreak he himself came out, and finding the rebels surrounded by his army, he said: "What think you, my devoted comrades, ought to be done with these abominable traitors?" And acceding to the acclamation of those who asked that they should pay for it with their blood, he turned over those who served among the Constantiani to the soldiers, to be slain in the oldfashioned way. ¹¹³ But he had the hands of the leaders of the archers cut off and punished the rest with death, following the example of that strictest of leaders Curio, ¹¹⁴ who put an end by a punishment of that kind to the wildness of the Dardani, when, like the Lernaean hydra, they constantly gained new life. [23] But malevolent detractors, while praising that act of the olden time, find fault with this one as cruel and inhuman, declaring that the Dardani were murderous enemies and justly suffered the punishment which befell them, while these, on the contrary, were soldiers under the flag who had allowed themselves to commit a single fault and deserved to have been punished more leniently. But such folk we remind of what they perhaps do not know, that this cohort was harmful, not only in its action, but also in the example which it set. [24] The aforesaid Belles and Fericius, whom Gildo had brought, and Curandius, tribune of the archers, he ordered to be put to death, the last named on the ground that he never wished either to engage with the enemy himself or to encourage his men to fight. Moreover, Theodosius did this bearing in mind the saying of Cicero: "Wholesome strength is better than a vain show of mercy." ¹¹⁵

[25] Setting out from there, he came to an estate called Gaionatis, surrounded by a strong wall and hence a very safe refuge for the Moors. Against this he brought up his battering-rams and destroyed it, killing all the inhabitants and levelling the walls; then advancing over the Ancorarian mountain to Castellum Tingitanum, he attacked the Mazices, who were gathered together into one body and replied with missiles which came flying like hail. [26] And after both sides had rushed in to the attack, the Mazices, though a warlike and hardy race, could not resist the columns of our men, charging with all their strength and weapons, but involved in heavy losses at various points fled in shameful terror; and as they rushed to escape all were cut down except those who found a means of getting away, and later by abject prayers obtained the pardon which circumstances made it advisable to grant. [27] Suggen, when their leader ¹¹⁶ . . . had succeeded Romanus, was ordered to go to Mauritania Sitifensis, in order to keep guard and prevent the province from being overrun, while he himself, encouraged by past successes, marched against the tribe of the Musones, which consciousness of their deeds of plunder and blood had joined with the enterprise of Firmus, since they hoped he would soon attain greater power.

[28] Having advanced some distance, near the 373 f. municipal town of Adda Theodosius learned that a great number of tribes, differing in

civilization and in variety of language, but united in their purpose, were stirring up the beginnings of cruel wars, instigated and abetted through very great hope of rewards by a sister of Firmus named Cyria, who, abounding in wealth and in feminine persistence, had resolved to make great efforts to aid her brother. [29] Therefore Theodosius, fearing lest he should involve himself in an unequal contest, and if he confronted a vast horde with only a few troops — for he had under his command only 3500 armed men — might lose them all, wavered between the shame of retreat and the desire for battle; but at last he gradually withdrew and made off, with the horde pressing at his heels. [30] The foe, tremendously elated by this success, followed persistently ¹¹⁷ . . . so that he found it necessary to fight; but he himself would have been killed and his army utterly annihilated, had not the enemy, attacking in disorder, seen afar off the auxiliaries of the Mazices, in the van of which were some Romans; so thinking that they were attacked by many columns, they turned in flight and opened to our men ways of escape which before had been blocked. [31] From there, leading his army safe and sound, Theodosius came to an estate called Mazucanus, where he burned a few deserters alive and mutilated the rest as he had the archers whose hands were cut off; ¹¹⁸ and in the month of February he reached Tipasa. [32] There he made a long halt, and after the manner of the famous Lingerer ¹¹⁹ of old took counsel with himself as the circumstances demanded, planning, if chance gave the opportunity, rather through strategy and discretion than by the danger of battle, to overthrow an enemy who was pugnacious and effective in the use of missiles. [33] Nevertheless he constantly sent men experienced in ¹²⁰ persuasion to the surrounding tribes, the Baiurae, Cantauriani, Avastomates, Cafaves, Bavares, and other neighbours, to entice them to an alliance, now by fear, now by bribes, and sometimes by promising pardon for their impudence with ¹²¹ . . . intending by subterfuges and delays to overcome an enemy who foiled his attacks, as Pompey once vanquished Mithridates.

[34] Therefore Firmus, to avoid imminent destruction, although he was protected by a strong body of troops, abandoned the army which he had got together at great expense; and when the quiet of night gave him the opportunity of concealment, he made his way into the far distant Caprariensian mountains, which are inaccessible because of their steep crags. [35] In consequence of his secret departure his army scattered and roamed about in small bands without a leader, thus giving our men the opportunity of invading their camp. After this was plundered and those who resisted were killed or received in surrender, the greater part of the country was devastated and our prudent leader put prefects of tried fidelity in charge of the peoples through whose country he was marching. [36] The public enemy, terrified by this unexpected confidence of the pursuit, quickly departed, accompanied by a few slaves, in order to provide for his safety; and to prevent being impeded by any hindrance, he threw away packs containing valuable articles which he had carried off with him. For his wife, worn out by continual hardships and by

dangers ¹²² . . . [37] Theodosius, ¹²³ sparing none of the enemy who came near, after refreshing his soldiers with better food and their pay, as well as disposing of the Caprarienses and their neighbours the Abanni in a slight skirmish, hastened to the municipal town of Audia. ¹²⁴ But having learned from trustworthy sources that the savages had already taken possession of hills which extended upwards in all directions in winding masses, and could be penetrated by no one except natives who were thoroughly acquainted with the locality, he retreated and thereby during the cessation of hostilities, brief though it was, gave the enemy an opportunity of being strengthened by very numerous auxiliaries from the Aethiopians who dwelt near by. [38] When the foe, with united forces and threatening uproar, taking no thought for their own lives, rushed to battle, they drove off Theodosius in great terror at the fearful sight of their countless throngs. But he took courage and at once returned, bringing an abundance of provisions, and with his men in close order and brandishing their shields in a terrifying posture, met the enemy hand to hand. [39] Then, although the bands of raging savages, blaring some ferocious tune on their barbaric trumpets and also clashing their bucklers against their knees, were close upon him, nevertheless, like a careful and discreet warrior, though distrusting the small number of his men, he formed a hollow square ¹²⁵ and then advanced boldly. Then he fearlessly turned aside to a city called Conta, where Firmus, since it was a concealed and lofty fortress, had placed those of our men whom he had captured. But Theodosius recovered them all, and severely punished the traitors and the attendants of Firmus, as was his custom.

[40] While he was thus most successful, with the aid of the mighty godhead, a trustworthy scout informed him that Firmus had fled to the Isafilenses; whereupon he invaded their lands, to demand the traitor as well as his brother Mazuca and the rest of his kinsfolk; and when his demand was refused, he declared war upon that race. [41] A fierce battle followed, since the savages were uncommonly ferocious; but he opposed his army to them in circular formation ¹²⁶ and the Isafilenses were so overcome by the weight of the onrushing troops that many of them were slain. Firmus himself, after fighting bravely and often risking his life, was carried off in headlong flight by his horse, which was accustomed to run swiftly over rocks and crags; but his brother Mazuca was fatally wounded and taken prisoner. [42] Theodosius gave orders to send Mazuca to Caesarea, a city on which the Moor had branded the savage marks of his evil deeds; but he tore open his wound ¹²⁷ and died. However, his head was torn off, leaving the rest of his body intact, and to the great joy of all who saw it was brought into the aforesaid city. [43] After this our famous general overcame the race of the Isafilenses, who still resisted, and, as justice demanded, inflicted many vexatious penalties upon them. There Evasius, an important citizen, Florus his son, and some others, who were clearly convicted of having aided the violator of peace by secret counsel, were burned alive.

[44] Then Theodosius marched farther into the country, and with great

courage attacked the tribe of the Iubaleni, to which he had learned that Nubel, the father of Firmus, belonged; but he was brought to a halt by the high mountains and the circuitous passes; and although he attacked the enemy and after killing many of them opened a way, yet dreading the high hills, so well adapted to ambuscades, he led his men back in safety to the fortress of Audia. There the wild race of the Iesalenses voluntarily surrendered, promising to furnish aid and provisions.

[45] The mighty leader, exulting in these and similar glorious actions, then went in quest of the disturber of peace himself with a mighty effort of strength. To that end he made a long halt near the castle of Medianum, hoping that through many carefully devised plans Firmus might be betrayed into his hands. [46] While he was looking forward to this with perplexed thoughts and deep care, he found that his enemy had returned to the Isaffenses; whereupon he did not delay, as before, but attacked them with all the speed he could. Their king, Igmazen by name, who was highly regarded in those parts and notable for his resources, boldly came forward to meet him. "What is your rank," said he, "or what have you come here to do? Tell me." Theodosius, with stern glance and resolute mind, replied: "I am the general ¹²⁸ of Valentinian, lord of the world, sent to destroy a murderous robber. Unless you give him up at once, as the invincible emperor has ordered, you will perish utterly with the race over which you rule." On hearing this, Igmazen, after heaping a flood of abuse upon the general, departed, full of wrath and resentment. [47] At the first appearance of the following daylight both armies, with threatening mien, advanced to meet each other in battle. Nearly 20,000 savages were stationed in the very van, with bands of reserves concealed behind them, in order that they might gradually rise up and surround our men with their unexpected numbers. Besides these there were a great many auxiliaries from the Iesalenses, who, as we have pointed out, had promised help and provisions to our side. [48] On the other hand, the Romans, although very few in number, nevertheless brave in spirit and encouraged by their former victories, pressed side to side in close order and with shields closely held together in the tortoise-formation, ¹²⁹ stood fast and resisted them; and the battle was continued from sunrise to the end of the day. A little before evening Firmus was seen, mounted on a tall horse, his purple cloak ¹³⁰ trailing out and spreading wide, urging our soldiers with loud shouts to take advantage of the opportunity and give up Theodosius, if they wished to be saved from the dangers to which they were exposed, calling him a fierce savage and a cruel deviser of inhuman punishments. [49] These unexpected words roused some to fight more fiercely but induced others to abandon the battle. Accordingly, when the first quiet of night came, and the landscape was wrapped in fear-inspiring darkness, the general returned to the stronghold of Duodia, and, reviewing his soldiers, rid himself by various forms of punishment of those whom panic and the words of Firmus had turned from their duty in the battle; some had their right hands cut off, others were burned

alive. [50] And keeping watch by night with most vigilant care, he repulsed some of the barbarians who ventured to make an attempt on his camp after the setting of the moon, when they thought they could not be seen, or took prisoners those who rushed in too boldly. Then departing by quick marches and following by-paths, he attacked the Iesalenses from a quarter where they could least expect it, believing them to be of doubtful loyalty, and so devastated their lands that they were reduced to dire need; then he returned by way of the towns of Mauritania Caesariensis to Sitifis, where he tortured to the verge of death and then burned alive Castor and Martinianus, as sharers in the robberies and atrocities of Romanus.

[51] After this the war with the Isafilenses was renewed; and when in the first engagement great numbers of the savages were put to flight or killed, their king Igmazen, who had before been accustomed to victory, wavering through fear of the present danger, and thinking that because of his unlawful associations ¹³¹ no hope of life was left him if he made obstinate resistance, rushed forth alone and with all possible caution and secrecy from the scene of the battle. When he came into the presence of Theodosius, he humbly begged that the general would order Masilla, a chief of the Mazices, to appear before him. [52] When Masilla had been sent to Theodosius, as he had asked, the king through him, in a secret interview, urged the general, who by his own nature was inclined to resolution, that in order to provide himself with the means of accomplishing his desires, he should vigorously assail his fellow-countrymen, and by constant fighting reduce them to fear; he said that they were indeed inclined to favour the public enemy, but were wearied by their many losses.

[53] Theodosius did as he was advised, and so wore out the Isafilenses by frequent contests, that they were falling like cattle; and Firmus himself secretly escaped, intending to hide in remote and lasting retreats; but while he was there planning flight, he was taken prisoner by Igmazen and kept in custody. [54] And since he had learned through Masilla of the secret negotiations, he saw that in his extremity only one remedy was left, and decided by a voluntary death to spurn with his foot the desire to live. Accordingly, having purposely filled his guards with wine and made them drunk, and in the silence of the night they were buried in sound sleep, he himself, kept awake by fear of the trouble which hung over him, with noiseless steps ¹³² left his bed, by creeping on hands and knees ¹³³ got himself some distance off, and finding a rope which he had procured for the calamity of ending his life, he hung it from a nail fastened in the wall, and putting his neck in it breathed his last without the torments of a painful death. ¹³⁴

[55] This event troubled Igmazen, who lamented that he had been robbed of glory, in not having had the good fortune of bringing the usurper alive to the Roman camp. Therefore, after gaining a public pledge of safety through Masilla he placed the corpse of the dead man on his camel to bring it in; and on reaching the tents of the army, which were pitched near the fortress of Subicara, he transferred the body to a pack-animal and himself offered it to

the exultant Theodosius. [56] The latter called together his soldiers and with them the populace, and asked them whether they recognized the features; and when he had learned beyond any doubt that it was the face of Firmus, after a brief stay there he returned to Sitifis in the guise of a triumphing general, where he was received with applause and commendation by all, of every age and rank. ¹³⁵

The Quadi, aroused by the ruthless murder of their king Gabinius, with the Sarmatians lay waste Pannonia and Valeria with fire and sword, and almost wholly destroyed two legions. Of the city prefecture of Claudius.

While the said general was panting through this dust of Mars throughout Mauritania and Africa, the Quadi, who had long been quiet, were suddenly aroused to an outbreak; they are a nation now not greatly to be feared, ¹³⁶ but were formerly immensely warlike and powerful, as is shown by their swift and sudden swoops in former times, their siege of Aquileia in company with the Marcomanni, the destruction of Opitergium, ¹³⁷ and many other bloody deeds performed in rapid campaigns; so that when they broke through the Julian Alps, the emperor Marcus Pius, ¹³⁸ of whom we have previously written, ¹³⁹ could with difficulty check them. And, for savages, they had a just cause of complaint. [2] For Valentinian from the very beginning of his reign burned with a desire of protecting his frontiers, which was indeed praiseworthy, but carried too far; for he ordered the building of a garrison-camp across the Danube in the very territories of the Quadi, as if they were already claimed for Roman rule. The natives, being indignant at this and cautious for their own interests, tried to prevent them for a time merely by a deputation and by whispered complaints. [3] But Maximinus, ¹⁴⁰ being prone to every kind of wickedness and unable to control his native arrogance, which was swollen still more by his prefecture, upbraided Aequitius, who was at the time commander of the cavalry in Illyricum, as rebellious and slothful in not yet having finished the work the earlier construction of which had been arranged; and he added, as if having regard for the general welfare, that if the rank of general ¹⁴¹ in Valeria ¹⁴² were given to his own son ¹⁴³ Marcellianus, ¹⁴⁴ the fortification would rise without any excuses. [4] Both objects were presently attained. When the newly appointed general had set out and had reached the spot, with unreasonable arrogance, as was to be expected of the son of such a father, without any words to soothe those whom the dreams of a design never actually carried out was driving from their country, he took up the work which had been begun a short time before, but was suspended because of the opportunity given for protesting. [5] Finally, when king Gabinius mildly asked that no new step should be taken, he pretended that he would assent, and with feigned kindness invited ¹⁴⁵ the king with others to a banquet. But as Gabinius was departing after the feast and suspected no treachery, Marcellianus, with abominable violation of the sacred duties of

hospitality, had him murdered.

[6] The report of so atrocious a deed at once spread abroad on all sides and roused the Quadi and the tribes round about them to madness. Weeping for the death of the king, they mustered and sent out devastating bands, which crossed the Danube while no hostility was anticipated, and fell upon the country people, who were busy with their harvest; most of them they killed, the survivors they led home as prisoners, along with a quantity of all kinds of domestic animals. [7] Surely at that time an irreparable crime would have been committed, to be numbered among the shameful disasters of Roman history; for the daughter of Constantius, when being conducted to marry Gratianus, was very nearly captured while she was taking food in a public villa called Pristensis, but (by the favour of the propitious godhead) Messalla, the governor of the province, was at hand and placed her in a state-carriage ¹⁴⁶ and took her in all haste back to Sirmium, twenty-six miles away.

[8] After the princess was saved by this fortunate chance from the danger of wretched slavery, which, if it had been impossible to ransom the captive, would have branded the state with the greatest disaster, the Quadi, in company with the Sarmatians, ranged more widely; and being peoples most skilled in rapine and brigandage, they drove off as booty human beings of both sexes ¹⁴⁷ as well as cattle, exulting in the ashes of burned farmhouses and the sufferings of the slain inhabitants, whom they took by surprise and destroyed without any mercy. [9] So, when the dread of similar evils spread over the whole neighbouring country, Probus, the praetorian prefect, ¹⁴⁸ then at Sirmium, being accustomed to no horrors of war ¹⁴⁹ and so overcome by the sorrowful and unusual sights that he barely raised his eyes, hesitated for a long time in doubt what action to take. And after he had equipped swift horses and determined on flight the next night, he thought of a safer plan and remained where he was. [10] For he had learnt that all those who were shut up within the walls would at once follow him, in order to take refuge in convenient hiding-places; and that if this should happen, the city, being without defenders, would fall into the hands of the enemy. [11] Therefore, soon calming his fear, he roused himself with vigorous effort to meet the urgent situation. He cleared out ¹⁵⁰ the moats, which were choked with rubbish, and being naturally inclined to building, since the walls through long-continued peace had in great part been neglected and had fallen, he raised them even to the completion of pinnacles of lofty towers. And the work was quickly finished, because he found that the materials ¹⁵¹ which had long since been collected for the purpose of building a theatre were sufficient for what he was hastening to accomplish. Also to this excellent plan he added another equally useful by summoning a cohort of bowmen from the nearest station, to aid them in a siege, if one should come.

[12] By these stumbling-blocks (so to speak) ¹⁵² the barbarians were turned from attacking the city, having little skill in such refinements of warfare as well as being impeded by their packs of booty, and turned to the pursuit of

Aequitins. And when they learned from the information of prisoners that he had gone to the remote spaces of Valeria, they quickly made their way thither, grinding their teeth and bent upon cutting his throat for this reason — that they believed that it was he who had brought their guiltless king to destruction. ^[13] When this became known, at headlong speed two legions were sent to meet them in battle, the Pannonica and the Moesiaca, a strong combination for fighting, which, if they had acted in harmony, would undoubtedly have come off victorious. But while they were hastening to attack the bands of plunderers separately, they were made ineffective by quarrels that broke out between them, and contended for honour and prestige. ^[14] When the Sarmatians, who were very keen-witted, learned of this, without waiting for the usual signal for battle, they attacked the Moesiaca first; and while the soldiers were somewhat slow in getting their arms ready because of the confusion, they killed a great number of them, and then with increased confidence broke through the line of the Pannonica. They thus threw the whole army into disorder, and with repeated attacks would almost have annihilated it, had not speedy flight saved some from the danger of death.

^[15] At the time of these losses due to a harsher fortune, Theodosius the younger, general in Moesia, a young man whose beard was then only just beginning to appear, afterwards a most glorious emperor, ¹⁵³ wore out by frequent engagements, drove back and defeated the Free Sarmatians (so called to distinguish them from their rebellious slaves ¹⁵⁴) who were invading our territories from the other side, crushing them in densely packed conflicts; and so thoroughly did he overwhelm the hordes which converged in floods and resisted most bravely, that he sated the birds and beasts of prey with a veritable feast of many slain. ¹⁵⁵ ^[16] Therefore, the remainder, their arrogance now cooling down, feared lest the same leader, a man of ready valour (as was evident), on his first entrance into their territories should lay low or put to flight the invading hordes, or should lay ambushes for them in the dark woods; so, after making many vain attempts from time to time to break through, they lost their confidence for battle and begged for indulgence and pardon for the past. And after being thus conquered for the time, they did nothing in violation of the conditions of the peace that was granted them, being especially struck with fear because a strong force of Gallic troops had been added to the defence of Illyricum.

¹⁵⁶ ^[17] At the time when these storms, so many and so terrible, were causing constant disturbances, while Claudius was governing the Eternal City, ¹⁵⁷ the Tiber, which cuts through the midst of our walled town and, with many drains and streams pouring into it, mingles with the Tyrrhenian Sea, was swollen by an excessive rainfall, and extending beyond the appearance of a river, covered almost the whole place. ¹⁵⁸ ^[18] While all the remaining quarters of the city, which extend down to a gentler level, ¹⁵⁹ were under water, the mountains alone, and such buildings ¹⁶⁰ as were especially high, were protected from present danger. And since the height of the waters prevented movement

anywhere on foot, a supply of food was furnished in abundance by boats and skiffs, for fear that many people might starve to death. But, in fact, when the stormy weather moderated, and the river, which had broken its bonds, ¹⁶¹ returned to its usual course, all fear was dispelled and no further trouble was looked for. ^[19] This prefect himself ¹⁶² passed his term of office in complete quiet, allowing no public discord over and above reasonable remonstrance ¹⁶³ ; and he restored many old buildings. Among others he built a huge colonnade near the Baths of Agrippa and called it the Portico of Good Outcome, because there is a temple ¹⁶⁴ to that deity to be seen near by.

NOTES.

¹ 371 A.D.

² In Mesopotamia.

³ Sapor.

⁴ 371–2 A.D.

⁵ He was *comes rei privatae* in charge of the privy-purse.

⁶ Cf. Cic., *De Div.* i. 56, 127, *est quasi rudentis explicatio*.

⁷ St. John Chrysostom, *Ad Vid. Ux. (Opera, i. 343, 4 B ff.)*, speaks highly of him, adding that he was born in Sicily, and that after his execution his widow was robbed of her property and made a servant at the court

⁸ Cf. Tac., *Hist.* i. 49, of Galba, *maior private visus dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperil nisi imperasset*, and Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 1, of Valentinian.

⁹ Because of his services in these inquiries he was made consul by Valens in the following year. Greg. Naz. also charges him with servile flattery of the emperor.

¹⁰ That is, to Antioch, where Valens was.

¹¹ I.e., the country about Antioch.

¹² Cf. xxxi. 13.

¹³ Ammianus agrees with Herodian, i. 8, 5, but Dio, *Epit.*, lxxiii. 4, 1–5; Lamprid., *Comm.*, 4, 2–4, and Zonaras, xii. 41 () call him Claudius Pompeianus. Apparently his name was Quintianus Pompeianus.

¹⁴ Cf. xviii. 3, 7, *vitae potestatem et necis in acie linguae portantem*.

¹⁵ Hadrian and Septimius Severus put such money into the public treasury; see Spart., *Hadr.* 7, 7; Capitolinus, *Albinus*, 12, 4.

¹⁶ Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, i. , 175 ff., *L.C.L.*: —

ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίῃ πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα,
καὶ γήρως πολιοῦ, κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλου.
ἦν δὲ χρὴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκήτεα πόντον
ρίπτειν, καὶ πετρέων, κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.

¹⁷ Not lead balls on the scourges (cf. xxviii. 1, 29, note), but actual weights, which were hung to the feet of those who sat on the *eculeus*, or rack.

¹⁸ Cf. Aeschylus, *Prom.* [58]

¹⁹ Cf. 1, 6, above.

²⁰ In calling for the trial of so many men, and from remote places.

²¹ There were two classes of *comites thesaurorum*: one (*comitatenses*), located at the court, had charge of the imperial wardrobe, table-furnishings, etc.; the other (*provinciarum et urbium*) of the revenues and the equipment of the soldiers.

²² Valesius read *carbasio*, which would correspond to the linen garments and sandals; the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* reads *carpathio* = *linteo*.

²³ The descendants of a certain Branchus, a favourite of Apollo, who were at first in charge of the oracle at Branchidae, later called *oraculum Apollinis Didymeï* (Mela, i. 17, 86), in the Milesian territory; cf. Hdt. i. 1 [57] The rings had magic powers, cf. Cic., *De Off.* iii. 9, 38; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii. 8. Some writers give a different account of the method of divination used by the conspirators.

²⁴ Of the name, i.e. δ. The prediction would apply equally well to Theodosius, who actually succeeded Valens.

²⁵ Praetorian prefect in 380 and 381; whether he was the same as the author of the *Epitome of Roman History* is uncertain

²⁶ According to Lucian, who wrote his biography, he was a Cynic; he was born at Parion on the Hellespont, and died in Olympiad 236 (A.D. 165).

²⁷ Cf. xxii. 7, 3; xxv. 3, 23; he plays a prominent part in Ibsen's *Emperor and Galilean*.

²⁸ By order of Festus, proconsul of Asia.

²⁹ Cf. xxiii. 1, 2, end.

³⁰ According to St. John Chrysostom, *Orat. 3, De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, Hierocles was being led to the Hippodrome, when all the people, who had gathered before the emperor's palace, cried out for his pardon.

³¹ Or "curdler." Literally "the rennet."

³² 1, 5.

³³ Until the owner should be acquitted or condemned; in the latter case his house and property went to the *fiscus*.

³⁴ Cf. also Zos. iv. 14. In this way Valens greatly diminished our knowledge of the ancient writers, in particular of the philosophers.

³⁵ See xxviii. 4, 18, note.

³⁶ Cf. Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* v. 21, 61 f.

³⁷ See Index II, Vol. I, s.v. *notarii*.

³⁸ I.e., an astrologer, a caster of nativities.

³⁹ See xiv. 5, 5, note 3.

⁴⁰ Ironical, for the emperor.

⁴¹ Text and exact meaning are uncertain. It is not clear what the subject of *praemonebat* is. G reads *Valens* for *et valere* and *praemonebatur*.

⁴² The word may mean “one who crucifies” or “one who deserves to be crucified” — hence “hangman” or “gallows-bird.” The latter seems preferable.

⁴³ See xviii. 1, 1; xxi. 6, 4; they were consuls in 359. Constantius married their sister Eusebia.

⁴⁴ That is, the path which he alleged that they had made for carrying out their designs.

⁴⁵ Valens.

⁴⁶ Cf. Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 12, 7, *nihil tibi liceat, dum irasceris. Quare? Quia vis omnia licere*; and *Consol. ad Polybium*, 7, 2.

⁴⁷ Cf. Cic., *Ad Quint. Frat.* i. 1, 13, 37, *nihil est tam deformed quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungere*.

⁴⁸ Doubtless through his enemies, who were numerous. Hypatius and Eusebius; see 2, 9, above.

⁴⁹ I.e., of subjecting men of rank to such an indignity.

⁵⁰ Cf. xxvii. 11, 6.

⁵¹ Cf. xxviii. 1, 12.

⁵² Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 100, 4.

⁵³ A sign of mourning; cf. Apul., *Metam.* iii. 1.

⁵⁴ Cf. xxviii. 1, 15.

⁵⁵ Cf. *mundanum fulgorem*, xiv. 6, 3.

⁵⁶ See xiv. 8, 11, note 2; xxi. 16, 3, note 4.

⁵⁷ Cf. *C.I.L.* i. part 2, ed. 2, 15 (epitaph of Scipio Hispanus), *virtutes generis mieis mribus accumulavi*.

⁵⁸ At a later time; Flavius Hypatius was prefect of Rome in 397, praetorian prefect in 382 and 383.

⁵⁹ *ferret . . . dolores*, hexameter rhythm.

⁶⁰ Cf. xxv. 3, 18; Cio., *De Off.* i. 25, 85.

⁶¹ *instrumentum* here = ἐφόδιον (*viaticum*). Valesius quotes Stobaeus, *De Senec.* (Florilegium, 117, 8,), τὶ ἂν εἴη γήρωι ἐφόδιον ἄριστον; Ammianus uses *instrumentum* in

the general sense of “cost, expense,” e.g. in xxviii. 6, 6; cf. also xix. 11, 4; xxi. 6, 6, and xxvi. 7, 12, where this meaning is perhaps implied. No such saying of Caesar’s is elsewhere known.

⁶² Cf. Cassiod., *Varia*, vii. 1, *cunctator ease debet qui iudicat de salute; alia sententia potest corrigi, de vita transactum non patitur immutari*; Juv. vi. 221, *nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est*.

⁶³ Cf. Val. Max. viii. 1, *Amb.* 2; Gell. xii. 7, 4. Dolabella is probably the man who was consul with Antony, and after Caesar’s death governed the province of Asia.

⁶⁴ I.e., the case was adjourned for that time, as provided by the law of Ser. Sulpicius Galba; cf. Cic., *Verr.* ii. 1, 7, 20.

⁶⁵ There was a myth that Ares or Mars, to avenge an injury to his daughter, slew Halirrhothius, son of Posidon or Neptune, and that the case came before the Areopagus; of. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 10.

⁶⁶ 372 A.D.

⁶⁷ Cf. xxviii. 1, 5 ff.

⁶⁸ Cf. xv. 5, 4, note 3.

⁶⁹ That is, whether the place, the circumstances, and even the deeds themselves are unlike.

⁷⁰ Of the wall or perhaps the floor of the bath.

⁷¹ Of the Greek alphabet.

⁷² Valentinian.

⁷³ Belonging to the *paedagogium*; see xxvi. 6, 15, note.

⁷⁴ For *species*, cf. xiv. 9, 7.

⁷⁵ Cf. xxiii. 1, 4.

⁷⁶ The sentence is corrupt. The earlier editors inserted words from the Chronicle of Hieronymus of 372, meaning “was executed because he had concealed Octavianus . . . who had taken refuge at his house.”

⁷⁷ A *strator* was appointed in the provinces to buy choice horses. Another class of *stratores* were grooms; see Index of Officials, Vol. I.

⁷⁸ On *elogium* see also xiv. 5, 5, note.

⁷⁹ I.e., use magic arts.

⁸⁰ A lacuna follows, see crit. note 1.

⁸¹ Since *de fustibus caesi* seems to be an impossible construction, there was probably a lacuna between *de* and *fustibus*; see crit. note 2.

⁸² There is a lacuna of five lines, doubtless containing a description of a line of fortifications with watch-towers.

⁸³ King of the Alamanni, xviii. 2, 15; xxviii. 5, 8.

⁸⁴ Cf. Plin., *N.H.* xxxi. 20, *sunt et Mattiaci in Germania fontes calidi trans Rhenum*; Tac., *Ann.* 1, 56. Perhaps Wiesbaden.

⁸⁵ *scurrae* is used also of Germans serving in the Roman army. Cf. Lampr., *Alex. Sev.* 61, 3, *unus ex Germanis, q ui scurrarum officium sustinebat*. Here perhaps campfollowers.

⁸⁶ I.e., the slaves.

⁸⁷ Here *iudices* is used of military officials.

⁸⁸ Cf. xvi. 5, 5.

⁸⁹ Here there is a lacuna of 3 1/2 lines. The general sense probably is, that the emperor went on to meet the king.

⁹⁰ Of taking the king prisoner.

⁹¹ Some MSS. say five hundred.

⁹² For this meaning of *numeri*, applied both to cohorts and legions, cf., for example, *militares numeros*, xiv. 7, 19; *numeris Moesiacorum duobus*, xx. 1, 3; Suet., *Aug.* 17. 3.

⁹³ The words *Abhinc inter* are followed by a lacuna of 2 1/2 lines. Ammianus takes up the narrative from xxviii. 6, disregarding the exact chronology; cf. Orosius, vii. 33, 6, who places the uprising of Firmus in the time of Valentinian and Valens.

⁹⁴ See xxviii. 6, 5.

⁹⁵ The text is fragmentary. The idea seems to be that he sought auxiliary forces for devastating the province.

⁹⁶ 373 A.D.

⁹⁷ On Domitius see Index. Lusius Quietus served as *legatus* in the Dacian wars of Trajan, and in the East. Both men fell victims to the envy of the courtiers and emperors. The same fate overtook Theodosius; hence an additional reason for the comparison.

⁹⁸ Sitifis, modern Setif, gave its name to one division of Mauritania; the others were Caesariensis and Tingitana.

⁹⁹ I.e., his misconduct; Theodosius was well aware that Romanus was to blame for the revolt.

¹⁰⁰ He, after the death of the emperor Theodosius, being then commander in Africa, revolted from Honorius.

¹⁰¹ Cf. xxiv. 1, 15, *virtutis suae horrea*.

¹⁰² At the command of Honorius he later invaded Africa with an army and killed his brother

Gildo (see xxix. 5, 6, note); cf. Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* i. 389 ff.; Orosius, vii. 36, 4.> Stilicho had him thrown from a bridge; cf. Zos. v. 11, who calls him Masceledus.

¹⁰³ An estate with the surrounding fields; cf. *Macelli fundum*, xv. 2, 7, note.

¹⁰⁴ The book in which he spoke of this is lost. He perhaps drew his material from Solinus, *Polyhist.* 25, 17, who ascribes its founding to twenty companions of Hercules, *qui a comitatu eius desciverant . . . ac ne quis imposito a se nomine privatim gloriaretur, de condentium numero urbi nomen datum* (i.e. from εἰκοσι, twenty).

¹⁰⁵ The high priest of a province wore a golden crown (according to Tertullian). The reference is to xxviii. 6, 10, where the death of the high priest, Rusticianus, is mentioned.

¹⁰⁶ Orosius, vii. 33, 5, says that it was taken and destroyed by Firmus. It was formerly called Iol, but Juba changed the name to Caesarea in honour of Augustus Caesar; cf. Eutr. vii. 10, 3.

¹⁰⁷ I.e., “*descriptione situs*.” For this meaning of *situ*, cf. xxiii. 6, 10, and Ernesti, *Index*, s.v.

¹⁰⁸ In a lost book.

¹⁰⁹ See 5, 6, above.

¹¹⁰ Cf. xxi. 11, 2.

¹¹¹ A Roman title adopted by the Mazices.

¹¹² A lacuna of four lines follows, after which are the words *producerent vinctos*, “to bring them in chains,” or something similar.

¹¹³ Something like “running the gauntlet”; cf. Tac., *Ann.* i. 44; Polyb. vi. 37, 3 ff.; Lamprid. *Commodus*, 6, 2, *hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus est deditus*.

¹¹⁴ He was proconsul in Thrace; see Livy, *Epit.* xcv.; Flor. i. 39, 6; Front., *Strateg.* iv. 1, 43.

¹¹⁵ *Epist. ad Brutum*, i. 2, 5 (Cic. has *severitas*, not *vigor*).

¹¹⁶ A lacuna of three lines follows. The successor of Romanus is therefore unknown.

¹¹⁷ A brief lacuna follows which does not greatly affect the sense.

¹¹⁸ See § 22, above.

¹¹⁹ Q. Fabius Maximus in the Hannibalic war, nicknamed *Cunctator* because of his policy of caution.

¹²⁰ 363 ff. A.D.

¹²¹ Here there is a lacuna of three lines, perhaps telling that, strengthened through these tribes, he again took the field.

¹²² Another lacuna of four lines. Doubtless it is said that his wife lost her life during the flight.

¹²³ *nullique* shows that Theodosius is really the subject of a missing verb, but there is no

lacuna in V.

¹²⁴ Or Duobia; both names occur below, but the lacuna of four letters in V suggests Audia here; cf. § 44, below.

¹²⁵ *quadrato agmine* means with the soldiers in the form of a square (or rectangle), with the baggage in the middle. It was the usual marching order when an attack was looked for.

¹²⁶ That is, facing the enemy on all sides.

¹²⁷ So Wagner, *dilatato* ab ipso *vulneris hiatus*, which seems to fit the context and the situation.

¹²⁸ He was really *magister militum*, which officer is called *comes* also in xviii. 8, 6; cf. *ducem*, below, and Introd. Vol. I, p. xxxiv, n. 3.

¹²⁹ See the illustration at xxiii. 4, 1.

¹³⁰ For a similar use of the *sagum* see xviii. 6, 13, xxv. 6, 14 (*sagulum*).

¹³¹ With Firms

¹³² Cf. *suspensis passibus* and *quodrupedo gradu*, xiv. 2, 2.

¹³³ Cf. *suspensis passibus* and *quodrupedo gradu*, xiv. 2, 2.

¹³⁴ Such as he might have expected if he fell into the hands of Theodosius.

¹³⁵ This happened in 374. Theodosius, as Orosius, vii. 33, 7, tells us, was put to death at Carthage in 377 in consequence of court intrigue. His son, living in retirement, was called to court by Gratian and became *magister militum*, and later Augustus.

¹³⁶ They had been conquered by Constaltius; see xvii. 12, 9 ff.

¹³⁷ Modern Oderzo.

¹³⁸ I.e., Marcus Aurelius.

¹³⁹ In a lost book.

¹⁴⁰ See xxviii. 5 f.

¹⁴¹ I.e., *dux per Valeriam*.

¹⁴² Cf. xix. 11, 4.

¹⁴³ For *parvus* meaning son cf. Statius, *Silv.* i. 6, 43 f.; *una vescitur omnis ordo mensa: parvi, femina, plebs, eques, senatus; Theb.* vii. 520.

¹⁴⁴ Called Celestius by Zos. xiv. 16.

¹⁴⁵ For *corrogavit* cf. xviii. 2, 13.

¹⁴⁶ A vehicle at the disposal of the officials of the province, the city prefect, and other high dignitaries (*iudices*).

¹⁴⁷ For *secus* cf. xvi. 11, 9.

¹⁴⁸ In Illyricum.

¹⁴⁹ These prefects were civil officials.

¹⁵⁰ For *retersit* of. *detersit*, Suet., *Aug.* 18, 2.

¹⁵¹ Wagner with considerable probability takes *impensas* as the materials for building the theatre, citing Juvenal, iii. 216, and other examples.

¹⁵² Ammianus uses *obex* without apology, e.g. xvi. 12, 36; xxi. 12, 13; xxiv. 5, 2; xxxi. 4, 9; as here xxvii. 10, 8.

¹⁵³ 379 — 395.

¹⁵⁴ The Limigantes; cf. xvii. 13, 1; xix. 11, 1.

¹⁵⁵ For *sagina*, cf. xxii. 12, 6. On this victory see also Zos. iv. 16.

¹⁵⁶ 374 ff. A.D.

¹⁵⁷ As prefect of the city, in 374.

¹⁵⁸ Floods of the Tiber were frequent; cf. Plin., *N. H.*, iii. 55.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. xvi. 10, 14; *intra septem montium culmina. . . posita urbis membra*.

¹⁶⁰ I.e., blocks of houses.

¹⁶¹ Cf. xxiv. 1, 11; Livy, xxvii, 28, 10 (Wagner).

¹⁶² Claudius; see § 17, above.

¹⁶³ That is, which the prefect could not quiet in that way. *Querella* is ambiguous; and the meaning may be: "except that caused by just complaints."

¹⁶⁴ See Varro, *R.R.* i. 1, 6; cf. Cato, *Agr.* 141, 3 (of Mars), *utique tu fruges . . . grandire beneque evenire siris*; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 77, says that she was represented in Rome with a *patera* in her right hand and an ear of wheat and poppies in her left. Her temple at Rome was in the Ninth Region.

BOOK XXX

Papa,¹ king of the Armenians, called to the court by Valens and held prisoner at Tarsus under pretence of doing him honour, flees with 300 of his countrymen, and, eluding those who were watching the roads, returns to his kingdom on horseback, and shortly afterwards is killed at a banquet by the general Trajanus.

Amid these troublesome disturbances, which the treachery of a general brought about by the atrocious murder of the king of the Quadi, a terrible crime was committed in the Orient, where Papa,² king of the Armenians, was killed by secret plots. Of this matter, which was conceived by a nefarious plan, the following (as we have learned) was the original³ cause. [2] Some crafty men, who had often fattened themselves through losses sustained by the public, brought before Valens and maliciously exaggerated a patchwork of charges against this king, even then only just come to manhood. Among these was the general Terentius,⁴ a man who walked humbly and always wore a somewhat sad expression, but so long as he lived was a zealous abettor of dissensions. [3] He formed a cabal with a few of the gentiles⁵ who were in fear and suspense because of their misdeeds, and writing constantly to the court harped on the death of Cylaces and Arrabanes,⁶ adding that this same young king was aroused to acts of arrogance and was excessively cruel to his subjects. [4] Accordingly, under pretence that he was to take part in a consultation to be held at the time with regard to the present situation of affairs, the said Papa was summoned with the courtesy due to his royal rank; but at Tarsus in Cilicia he was put under guard as if it were doing him honour. ⁷ And when he could neither get access to the emperor's quarters, nor learn the reason for his urgent coming, since all kept silence, he finally found out through secret information, that Terentius by letters was advising the Roman ruler at once to appoint another king of Armenia, to prevent a nation that was useful to us from going over to the side of the Persians through hatred of Papa and the expectation that he would return; for they were burning with the desire of seizing Armenia by force, or threats, or flattery.

[5] The king, thinking over the matter, foresaw that he was threatened by a sad end. And being now aware of the plot, and seeing no other way to save himself except by a swift departure, at the advice of trusted friends he got together three hundred companions who had followed him from his native country; and when the greater part of the day had passed they mounted swift horses and set out with more boldness than discretion, as is usual under pressing and doubtful alarms, and fearlessly hastened away in close order. [6] The governor of the province, aroused by a message from the officer who guarded the gate, proceeded in eager haste and overtook the king in the suburbs. He earnestly besought him to remain; but since this request was not

granted, he turned his back through fear of his life. [7] More than that, when a legion followed him a little later and overtook him, Papa charged back upon them with his bravest men, pouring in his arrows like a shower of sparks. He missed intentionally but put them to flight, so that the whole legion with its tribune was terrified and they all returned to the walls more briskly than they had come. [8] Then, freed from all fear, after completing two days and two nights of very toilsome marching, he came to the bank of the Euphrates; but since he had no boats he could not ford the eddying stream, so that many of his men, being unable to swim were terrified, and the king himself hesitated most of all. Indeed, he would have remained there, if he had not, amid the various plans suggested by all, been able to find an expedient which seemed safest in their dire necessity. [9] They took the beds which they found in the farmhouses and supported each of them upon two bladders, ⁸ of which there was an abundant supply in the vine-producing fields. The prince himself and his most distinguished followers seated themselves each upon one of these, led their horses behind them, and by taking oblique courses avoided the high waves of the onrushing waters; and by this device, after extreme dangers, they at length reached the opposite bank. [10] All the rest, carried by their swimming horses, and often submerged and tossed about by the flood swirling around them, exhausted by the danger and the wetting, were thrown out on the opposite bank. There they refreshed themselves with a brief rest and went on more rapidly than on the days just past.

[11] When this was reported, the emperor, greatly troubled by the flight of the king, and thinking that after escaping this snare he would break faith, sent Danielus and Barzimeres (the one a general, the other tribune of the targeteers) with a thousand nimble and light-armed archers, to call him back. [12] They, trusting to their knowledge of the region, since the king, though in haste, yet being a foreigner and unacquainted with the neighbourhood, kept making meanders and circles, ⁹ got ahead of him by short cuts through the valleys. Then, dividing their forces, they beset the two nearest roads, which were separated by a distance of three miles, in order that, through whichever of the two he should pass, he might be caught off his guard; but the plan came to nothing through this chance event: [13] A wayfarer who was hastening towards the nearer ¹⁰ bank of the river, seeing the ascent filled with armed soldiers, in order to avoid them took to a bypath between the two roads, rough with thickets and brambles; falling in with the wearied Armenians, and being led before the king, he told him in a private interview what he had seen; he was then detained, but not harmed. [14] Presently the king, pretending that there was nothing to fear, secretly sent a horseman on the road to the right with orders to secure lodging and food; but after he had gone a little way, another was ordered to go with all speed towards the left on a similar errand, but without knowing that the other horseman had been sent in a different direction. [15] After these helpful precautions, the king himself, with his followers — the wayfarer tracing his way back amongst the thickets through

which he had come and showing a rough path very narrow indeed for a loaded pack-animal — left the soldiers ¹¹ behind him, and made his escape. They, after capturing his messengers, who had been sent merely to confuse the minds of those who were lying in wait for the king, were almost expecting him to rush into their open arms, like a wild beast at a hunt. ¹² But while they were waiting for his coming, he was restored safe and sound to his kingdom, where he was received with the greatest joy by his subjects; but thereafter he remained unmoved in true allegiance, bearing in silence all the wrongs that he had suffered.

[16] After this, as soon as Danielus and Barzimeres, baffled, had returned, they were assailed with shameful reproaches as blunderers and slothful, and like venomous serpents whose bite had been blunted by the first attack, they sharpened their deadly fangs, intending as soon as they could and to the extent of their powers to injure him who had given them the slip. [17] And to palliate their fault or the deception which they had suffered from greater cleverness, they bombarded the ears of the emperor (most retentive of all gossip) with false charges against Papa, alleging that he was wonderfully skilled through the incantations of Circe ¹³ in changing and weakening men's bodies; and they added that, having by arts of that kind spread darkness round himself, ¹⁴ and by changing his own form and that of his followers, having passed through their lines, if he survived this trickery, he would cause sad troubles.

[18] In this way the irreconcilable hatred of the emperor for Papa was increased, and plots were devised every day for taking his life either by violence or secretly; and to Trajanus, ¹⁵ who was then in Armenia in command of the military forces, this work was entrusted through secret letters. [19] That general sought to win the king by treacherous flattery, now showing him letters of Valens as tokens of his calm state of mind, and now forcing himself upon his banquets; finally, when his plot was matured, he invited him with great respect to a luncheon. The king came, fearing no hostility, and took his place in the seat of honour granted him. [20] And when choice dainties were set before him, and the great building rang with the music of strings, songs, and wind-instruments, ¹⁶ the host himself, already heated with wine, went out, under pretence of a call of nature. Then a rude barbarian, fiercely glaring with savage eyes and brandishing a drawn sword, one of the class called scurrae, ¹⁷ was sent in to kill the young man, who had already been cut off from any possibility of escape. [21] At this sight the young king, who, as it happened, was leaning forward beyond his couch, drew his dagger and was rising to defend his life by every possible means, but fell disfigured, pierced through the breast like some victim at the altar, foully slain by repeated strokes. [22] By such treachery was credulity basely deceived, and at a banquet, which ought to be respected even on the Euxine Sea, ¹⁸ before the eyes of the god of hospitality ¹⁹ a stranger's blood was shed, which bespattered the splendid linen cloths with foaming gore, was more than enough to sate the guests, who scattered in utmost horror. If the dead can feel grief, ²⁰ the famous Fabricius

Luscinus might groan at this arrogant act, when he recalled with what greatness of soul he rejected the promise of Demochares or (as some write)²¹ Nicias, the king's attendant, made in a secret conference; for he said that he would kill king Pyrrhus, who at that time was reducing Italy to ashes²² in cruel warfare, by mixing poison with his cups; but Fabricius warned the king in a letter to beware of his more intimate servants. Such a place of respect in those days of old-time justice was held by the conviviality even of an enemy's table. [23] True, some sought to excuse this recent extraordinary and shameful deed by the example of the assassination of Sertorius,²³ but those flatterers perhaps did not know that no act which is proved to be contrary to law is justified because another crime was similar or went unpunished, as Demosthenes, eternal glory of Greece, declares.²⁴

The deputations of Valens Augustus and Sapor, king of the Persians, in their contest for the rule of Armenia and Hiberia.

These are the noteworthy events that took place in Armenia. But Sapor, after the former disaster to his men, on learning of the murder of Papa, whom he was making great efforts to enlist on his side, overwhelmed with heavy grief and with his fear increased by the activity of our army, sowed the seeds of greater troubles for himself. [2] Accordingly, he sent Arraces as an envoy to the emperor, advising him to withdraw entirely from Armenia, since it was a continual source of troubles; or if that was not acceptable, proposing as an alternative that abandoning the division of Hiberia²⁵ and withdrawing the garrisons of the Roman part, he should allow Aspacures, whom Sapor had made ruler of that nation, to reign alone. [3] To this Valens made answer to this effect: that he could not repeal anything of that which had been agreed upon by common consent, but would maintain it with the utmost vigour. In reply to this noble utterance a²⁶ letter was brought from the king when the winter was already nearly ended,²⁷ giving trivial and arrogant reasons. For he asserted that the weeds of discord could not be pruned away by the roots except in the presence of those who had been witnesses to the conclusion of the peace with Jovian, some of whom (as he had learned) had since died.

[4] After this the emperor's cares grew heavier.²⁸ Now he was in condition rather to make a choice of plans than to discover any; and so, thinking it to be to the advantage of the State, he ordered Victor, commander of the cavalry, and Urbicius, general in Mesopotamia, to go quickly to the Persians, bearing an ultimatum in plain language: that it was criminal of a king who was just and contented with his own (as he boasted) wrongfully to covet Armenia, whose people had been granted permission to live independently; and that, unless the guard of soldiers given to Sauromaces²⁹ should return without hindrance at the beginning of the following year (as had been agreed), Sapor would be forced to do against his will what he had refrained from doing of his own accord. [5] This embassy was indeed straightforward and frank, had its

members not erred in one particular; for they accepted without orders some small territories that offered themselves to them in that same Armenia.

On their return the Surena, who ranked next to the king, came and offered to the emperor these same lands that our envoys had recklessly taken. [6] He was received courteously and handsomely ³⁰ entertained, but was sent back without obtaining what he asked, and in consequence great preparations were made for war, in the expectation that when the winter grew milder the emperor would invade Persia with three armies and for that purpose was in great haste hiring mercenaries from the Scythians.

[7] Accordingly Sapor, having failed to gain that for which he had vainly hoped, and exasperated even more than usual because he had learned that our ruler was perparing for a campaign, defied Valens' anger and instructed the Surena to recover by arms, in case anyone made opposition, the lands which Count Victor and Urbicius had taken over; also to do all possible harm to the soldiers appointed for the protection of Sauromaces. [8] These instructions were hastily carried out, as he had ordered, and could not be remedied or punished, since the Roman state was encompassed by another danger from all the Gothic peoples, who were lawlessly overrunning Thrace; these disasters can briefly be set forth, when I come also to that part of my narrative. ³¹

[9] This is what happened in the eastern regions. During the course of these events the eternal power ³² of Justice, the judge, sometimes tardy, but always strict, of right or wrong actions, avenged the disasters in Africa and the still unsatisfied and wandering shades of the envoys of Tripolis, ³³ in the following manner. [10] Remigius, who (as we have said ³⁴) favoured the general Romanus in his oppression of the provinces, after Leo had been appointed chief marshal of the court in his place, was now resting from public duties and gave himself up to rural life in his native place near Mayence. [11] While he was there passing a care-free life, Maximinus, ³⁵ the praetorian prefect, scorning him, now that he turned back to a life of leisure, and being wont to overrun all things like a dire pestilence, aspired to injure him in every possible manner. And in his desire to discover more secrets, he seized Caesarius, who had formerly been in the service of Remigius and later a secretary of the emperor, and tried by cruel tortures to learn what Remigius had done, and how much he had received for aiding the criminal acts of Romanus. [12] When Remigius (who, as has been said, was in retirement) learned of this, either driven by the consciousness of guilt or because the dread of false charges overcame his reason, he strangled himself, and so died.

Valentinian Augustus, after devastating some cantons of the Alamanni, has a conference with their king Macrianus, and makes peace.

In the year following these events, Gratianus was made consul as the colleague of Aequitius; and Valentinian, who after devastating several cantons

of the Alamanni was building a fortification near Basle, which the neighbours call Robur, ³⁶ received the report of the prefect Probus, telling of the devastation in Illyricum. ³⁷ [2] On reading this with careful attention, as became a cautious general, he was distracted by anxious reflections and sending the secretary Paternianus, gave the matter the most searching investigation. As soon as he received through him a true account of what had happened, he hastened to set out at once, in order (as he intended) to crush by the first clash of his arms the savages who had ventured to violate our frontier. [3] But since autumn was waning and many difficulties stood in the way, all the principal men at the court strove by entreaties and prayers ³⁸ to hold him back until the beginning of spring. In the first place, they urged that the roads, hardened with frost, where neither any growth of grass would be found for fodder nor anything else fit for the use of the army, could not be penetrated. In the second place, they set before him the alleged savagery of the kings bordering on Gaul, and most of all of Macrianus, who was formidable, and (as was well known) had been left unsubdued, ³⁹ and would actually attack even fortified cities. [4] Calling to mind these things and adding other salutary advice, they led the emperor to a better opinion, and at once (as was for the advantage of the state) the said king was courteously summoned to the vicinity of Mayence, being himself also inclined (as was evident) to accepting a treaty. And he arrived enormously puffed up in every way, as if he expected to be the supreme arbiter of peace, and on the day set for the conference, with head high uplifted, he stood at the very edge of the Rhine while the clashing shields of his countrymen thundered all about him. [5] On the other side the Augustus embarked on some river-boats, ⁴⁰ himself also hedged by a throng of military officers and conspicuous amid the brilliance of flashing standards, and cautiously ⁴¹ approached the shore. Finally, the savages ceased their immoderate gesticulation and barbaric tumult, and after much had been said and heard on both sides, friendship was confirmed between them ⁴² by the sanctity of an oath. [6] When this was accomplished, the king who had caused the disturbances withdrew pacified, henceforth to be our ally; and after that up to the very end of his life he gave proof by noble conduct of a spirit of steadfast loyalty. [7] He found his death later in the land of the Franks; for while amid murderous devastation he penetrated that country too eagerly, he was lured into an ambush by the warlike king Mallobaudes and perished. But after the solemn ratification of the treaty Valentinian retired to Treves for winter quarters.

Modestus, the praetorian prefect, leads Valens to give up the administration of justice; a discussion of the pleader's profession, of jurisconsults, and of various classes of advocates.

This is what took place throughout Gaul and Before ⁴³ the northern part of the empire. But in the regions of the East, amid the profound quiet of foreign

affairs, destructive internal corruption was increasing through the friends and intimates of Valens, with whom advantage prevailed over honour. For diligent efforts were exerted to turn the emperor, as a severe man and eager to hear cases at law, from his desire to act as judge; for fear that as in the times of Julian,⁴⁴ if the defence of innocence should revive, the arrogance of powerful men, which under the licence that they had assumed was in the habit of always reaching out farther, might be checked. [2] On these and similar grounds many united in a common attempt at dissuasion and in particular the praetorian prefect Modestus,⁴⁵ a man wholly subjected to the influence of the eunuchs of the court, of a boorish nature refined by no reading of the ancient writers. He, wearing a forced and deceptive expression, declared that the trivialities of private cases at law were beneath the dignity of the imperial majesty. Accordingly Valens, thinking that the examination of swarms⁴⁶ of legal cases was devised to humble⁴⁷ the loftiness of the royal power, in accordance with the advice of Modestus, abstained from it wholly, thereby opening the doors to robbery; and this grew stronger day by day through the wickedness of judges and advocates in collusion; for they sold their decisions of the cases of poorer people to officers in the army, or to powerful men within the palace, and thus gained either wealth or high position.

[3] This trade of forensic oratory the great Plato defined as πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (that is, the shadow of a small part of the science of government⁴⁸) or as the fourth part of flattery;⁴⁹ but Epicurus counts it among evil arts, calling it κακοτεχνία.⁵⁰ Tisias⁵¹ says that it is the artist of persuasion, and Gorgias of Leontini agrees with him. [4] This art, thus defined by the men of old, the cunning of certain Orientals raised to a degree hateful to good men, for which reason it is even confined by the restraints of a time fixed beforehand.⁵² Therefore after having described in a very few words its unworthiness, with which I became acquainted while I was living in those parts, I shall return to the course of the narrative with which I began.

[5] Formerly judgement-seats gained glory through the support of old-time refinement, when orators of fiery eloquence,⁵³ devoted to learned studies, were eminent for talent and justice, and for the fluency and many adornments of their diction; for example Demosthenes, to hear whom, when he was going to speak, as the Attic records testify, the people were wont to flock together from all Greece⁵⁴; and Callistratus,⁵⁵ to whom, when he pleaded in that celebrated case in defence of Oropos (which is a place in Euboea⁵⁶) that same Demosthenes attached himself, forsaking the Academy and Plato; also, Hyperides, Aeschines, Andocides, Dinarchus, and the famous Antiphon of Rhamnus, who, according to the testimony of antiquity, was the first of all to accept a fee for conducting a defence. [6] Not less eminent among the Romans were men like Rutilius, Galba, and Scaurus, conspicuous for their life, their character, and their uprightness; and later in the various epochs of subsequent times many former censors and consuls, and men who had been honoured with triumphs, such as Crassus, Antonius, Philippus, Scaevola,⁵⁷ and many

others, after successful campaigns, after victories and trophies, distinguished themselves by civic services to the State, and winning laurels in the glorious contests of the Forum, enjoyed Fame's highest honours. [7] After these Cicero, the most eminent of them all, by the floods of his all-conquering oratory often saved the oppressed from the fiery ordeal of the courts, and declared: "It might perhaps be pardonable to refuse to defend some men, but to defend them negligently could be nothing but criminal." 58

[8] But now it is possible to see in all the regions of the Orient powerful and rapacious classes of men flitting from one forum to another, besieging the home hounds 59 sagaciously picking up the tracks until they come to the very lairs of lawsuits.

[9] Among these the first class consists of those who, by sowing the seeds of all sorts of quarrels, busy themselves with thousands of recognisances, wearing out the doors of widows and the thresholds of childless men; and if they have found even slight retreats 60 of secret enmity, they rouse deadly hatred among discordant friends, kinsfolk, or relatives. And in these men their vices do not cool down in course of time, as do those of others, but grow stronger and stronger. Poor amid insatiable robbery, they draw the dagger 61 of their talent to lead astray by crafty speeches the good faith of the judges, whose title is derived from justice. [10] By their persistence rashness tries to pass itself off as freedom of speech; and reckless audacity as firmness of purpose; a kind of empty flow of words as eloquence. By the perversity of these arts, as Cicero insists, it is a sin for the conscientiousness of a judge 62 to be deceived. For he says: "And since nothing in a state ought to be so free from corruption as the suffrage and judicial decisions, I do not understand why one who corrupts them by money deserves punishment, while one who corrupts them by his eloquence is even praised. For my part, I think that he does more evil who corrupts a judge by a speech than one who does so by money; for no one can corrupt a sensible man by money, but he can do so by words." 63

[11] A second class consists of those who profess a knowledge of law, which, however, the self-contradictory statutes have destroyed, and reticent as if they were muzzled, in never-ending silence they are like their own shadows. These men, as though revealing destinies by nativities or interpreting a Sibyl's oracles, assume a solemn expression of severe bearing and try to make even their yawning saleable. 64 [12] In order to seem to have a deeper knowledge of the law, they talk of Trebatius, 65 Cascellius, 66 and Alfenus, 67 and of the laws of the Aurunci and Sicani, 68 which were long since forgotten and buried many ages ago along with Evander's mother. 69 And if you pretend that you have purposely murdered *your* mother, they promise, if they have observed that you are a moneyed man, 70 that their many recondite studies will secure an acquittal for you.

[13] A third group consists of those who, in order to gain glory by their troublous profession, sharpen their venal tongues 71 to attack the truth, and

with shameless brow and base yelping often gain entrance wherever they wish. When the anxious judges are distracted by many cares, they tie up the business in an inexplicable tangle, and do their best to involve all peace and quiet in lawsuits and purposely by knotty inquisitions they deceive the courts, which, when their procedure is right, are temples of justice, when corrupted, are deceptive and hidden pits: and if anyone is deluded and falls into those pits, he will not get out except after many a term of years, when he has been sucked dry to his very marrow.

[14] The fourth and last class, shameless, headstrong, and ignorant, consists of those who have broken away too soon from the elementary schools, run to and fro through the corners of the cities, thinking out mimiambic lines,⁷² rather than speeches suitable to win law-suits, wearing out the doors of the rich, and hunting for banquets and fine choice food. [15] When they have once devoted themselves to shady gain and to eagerness for money from any and every source, they urge all kinds of innocent people to involve themselves in vain litigations. And when they are allowed to defend suits, which rarely happens, amidst the very turning-points of the disputes they learn the name of their client and the purport of the business in hand from the mouth of the judge, and they so overflow with disarranged circumlocutions that in the foul hotchpotch you would think you were hearing a Thersites⁷³ with his howling din. [16] But when they find themselves in the end unable to defend the charges, they turn to unbridled licence in abuse; and on this account, because of their constant insults of persons of rank, they are prosecuted and often condemned; and among them are some who are so ignorant that they cannot remember that they ever possessed a law-book. [17] And if in a circle of learned men the name of an ancient writer happens to be mentioned, they think it is a foreign word for some fish or other edible; but if any stranger asks for the orator Marcianus (for example),⁷⁴ who was before unknown to him, at once they all pretend that their own name is Marcianus. [18] And they no longer have before their eyes any right, but as if sold to and enslaved by avarice, they understand nothing except endless licence in making demands. And if once they have caught anyone in their nets, they entangle him in a thousand toils, purposely defaulting by pretending sicknesses one after another; and they prepare seven plausible preambles in order that the useless reading of well-known law may be introduced, thus weaving swarms⁷⁵ of long delays. [19] And when the contending parties are stripped of everything, and days, months and years are used up, at last the case, now worn out with age, is introduced, and those brilliant principals⁷⁶ come forth, bringing with them other shadows of advocates. And when they have come within the barriers⁷⁷ of the court, and the fortunes or safety of some one begins to be discussed, and they ought to work to turn the sword or ruinous loss from an innocent person, the advocates on both sides wrinkling their brows and waving their arms in semblance of the gestures of actors (so that they lack only the oratorical pipe⁷⁸ of Gracchus behind them) stand for a long time opposite each other. At last, in accordance

with a prearranged agreement, the one who is more confident in speech utters a kind of a sweet prologue, promising to emulate the ornamental language of a speech for Cluentius ⁷⁹ or Ctesiphon; ⁸⁰ and when all are wishing for the end, such is the method of his peroration that the advocates, after the semblance of a trial has gone on for three years, allege that they are not yet fully informed; and after they have obtained a further postponement, as if they had struggled with Antaeus ⁸¹ of old, they persistently demand the pay for their danger and toil.

[20] But yet, in spite of this, advocates suffer many inconveniences, not easy to be endured by a man who would live rightly. For, allured by the profits of their sedentary ⁸² trade, they differ among themselves and become enemies, and they offend many by their outbursts of abusive ferocity (as has been said), which they blab out in a torrent when they have no arguments strong enough to fortify the weakness of the cases which have been entrusted to them. [21] And they have to deal with judges who sometimes are taught by the sophisms of Philistion or Aesopus, ⁸³ rather than reared in the discipline of your Aristides the Just or Cato. Such men, having bought public office for large sums of money, like tiresome creditors prying into the resources of every kind of fortune, shake out booty from other men's bosoms. [22] Finally, the profession of advocate has, with the rest, this serious and dangerous evil, which is native to almost all litigants, that although their cases may be lost by a thousand accidents, they think their ill-success lies wholly in the ability of their advocates, and they are accustomed to attribute the outcome of every contest to them; and they vent their anger not on the weakness of their case or the frequent injustice of the magistrate who decides it, but only on their defenders. But let us return to the point from which we made the digression.

Valentinian goes to Illyricum to make war on the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who are devastating Pannonia. Crossing the Danube he lays waste the cantons of the Quadi, burns their villages, and massacres savages of all ages.

When spring was already ripening, ⁸⁴ Valentinian moved from Trier and hastened by quick marches along the familiar roads; and when he came to the regions for which he was aiming, he was met by a deputation of the Sarmatians, ⁸⁶ who threw themselves at his feet and begged in peaceful terms that his visit might be favourable and merciful to them, since he would find that their countrymen were neither participants in, nor aware of, any outrage. [2] When they often repeated these same statements, after mature deliberation the emperor made this answer: that these acts must be investigated, in the place where they were said to have been committed, and punished in the light of the most reliable evidence. And when thereafter he entered Carnuntum, ⁸⁷ a town of the prefecture of Illyricum, now indeed deserted and in ruins, but very convenient for the leader of an army, he proceeded (whenever chance or design gave the opportunity) to check the attacks of the savages from a station

near by.

[3] And though he was a terror to all while his arrival was waited for, since he was likely in bitter anger to order at once the punishment of officials who through perfidy or desertion had exposed that side of Pannonia, yet on his arrival he became so mild that he neither made inquiry into the murder of King Gabinius,⁸⁸ nor carefully investigated the wounds branded on the body of the state to learn through whose negligence or guilt they had come about. And indeed it was his way to be severe in punishing common people, but more lenient towards personages of higher rank, even when they deserved a severe rebuke in harsh words. [4] Probus alone he attacked with bitter⁸⁹ hatred, never ceasing to threaten him from the first time he had seen him, nor showing him any mildness; and for this conduct there were obvious weighty reasons. Probus had then, not for the first time, attained the rank of praetorian prefect, and in his longing to prolong his tenure of office in many ways (I only wish that they had been justifiable), he relied more on flattery than on worth otherwise than the glory of his stock⁹⁰ admonished him. [5] For considering the emperor's inclination to seek out ways of getting money from every quarter without distinction between right and wrong, he did not call him back when he strayed from the path of justice (as peace-loving counsellors have often done), but himself also followed the emperor on his devious and perverse course. [6] Hence resulted the grievous troubles of his subjects, and the ruinous items of imposts⁹¹ that had been instituted, long-continued practice in oppression finding one pretext after another, each more effective than the others, enfeebled and cut the sinews of the fortunes of rich and poor alike. Finally, the burden of tributes and the repeated increase in taxes compelled some of the most distinguished families, hounded by the fear of the worst, to leave their country; others, crushed by the severity of the dunning tax-collectors, having nothing to give, became permanent inmates of the prisons; and some of these, now weary of life and light, died by the noose as a welcome release. [7] These things, as persistent rumour maintained, went on thus with increasing treachery⁹² and ruthlessness; but Valentinian knew nothing of them, as if his ears were stopped with wax, being eager for indiscriminate gain even from the slightest things, and taking into consideration only what was offered. Yet perhaps he would have spared Pannonia,⁹³ if he had known earlier of these lamentable sources of profit, of which he learned all too late from the following chance occurrence. [8] After the example of the rest of the provincials the Epirotes also were compelled by the prefect to send envoys to the emperor to offer him their thanks,⁹⁴ and forced a philosopher called Iphicles,⁹⁵ a man renowned for his strength of soul, against his own desire to go and perform that duty. [9] And he, when he came into the emperor's presence, being recognized and asked the reason for his coming, replied in Greek; and when the emperor asked explicitly whether those who sent him thought well of the prefect in their hearts, he said, as became a philosopher who made a profession of truth: "With groans and

against their will.” [10] By these words the emperor was struck as by a dagger, and like a keen-scented hound he searched into all the conduct of the prefect, asking Iphicles in his native tongue about people whom he personally knew: where in the world, for example, was so and so who excelled his countrymen in honour and reputation; or another, who was rich; or still another of high rank. And when he learned that one had fallen victim to the noose, that another had gone across the sea, that a third had committed suicide or had died under the blows of the knout, ⁹⁶ he burned with tremendous rage, to which Leo, who was then chief marshal of the Court (oh, horror!), added blazing fuel, a man who himself aspired to the prefecture, in order to fall from a greater height. ⁹⁷ And if he had attained and ruled the office, in comparison with what he would have dared, the administration of a Probus would be praised to the skies!

[11] And so the emperor remained at Carnuntum, where throughout the entire three summer months he was preparing arms and supplies, intending, if in anyway fortune favoured, to find opportunity to attack the Quadi, the instigators of the terrible uprising. It was in that town that Faustinus, nephew of Viventius, ⁹⁸ the praetorian prefect, when serving as a state-secretary, after an investigation conducted by Probus, was first tortured and then put to death by the hand of the executioner. The charge was that he had killed an ass, as some of his accusers alleged, for use in secret arts, but as he himself declared, to strengthen the weakness of his hair, which was falling out. ⁹⁹ [12] According to another, who was also suborned to ruin him, when one Nigrinus in jest asked for an appointment as state-secretary, Faustinus laughed at the man and said: “Make me emperor, if you want to get that office.” Since this jest was unjustly interpreted, Faustinus himself, as well as Nigrinus and others, were put to death.

[13] Valentinian now sent Merobaudes ¹⁰⁰ on ahead with the division of foot-soldiers under his command, and in company with Count Sebastianus, to plunder and burn the cantons of the barbarians; the emperor himself quickly moved his camp to Acincum, ¹⁰¹ joined together boats for the sudden emergency, and having with swift energy made a bridge of planks upon them, crossed through another quarter into the territory of the Quadi. They indeed were watching for his coming from the steep mountains, to which most of them, in doubt and uncertain what was happening, had withdrawn with their families; but they were overcome with amazement when, contrary to their expectation, they saw the imperial standards in their territories. [14] Valentinian then advanced forcing the pace as far as occasion demanded, put to death without distinction of age all those who were still roaming about and were taken unawares by his sudden onset, burned the dwellings, and returned without losing a man of those whom he had led with him. He also lingered at Acincum, since the autumn was swiftly passing on, and being in lands where the cold weather always covered everything with ice, he looked about for suitable winter quarters; and he could find no convenient place except Savaria,

¹⁰² although that town was then weak and had suffered from repeated misfortunes. ^[15] Therefore, setting this ¹⁰³ aside for a time, in spite of the great need for a halt, ¹⁰⁴ he quickly moved from there, marched along the banks of the river, and having protected his camp with an adequate force and with castles came to Bregitio. ¹⁰⁵ There the fate which had long been designed to end the emperor's labours foretold his approaching end by a repeated series of portents. ^[16] For a very few days before his arrival comets blazed in the heavens; these foreshadow the downfall of men of high position, and of their origin I have already given an account. ¹⁰⁶ Before that, at Sirmium, with sudden crash of the clouds, a thunderbolt fell and set fire to a part of the palace, the senate house, and the forum. Also at Savaria, where the emperor was still settled, an owl perched on the top of the imperial bath, and uttered notes foretelling death; and no skilful ¹⁰⁷ hand could bring it down with arrows or with stones, although many vied with one another in eager attacks upon it. ^[17] Again, when he was on his way from the aforesaid city to a campaign, he wished to go out through the same gate by which he had entered, in order to gain an omen that he would quickly return to Gaul; but while the neglected place was being cleared of accumulated debris, the iron-clad door which barred the exit was found to have fallen, and could not be removed by the greatest efforts of a large number of men; and to avoid wasting a day there, he was forced to go out by another gate. ^[18] And on the night before the day which was to deprive him of life, he had a vision (as men often do in their sleep); he saw his absent wife sitting with disordered hair and dressed in mourning attire; and it was possible to infer that she was his own Fortune, on the point of leaving him in the garb of sorrow. ^[19] Then the next morning, when he came out somewhat gloomy and with frowning brow, the horse that was brought to him would not allow him to mount, but reared its fore feet high in the air contrary to its usual manner; whereupon the emperor fell into one of his innate fits of anger and, being naturally cruel, ordered the groom's ¹⁰⁸ right hand, which as usual had supported him in leaping on to the animal, to be cut off. And the guiltless young man would have suffered a cruel fate, had not Cerealis, the tribune in charge of the stable, at the risk of his own life postponed the terrible wrong. ¹⁰⁹

Valentinian, while making an angry reply to the envoys of the Quadi, who were trying to excuse their fellow-countrymen, dies of apoplexy.

After this, envoys of the Quadi appeared, humbly begging for peace and forgetfulness of their past offences; and in order to obtain this without hindrance, they promised to provide recruits and some other things helpful to the Roman state. ^[2] When it was decided that the envoys be received and allowed to return home with the grant of the truce for which they were asking (for neither lack of supplies nor the unfavourable time of year allowed further attacks upon them), on the advice of Aequitius ¹¹⁰ they were admitted to the

councilchamber. And as they stood there with bended limbs weak and stricken by fear, on being bidden to tell their mission, they gave the usual series of excuses and supported them by adding the pledge of an oath. They declared that there had been no common consent of the chiefs of their race in any wrong that had been done us, but that the hostile acts had been committed by bands of foreign brigands dwelling near the river; and they added, and maintained that it was a valid excuse for their conduct, that the building of a barrier, ¹¹¹ which was begun both unjustly and without due occasion, roused their rude spirits to anger. ^[3] At this the emperor burst into a mighty fit of wrath, and being particularly incensed during the first part of his reply, he railed at the whole nation in noisy and abusive language, as ungrateful and forgetful of acts of kindness. Then he gradually calmed himself and seemed more inclined to mildness, when, as if struck by a bolt from the sky, he was seen to be speechless and suffocating, ¹¹² and his face was tinged with a fiery flush. ¹¹³ On a sudden his blood was checked ¹¹⁴ and the sweat of death broke out upon him. Then, that he might not fall before the eyes of a throng of the common sort, his body-servants rushed to him and led him into an inner chamber. ^[4] There he was laid upon a bed; but although he was drawing more feeble remnants of breath, the vigour of his mind was not yet lessened, and he recognized all those who stood about him, whom the chamberlains had summoned With all speed, in order to avert any suspicion that he had been murdered. And since all parts of his body were burning hot, it was necessary to open a vein, but no physician could be found, since he had sent them to various places, to give attention to the soldiers who were attacked by the plague. ^[5] At last however one was found, but although he repeatedly pierced a vein, he could not draw even a single drop of blood, since the emperor's inner parts were consumed by excessive heat, or (as some thought) because his body was dried up, since some passages for the blood (which we now all hemorrhoids) were closed and incrustated by he cold chills. ^[6] He felt the disease crushing him with a mighty force, and knew that the fated end of his life was at hand; and he tried to speak or give some orders, as was indicated by the gasps that often heaved his sides, ¹¹⁵ by the grinding of his teeth, and by movements of his arms as if of men fighting with the cestus; but finally his strength failed him, his body was covered with livid spots, and after a long struggle for life he breathed his last, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the twelfth of his reign, less a hundred days. ¹¹⁶

Valentinian's parentage and his deeds as ruler.

It is now in place to go back and (as we have often done) in a brief epilogue run through the deeds of this emperor, from the very birth of his father to his own decease, without omitting to distinguish his faults or his good qualities, brought to light as they were by greatness of power, which is always wont to lay bare a man's inmost character.

[2] His father, the elder Gratianus, was born at Cibalae, a town of Pannonia, of a humble family, and from his early boyhood was surnamed Funarius, ¹¹⁷ because when he was not yet grown up and was carrying round a rope for sale, and five soldiers tried with all their might to tear it from him, he gave way not an inch; he thus rivalled Milo of Croton, from whom no possible exercise of strength could ever take an apple, when he held it tightly in his left or his right hand, as he often did. [3] Hence, because of his mighty strength of body and his skill in wrestling in the soldiers' fashion ¹¹⁸ he became widely known, and after holding the position of one of the bodyguard and of a tribune, he commanded the army in Africa with the title of count. There he incurred the suspicion of theft, but he departed long afterwards and commanded the army in Britain with the same rank; and at last, after being honourably discharged, he returned to his home. While he was living there far from the noise and bustle, his property was confiscated by Constantius, on the ground that when civil discord was raging he was said to have shown hospitality to Magnentius when the usurper was hastening through Gratianus's land to carry out his designs.

[4] Because of his father's services Valentinian was favoured from early youth, and being commended also by the addition of his own merits, he was clad in the insignia of imperial majesty at Nicaea. He took as his imperial colleague his brother Valens, to whom he was greatly attached both by the tie of fraternity and by sympathy, a man with an equal amount of excellent and bad qualities, as we shall point out in the proper place. [5] Valentinian, then, after suffering many annoyances and dangers while he was a private citizen, ¹¹⁹ had no sooner begun to reign than he went to Gaul, to fortify the strongholds and cities lying near the rivers; for these were exposed to the raids of the Alamanni, who were raising their heads higher after learning of the death of the emperor Julian, who was absolutely the only one whom they feared after the death of Constans. [6] But Valentinian also was rightly dreaded by them, both because he increased the armies with a strong reinforcement and because he so fortified both banks of the Rhine with lofty castles and strongholds, that nowhere should an enemy be able to hurl himself at our territories unobserved. ¹²⁰

[7] And to pass over many things which he did with the authority of an established ruler, and the reforms that he effected either personally or through energetic generals, after admitting his son Gratianus to a share in his power, he secretly, since he could not do so openly, caused Vithicabius, king of the Alamanni, ¹²¹ son of Vadomarius, a young man in the first bloom of manhood, to be stabbed, because he was rousing his people to rebellion and war. And joining battle with the Alamanni near a place called Solicinium, ¹²² where, after falling into an ambushade and all but losing his life, he could have utterly destroyed their entire army, had not swift flight saved a few of them under cover of darkness.

[8] While he was accomplishing these exploits with due caution, the Saxons,

¹²³ who had already broken out into formidable madness and were always rushing wherever they pleased without reconnaissances, had then invaded the maritime districts, and had almost returned enriched with the spoils which they took; but by a device which was treacherous but expedient he overwhelmed and stripped of their booty the robbers thus forcibly crushed.

[9] Again, when the Britons could not resist the hordes of enemies that were overrunning their country, he restored them to freedom and quiet peace with the hope of better conditions, and allowed almost none of the plunderers to return to his home. ¹²⁴

[10] With like effectiveness he also crushed Valentinus, the exile from Pannonia, who was trying to disturb the public peace in that province, before his design came to a head. ¹²⁵

Next, he saved Africa from great dangers, when that country was in the throes of an unexpected disaster; for Firmus was unable to endure the greed and arrogance of the military officials and had aroused the Moorish tribes, whose ardour can always easily be fanned to any plan of dissension. ¹²⁶

With equal courage he would have avenged the lamentable catastrophes in Illyricum, had he not been overtaken by death and left that important matter unfinished. ¹²⁷

[11] And although these successes which I have mentioned were brought about by his admirable generals, yet it is also well known that he himself, being a man of nimble mind and hardened by long experience in military life, performed very many exploits; and among these it would have been a most glorious feat ¹²⁸ if he had been able to take King Macrianus alive, who was at that time formidable. He had made great efforts to do so after he learned with grief and sorrow that the king had escaped from the Burgundians, whom Valentinian himself had aroused against the Alamanni.

His cruelty, greed, jealousy, and cowardice.

This is a brief account of the emperor's deeds. Now, in the belief that posterity, being bound neither by fear nor by base flattery, is usually an uncorrupted judge of the past, I shall give a summary of his defects, to be followed by an account of his excellent qualities. [2] He sometimes assumed an appearance of mildness, although his hot temper made him more inclined to severity; for he evidently forgot that a ruler should avoid all excess, as he would a precipice. [3] For he was never found to be content with a mild punishment, but he continually ordered blood-thirsty investigations one after the other; and in his cruel inquisitions some were tortured even to the danger of their lives; in fact, he was so prone to cruelty that he never rescued from death any of those who had been capitally condemned, by merciful terms in a warrant which was presented for his subscription, although sometimes this has been done even by the most savage of princes. [4] And yet he could have contemplated many examples of the men of old, and might have imitated native and foreign instances of humanity and righteous mercy, which

philosophers call the kind sisters of the virtues Of these it will suffice to mention the following. Artaxerxes, that mighty king of the Persians, whom the length of one of his limbs made known as Macrochir, ¹²⁹ with inborn mildness corrected various punishments which that cruel nation had always practised, by sometimes cutting off the turbans of the guilty, in lieu of ¹³⁰ their heads; and instead of cutting off men's ears for various offences, as was the habit of the kings, he sheared off threads hanging from their head-coverings. This moderation of character so won for him the contentment and respect of his subjects, that through their unanimous support he accomplished many noteworthy deeds, which are celebrated by the Greek writers. [5] A general of Praeneste in one of the Samnite wars had been ordered to hasten to his post, but had been slow to obey, and was summoned to expiate that misdeed; Papirius Cursor, who was dictator at the time, ordered the lictor to make ready his axe, and in sight of the man, who was overcome with terror and had given up hope of excusing himself, he gave orders that a bush seen near should be cut down, by a jest of this kind ¹³¹ at the same time punishing and acquitting the man; and thereby he suffered no loss of respect, and he brought to an end the long and difficult wars of his fathers and was considered the only man capable of resisting Alexander the Great, if that king should have set foot on Italian soil. ¹³²

[6] Valentinian, who perhaps knew nothing of these instances, and did not consider that slowness to anger in rulers is always a solace for unhappy circumstances, increased the number of punishments by fire and sword, which a righteous spirit regards as the last resort in times of stress, as the splendid writer Isocrates says; ¹³³ there is an utterance of his for all time whereby he teaches that sometimes a ruler who has been overcome by arms ought to be pardoned, more than one who did not know what is just. [7] I think it was under the influence of this that Cicero made the glorious statement in his defence of Oppius: ¹³⁴ "and indeed, to have great power for the salvation of another has brought honour to many; to have had too little power to destroy him has never been a reproach to anyone."

[8] The greed for greater possessions without distinguishing right from wrong, and of seeking advantages of various kinds through the shipwreck of others' lives, grew ever greater and became excessive in this emperor. This fault some tried to excuse by offering the example of the emperor Aurelian, declaring that as, when the treasury was exhausted after Gallienus and the lamentable disasters to the state, he fell upon the rich like a torrent, so Valentinian, after the losses of the Parthian campaign, feeling the need of a vast quantity of expenditure in order to provide reinforcements and pay for his troops, mingled with cruelty the desire to amass excessive wealth, affecting not to know that there are some things which ought not to be done, even if one has the power to do them. In this he was quite unlike the famous Themistocles, for when after the fight with the Persians and the annihilation of their army ¹³⁵ the Athenian was aimlessly strolling about, and saw golden

bracelets and a neck-chain lying on the ground, he turned to one of his attendants who stood near by and said: "Pick up these, since you are not Themistocles," thus showing his scorn of any love of money in a noble leader. [9] Like instances of this same selfrestraint are found in abundance in Roman generals. Passing these by, since they are no indication of perfect virtue (for not to seize the property of others deserves no praise), I will give one certain indication (among many) of the integrity of the common people of early days. When Marius and Cinna ¹³⁶ had turned over to the Roman plebeians the rich dwellings of the proscribed to be plundered, the rough spirit of the commons, wont however to respect human misfortunes, so spared what had been gained by the toil of others that no one of the poor or of the lowest class was found who allowed himself, though permission was given him, to handle profits from the woes of his country. ¹³⁷

[10] Besides this there was a fire of envy in the very marrow of this same emperor, and knowing that most vices are wont to assume the appearance of virtues, ¹³⁸ he had ever upon his lips the saying, that malice of severity is the inseparable associate of rightful power. And as men of the highest position always think that everything is allowed them, and they are strongly inclined to suspect those who oppose them and to overthrow better men than themselves, so he hated the well dressed, the learned, the rich, and the high-born; and he depreciated brave men, in order to give the appearance of surpassing all men in good qualities, a fault, as we read, by which the emperor Hadrian was inflamed. ¹³⁹

[11] This same prince often denounced cowards, calling such men sullied, unclean, and deserving to be thrust down below the humblest estate; and yet he himself, in the presence of empty terrors, sometimes turned abjectly pale and dreaded in his inmost soul something that did not exist at all. [12] It was the knowledge of this that led Remigius, marshal of the court, when he perceived that the emperor was boiling with anger at something which had occurred, to hint among other things that some outbreaks of the barbarians threatened; and when Valentinian heard this, immediately he was so overcome with fear that he became as calm and mild as Antoninus the Good ¹⁴⁰ himself. [13] He never intentionally chose cruel judges, but if he had learned that Those whom he had once advanced ¹⁴¹ were acting cruelly, he maintained that he had found men like Lycurgus ¹⁴² and Cassius, ¹⁴³ those ancient pillars of justice; and he often urged them in writing to punish even light offences with all severity. [14] Those in trouble, whom a reverse of fortune had befallen, found no refuge in the kindness of their prince, which has always been a longed-for haven, as it were, for those tossed on a stormy sea. For the purpose of a just rule (as the philosophers teach) is supposed to be the advantage and safety of its subjects.

His virtues.

It is fitting after this to pass to those acts of his which were praiseworthy and to be imitated by right-thinking men; and if he had regulated the rest of his

conduct in accordance with these, his career would have been that of a Trajan or a Marcus.¹⁴⁴ He was very indulgent towards the provincials and everywhere lightened the burden of their tributes; he was always timely in founding towns and establishing frontier defences. He was an excellent critic of military discipline, failing only in this, that while he punished even slight offences of the common soldiers, he suffered the serious offences of his higher commanders to go to excess, often turning a deaf ear to the complaints made against them.¹⁴⁵ The result of this was turmoil in Britain, disaster in Africa, and the devastation of Illyricum.

[2] In every observance of chastity he was pure at home and abroad; he was stained by the foul touch of no obscene feelings or lewdness; and for that reason he controlled the wantonness of the imperial court as if by a curb; and this course he could easily keep; he showed no indulgence to his own kindred, whom he either restrained in retirement or honoured with unimportant posts, with the exception of his brother, whom, compelled by press of circumstances, he admitted to a share in his own eminence.

[3] He was most cautious in bestowing high official positions: under his rule no money-changer¹⁴⁶ governed a province, no office was ever sold, except at the beginning of his reign, a time when it is usual for some crimes to be committed with impunity through reliance on the distractions of a new ruler.¹⁴⁷

[4] In war, whether offensive or defensive, he was most skilful and careful, a veteran in the heat and dust of the battlefield. In council he was a foresighted persuader of what was right and a dissuader of wrong, most strict in examining all ranks of the military service. He wrote a neat hand, was an elegant painter and modeller, and an inventor of new kinds of arms.¹⁴⁸ His memory was lively; so was his speech (although he spoke seldom), and he was vigorous therein, almost to the point of eloquence. He loved neatness, and enjoyed banquets that were choice but not extravagant.

[5] Finally, his reign was distinguished by toleration, in that he remained neutral in religious differences neither troubling anyone on that ground nor ordering him to reverence this or that. He did not bend the necks of his subjects to his own belief by threatening edicts, but left such matters undisturbed as he found them.

[6] His strong and muscular body, the gleam of his hair, his brilliant complexion, his grey eyes, with a gaze that was always sidelong and stern, his fine stature, and his regular features¹⁴⁹ completed a figure of regal charm and majesty.

The younger Valentinian, son of the late emperor, is hailed as Augustus in the camp at Bregetio.

After the last invocation of the emperor¹⁵⁰ his¹⁵¹ body was prepared for burial, in order to be sent to Constantinople and interred among the remains of the deified rulers. Meanwhile the campaign that was approaching was

suspended, and an uncertain outcome of the situation was feared, because of the cohorts serving in Gaul, which were not always of devoted loyalty to legitimate emperors, and regarded themselves as arbiters of the imperial power;¹⁵² and it was suspected that they might take the opportunity to venture on some new step; and this fact added some hopes of attempting a revolution — that Gratianus was still at Trier (where his father, when he was on the point of beginning his march, had arranged for him to stay) and even then knew nothing of what had happened. [2] When affairs were in this critical state, and all were equally in dread, and likely to share in whatever dangers that might arise, as if in the same boat,¹⁵³ it was agreed¹⁵⁴ in accordance with the advice of the highest officers, after having torn down the bridge, which they had previously built under necessity when invading the enemy's territory, that Merobaudes at once¹⁵⁵ should be summoned by order of Valentinian when he was still alive. [3] He, being a sharp-wittedman, either guessing what had happened, or perhaps having learned it from the messenger who summoned him, and suspecting that the Gallic troops would violate the terms of peace, pretended that an order-ticket had been sent to him to return with the messenger, in order to guard the banks of the Rhine because the barbarians were getting wilder. And Sebastianus, who was still unaware of the emperor's death, he sent to a more distant post, which had been secretly ordered; for although Sebastianus was a quiet and peace-loving man, he stood in high favour with the troops, and hence he was particularly to be feared at that time.

[4] Accordingly, after Merobaudes turned back, the matter of succession was carefully considered and the plan was unfolded that the boy Valentinianus,¹⁵⁶ son of the deceased emperor and then four years old, should be summoned and given a share in the rule. He was at the time a hundred miles distant, living with his mother Justina¹⁵⁷ at the country house called Murocincta. [5] When this had been approved by unanimous consent, the boy's uncle Cerealis was immediately sent to the place, put him in a litter, and brought him to the camp; and on the sixth day after the passing of his father he was in due form declared emperor, and after the customary manner hailed as Augustus.¹⁵⁸ [6] And although, while this was being done, there was some thought that Gratianus would take it amiss that another emperor was chosen without his permission, this fear later vanished and men lived free from care, since Gratianus, besides being a kindly and righteous man, loved his kinsman with great affection and saw to his education.¹⁵⁹

NOTES.

¹ Clark reads *Papa* throughout with V; A and G have *Para*.

² Son of Arsaces; cf. xxvii. 12, 9.

³ Cf. *labes primordialis*, xxiii. 6, 24.

⁴ General in Armenia.

⁵ See xiv. 7, 9.

⁶ Cf. xxvii. 12, 14.

⁷ That is, he was given a so-called guard of honour, which kept him prisoner.

⁸ For holding wine.

⁹ I.e., went in circles and made slow progress.

¹⁰ I.e., from the Roman point of view; the western bank.

¹¹ Those who were lying in wait for him.

¹² I.e., being driven into a net.

¹³ Cf. *Odyss.* x. 233 ff.

¹⁴ *Offusa sibi caligine* refers to *Papa*, meaning that he had wrapped himself in a cloud.

¹⁵ Cf. xxix. 1, 2.

¹⁶ For this combination, cf. xiv. 6, 18; Cic., *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 46, 134.

¹⁷ “Guards”; cf. xxix. 4, 4, note.

¹⁸ Cf. xxii. 8, 33 f.

¹⁹ Cf. Cic., *Pro Deiot.* 6, 18.

²⁰ Cf. Livy xxi. 53, 5.

²¹ Gell. iii. 8; Cic., *Off.* iii. 22, 86.

²² Cf. Sil. Ital. xv. 537 (of Italy to Hasdrubal), *miseras quaerentem exurere belli reliquias*.

²³ Slain by his lieutenant-general Perperna at a banquet; Plut., *Sert.* 26; Flor. ii. 10, 9; Vell. ii. 30, 1.

²⁴ *In Androt.* 7, quoted by Quint. v. 14, 4; cf. Gell. x. 19.

- ²⁵ Cf. xxvii. 12, 16 f.
- ²⁶ 377–8 A.D.
- ²⁷ 377–8.
- ²⁸ 377 A.D.
- ²⁹ Cf. xxvii. 12, 16.
- ³⁰ 377–8 A.D.
- ³¹ Cf. xxxi. 2–5.
- ³² 373 A.D.
- ³³ Cf. xxviii. 6, 25.
- ³⁴ Cf. xxviii. 6, 8; xxix. 5, 2.
- ³⁵ Cf. xxviii. 1, 5 ff.
- ³⁶ Near modern Hünigen.
- ³⁷ By the Quadi; xxix. 6, 6, 8.
- ³⁸ Cf. Ter., *Andr.*, 592, *gnatam ut det oro, vixque id exoro*.
- ³⁹ Cf. xxix. 4, 2.
- ⁴⁰ Perhaps the same as the *lusoriae naves* of xvii. 2, 3, note; xviii. 2, 12.
- ⁴¹ Cf. *cunctator et tutus*, xxvii. 10, 10.
- ⁴² Cf. *in medio*, xviii. 5, 7, *quodam medio fetiali*.
- ⁴³ 378 A.D.
- ⁴⁴ Cf. xxii. 9, 9 ff.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. xix. 12, 6. He was general in the Orient under Constantius and was made praetorian prefect by Julian.
- ⁴⁶ See , note 1.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. *humilitati*, xxix. 2, 16.
- ⁴⁸ Plato, *Gorgias*, 463 b. For *amplitudo Platonis*, cf. xxii. 16, 22, *sermonum amplitudine lovis aemulus Platon*.
- ⁴⁹ I.e., the lowest of the four parts.
- ⁵⁰ The art of deceiving; cf. Quintilian, ii. 15, 2; 20, 2. Epicurus denied that it was an art.

- ⁵¹ One of the earliest rhetoricians, a teacher of Gorgias; see Cic., *Brut.* 12, 46.
- ⁵² So, at Athens, to a space of time marked by the emptying of the clepsydra, or water-clock.
- ⁵³ Cf. *concitatus orator*, xiv. 7, 18.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. Cic., *Brutus*, 84, 289.
- ⁵⁵ According to Xen., *Hell.* vi. 2, 39; cf. 3, 3; and Diod. Sic., xv. 29, 6, he flourished shortly before the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.).
- ⁵⁶ It is really on the frontier of Attica and Boeotia opposite Euboea. The words are probably a gloss.
- ⁵⁷ All these men are mentioned in Cicero's *Brutus*; see Index.
- ⁵⁸ Preserved only here; cf. *In Caec.* 18, 60.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. xxix. 3, 3; these were famous breeds; see Virg., *Georg.* iii. 405; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, iii. 2.
- ⁶⁰ For *receptacula*, cf. xxviii. 1, 48.
- ⁶¹ Called by Wagner *insipida translatio*.
- ⁶² Cf. Quint. iv. 1, 9, *iudex religiosus*.
- ⁶³ *De Re Pub.* v. 11, preserved by Ammianus.
- ⁶⁴ Or, refer *ipsum* to *silentio*. They make no pleas, only *promise* them, and boast of their recondite *studies* of the law.
- ⁶⁵ Horace, *Serm.* ii. 1; Cicero, *Ad Fam.* vii. 5, 8, 17.
- ⁶⁶ Of the time of the first triumvirate; cf. Val. Max., vi. 2, 12; Hor., A.P. 371.
- ⁶⁷ Alfenus Varus, cf. Hor., *Serm.* i. 3, 130.
- ⁶⁸ Typical of antiquity; cf. Virg., *Aen.* viii. 51 ff.; Hor., *Serm.* i. 3, 91; Gell. i. 10, 1, 2.
- ⁶⁹ A humorous superlative of *antiquus*. Evander is typical of antiquity (Hor., *Serm.* i. 3, 91; etc.), and his mother carries us back a generation.
- ⁷⁰ Cf. xiv. 6, 12, note 3; Cic., *Agr.*, ii. 22, 59.
- ⁷¹ Cf. *ingenium procudere*, xv. 2, 8; *procudere linguas*, xxxi. 16, 9.
- ⁷² By *mimiambi* are meant either farces or songs written in iambs. See Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 21, 4; Gell. xx. 9, 1 ff.
- ⁷³ Here a typical name for a foul-mouthed rascal; *Iliad*, ii. 211 ff.
- ⁷⁴ Here a typical name.

⁷⁵ A favourite word of Ammianus, used literally in xviii. 3, 1; figuratively in xvi. 12, 11; xx. 7, 15; xxi. 5, 4. Wagner takes *examina* here in the sense of investigations (*examina: a stateris ducta metaphora*).

⁷⁶ The heads of the knighthood (*ordo splendidus*); cf. xxiii. 6, 83, *nobilitas omnis et splendor*.

⁷⁷ = *fori cancelli*; cf. Cic., *Sest.* 58, 124, *tantus est ex omnibus spectaculis usque a Capitolio, tantus ex fori cancellis plausus excitatus*.

⁷⁸ See Cic., *De Orat.* iii. 60, 225; Plut., *Tib. Gracch.* 2, 4–5; Gaius Gracchus is said to have had a player on a pipe stationed behind him, when he made a speech, to regulate the force of his delivery; Val. Max. viii. 10, 1; Quint. i. 10, 27; Gell. i. 11, 10 ff.

⁷⁹ Of Cicero.

⁸⁰ Demosthenes' *Oration on the Crown*.

⁸¹ Cf. xxviii. 1, 46, note.

⁸² With the underlying sense of “base, contemptible.”

⁸³ Lindenbrog thought Aesopus was the famous tragic actor, but that seems doubtful because of the connection; cf. xxvi. 6, 15, *mimicam cavillationem*; Solinus, ch. x. (on Sicily). Valesius took him to be the celebrated writer of fables; Wagner believed that both Philistion and Aesopus were writers of mimes contemporary with Cicero.

⁸⁴ Ammianus takes up his narrative from the end ⁸⁴ of chapter 3.

⁸⁵ 375 A.D.

⁸⁶ Cf. xxvi. 4, 5; xxix. 6, 15.

⁸⁷ Modern Haimburg, in Pannonia, on the Danube; near Vienna.

⁸⁸ Cf. xxix. 6, 5.

⁸⁹ Cf. *furori incitatissimo*, xxxi. 2, 11.

⁹⁰ He was descended from the family of the Anicii; cf. xvi. 8, 13.

⁹¹ For *tituli* in this sense see xxvii. 3, 10.

⁹² Cf. *illecebrosis insidiis*, xxx. 1, 19.

⁹³ As his native land; cf. 7, 2, below.

⁹⁴ For the merits of the governor.

⁹⁵ A Cynic, formerly intimate with Julian.

⁹⁶ *plumbo* probably refers to a lash with balls of lead fastened to it; cf. xxviii. 1, 29, note; Erfurdt-Wagner say “*in eculeo*,” which seems to mean that the victim was lashed as he bestrode the *eculeus*; or it may refer to weights attached to the victim's feet; see xxvi. 10, 13,

note 3.

⁹⁷ A common idea; see Juv. x. 105 ff., *numerosa parabat excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset casus*, and Mayor's note on 106.

⁹⁸ See xxvii. 3, 11. He succeeded Florentius in Gaul.

⁹⁹ For this meaning of *fluentium*, cf. Celsus, vi. 1; *fluor capillorum*, Seren. Samm. 6; and on remedies from asses, Plin., *N.H.* xxviii. 180; cf. xxix. 106.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Zos., iv. 17.

¹⁰¹ Modern Ofen.

¹⁰² In Pannonia, modern Stein-am-Anger.

¹⁰³ I.e., selecting winter quarters.

¹⁰⁴ That is, the need of rest for his soldiers.

¹⁰⁵ Szoeny near Comorn.

¹⁰⁶ See xxv. 10, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Lit. "by taking aim."

¹⁰⁸ See xxix. 3, 5, note.

¹⁰⁹ And since the death of Valentinian gave Valens other things to think of, the sentence was, as the language implies, probably not carried out.

¹¹⁰ Chief marshal of the court, xxxi. 12, 15.

¹¹¹ See xxix. 6, 2.

¹¹² Cf. xxiv. 4, 30.

¹¹³ On the death of Valentinian see Zos. iv. 17.

¹¹⁴ Cf. § 5, below.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ix. 415.

¹¹⁶ He was made Augustus A.D. Kal. Mart. (Feb. 23), 364, and died A.D. xv. Kal. Dec. (Nov. 18), 375.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Pseud.-Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 45, 2.

¹¹⁸ On this see Capit., *Max. Duo*, 6, 5 ff.

¹¹⁹ I.e., not yet emperor (cf. Lucan, v. 666, of Julius Caesar, quoted on , n. 1).

¹²⁰ xxviii. 2, 1.

- ¹²¹ Cf. xxvii. 10, 3.
- ¹²² Part of Schwetzingen; cf. xxvii. 10, 8.
- ¹²³ Cf. xxviii. 5, 1.
- ¹²⁴ Cf. xxvii. 8, 5.
- ¹²⁵ Cf. xxviii. 3, 4 ff.
- ¹²⁶ Cf. xxix. 5, 3, 15, 25.
- ¹²⁷ xxix. 6, 12 ff.
- ¹²⁸ Cf. xxix. 4, 2, 5.
- ¹²⁹ μακρόχειρ, Longhand.
- ¹³⁰ For this meaning of *ad vicem*, cf. xv. 10, 2; xxvii. 3, 2.
- ¹³¹ Cf. Livy, ix. 16, 17 ff; Pliny, *N.H.* xvii. 81; Pseud.- Aur. Vict., *De Viris Illustr.*, 3, 14 ff.
- ¹³² Cf. Livy, ix. 17, 2 ff.
- ¹³³ *Panath.* 185, θαυμάζω δ', εἴ τινες τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς ρίκας παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον γιγνομένας μὴ νομιζουσιν αἰσχιούς εἶναι καὶ πλειόνων ὀνειδῶν μεστὰς ἢ τὰς ἥττας τὰς ἄνευ κακίας συμβαινούσας.
- ¹³⁴ This speech of Cicero has not survived.
- ¹³⁵ Probably at Plataea.
- ¹³⁶ 87 B.C.
- ¹³⁷ Cf. Val. Max. iv. 3, 14. At the time of Sulla's proscription (82–81 B.C.), the conduct of the commons was different.
- ¹³⁸ Cf. Cicero, *Part. orat.*, *81 cernenda autem sunt diligenter, ne fallant ea nos vitia quae virtutem videntur imitari*; Seneca, *Epist.* 45, 7; Juv. xiv. 109.
- ¹³⁹ See Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 15, summed up in 15, 13, “*non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum doctiorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta legiones*,” so also Caligula; see Suet., *Calig.* 35.
- ¹⁴⁰ I.e., Antoninus Pius; cf. xvi. 1, 4.
- ¹⁴¹ To that rank.
- ¹⁴² Not the Spartan lawgiver, but a contemporary of Demosthenes; see xxii. 9, 9, note.
- ¹⁴³ Cf. xxii. 9, 9, note; and for Cato and Cassius, xxvi. 10, 10.
- ¹⁴⁴ Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. 5, 3, and Zos. iv. 16.

¹⁴⁶ *Nummularius* is used in a broad sense, including bankers; for a dishonest money-changer, see Suet., *Galba*, 9.

¹⁴⁷ Text and exact meaning are uncertain; the sense apparently is that some persons commit crimes, hoping that amid the press of business by which the new emperor is overwhelmed he will be forced to overlook them.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Pseud.-Aurel. Vict., *Epit.* 45, 6: *pingere venustissime . . . fingere cero seu limo simulacra, nova arma meditari.*

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *membrorum recta compage*, xiv. 11, 28.

¹⁵⁰ The *conclamatio*, or last call to the dead, to see wheather any life remained. Or it may mean, after the public lamentations for his death, the completion of his funerals rites.

¹⁵¹ 375 A.D.

¹⁵² Cf. Vopiscus, *Saturninus*, 7, 1: *Gallus, ex gentis hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperil.*

¹⁵³ A common proverb; cf. Cic., *Ad Fam.* ii. 5, 1; Livy, xlv. 22, 12.

¹⁵⁴ For this meaning of *sedet*, cf. xiv. 1, 5; xix. 7, 6, *sedet* consilium.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. 5, 13.

¹⁵⁶ This Valentinianus is not to be confounded with another boy of the same name, then nine years old and the son of Valens, although the ancient writers often confuse them. This Valentinian, son of the emperor of the same name, met a violent death in 392, according to Hieronymus.

¹⁵⁷ According to Zos. iv. 43, she was formerly the wife of Magnentius. Cerealis was her brother.

¹⁵⁸ A distinction seems to be made between *declaratio* and the ceremonial *nuncupatio*; the former perhaps took place at Murocincta, the latter in the camp.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Ausonius, *Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum*, 7: “*piissimo: huius vero laudis . . . testimonium est . . . instar filii ad imperium frater adscitus.*”

BOOK XXXI

Omens of the death of Valens Augustus and of the impending defeat by the Goths.

Meanwhile Fortune's rapid wheel, which is always interchanging adversity and prosperity, armed Bellona in the company of her attendant Furies, and transferred to the Orient melancholy events, the coming of which was foreshadowed by the clear testimony of omens and portents. [2] For after many true predictions of seers and augurs, dogs leaped back when wolves howled, night birds rang out a kind of doleful lament, the sun rose in gloom and dimmed the clear morning light; at Antioch, in quarrels and riots of the common people, it became usual that whoever thought that he was suffering wrong shouted without restraint: "Let Valens be burned alive!" and the words of public criers were continually heard, directing the people to gather firewood, to set fire to the baths of Valens, in the building of which the emperor himself had taken such interest. [3] All this almost in plain speech showed that this kind of death ¹ threatened him. Furthermore, the ghostly form of the king of Armenia and the piteous shades of those who shortly before had been executed in connection with the fall of Theodorus, ² shrieking horrible songs at night, in the form of dirges, tormented many with dire terrors. [4] A heifer was found lying lifeless with its windpipe cut, and its death was an indication of great and widespread sorrow from funerals of the people. Finally, when the old walls of Chalcedon were torn down, ³ in order that a bath ⁴ might be built at Constantinople, and the rows of stones were taken apart, there was found on a squared block hidden in the midst of the structure of the wall an inscription containing the following Greek verses, clearly revealing what was to happen:

[5]

When gaily through the city's festal streets
Shall whirl soft maidens in a happy dance,
When mournfully a wall shall guard a bath,
Then countless hordes of men spread far and wide
With warlike arms shall cross clear Istrus' stream
To ravage Scythia's fields and Mysia's land.
But mad with hope when they Pannonia raid,
There battle and life's end their course shall check.

Of the homes and customs of the Huns, the Halani, and other nations of Asiatic Scythia.

'However, the seed and origin of all the ruin and various disasters that the

wrath of Mars aroused, putting in turmoil all places with unwonted fires, we have found to be this. The people of the Huns, ⁵ but little known from ancient records, dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every degree of savagery. ^[2] Since there the cheeks of the children are deeply furrowed with the steel ⁶ from their very birth, in order that the growth of hair, when it appears at the proper time, may be checked by the wrinkled scars, they grow old without beards and without any beauty, like eunuchs. They all have compact, strong limbs and thick necks, and are so monstrously ugly and misshapen, that one might take them for two-legged beasts or for the stumps, rough-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges. ⁷ ^[3] But although they have the form of men, however ugly, they are so hardy in their mode of life that they have no need of fire nor of savory food, but eat the roots of wild plants and the half-raw flesh of any kind of animal whatever, which they put between their thighs and the backs of their horses, and thus warm it a little. ^[4] They are never protected by any buildings, but they avoid these like tombs, which are set apart from everyday use. For not even a hut thatched with reed can be found among them. But roaming at large amid the mountains and woods, they learn from the cradle to endure cold, hunger, and thirst. When away from their homes they never enter a house unless compelled by extreme necessity; for they think they are not safe when staying under a roof. ^[5] They dress in linen cloth or in the skins of field-mice sewn together, and they wear the same clothing indoors and out. But when they have once put their necks into a faded tunic, it is not taken off or changed until by long wear and tear it has been reduced to rags and fallen from them bit by bit. ^[6] They cover their heads with round caps and protect their hairy legs with goatskins; their shoes are formed upon no lasts, and so prevent their walking with free step. For this reason they are not at all adapted to battles on foot, but they are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy, it is true, but ugly, and sometimes they sit them woman-fashion and thus perform their ordinary tasks. From their horses by night or day every one of that nation buys and sells, eats and drinks, and bowed over the narrow neck of the animal relaxes into a sleep so deep as to be accompanied by many dreams. ^[7] And when deliberation is called for about weighty matters, they all consult as a common body in that fashion. ⁸ They are subject to no royal restraint, but they are content with the disorderly government of their important men, and led by them they force their way through every obstacle. ^[8] They also sometimes fight when provoked, and then they enter the battle drawn up in wedge-shaped masses, while their medley of voices makes a savage noise. And as they are lightly equipped for swift motion, and unexpected in action, they purposely divide suddenly into scattered bands and attack, rushing about in disorder here and there, dealing terrific slaughter; and because of their extraordinary rapidity of movement they are never seen to attack a rampart or pillage an enemy's camp. ^[9] And on this account you would not hesitate to call them the most terrible of all warriors, because they fight from a distance with missiles

having sharp bone, instead of their usual points, ⁹ joined to the shafts with wonderful skill; then they gallop over the intervening spaces and fight hand to hand with swords, regardless of their own lives; and while the enemy are guarding against wounds from the sabre-thrusts, they throw strips of cloth plaited into nooses over their opponents and so entangle them that they fetter their limbs and take from them the power of riding or walking. ¹⁰ ^[10] No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or law, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by the wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty. None of their offspring, when asked, can tell you where he comes from, since he was conceived in one place, born far from there, and brought up still farther away. ^[11] In truces they are faithless and unreliable, strongly inclined to sway to the motion of every breeze of new hope that presents itself, and sacrificing every feeling to the mad impulse of the moment. Like unreasoning beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the difference between right and wrong; they are deceitful and ambiguous in speech, never bound by any reverence for religion or for superstition. They burn with an infinite thirst for gold, and they are so fickle and prone to anger, that they often quarrel with their allies without provocation, more than once on the same day, and make friends with them again without a mediator.

^[12] This race of untamed men, without encumbrances, aflame with an inhuman desire for plundering others' property, made their violent way amid the rapine and slaughter of the neighbouring peoples as far as the Halani, once known as the Massagetae. And since we have come to this point, it is in place to tell of the origin and dwelling-place of this people also, and to point out the confused opinions of geographers, who after many different attempts to deal with the subject have at last come upon the core of the truth. ¹¹

^[13] The Hister, ¹² filled to overflowing by a great number of tributaries, flows past the Sauromatians, and these extend as far as the river Tanais, ¹³ which separates Asia from Europe. On the other side of this river ¹⁴ the Halani, so called from the mountain range of the same name, ¹⁵ inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name. ^[14] Among these the Nervii ¹⁶ inhabit the interior of the country near the lofty, precipitous peaks nipped by the north winds and benumbed with ice and snow. Behind these are the Vidini ¹⁷ and the Geloni, exceedingly savage races, who strip the skins from their slain enemies to make clothing for themselves and coverings for their horses in war. ¹⁸ On the frontier of the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, who checker their bodies and dye their hair with a blue colour ¹⁹ — the common people with a few small marks, but the nobles with more and broader spots of dye. ²⁰ ^[15] Beyond these are the Melanchlaenae ²¹ and the Anthropophagi, who according to report lead a

nomadic life and feed upon human flesh; and because of this abominable food they are left to themselves and all their former neighbours have moved to distant parts of the earth. And so the entire north-eastern ²² tract, until one comes to the Seres, ²³ has remained uninhabitable. [16] In another part of the country, near the abodes of the Amazons, the Halani mount to the eastward, divided into populous and extensive nations; these reach as far as Asia, and, as I have heard, stretch all the way to the river Ganges, which flows through the territories of India and empties into the southern ocean.

[17] Thus the Halani (whose various peoples it is unnecessary now to enumerate) are divided between the two ²⁴ parts of the earth, but although widely separated from each other and roaming over vast tracts, as Nomads do, yet in the course of time they have united under one name, and are, for short, all called Halani because of the similarity in their customs, their savage mode of life, and their weapons. [18] For they have no huts and care nothing for using the plowshare, but they live upon flesh and an abundance of milk, and dwell in wagons, which they cover with rounded canopies of bark and drive over the boundless wastes. And when they come to a place rich in grass, they place their carts in a circle and feed like wild beasts. As soon as the fodder is used up, they place their cities, as we might call them, on the wagons and so convey them: in the wagons the males have intercourse with the women, and in the wagons their babes are born and reared; wagons form their permanent dwellings, and wherever they come, that place they look upon as their natural home. [19] Driving their plow-cattle before them, they pasture them with their flocks, and they give particular attention to breeding horses. In that land the fields are always green, and here and there are places set thick with fruit trees. Hence, wherever they go, they lack neither food for themselves nor fodder for their cattle, because of the moist soil and the numerous courses of rivers that flow hard by them. [20] Therefore, all those who through age or sex are unfit for war remain close by the wagons and are occupied in light tasks; but the young men grow up in the habit of riding from their earliest boyhood and regard it as contemptible to go on foot; and by various forms of training they are all skilled warriors. From the same causes the Persians ²⁵ also, who are Scythians by origin, are highly expert in fighting.

[21] Moreover, almost all the Halani are tall and handsome, their hair inclines to blond, by the ferocity of their glance they inspire dread, subdued though it is. They are light and active in the use of arms. In all respects they are somewhat like the Huns, but in their manner of life and their habits they are less savage. In their plundering and hunting expeditions they roam here and there as far as the Maeotic Sea and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and also to Armenia and Media. [22] Just as quiet and peaceful men find pleasure in rest, so the Halani delight in danger and warfare. There the man is judged happy who has sacrificed his life in battle, while those who grow old and depart from the world by a natural death they assail with bitter reproaches, as degenerate and cowardly; and there is nothing in which they take more pride than in killing

any man whatever: as glorious spoils of the slain they tear off their heads, then strip off their skins²⁶ and hang them upon their war-horses as trappings. [23] No temple or sacred place is to be seen in their country, not even a hut thatched with straw can be discerned anywhere, but after the manner of barbarians a naked sword is fixed in the ground and they reverently worship it as their god of war, the presiding deity of those lands over which they range.²⁷ [24] They have a remarkable way of divining the future; for they gather very straight twigs of osier and sort them out at an appointed time with certain secret incantations, and thus clearly learn what impends.²⁸ [25] They do not know the meaning of slavery, since all are born of noble blood, and moreover they choose as chiefs²⁹ those men who are conspicuous for long experience as warriors. But let us return to what remains of our chosen subject.

The Huns compel the Halani on the Tanais to join them, either by force of arms or by treaties; they invade the Goths, and drive them from their homes.

The Huns, then, having overrun the territories of those Halani (bordering on the Greuthungi) to whom usage has given the surname Tanaites, killed and plundered many of them, and joined the survivors to themselves in a treaty of alliance; then in company with these they made the more boldly a sudden inroad into the extensive and rich cantons of Ermenrichus,³⁰ a most warlike monarch, dreaded by the neighbouring nations because of his many and varied deeds of valour. [2] He was struck with consternation at the violence of this sudden storm; for a long time he did his best to maintain a firm and continued stand, but since rumour gave wide currency to³¹ and exaggerated the horror of the impending dangers, he put an end to his fear of these great perils by a voluntary death. [3] After his demise Vithimiris was made king and resisted the Halani for a time, relying on other Huns, whom he had paid to take his side. But after many defeats which he sustained, he was overcome by force of arms and died in battle. In the name of his little son, Viderichus, the management of affairs was undertaken by Alatheus and Saphrax, experienced generals known for their courage; but since the stress of circumstances compelled them to abandon confidence in resistance, they cautiously retreated until they came to the river Danastius,³² which flows through the wide extent of plain between the Hister and the Borysthenes.³³ [4] On learning of these unexpected events, Athanarichus, the chief of the Thervingi (against whom, as has been told before,³⁴ because of aid which he had sent to Procopius, Valens had recently taken the field) attempted to stand his ground, and if he too should be attacked like the rest, was ready to put forth all his strength. [5] Accordingly, he established his camp near the banks of the Danastius, conveniently at some distance from the stockade of the Greuthungi, and sent Munderichus, afterwards in charge of the frontier throughout Arabia, with Lagarimanus and some other men of high rank, to a distance of twenty miles in advance, to observe the advance of the enemy, while he himself in the meantime,

disturbed by no one, was preparing his army for battle. [6] But the result was far other than he expected. For the Huns, who are shrewd in arriving at conclusions, suspecting that there was some large force farther off, disregarded the troops which they had seen, and who had disposed themselves to rest, as if there was nothing to disturb them; then, when the moon broke into the darkness of night, they chose what seemed to be the best course, crossed the river by a ford, and fearing lest some informer should get ahead of them and frighten off the enemy who were at a distance, they made a swift attack on Athanaricus himself. [7] As he was stunned by their first onset, they forced him to take speedy refuge in the steep mountains, after losing a few of their own men. Athanaricus, troubled ³⁵ by this unexpected attack and still more through fear of what might come, had walls built high, skirting the lands of the Taifali from the banks of the river Gerasus ³⁶ as far as the Danube, thinking that by this hastily but diligently constructed barrier ³⁷ his security and safety would be assured. [8] But while this well-planned work was being pushed on, the Huns swiftly fell upon him, and would have crushed him at once on their arrival had they not been so loaded down with booty that they gave up the attempt.

Yet when the report spread widely among the other Gothic peoples, that a race of men hitherto unknown had now arisen from a hidden nook of the earth, like a tempest of snows from the high mountains, and was seizing or destroying everything in its way, the greater part of the people, who, worn out by lack of the necessities of life, had deserted Athanaricus, looked for a home removed from all knowledge of the savages; and after long deliberation what abode to choose they thought that Thrace offered them a convenient refuge, for two reasons: both because it has a very fertile soil, and because it is separated by the mighty flood of the Hister from the fields that were already exposed to the thunderbolts of a foreign war ³⁸ ; and the rest of the nation as if with one mind agreed to this plan.

The greater part of the so-called Theringian Goths, driven from their lands, are transported to Thrace by the Romans with Valens' consent, after promising obedience and help in war. The Greuthungi also, another division of the Goths, secretly cross the Hister on rafts.

Therefore, under the lead of Alavivus, they ³⁹ took possession of the banks of the Danube, and sending envoys to Valens, with humble entreaty begged to be received, promising that they would not only lead a peaceful life but would also furnish auxiliaries, if circumstances required. [2] While this was happening in foreign parts, terrifying rumours spread abroad that the peoples of the north were stirring up new and uncommonly great commotions: that throughout the entire region which extends from the Marcomanni and the Quadi to the Pontus, a savage horde of unknown peoples, driven from their abodes by sudden violence, were roving about the river Hister in scattered

bands with their families. [3] In the very beginning this news was viewed with contempt by our people, because wars in those districts were not ordinarily heard of by those living at a distance until they were ended or at least quieted for a time. [4] But when the belief in what had taken place gained strength, and was confirmed by the coming of the foreign envoys, who begged with prayers and protestations that an exiled race might be received on our side of the river, the affair caused more joy than fear; and experienced flatterers immoderately praised the good fortune of the prince, which unexpectedly brought him so many young recruits from the ends of the earth, that by the union of his own and foreign forces he would have an invincible army; also that instead of the levy of soldiers which was contributed annually by each province, there would accrue to the treasuries ⁴⁰ a vast amount of gold. [5] In this expectation various officials were sent with vehicles to transport the savage horde, and diligent care was taken that no future destroyer of the Roman state should be left behind, even if he were smitten with a fatal disease. Accordingly, having by the emperor's permission obtained the privilege of crossing the Danube and settling in parts of Thrace, they were ferried over for some nights and days embarked by companies in boats, on rafts, and in hollowed tree-trunks ⁴¹; and because the river is by far the most dangerous of all and was then swollen by frequent rains, some who, because of the great crowd, struggled against the force of the waves and tried to swim were drowned; and they were a good many.

[6] With such stormy eagerness on the part of insistent men was the ruin of the Roman world brought in. This at any rate is neither obscure nor uncertain, that the ill-omened officials who ferried the barbarian hordes often tried to reckon their number, but gave up their vain attempt; as the most distinguished of poets says:

Who wishes to know this would wish to know
How many grains of sand on Libyan plain
By Zephyrus are swept. ⁴²

[7] Well then, let the old tales revive of bringing the Medici hordes to Greece; for while they describe the bridging of the Hellespont, the quest of a sea at the foot of Mount Athos by a kind of mechanical severing, ⁴³ and the numbering of the armies by squadrons at Doriscus, ⁴⁴ later times have unanimously regarded all this as fabulous reading. [8] For after the countless swarms of nations were poured through the provinces, spreading over a great extent of plain and filling all regions and every mountain height, by this new evidence the trustworthiness also of old stories was confirmed. First Fritigern and Alavivus were received, and the emperor gave orders that they should be given food for their present needs and fields to cultivate.

[9] During this time, when the barriers of our ⁴⁵ frontier were unlocked and the realm of savagery was spreading far and wide columns of armed ⁴⁶ men like glowing ashes from Aetna, when our difficulties and imminent dangers

called for military reformers who were most distinguished for the fame of their exploits: then it was, as if at the choice of some adverse deity, that men were gathered together and given command of armies who bore stained reputations. At their head were two rivals in recklessness: one was Lupicinus, commanding general in Thrace, the other Maximus, a pernicious leader. [10] Their treacherous greed was the source of all our evils. I say nothing of other crimes which these two men, or at least others with their permission, with the worst of motives committed against the foreign new-comers, who were as yet blameless; but one melancholy and unheard-of act shall be mentioned, of which, even if they were their own judges⁴⁷ of their own case, they could not be acquitted by any excuse. [11] When the barbarians after their crossing were harassed by lack of food, those most hateful generals devised a disgraceful traffic; they exchanged every dog that their insatiability could gather from far and wide for one slave each, and among these were carried off also sons of the chieftains.

[12] During these days also Vithericus,⁴⁸ king of the Greuthungi, accompanied by Alatheus and Saphrax, by whose will he was ruled, and also by Farnobius, coming near to the banks of the Danube, hastily sent envoys and besought the emperor that he might be received with like kindness. [13] When these envoys were rejected, as the interests of the state seemed to demand, and were in doubt what course to take, Athanarichus, fearing a like fate, departed, remembering that he had some time before treated Valens with contempt when they were making a treaty of friendship, declaring that he was prevented by conscientious scruples from ever setting foot on Roman soil; and by this excuse he had forced the emperor to conclude peace in the middle of the river.⁴⁹ Fearing that the grudge caused by this still endured, Athanaricus withdrew with all his followers to Caucalanda, a place inaccessible because of high mountains and deep forests, from which he first drove out the Sarmatians.

The Theruingi, hard pressed by famine and want, and shamefully treated, under the lead of Alavivus and Fritigern revolt from Valens, and rout Lupicinus and his army.

But now the Theruingi, who had long since been permitted to cross, were still roaming about near the banks of the river, detained by a twofold obstacle, both because, through the ruinous negligence⁵⁰ of the generals, they were not supplied with the necessities of life, and also because they were purposely held back by an abominable kind of traffic.⁵¹ [2] When this became clear to them, they muttered that they were being forced to disloyalty as a remedy for the evils that threatened them, and Lupicinus, fearing that they might soon revolt, sent soldiers and compelled them to move out⁵² more quickly.

[3] The Greuthungi took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and when they saw that our soldiers were busy elsewhere, and that the boats that usually

went up and down the river and prevented them from crossing were inactive, they passed over the stream in badly made craft and pitched their camp at a long distance from Fritigern.

[4] But he with his natural cleverness in foresight protecting himself against anything that might happen, in order to obey the emperor's commands and at the same time join with the powerful Gothic kings, advanced slowly and in leisurely marches arrived late at Marcianopolis. There another, and more atrocious, thing was done, which kindled the frightful torches that were to burn for the destruction of the state. [5] Having invited Alavivus and Fritigern to a dinner-party, Lupicinus posted soldiers against the main body of the barbarians and kept them at a distance from the walls of the town; and when they asked with continual entreaties that they might, as friendly people submissive to our rule, be allowed to enter and obtain what they needed for food, great wrangling arose between the inhabitants and those who were shut out, which finally reached a point where fighting was inevitable. Whereupon the barbarians, becoming wildly excited when they perceived that some of their kindred were being carried off by force, killed and despoiled a great troop of soldiers. [6] When the aforesaid Lupicinus learned by a secret message that this had happened, while he had long been reclining at the prodigal⁵³ table amid noisy entertainments and was drowsy and half drunk, guessing what the outcome would be, he put to death all the attendants of the two leaders, who as a guard of honour and to ensure their safety, were waiting for them before the general's quarters. [7] When the people who were besieging the walls heard this news, in their resentment they gradually increased their number to avenge their kings, who, as they thought, had been detained by force; and they uttered many savage threats. And since Fritigern was quickwitted and feared that he might be held with the rest as a hostage, he cried out that they would have to fight with heavy loss of life, unless he himself were allowed to go out with his companions to quiet the people, who, believing that their leaders had been slain under pretence of friendly entertainment, had blazed out into turbulence. And when this request was granted,⁵⁴ they all departed. They were received with applause and rejoicing, and mounting horses hastened away, to set in motion the various incitements that lead to wars. [8] When report, that spiteful nurse of rumours, spread abroad what had happened, the whole nation of the Theringi was fired with ardour for battle, and amid many fearful scenes, portentous of extreme dangers, after the standards had been raised according to their custom and the doleful sound of the trumpets had been heard, predatory bands were already rushing about, pillaging and burning the country-houses and making whatever places they could find a confusion of awful devastation.

[9] Against them Lupicinus mustered all his soldiers in tumultuous speed, and advancing with more haste than discretion, halted nine miles from the city, ready to join battle. On seeing this the barbarians rushed recklessly⁵⁵ on crowds of our men, dashed their shield's upon opponents' bodies,⁵⁶ and with

lance and sword ran through those who opposed them. And in the press of mad and bloody strife the tribunes and the greater part of the army perished, with the loss of their standards, except for their ill-omened leader, who, intent only upon saving himself by flight while the others were fighting, made for the town in hot haste. After this the enemy put on the Romans' arms and ranged about, devastating sundry places without opposition.

[10] And since after many events the narrative has reached this point, I earnestly entreat my readers (if I ever have any) not to demand of me a strictly accurate account of what happened or the exact number of the slain, which there was no way of finding out. For it will be enough to describe simply the main points of events, without concealing the truth through any false statement, since faithful honesty is ever a requisite in giving an historical account. [11] Those who are unacquainted with ancient records say that the state was never before overspread by such a dark cloud of misfortune, but they are deceived by the horror of the recent ills which have overwhelmed them. For if they study earlier times or those which have recently passed, these will show that such dire disturbances have often happened. 12. ⁵⁷ The Teutones with the Cimbri, coming from unknown parts of the ocean, suddenly overflowed Italy, but after inflicting enormous disasters on our country, in the final battles they were overcome by our great generals, and being destroyed root and branch, they learned from the uttermost perils what warlike might combined with prudent discipline can accomplish. [13] Again, when Marcus was ruling the empire, the united madness of different tribes, after endless alarms of war, after the woes of captured and plundered cities, after the destruction of forces shaken by the death of their able leader, ⁵⁸ would have left only a small part of them unscathed. ⁵⁹ [14] But after calamitous losses the state was presently restored to its former condition, because the temperance of old times was not yet infected by the effeminacy of a more licentious mode of life, and did not crave extravagant feasts or shameful gains; but high and low alike with united ardour and in agreement hastened to a noble death for their country, as if to some quiet and peaceful haven.

[15] Swarms of the Scythian peoples with two thousand ships ⁶⁰ broke through the Bosphorus and the shores of the Propontis, and after crossing inflicted bitter losses by land and sea; but they lost the greater part of their number and were obliged to retreat. [16] Emperor Decius and Decius his son fell in battle with the barbarians. ⁶¹ The cities of Pamphylia were beleaguered, ⁶² very many islands laid waste, ⁶³ all Macedonia was given to the flames; for a long time the horde laid siege to Thessalonica ⁶⁴ and to Cyzicus as well. Anchialos was taken, and at the same time Nicopolis, which the emperor Trajan founded to commemorate his victory over the Dacians. [17] After many disasters had been suffered and many cruel calamities had been inflicted, Philippopolis was destroyed ⁶⁵ and a hundred thousand people (unless the histories are false) were butchered within her walls. Foreign foes roamed at will over Epirus, Thessaly and the whole of Greece; but after the illustrious

general Claudius became emperor and after he had been snatched from us by a noble death, ⁶⁶ they were driven out by Aurelian, ⁶⁷ a vigorous man and a severe avenger of their sins, and remained quiet for long ages, except that afterwards single bands of robbers made raids into the neighbouring regions, but very rarely and to their own destruction. But let me go on with the narrative from which I digressed.

Why the Gothic chieftains, Sueridus and Colias, ⁶⁸ who had previously been received with their people, rebelled, and after slaying the inhabitants of Hadrianopolis, joined with Fritigern and turned to plundering Thrace.

When this series of events was noised abroad by one message coming after another, Sueridus and Colias, Gothic chieftains, who had long since been received with their peoples and assigned to keep winter quarters ⁶⁹ at Hadrianopolis, considering their own welfare the most important thing of all, looked with indifference on all that took place. [2] But when on a sudden a letter came from the emperor, in which they were ordered to cross to Hellespontus, ⁷⁰ without any arrogance they asked for money for the journey, food, and a postponement of two days. At this the chief magistrate of the city ⁷¹ was vexed — for he was incensed at them besides, because of the pillaging of his own property in his suburban villa; so he brought out and armed for their destruction all the lowest of the populace, along with the Armourers, of whom there is a large force there, ⁷² and ordering the horns to sound the alarm, threatened them all with the utmost punishment, if they did not leave at once, as had been ordered. [3] The Goths, shocked by this unexpected ill-treatment, and alarmed by the attack of the citizens, rather excited than well-considered, remained immovable; but when they were finally driven desperate by curses and abuse, and a few missiles were hurled at them, they broke out into open rebellion. They slew very many citizens, whom their too impudent attack had entrapped, and put to flight the rest, wounding them with various kinds of weapons. Then, plundering the dead bodies and arming themselves in the Roman equipment, they joined forces with Fritigern, whom they saw to be near at hand, as compliant allies, and beleaguered the city. visiting it with all the horrors of a siege. Remaining in this difficult situation for some time, they made scattered and promiscuous attacks; the conspicuous audacity of some perished unavenged, and many lost their lives from arrows or from stones whirled from slings. [4] Then Fritigern, seeing that his men, being inexperienced in conducting a siege, were carrying on the struggle with such loss of life, left a sufficient force there and persuaded the rest to go away without finishing the task; he reminded them that he kept peace with walls and advised them to attack and devastate the rich and fruitful parts of the country, which were still without protectors and could be pillaged without any danger. [5] They approved the counsel of the king, who they knew would be an active participator in the plan, and advancing cautiously they spread over every

quarter of Thrace, while their prisoners or those who surrendered to them pointed out the rich villages, especially those in which it was said that abundant supplies of food were to be found. Besides their native self-confidence, they were encouraged especially by this help, that day by day great numbers of their countrymen flocked to them, including those who had been sold some time before by the traders, as well as many other persons, whom those who were half-dead with hunger when they first crossed into the country had bartered for a drink of bad wine or bits of the poorest of bread. [6] Besides these there were not a few who were expert in following out veins of gold, ⁷³ and who could no longer endure the heavy burden of taxes; these were welcomed with the glad consent of all, and rendered great service to the same, as they wandered through strange places, by pointing out hidden stores of grain, and the secret refuges and hiding-places of the inhabitants. [7] With such guides nothing that was not inaccessible and out of the way remained untouched. For without distinction of age or sex all places were ablaze with slaughter and great fires, sucklings were torn from the very breasts of their mothers and slain, matrons and widows whose husbands had been killed before their eyes were carried off, boys of tender or adult age were dragged away over the dead bodies of their parents. [8] Finally many aged men, crying that they had lived long enough after losing their possessions and their beautiful women, were led into exile with their arms pinioned behind their backs, and weeping over the glowing ashes of their ancestral homes.

Profuturus, Trajanus, and Richomeres fight a drawn battle with the Goths.

This news, received from Thrace with great sorrow, distracted the emperor Valens with manifold cares. He quickly sent Victor, commander of the cavalry, to Persia, that he might, in view of great impending dangers, arrange about the status of Armenia ⁷⁴ ; he himself, planning to leave Antioch at once and go to Constantinople in the meantime, sent on in advance Profuturus and Trajanus, both generals who had high aspirations, but were unfit for war. [2] When these men had come to places where it was more fitting in small divisions to diminish the enemy's numbers by stealthy and guerilla warfare, they turned to the ruinous and untimely plan of opposing to the barbarians, who were still breathing out madness, the legions brought from Armenia; these had indeed often given a good account of themselves in warfare, but were no match for the countless horde that had taken possession of the mountain heights as well as the plains. [3] These troops, who had not yet learned the power of unbridled madness combined with desperation, drove the enemy beyond the precipitous crags of Mount Haemus and forced them into the steep defiles, in order that shut up in deserted and solitary places, and finding nowhere an outlet, they might be worn out by long continued hunger; they themselves in the meantime would await the coming of the general Frigeridus, who was on his way with the Pannonian and the transalpine

auxiliaries, since Gratian, at Valens' request, had directed him to take the field and bear aid to those who were harassed to the point of utter destruction. [4] After him Richomerus, ⁷⁵ then commander of the household troops, who had been moved from Gaul, also at the order of Gratian, hastened to Thrace at the head of some so-called cohorts, ⁷⁶ of which the greater part had deserted, ⁷⁷ induced (as some maintained) by Merobaudes, who feared that if Gaul should be deprived of its defences, it would be laid waste at will by raids from across the Rhine. [5] But since Frigeridus was disabled by an attack of gout, or at any rate, as his envious detractors alleged, feigned illness in order to avoid taking part in the hot contests, Richomerus by common consent took command of the whole force, and was joined by Profuturus and Trajanus, who were encamped near the town of Salices. ⁷⁸ Not far from there a countless mass of the barbarians had arranged their numerous wagons in the form of a circle, and as if enclosed in a space between city-walls, were enjoying their rich booty at their ease.

[6] The Roman leaders, therefore, led by hopes for a more favourable turn of affairs, and intending to dare some glorious deed when chance brought the opportunity, were keenly watching for any movement that the Goths might attempt; making ready of course for this, that in case the enemy moved their camp to any other place, as they very frequently did, they might attack the hindmost in the rear, kill many of them with their pikes, and appropriate a great part of their spoils. [7] When the Goths perceived this, or were informed by the reports of deserters, through whom everything was made known to them, they remained for a long time in the same position. But overwhelmed with fear of the opposing army, and of the additional soldiers that they now expected to flock to it, by means of the message used by their race ⁷⁹ they summoned the predatory bands scattered over various places near by; these at once, in obedience to the orders of their chiefs, like fire-darts, ⁸⁰ returned with winged speed to their wagon city (as they themselves call it) ⁸¹ and gave their countrymen an incentive to greater deeds of daring. [8] After this there was no rest for either side except for a short armistice. For upon the return of those whom necessity had called forth, the whole multitude, even then crowded within the ring of their defences, with frightful outcries and roused by their furious mood were all in haste with headlong eagerness to try the extremest dangers; and the chiefs of the nation who were present were in accord with them. But since these things took place when it was nearly sundown, and the coming of night kept them quiet against their wills and in sorrow, they took food at leisure, but remained sleepless. [9] For their part the Romans, on learning this, also spent the night without sleep, because they feared the enemy and their insane leaders as they might fear madly raging beasts; and although the outcome was doubtful, since they were considerably fewer in number, yet because of the greater justice of their cause they looked for success with unterrified minds.

[10] Therefore the light of day had hardly appeared, when the trumpets on

both sides sounded the call to take up arms, and the barbarians, after taking oath together according to their custom, tried to reach the heights, in order that from there by a swift rush down the slope like so many rollers they might overwhelm all before them. On seeing this, our soldiers hastened each to his own company, where they stood fast without moving about or leaving the ranks and rushing forward. [11] So, when both armies after advancing cautiously remained unmoved, the opposing warriors stared at each other with savage and sidelong glances. The Romans in unison sounded their war-cry, as usual rising from a low to a louder tone, of which the national name is *barritus*,⁸² and thus roused themselves to mighty strength. But the barbarians sounded the glories of their forefathers with wild shouts, and amid this discordant clamour of different languages skirmishes were first tried. [12] And now, after attacking each other from a distance with javelins and other missiles, they came together menacingly for a hand-to-hand conflict; the shields were fixed side to side in the form of a tortoise-shed, and they stood foot to foot. The barbarians, who are always alert and nimble, threw at our men huge clubs, hardened in the fire,⁸³ and ran their swords through the breasts of those who showed most resistance; thus they broke through the left wing. When this gave way, a strong troop of reserves bravely hastened to their aid from near at hand, and rallied them when death already sat upon their necks. [13] Then the battle grew hot and the slaughter was great; all the more active rushed into the thick of the fray and met their death from the arrows that flew like hail, or from the swords. Those who fled were pursued on this side and on that by troops of cavalry, who with mighty strength slashed at their heads and backs; and likewise on both sides by foot soldiers, hamstringing those who were in the toils of fear⁸⁴ and had fallen. [14] And while the whole battlefield was covered with corpses, some were lying among them who were mortally wounded, and cherished a vain hope of life; some were smitten with a bullet from a sling or pierced with arrows tipped with iron; the heads of others were split through mid forehead and crown with swords and hung down on both shoulders, a most horrible sight. [15] But not yet wearied by the obstinate struggle, both sides continued to assail each other without a decision, and felt no diminution at all of their native hardihood, so long as eager courage kept up their strength. But at last day gave way to evening and ended the murderous contests, and withdrawing in disorder wherever each one could, all the survivors returned in sorrow to their tents. [16] Finally, some of the dead, who were men of distinction, were buried in such manner as the present circumstances allowed; the bodies of the rest of the slain were devoured by the foul birds that are wont at such a time to feed upon corpses, as is shown by the plains even now white with bones.⁸⁵ However, while it is a fact that the Romans, who, far fewer in number, struggled with that vast multitude, suffered great losses, yet lamentable was the distress with which they afflicted the barbarian horde.

The Goths, after being beleaguered in the defiles of Mount Haemus and then allowed by the Romans to escape, lay waste Thrace with robbery, murder, rape, and fire, and slay Barzimeres tribune of the body-guard.

When these disasters of battle were thus mournfully ended, our men sought retreat in the neighbouring city of Marcianopolis. The Goths, of their own accord, crowded within the winding line of wagons, did not venture to come out or show themselves for seven days, and our soldiers, having thus found an opportunity, shut in the other huge hordes of barbarians within the narrow passes of the Haemus range by building high barriers. They doubtless hoped that the dangerous mass of enemies, crowded together between the Hister and the waste places, and finding no way out, would perish from lack of food; for all the necessities of life had been taken to the strong cities, none of which the enemy even then attempted to besiege because of their complete ignorance of these and other operations of the kind. [2] After this ⁸⁶ Richomeres returned to Gaul, in order to bring aid from there because there was expectation of still greater tumult of war. All this took place in the consulships of Gratian and Merobaudes, the former for the fourth time, towards the coming of autumn.

[3] Meanwhile Valens, on hearing of the sad results of the war and the pillage, sent Saturninus, who was temporarily given command of the cavalry, to render aid to Trajanus and Profuturus. [4] And it chanced at that same time, since everything that could serve as food throughout the lands of Scythia and Moesia had been used up, that the barbarians, driven alike by ferocity and hunger, strove with all their might to break out. And when after many attempts they were overwhelmed by the vigour of our men, who strongly opposed them amid the rugged heights, compelled by dire necessity they gained an alliance with some of the Huns and Halani by holding out the hope of immense booty.

[5] As soon as Saturninus heard of this — for he had already arrived and was arranging a line of outposts and field pickets ⁸⁷ — he gradually gathered his forces together and prepared to retreat; his plan was not a foolish one — namely that suddenly the mass of barbarians, like a river that has burst its barriers and rushes forth with an awful drive of waters, might not with slight difficulty whirl to destruction one and all while keenly watching the points of danger. [6] But scarcely were the passes open and our men conveniently gone, when the imprisoned barbarians, in disorder, wherever each man found no opposition, pressed on to set all in confusion; and unhindered they spread devastation over all the wide plains of Thrace, beginning at the very regions past which the Hister flows, and filling the whole country, as far as Rhodope ⁸⁸ and the strait which separates two great seas, ⁸⁹ with a most foul confusion of robbery, murder, bloodshed, fires, and shameful violation of the bodies of freemen. [7] Then there were to be seen and to lament acts most frightful to see and to describe: women driven along by cracking whips, and stupified with fear, still heavy with their unborn children, which before coming into the

world endured many horrors; little children too ⁹⁰ clinging to their mothers. Then could be heard the laments of high-born boys and maidens, whose hands were fettered in cruel captivity. [8] Behind these were led last of all grown-up girls and chaste wives, weeping and with downcast faces, longing even by a death of torment to forestall the imminent violation of their modesty. Among these was a freeborn man, not long ago rich and independent, dragged along like some wild beast and railing at thee, Fortune, as merciless and blind, since thou hadst in a brief moment deprived him of his possessions, and of the sweet society of his dear ones; had driven him from his home, which he saw fallen to ashes and ruins, and sacrificed him to a bloodthirsty victor, either to be torn limb from limb or amid blows and tortures to serve as a slave.

[9] The barbarians, however, like savage beasts that had broken their cages, poured raging over the wide extent of Thrace and made for a town called Dibaltum, ⁹¹ where they found Barzimeres, tribune of the targeteers, a leader experienced in the dust of warfare, with his own men, the Cornuti, ⁹² and other companies of infantry, and fell upon him just as he was pitching his camp. [10] He at once, as the exigency of imminent destruction compelled him, ordered the trumpet to sound the attack, and having protected his flanks, charged out at the head of his brave soldiers, who were ready and armed for battle; and by his valiant resistance he would have withdrawn on equal terms, had not the charge of a large force of cavalry surrounded him when he was breathless from fatigue. And so he fell, after having slain not a few of the barbarians, whose losses were concealed by their great numbers.

Frigeridus, Gratian's general, slays the chieftain Farnobius with many of the Goths and the Taifali; to the rest, their lives and lands about the Po were granted.

After accomplishing this as related, the Goths, uncertain what to try next, sought for Frigeridus, with the intention of extirpating him, when they found him, as a powerful obstacle in their way; and after taking better food than usual and sleeping for a short time, they followed his trail like wild beasts; for they had learned that at Gratian's advice he had returned to Thrace, and, having constructed a fortification near Beroea, ⁹³ was watching the uncertain outcome of events. [2] And they indeed in rapid march hastened to the execution of their design. But he, knowing how both to command his soldiers and to preserve them, either suspected their purpose or had plain information of it from the report of the scouts that he had sent out; so he returned over lofty mountains and through dense forests to Illyricum, much uplifted in spirit by the passing great opportunity which an unhopd-for chance put in his way.

[3] For while he was returning and, massed ⁹⁴ into wedge-formations, slowly advancing, he came upon the Gothic chieftain Farnobius, who was freely ranging about with his predatory bands and leading the Taifali, whom he had lately received as allies. Since our people (if it is proper to say so) through

fear of these unknown peoples had dispersed, they crossed the river, intending to pillage the unprotected country. [4] When their bands suddenly came in sight, our careful leader prepared for a hand-to-hand conflict and opened an attack upon these marauders of both nations, which even then were threatening cruel carnage; he killed a large number and he would have slaughtered them all to the last man, leaving not even anyone to report the disaster, had he not, after the fall of Farnobius, before this a dreaded inciter of turmoil, and many others with him, spared the survivors in response to their earnest entreaties. But though he spared their lives, he banished them to the neighbourhood of Mutina, Regium, and Parma, towns in Italy, where they were to work in the fields. [5] We have learned that these Taifali were a shameful folk, so sunken in a life of shame and obscenity, that in their country the boys are coupled with the men in a union of unmentionable lust, to consume the flower of their youth in the polluted intercourse of those paramours. We may add that, if any grown person alone catches a boar or kills a huge bear, he is purified thereby from the shame of unchastity.

The Lentiensian Alamanni are defeated in battle by the generals of Gratianus Augustus, and their king Priarius also is slain; after their surrender they give Gratian recruits and are allowed to return to their homes.

This is what, throughout Thrace, the destructive ⁹⁵ storms of affairs swept together as autumn was verging upon winter. And this madness of the times, as if the Furies were stirring up the whole world, spread widely and made its way also to distant regions. [2] And now the Lentienses, an Alamannic race bordering on Raetia, by treacherous raids broke the treaty which had long since been concluded with them ⁹⁶ and made an attempt upon our frontier; the ruinous beginning of this disaster was the following occurrence. [3] One of their nation, who was serving among the emperor's armour-bearers, returned to his home because of pressing business, and being a loose talker, when many asked him what was going on in the palace, he told them that Gratian, summoned by his uncle Valens, would presently march towards the Orient, in order that with doubled forces he might repel the peoples dwelling on the border, who had conspired to destroy the Roman state. [4] The Lentienses greedily seized upon this information, and, looking on these acts from the point of view of neighbours of the frontier, and being swift and hasty in action, they formed themselves into predatory bands, and in the month of February tried ⁹⁷ to cross the Rhine, which was sufficiently frozen over to be passable. But the Celts, who were encamped near by with the Petulantes, ⁹⁸ with mighty strength turned them back with great slaughter, yet not without loss to themselves. [5] But although the Germans were forced to retire, being aware that the greater part of the army had gone ahead to Illyricum, where the emperor was soon expected to appear, they were fired with hotter rage; and planning still greater enterprises, they gathered into one place the inhabitants

of all the villages, and with forty thousand armed men, or seventy thousand, as some boasted in order to exaggerate the emperor's glory, full of pride and confidence broke into our territory.

[6] Gratian learned of this with great alarm, recalled the cohorts which he had sent on into Pannonia, brought together the others, which wise policy had kept in Gaul, and gave the command to Nannienus, ⁹⁹ a leader of valour and discretion; but he joined with him as a colleague of equal rank Mallobaudes, commander of the household troops and king of the Franks, a brave man, always ready for fighting. [7] Accordingly, while Nannienus ¹⁰⁰ weighed the changeable events of fortune and hence believed that they ought to act deliberately, Mallobaudes, carried away (as usual) by his strong eagerness for battle and impatient of postponement, was tormented with longing to go against the foe. [8] Therefore, when from the opposite side the terrifying battle-cry was heard, the signal was given by the horn-blowers and the battle began at Argentaria; ¹⁰¹ and many were struck down on both sides by wounds from flying arrows and javelins. [9] But in the very heat of the fight, our soldiers, seeing the countless numbers of the enemy, and avoiding combat in the open, dispersed as best they could over the narrow pastures ¹⁰² planted with trees, and presently stood their ground with greater confidence; and gleaming with like ¹⁰³ resplendence and brilliance of arms when seen from afar, they struck the barbarians with fear that the emperor was coming. [10] So the enemy turned in flight, sometimes however resisting, that they might not lose their last chance of safety; but they were so thoroughly defeated that from the above mentioned number it was estimated that not more than five thousand escaped under cover of the thick woods, and among other bold and brave men King Priarius also, the inciter of the deadly battles, was killed.

[11] Gratian, filled with confidence at this happy success, and being already on his way to the regions of the east, turned his line of march to the left, secretly crossed the Rhine, and spurred on the more by sanguine hope, determined, if fortune favoured his attempt, utterly to destroy a race faithless and greedy for trouble. [12] When one urgent message after another brought this news to the Lentienses, who were almost annihilated by the disasters to their people and were stunned by the emperor's sudden arrival, they were in doubt what plan to adopt; and since they could find no respite, however short, from fighting, nor from any action or effort, in swift course they made for the hills, which were beset by pathless crags. There, taking their place round about on the sheer rocks, they tried to defend their possessions and their dear wives and children, whom they had brought with them, with all the strength that they possessed. [13] After consideration of the difficult situation, five hundred soldiers who were approved by experience as prudent in battle were selected from each legion, to be opposed to obstacles like those of city walls. Their confident spirit was all the greater because the emperor was seen actively engaged in the foremost ranks, and they strove to scale the mountains, expecting that if they should set foot on the higher places, they

would at once and without a struggle carry them off, as if they were booty taken in the chase. But the battle, which began towards midday, was even overtaken by the darkness of night. [14] Both sides indeed suffered severe losses; our men slew many, but not a few of their own number fell, and at the same time the armour of the imperial guard, gleaming with gold and bright colours, was shattered by the heavy missiles ¹⁰⁴ thickly cast upon it.

[15] Then, after long conference with the men of highest rank, Gratian thought it dangerous and fruitless to struggle with untimely obstinacy against rugged jutting heights; opinions varied greatly, as was natural in such circumstances, but it was finally decided that, with the soldiers at rest, the barbarians should be shut in on all sides and exhausted by famine, since they were protected by the unevenness of the ground. [16] But when the Germans resisted with the same persistence, and, being acquainted with the country, made for other mountains, higher than those which they had occupied before, the emperor wheeled in that direction with his army, and with the same courage as before sought to find paths leading to the heights. [17] When the Lentienses perceived that he was determined with most earnest persistence to have their lives, they obtained mercy as the result of humble supplications, and surrendered; then giving their strong young manhood (as they were ordered) to be mingled with our recruits, they were allowed to go without punishment to their native lands.

[18] Incredibly great energy and conspicuous rapidity were shown by Gratian, while he was hastening in another direction, when through the favour of the eternal deity he won this victory, which was at once seasonable and profitable, since it tamed the western nations. He was a young man of splendid character, eloquent, self-restrained, war-like, and merciful, and was already on his way to rivalry with the most distinguished emperors while yet a comely down was creeping over his cheeks, had not his natural inclination for unbecoming conduct, which was given free rein by his intimates, turned him to the frivolous pursuits of the emperor Commodus, although without that prince's thirst for blood. [19] For as that emperor felt superhuman exultation because he so often killed a great number of wild animals with javelins in the presence of the people, and slaughtered with various kinds of weapons in the arena of the amphitheatre a hundred lions that were let in together, without needing to inflict a second wound, ¹⁰⁵ just so Gratian also, while he pierced sharp-toothed beasts with many an arrow-shot within the enclosures which are called *vivaria*, ¹⁰⁶ neglected as of little moment many serious occurrences; and that too at a time when, even if Marcus Antoninus had been emperor, he could not without like-minded colleagues and most prudent counsel ¹⁰⁷ have mitigated the grievous disasters to our country.

[20] Gratian, then, after making the arrangements which affairs and policy throughout Gaul demanded according to the trend of the times, and punishing the traitorous targeteer who had revealed to the barbarians that the emperor was hurrying to Illyricum, hastened next to go by long marches past the castle

called Felix Arbor¹⁰⁸ and past Lauriacum,¹⁰⁹ to bring aid to the hard-pressed part of the country.

[21] At that same time Frigeridus, who was carefully making many useful plans for the general security, and was hastening to fortify the pass of Succia,¹¹⁰ in order that the roving light-armed bands of the enemy might not, like torrents swollen by melting snow, roam at large over the northern provinces, was given a successor in the person of a general called Maurus, notoriously venal under a pretence of boldness, and changeable and unreliable in all his conduct. He it was who (as I have told in my narrative of previous events)¹¹¹ when Caesar Julian was in doubt about the crown to be put upon his head, with haughty cleverness took off his neck-chain and boldly offered it to him for the purpose, being at the time one of Julian's bodyguard. [22] Thus even in the dizzy whirl of disasters a careful and active leader¹¹² was removed, whereas he should have been recalled to active service at the demand of such important affairs, even if he had long since retired to a peaceful life.

Sebastianus at Beroea surprises and cuts to pieces the Goths laden with booty; a few were saved by flight. Gratianus Augustus hastens to his uncle Valens, to bring him aid against the Goths.

It chanced that at that time Valens was at last called forth from Antioch, and after making the long journey arrived at Constantinople, where his stay was for only a very few days,¹¹³ and he was disturbed by a slight outbreak of the populace. He gave the command of the infantry, which Trajanus had formerly held, to Sebastianus, a leader of recognized vigilance, who had shortly before been sent from Italy at his own request.¹¹⁴ He himself went to the imperial villa Melanthias¹¹⁵ and tried to win the favour of the soldiers by pay, supplies, and many flattering words. [2] Having commanded a march from there by written order,¹¹⁶ he came to the military post called Nice,¹¹⁷ where he learned from the report of scouts that the barbarians, laden with rich spoils, had returned from the lands at the foot of Rhodope to the neighbourhood of Hadrianopolis; they, on hearing that the emperor was on the march with a large force, were hastening to join their countrymen, who were staying in a permanent garrison near Beroea and Nicopolis. At once, as timeliness of the offered opportunity demanded, Sebastianus had been directed to choose three hundred soldiers from each legion and hasten to the spot, to do, as he promised, something advantageous to the state. [3] He advanced by rapid marches until he was seen near Hadrianopolis, when the gates were strongly barred, and he was not allowed to approach them; for the besieged feared that he came as one who had been captured by the enemy, and won over to their side, and some harm might be caused to the city; such as had happened through the general Acacius, when the troops of Magnentius had captured him by treachery, and brought about the opening of the fastnesses of the Julian Alps. [4] However, when Sebastianus was recognized, although late, and

allowed to enter the city, his men were refreshed with such food and rest as were available; and on the following morning he sallied forth in secret haste. Just as evening was coming on some predatory bands of Goths suddenly came in sight near the river Hebrus, whereupon Sebastianus remained hidden for a time behind mounds and thickets; and when it was dark night he advanced with light step and fell upon them in their sleep, inflicting such a defeat upon them that all the rest perished except a few, whom swiftness of foot saved from death. He brought back countless booty, which was too great to be contained in the city and the broad plain about it. [5] Fritigern was greatly alarmed by this stroke, and feared lest the general, whom he had always heard to be successful, ¹¹⁸ might make an unexpected attack upon his scattered and heedless bands, which were intent only upon pillage, and utterly destroy them; he therefore recalled all his men to the vicinity of the town of Cabyle and quickly left that neighbourhood, in order that his people, by living in the open plains, might not suffer from famine or from secret attacks.

[6] While this was going on in Thrace, Gratian, having informed his uncle by letter with what energy he had overthrown the Alamanni, sent on ahead by land all his baggage and packs, and descending the Danube with a band of light-armed troops, came to Bononia ¹¹⁹ and entered Sirmium. Having delayed there for four days, he went on over the same river to the Camp of Mars, ¹²⁰ although attacked by intermittent fevers. In that region the Halani unexpectedly fell upon him, and he lost a few of his followers.

Valens Augustus decides to fight with the Goths before the coming of Gratian.

In those same days Valens was troubled for two reasons: first, by the news that the Lentienses had been defeated; secondly, because Sebastianus wrote from time to time exaggerating his exploits. He therefore marched forth from Melanthias, being eager to do some glorious deed to equal his young nephew, whose valiant exploits consumed him with envy. ¹²¹ He had under his command a force made up of varying elements, but one neither contemptible, nor unwarlike; for he had joined with them also a large number of veterans, among whom were other officers of high rank and Trajanus, shortly before a commander-in-chief, whom he had recalled to active service. [2] And since it was learned from careful reconnoitring that the enemy were planning with strong guards to block the roads over which the necessary supplies were being brought, he tried competently to frustrate this attempt by quickly sending an infantry troop of bowmen and a squadron of cavalry, in order to secure the advantages of the narrow passes, which were near by. [3] During the next three days, when the barbarians, advancing at a slow pace and through unfrequented places, since they feared a sally, were fifteen miles distant from the city, ¹²² and were making for the station of Nice, ¹²³ through some mistake

or other the emperor was assured by his skirmishers that all that part of the enemy's horde which they had seen consisted of only ten thousand men, and carried away by a kind of rash ardour, he determined to attack them at once. [4] Accordingly, advancing in square formation, ¹²⁴ he came to the vicinity of a suburb of Hadrianopolis, ¹²⁵ where he made a strong rampart of stakes, surrounded by a moat, and impatiently waited for Gratian; there he received Richomeres, general of the household troops, sent in advance by Gratian with a letter, in which he said that he himself also would soon be there. [5] Since the contents besought him to wait a while for the partner in his dangers, and not rashly to expose himself alone to serious perils, Valens called a council of various of his higher officers and considered what ought to be done. [6] And while some, influenced by Sebastianus, urged him to give battle at once, the man called Victor, ¹²⁶ a commander of cavalry, a Sarmatian by birth, but foresighted and careful, ¹²⁷ with the support of many others recommended that his imperial colleague be awaited, so that, strengthened by the addition of the Gallic army, he might the more easily crush the fiery over-confidence of the barbarians. [7] However, the fatal insistence of the emperor prevailed, supported by the flattering opinion of some of his courtiers, who urged him to make all haste in order that Gratian might not have a share in the victory which (as they represented) was already all but won.

[8] While the necessary preparations for the decisive battle were going on, a Christian presbyter ¹²⁸ (to use their own term), who had been sent by Fritigern as an envoy, in company with some humble folk came to the emperor's camp. He was courteously received and presented a letter from the same chieftain, openly requesting that to him and his people, whom the rapid forays of savage races had made exiles from their native lands, Thrace only should be granted as a habitation, with all its flocks and crops; and they promised lasting peace if this request were granted. [9] Besides this the aforesaid Christian, apparently a confidant and trusted friend of Fritigern, presented also ¹²⁹ a private letter of the same king, who, all too skilled in craft and in various forms of deception, informed Valens, pretending that he hoped soon to be his friend and ally, that he could not tame the savagery of his people, or entice them to adopt conditions favourable to the Roman state, unless the emperor should from time to time show them near at hand his army ready for battle, and through the fear aroused by the imperial name check their destructive eagerness for war. But as to the envoys, their sincerity was doubted, and they left without accomplishing their purpose.

[10] But on the dawn of that day which is numbered in the calendar as the fifth before the Ides of August ¹³⁰ the army began its march with extreme haste, leaving all its baggage and packs near the walls of Hadrianopolis with a suitable guard of legions; for the treasury, and the insignia of imperial dignity besides, ¹³¹ with the prefect ¹³² and the emperor's council, were kept within the circuit of the walls. [11] So after hastening a long distance over rough ground, while the hot day was advancing towards noon, finally at the eighth hour ¹³³

they saw the wagons of the enemy, which, as the report of the scouts had declared, were arranged in the form of a perfect ¹³⁴ circle. And while the barbarian soldiers, according to their custom, uttered savage and dismal howls, the Roman leaders so drew up their line of battle that the cavalry on the right wing were first pushed forward, while the greater part of the infantry waited in reserve. ^[12] But the left wing of the horsemen (which was formed with the greatest difficulty, since very many of them were still scattered along the roads) was hastening to the spot at swift pace. And while that same wing was being extended, still without interruption, the barbarians were terrified by the awful din, the hiss of whirring arrows ¹³⁵ and the menacing clash of shields; and since a part of their forces under Alatheus and Saphrax was far away and, though sent for, had not yet returned, they sent envoys to beg for peace. ^[13] The emperor scorned these because of their low origin, demanding for the execution of a lasting treaty that suitable chieftains be sent; meanwhile the enemy purposely delayed, in order that during the pretended truce their cavalry might return, who, they hoped, would soon make their appearance; also that our soldiers might be exposed to the fiery summer heat and exhausted by their dry throats, ¹³⁶ while the broad plains gleamed with fires, which the enemy were feeding with wood and dry fuel, for this same purpose. ¹³⁷ To that evil was added another deadly one, namely, that men and beasts were tormented by severe hunger.

^[14] Meanwhile Fritigern, shrewd to foresee the future and fearing the uncertainty of war, on his own initiative sent one of his common soldiers as a herald, requesting that picked men of noble rank be sent to him at once as hostages and saying that he himself would fearlessly meet the threats of his soldiers and do what was necessary. ¹³⁸ ^[15] The proposal of the dreaded leader was welcome and approved, and the tribune Aequitius, ¹³⁹ then marshal of the court and a relative of Valens, with the general consent was chosen to go speedily as a surety. When he objected, on the ground that he had once been captured by the enemy but had escaped from Dibaltum, and therefore feared their unreasonable anger, Richomerus voluntarily offered his own services and gladly promised to go, thinking this also to be a fine act and worthy of a brave man. And soon he was on his way [bringing] proofs of his rank and birth. . . .

¹⁴⁰ ^[16] As he was on his way to the enemy's rampart, the archers and the targeteers, then under the command of one Bacurius of Hiberia ¹⁴¹ and Cassio, had rushed forward too eagerly in hot attack, and were already engaged with their adversaries; and as their charge had been untimely, so their retreat was cowardly; and thus they gave an unfavourable omen to the beginning of the battle. ^[17] This unseasonable proceeding not only thwarted the prompt action of Richomerus, who was not allowed to go at all, but also the Gothic cavalry, returning with Alatheus and Saphrax, combined with a band of the Halani, dashed out as a thunderbolt does near high mountains, and threw into confusion all those whom they could find in the way of their swift onslaught, and quickly slew them.

All the Goths united, namely, the Thervingi under the command of King Fritigern, and the Greuthungi led by Alatheus and Saphrax, and engaged with the Romans in the open, routed their cavalry, and put to flight the infantry, thus left unprotected and crowded together, with enormous losses; Valens was killed, but his body could not be found.

On every side armour and weapons clashed, and Bellona, raging with more than usual madness for the destruction of the Romans, blew her lamentable war-trumpets; our soldiers who were giving way rallied, exchanging many encouraging shouts, but the battle, spreading like flames,¹⁴² filled their hearts with terror, as numbers of them were pierced by strokes of whirling spears and arrows. [2] Then the lines dashed together like beaked ships, pushing each other back and forth in turn, and tossed about by alternate movements, like waves at sea.

And because the left wing, which had made its way as far as the very wagons, and would have gone farther if it had had any support, being deserted by the rest of the cavalry, was hard pressed by the enemy's numbers, it was crushed, and overwhelmed, as if by the downfall of a mighty rampart. The foot-soldiers thus stood unprotected, and their companies were so crowded together that hardly anyone could pull out his sword or draw back his arm. Because of clouds of dust the heavens could no longer be seen, and echoed with frightful cries. Hence the arrows whirling death from every side always found their mark with fatal effect, since they could not be seen beforehand nor guarded against. [3] But when the barbarians, pouring forth in huge hordes, trampled down horse and man, and in the press of ranks no room for retreat could be gained anywhere, and the increased crowding left no opportunity for escape, our soldiers also, showing extreme contempt of falling in the fight, received their death-blows, yet struck down their assailants; and on both sides the strokes of axes split helmet and breastplate. [4] Here one might see a barbarian filled with lofty courage, his cheeks contracted in a hiss, hamstrung or with right hand severed, or pierced through the side, on the very verge of death threateningly casting about his fierce glance; and by the fall of the combatants on both sides the plains were covered with the bodies of the slain strewn over the ground, while the groans of the dying and of those who had suffered deep wounds caused immense fear when they were heard. [5] In this great tumult and confusion the infantry, exhausted by their efforts and the danger, when in turn strength and mind for planning anything were lacking, their lances for the most part broken by constant clashing, content to fight with drawn swords, plunged into the dense masses of the foe, regardless of their lives, seeing all around that every loophole of escape was lost. [6] The ground covered with streams of blood whirled their slippery foothold from under them, so they could only strain every nerve to sell their lives dearly; and they opposed the onrushing foe with such great resolution that some fell by

the weapons of their own comrades. Finally, when the whole scene was discoloured with the hue of dark blood, and wherever men turned their eyes heaps of slain met them, they trod upon the bodies of the dead without mercy. [7] Now the sun had risen higher, and when it had finished its course though Leo, and was passing into the house of the heavenly Virgo, scorched the Romans, who were more and more exhausted by hunger and worn out by thirst, as well as distressed by the heavy burden of their armour. Finally our line was broken by the onrushing weight of the barbarians, and since that was the only resort in their last extremity, they took to their heels in disorder as best they could.

[8] While all scattered in flight over unknown paths, the emperor, hedged about by dire terrors, and slowly treading over heaps of corpses, took refuge with the lancers and the *mattiarii*,¹⁴³ who, so long as the vast numbers of the enemy could be sustained, had stood unshaken with bodies firmly planted. On seeing him Trajanus cried that all hope was gone, unless the emperor, abandoned by his body-guard, should at least be protected by his foreign auxiliaries. [9] On hearing this the general called Victor hastened to bring quickly to the emperor's aid the Batavi, who had been posted not far off as a reserve force; but when he could find none of them, he retired and went away. And in the same way Richomeres and Saturninus made their escape from danger.

[10] And so the barbarians, their eyes blazing with frenzy, were pursuing our men, in whose veins the blood was chilled with numb horror: some fell without knowing who struck them down, others were buried beneath the mere weight of their assailants; some were slain by the sword of a comrade; for though they often rallied, there was no ground given, nor did anyone spare those who retreated. [11] Besides all this, the roads were blocked by many who lay mortally wounded, lamenting the torment of their wounds; and with them also mounds of fallen horses filled the plains with corpses. To these ever irreparable losses, so costly to the Roman state, a night without the bright light of the moon put an end.

[12] At the first coming of darkness the emperor, amid the common soldiers as was supposed (for no one asserted that he had seen him or been with him), fell mortally wounded by an arrow, and presently breathed his last breath; and he was never afterwards found anywhere.¹⁴⁴ For since a few of the foe were active for long in the neighbourhood for the purpose of robbing the dead, no one of the fugitives or of the natives ventured to approach the spot. [13] The Caesar Decius, we are told, met a similar fate;¹⁴⁵ for when he was fiercely fighting with the barbarians and his horse, whose excitement he could not restrain, stumbled and threw him, he fell into a marsh, from which he could not get out, nor could his body be found. [14] Others say that Valens did not give up the ghost at once, but with his bodyguard¹⁴⁶ and a few eunuchs was taken to a peasant's cottage near by, well fortified in its second storey; and while he was being treated by unskilful hands, he was surrounded by the

enemy, who did not know who he was, but was saved from the shame of captivity. ^[15] For while the pursuers were trying to break open the bolted doors, they were assailed with arrows from a balcony of the house; and fearing through the inevitable delay to lose the opportunity for pillage, they piled bundles of straw and firewood about the house, set fire to them, and burned it men and all. ^[16] From it one of the bodyguard leaped through a window, but was taken by the enemy; when he told them what had happened, he filled them with sorrow at being cheated of great glory, in not having taken the ruler of the Roman empire alive. This same young man, having later escaped and returned secretly to our army, gave this account of what had occurred. ^[17] When Spain had been recovered, with a similar disaster the second of the Scipios, ¹⁴⁷ we are told, was burned with a tower in which he had taken refuge and which the enemy had set on fire. ¹⁴⁸ This much, at any rate, is certain, that neither Scipio nor Valens had the fortune of burial ¹⁴⁹ which is death's final honour.

^[18] Amid this manifold loss of distinguished men, the deaths of Trajanus and Sebastianus stood out. With them fell thirty-five tribunes, without special assignments, and leaders of bodies of troops, ¹⁵⁰ as well as Valerianus and Aequitius, the one having charge of the stables, the other, of the Palace. Among these also Potentius lost his life in the first flower of his youth; he was tribune of the *promoti*, ¹⁵¹ respected by all good men and honoured both for his own services and those of his father Ursicinus, formerly a commander-in-chief. Certain it is that barely a third part of our army escaped. ^[19] The annals record no such massacre of a battle except the one at Cannae, although the Romans more than once, deceived by trickery due to an adverse breeze of Fortune, yielded for a time to illsuccess in their wars, and although the storied dirges of the Greeks have mourned over many a contest.

The merits and defects of Valens Augustus.

Thus then died Valens, at the age of almost fifty and after a reign of a little less than fourteen years. ¹⁵² ^[2] Of his merits, as known to many, we shall now speak, and of his defects. He was a firm and faithful friend, severe in punishing ambitious designs, strict in maintaining discipline in the army and in civil life, always watchful and anxious lest anyone should elevate himself on the ground of kinship with him; he was excessively slow towards conferring or taking away official positions, ¹⁵³ very just in his rule of the provinces, each of which he protected from injury as he would his own house, lightening the burden of tributes with a kind of special care, allowing no increase in taxes, not extortionate in estimating the indebtedness from arrears, ¹⁵⁴ a harsh and bitter enemy of thievish officials and of those detected in peculation. Under no other emperor does the Orient recall meeting better treatment in matters of this kind. ^[3] Besides all this, he combined liberality with moderation, and although there are many instances of such conduct, yet it will suffice to set forth one. Since there are always at court some men who

are greedy for others' possessions, if anyone, as often happens, claimed a lapsed estate ¹⁵⁵ or anything else of the kind, he distinguished clearly between justice and injustice, allowing those who intended to protest ¹⁵⁶ a chance to state their case; and if he gave it to the petitioner, he often added as sharers in the gifts gained three or four absentees, to the end that restless people might act with more restraint, when they saw that by this device the gain for which they were so greedy was diminished. ^[4] As to the public buildings which he restored or built from their very beginning in various cities and towns, in order not to be prolix I say nothing, but leaving this matter to the objects themselves to demonstrate it more obviously than I can. Such conduct is worthy, I think, of emulation by all good men; let me now run through his defects.

^[5] He was immoderately desirous of great wealth, and impatient of toil, rather affecting awesome austerity than possessing it, and somewhat inclined to cruelty; he had rather an uncultivated mind, and was trained neither in the art of war nor in liberal studies; he was ready to gain advantage and profit at the expense of others' suffering, and more intolerable when he attributed offences that were committed to contempt of, or injury to, the imperial dignity; then he vented his rage in bloodshed, and on the ruin of the rich. ^[6] It was unendurable also, that although he wished to appear to refer all controversies and judicial investigations to the laws, and entrusted the examination of such affairs to the regular judges as being specially selected men, nevertheless he suffered nothing to be done contrary to his own caprice. He was in other ways unjust, hot tempered, and ready to listen to informers without distinguishing truth from falsity — a shameful fault, which is very greatly to be dreaded even in these our private affairs of every-day occurrence.

^[7] He was a procrastinator and irresolute. His complexion was dark, the pupil of one of his eyes was dimmed, ¹⁵⁷ but in such a way as not to be noticed at a distance; his body was well-knit, his height neither above nor below the average; he was knock-kneed, and somewhat pot-bellied.

^[8] This will be enough to say about Valens, and it is fully confirmed by the testimony of records contemporary with me. But it is proper not to omit the following story. At the time of the oracle of the tripod, for which, as I have said, ¹⁵⁸ Patricius and Hilarius were responsible, he had heard of those three prophetic verses, of which the last is:

When in Mimas' plains the war-god Ares rages. ¹⁵⁹

Being uneducated ¹⁶⁰ and rude, he disregarded them at first, but as his very great troubles increased he became abjectly timid, and in recalling that prediction used to shudder at the mention of Asia, where, as he heard from the mouths of learned men, Homer and Cicero have written of a mountain called Mimas, rising above the city of Erythrae. ¹⁶¹ ^[9] Finally, after his death and the departure of the enemy, it is said that near the place where he was thought to have fallen a monument made of a heap of stones was found, to which was

fastened a tablet engraved with Greek characters, showing that a distinguished man of old called Mimas was buried there.¹⁶²

The victorious Goths lay siege to Hadrianopolis, where Valens had left his treasures and the imperial insignia in charge of the prefect and the members of the council; but after vainly trying every means of taking the city they withdrew unsuccessful.

After the murderous battle, when night had¹⁶³ already spread darkness over the earth, the survivors departed, some to the right, others to the left, or wherever their fear took them, each seeking his nearest associates, for none could see anything save himself, and everyone imagined that the enemy's sword hung over his own head. Yet there were still heard, though from far off, the pitiful cries of those who were left behind, the death-rattle of the dying, and the tortured wails of the wounded.

[2] But at daybreak the victors, like wild beasts roused to cruel ferocity by the provocative tang of blood, driven by the lure of a vain hope, made for Hadrianopolis in dense throngs, intending to destroy the city even at the cost of the utmost dangers; for they had heard through traitors and deserters that the most distinguished officials, the insignia of imperial fortune, and the treasures of Valens were hidden there, as within an impregnable fortress. [3] And in order that no delays meanwhile might cool their ardour, at the fourth hour of the day they had encircled the walls¹⁶⁴ and were engaged in a most bitter struggle; for the besiegers with their natural ferocity rushed upon swift death, while on the other hand the defenders were encouraged to vigorous resistance with might and main. [4] And because a great number of soldiers and batmen had been prevented from entering the city with their beasts, they took their place close to the shelter of the walls and in the adjoining buildings, and made a brave fight considering their low position; and the mad rage of their assailants had lasted until the ninth hour of the day, when on a sudden three hundred of our infantry, of those who stood near the very breastworks,¹⁶⁵ formed a wedge and went over to the barbarians. They were eagerly seized by the Goths, and (it is not known why) were immediately butchered; and from that time on it was noticed that not a man thought of any similar action, even when the outlook was most desperate. [5] Now, while this accumulation of misfortunes was raging, suddenly with peals of thunder rain poured from the black clouds and scattered the hordes roaring around the city; but they returned to the circular rampart formed by their wagons,¹⁶⁶ and carried their measureless arrogance so far as to send an envoy with a threatening letter, ordering our men to surrender the city on receiving a pledge that their lives would be spared. [6] The messenger did not dare to enter the city, and the letter was delivered by a certain Christian and read; but it was scorned, as was fitting, and the rest of the day and the whole night were spent in preparing defensive works. For the gates were blocked from within with huge rocks, the

unsafe parts of the walls were strengthened, artillery was placed in suitable places for hurling missiles or rocks in all directions, and a supply of water that was sufficient was stored nearby; for on the day before some of those who fought were tormented with thirst almost to the point of death.

[7] The Goths on the other hand, bearing in mind the dangerous chances of war, and worried from seeing their bravest men stretched dead or wounded, while their strength was being worn away bit by bit, formed a clever plan, which Justice herself revealed. [8] For they enticed some of our subalterns, who had deserted to them the day before, to simulate flight, as if returning to their own side, and to manage to be admitted within the walls, and when let in, secretly to set fire to some part of the city; in order that as if a kind of secret signal had been raised, while the attention of the throng of the besieged was distracted with ¹⁶⁷ extinguishing the flames, the city, left undefended, might be broken into. [9] The subalterns went on their way as had been arranged, and when they had come near the moat, with outstretched hands and prayers they begged to be admitted, as being Romans. And they were let in, as there was no suspicion to prevent it; but on being questioned as to the plans of the enemy they varied in their answers. The result was that after being tortured in a bloody investigation they openly confessed with what purpose they had come, and were beheaded.

[10] So, when all the preparations for battle had been made, the barbarians just before the beginning of the third watch, since the fear caused by their former wounds had died out, poured in more numerous masses upon the barred gates of the city, with the great persistency of those who are guarding against disaster. ¹⁶⁸ But with the soldiers the provincials and the court attendants rose up with all the greater vigour to overwhelm them, and such were the numbers of the foe that weapons of every kind, even though thrown at random, could not fall without effect. [11] Our men noticed that the barbarians were using the same missiles that had been hurled at them. And so it was ordered that the cords by which the barbs were fastened to the shaft should be partly severed before the arrows were shot from the bows; these during their flight kept their whole strength, and when they were fixed in the bodies of the enemy lost none of their effectiveness, or at any rate, if they found no mark, were at once broken. [12] But an entirely unexpected chance had great influence in the midst of this hot fight. A piece of artillery known as a "scorpion," but called a "wild ass" in the language of the people, ¹⁶⁹ placed exactly opposite a great mass of the enemy, hurled a huge stone, and although it dashed to the ground without effect, yet the sight of it caused the enemy such great terror, that in their amazement at the strange spectacle they fled to a distance and tried to leave the place. [13] But at the order of their chiefs the horns sounded and the battle was renewed, and in the same way the Romans held the upper hand, since almost no bullet from the thong of a slinger, ¹⁷⁰ or any other missile when hurled, missed its mark. For the chiefs, inflamed by a desire to carry off the treasures which Valens had acquired by his ill-gotten

gains took their place in the foremost ranks and were followed by the rest, who made a display of equalling the dangers of their superiors. For some were writhing mortally wounded, either crushed by great masses of stone, or with their breasts pierced with javelins; others who carried scaling-ladders and were preparing to mount the walls from every side were buried under their own burdens, as stones, fragments and whole drums of columns were thrown down upon them. [14] But until late in the day, not a man of the raging throng was turned by the awful sight of carnage from his desire to play a brave part, being excited by the numbers of the defenders who also fell, slain by all kinds of weapons, as they saw from afar with joy. So, without any rest or respite, the battle in defence of the walls and against the walls went on with great determination. [15] And since they no longer fought in any order, but rushed forward in detached groups (a sign of extreme discouragement) as the day was drawing towards evening all the enemy retired disconsolate to their tents, accusing one another of reckless folly because they had not, as Fritigern had earlier advised, wholly held aloof from the miseries of a siege.

The Goths, after bribing the forces of the Huns and the Halani to join them, make a vain attempt on Constantinople. With what skill Julius, the commanding general beyond the Taurus, relieved the eastern provinces of the Goths.

After this the Goths gave their attention during the whole night-time, which was not long in the summer season, to caring for their wounds, using their native methods of treatment. When day broke again, their minds were led this way and that as to their plans, since they were in doubt whither they should turn; and after a great deal of talk and disagreement they decided to take possession of Perinthus, ¹⁷¹ and afterwards of any neighbouring cities that were brimful of riches, of which they were given such full information by deserters that they knew even the interior of the houses, to say nothing of the cities. Following this decision, which they thought advantageous, they marched on slowly without opposition, devastating the whole district with pillage and fires.

[2] After their timely departure, those who had been besieged in Hadrianopolis, having learned from scouts who had been found trustworthy that the neighbouring places were free from enemies, set out at midnight and avoiding the public highways and devising every effort for increasing their speed, hastened with the valuables which they were carrying still safe, through wooded and pathless places, some to Philippopolis and from there to Serdica, ¹⁷² others to Macedonia, in the hope of finding Valens in those regions (for it was wholly unknown to them that he had fallen in the midst of the storms of battle, or at any rate had taken refuge in a hut, where it was thought that he had been burned to death).

[3] But the Goths, joined with the Huns and the Halani, exceedingly warlike

and brave peoples, hardened to the difficulties of severe toils, whom the craft of Fritigern had won over to them by the attractions of wonderful prizes, set up their camp near Perinthus; but mindful of their previous disasters they did not indeed venture to approach or attempt the city itself, but reduced to utter ruin the fertile fields which extend far and wide about it, killing or capturing those who dwelt there. [4] From there they hastened in rapid march to Constantinople, greedy for its vast heaps of treasure, marching in square formations for fear of ambushades, and intending to make many mighty efforts to destroy the famous city. But while they were madly rushing on and almost knocking at the barriers of the gates, the celestial power checked them by the following event. [5] A troop of Saracens (of whose origin and customs I have spoken at length in various places,¹⁷³) who are more adapted to stealthy raiding expeditions than to pitched battles,¹⁷⁴ and had recently been summoned to the city, desiring to attack the horde of barbarians of which they had suddenly caught sight, rushed forth boldly from the city to attack them. The contest was long and obstinate, and both sides separated on equal terms. [6] But the oriental troop had the advantage from a strange event, never witnessed before. For one of their number, a man with long hair and naked except for a loin-cloth, uttering hoarse and dismal cries, with drawn dagger rushed into the thick of the Gothic army, and after killing a man applied his lips to his throat and sucked the blood that poured out. The barbarians, terrified by this strange and monstrous sight, after that did not show their usual self-confidence when they attempted any action, but advanced with hesitating steps. [7] Then, as they went on, their courage was further broken when they beheld the oblong circuit of the walls, the blocks of houses covering a vast space, the beauties of the city beyond their reach, the vast population inhabiting it, and the strait near by that separates the Pontus from the Aegean; so the Goths destroyed the manufactories of warlike materials which they were preparing, and after suffering greater losses than they had inflicted they then departed and spread everywhere over the northern provinces, which they traversed at will as far as the foot of the Julian, or, as they were formerly called, the Venetic Alps.

[8] At that time¹⁷⁵ the salutary and swift efficiency of Julius, commander-in-chief of the troops beyond the Taurus, was conspicuous. For on learning of the ill-fated events in Thrace, by secret letters to their leaders, who were all Romans (a rare case in these times) he gave orders that the Goths who had been admitted before and were scattered through the various cities and camps, should be enticed to come without suspicion into the suburbs in the hope of receiving the pay that had been promised them, and there, as if on the raising of a banner, should all be slain on one and the same day. This prudent plan was carried out without confusion or delay, and thus the eastern provinces were saved from great dangers.

[9] These events, from the principate of the emperor Nerva to the death of Valens, I, a former soldier and a Greek, have set forth to the measure of my

ability, without ever (I believe) consciously venturing to debase through silence or through falsehood a work whose aim was the truth. The rest may be written by abler men, who are in the prime of life and learning. But if they chose to undertake such a task, I advise them to forge ¹⁷⁶ their tongues to the loftier style.

The second part, written about 550 in barbarous Latin by another unknown author, under the title *Item ex libris Chronicorum inter cetera*, covers the period from 474 to 526, and deals mainly with the history of Theodoric. The writer was an opponent of Arianism, and he seems to have based his compilation on the *Chronicle* of Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna in 546, who died in 556. For this part we have, besides B, cod. Vaticanus Palatinus, Lat. n. 927 (P) of the twelfth century, in which the title appears as *De adventu Oduachar regis Cyrorum* ¹⁷⁷ *et Erulorum in Italia, et quomodo Rex Theodericus eum fuerit persecutus*. The *Excerpts* as a whole furnish an introduction and a sequel to the narrative of Ammianus.

NOTES.

¹ I.e., death by fire.

² See xxix. 1, 8 ff.

³ Because of the conduct of the inhabitants at the time of the uprising of Procopius; cf. Socr., *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 8, and xxvi. 8, 2.

⁴ Constantinianae thermae, Socrates, iv. 8.

⁵ Cf. Zos. iv. 20; Sozom. vi. 37; Agathias, 5, 11 ff.

⁶ Cf. Sidonius, *Paneg. ad Avitum*, 243 ff.

⁷ Used for adorning the parapets of bridges. Cf. Jordanes, 24.

⁸ I.e., on horseback.

⁹ I.e., of metal (bronze or iron).

¹⁰ This device was used also by the Sagartian nomads; see Hdt. vii. 85; Val. Flaccus, vi. 132 ff.; etc.

¹¹ The passage is fragmentary and the exact meaning is uncertain. Only the general sense can be given.

¹² The Danube.

¹³ The Don.

¹⁴ The Hister (Danube).

¹⁵ Alanos ("ἄλανος).

¹⁶ Cf. xxii. 8, 40; these are the Neuri of Herodotus (iv. 105).

¹⁷ The Budini of Herodotus, iv. 108–9.

¹⁸ See Mela, ii. 1, 14.

¹⁹ This detail is not mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 101).

²⁰ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 80; Mela, ii. 1, 10.

²¹ According to Herodotus, iv. 107, they get their name from their black clothing.

²² *Oriens aestivus*, north-east (Pliny, *N.H.* xvii. 105), so called because the sun rises in that quarter in summer. *Hibernus oriens* for south-east also occurs, and *occidens aestivus* for north-west (Columella, i. 6, 2); *o.h.*, Livy, xlv. 46, 5. Cf. Gesner, *Lex. Rusticum*, s.v. *aequinoctialis oriens*.

²³ “Chinese” of Central and E. Asia (see xxiii. 6, 64). The Seres and the Ganges are not mentioned by Herodotus, nor the Halani except perhaps as Massagetae (i. 204).

²⁴ I.e., Europe and Asia, in which Africa was often included.

²⁵ That is, the Parthians; for their Scythian origin, cf. Q. Curtius, vi. 2, 11, etc.

²⁶ This seems to be the meaning with the punctuation of the text, based on the clausulae. The skins are com. monly understood to be those of the head (i.e. scalps), but apparently wrongly; cf. 2, 14, above, of the Vidini and Geloni.

²⁷ Since the leader of the dance of the Salian priests of Mars was called *praesul*, the term is appropriate here. On this custom see Mela, ii. 1, 15; cf. Justinus, xliii. 3, *ab origine rerum prodis immortalibus hastas coluere*, Herodotus, iv. 62; and xvii. 12, 21 above (of the Quadi).

²⁸ Ammianus is too brief to be clear. The twigs were marked with certain signs (*notae*) from which the predictions were made; see Hdt. iv. 67; Caesar, *B.G.* i. 50, 4–5; Tac., *Germ.* 10.

²⁹ Cf. *iudex* in § 4, below, and Introd., p. xxvi, note 2.

³⁰ Called Ermanarich in Jordanes’ *Gothic History*.

³¹ For *vulgatius*, cf. xv. 3, 6; xvii. 4, 9.

³² Also called the Tyras, to-day the Dniester.

³³ To-day the Dnieper.

³⁴ Cf. xxvii. 5, 6.

³⁵ Cf. *cura constrictus*, xx, 4, 19.

³⁶ To-day the Pruth on the eastern frontier of ancient Dacia.

³⁷ For *lorica* in this sense, cf. 15, 4, below.

³⁸ Or perhaps war-god, since Mars was born in Thrace; see Manilius, iv. 691, *Threce Martem sortita colonum*; cf. Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, iv. 25.

³⁹ 376 A.D.

⁴⁰ Cf. xix. 11, 7, notes 1 and 2.

⁴¹ Cf. xvi. 11, 9, note; xiv. 2, 10.

⁴² Virg., *Georg.* ii. 106 ff.; see crit. note 2.

⁴³ I.e., cutting a canal through the isthmus of the peninsula on which the mountain stands.

⁴⁴ Because they were too numerous to be counted as individuals, an enclosure which would hold 10,000 closely packed men was built; see Hdt. vii. 60.

⁴⁵ 376 f. A.D.

⁴⁶ Ammianus seems to forget that the Goths were required first to hand over their weapons; but this order was frequently evaded through the negligence of the imperial officials.

⁴⁷ Cic., *Deiot.* 2, 4, *nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi iudex, non sibi se aequiorem quam reo praebeat.*

⁴⁸ He was a young boy; cf. xxxi. 3, 3, where the name is given as Viderichus.

⁴⁹ Cf. xxvii. 5, 6.

⁵⁰ For this meaning of *dissimulatio*, cf. xxviii. 4, 5.

⁵¹ See 4, 11. The meaning is, in order that the Roman generals might carry the practice on longer.

⁵² That is, into the interior of the country

⁵³ Cf. Suet., *Calig.*, 37, 1, *nepotatus sumptibus (nepotinus, codd. P.Q.)*.

⁵⁴ According to Jordanes, Fritigern cut his way through to his men.

⁵⁵ *incauti* seems to mean “without regard for their lives”; *incautos*, “off their guard” (see crit. note) would apparently contradict *paratus ad discernendum*, in the preceding sentence.

⁵⁶ The exact meaning is perhaps not clear; it seems to mean that the barbarians dashed the Romans’ shields against their bodies, so that they could not use them, and then slew them. Wagner refers it to the shields of the barbarians, which they pressed close to their own bodies, but this does not seem to suit *illidendo*.

⁵⁷ §§ 12–17 are a digression on great disasters which Rome had suffered from invading barbarians.

⁵⁸ Macrinus Vindex, praetorian prefect of Marcus Aurelius; see Dio, lxxi. 3.

⁵⁹ Text and exact meaning are uncertain; for the events referred to, see Dio, lxxi. ff.; Eutrop. viii. 13; Orosius, vii. 15, 6 ff.

⁶⁰ Treb. Poll., *Claud.* 8, 2, gives this figure: Zos. i. 42, 6000.

⁶¹ The chronology is at fault; cf. Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 29, 5.

⁶² Cf. Treb. Poll., *Gallienus*, 13, 6.

⁶³ Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes; cf. Treb. Poll., *Claud.* 12, 1; Zos. i. 46.

⁶⁴ Under Valerian and Claudius; see note 1, above.

⁶⁵ In the time of Decius; Zos. i. 24.

⁶⁶ According to Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 34, 3, he sacrificed himself in battle. Others say that he died a natural death.

⁶⁷ Cf. Rufius Festus, 8.

⁶⁸ 376 ff. A.D.

⁶⁹ Cf. *hiberna curantem*, xix. 11, 1.

⁷⁰ The province; see Index to this volume. I.e., the *duumvir*.

⁷¹ There was a large munitions factory in Hadrianopolis.

⁷² There was a large munitions factory in Hadrianopolis.

⁷³ There were gold-mines in Thrace and Macedonia; of. Claudian, *Panegy. Theodori*, 40 f., *quidquid luce procul venae rimata sequaces, abdita pallentis fodit sollertia Bessi* (a Thracian people).

⁷⁴ I.e., to have an understanding with the King, before withdrawing troops from Armenia.

⁷⁵ He was later *magister militum* under Gratian, then *magister utriusque militiae* under Theodosius, who made him consul in 384. On the military titles, see *Introd.*, Vol. I, p. xxxv

⁷⁶ That is, they did not have the full number of men, as is explained by what follows.

⁷⁷ With *deseruerat* sc. *militiam*.

⁷⁸ A city of the Scythians called *Ad Salices*, "By the Willows," placed in the Antonine Itinerary between Tomi and Salmuris.

⁷⁹ Cf. 5, 8, above; *vexillis de more sublatis, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis . . . concursabant*.

⁸⁰ See xxiii. 4, 14; xxi. 9, 6.

⁸¹ In Greek, *καπαγός*; for a description see Claudian, In *Ruf.* ii. 127 ff.; Vegetius, iii. 10.

⁸² Cf. xvi. 12, 43; derived from the elephant's cry.

⁸³ Cf. *Aen.* vii. 24 ff.

⁸⁴ I.e., from making their escape.

⁸⁵ Cf. Virg., *Aen.* v. 864 f., *scopulos . . . difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos*; Tac., *Ann.* i. 61.

⁸⁶ 377 A.D.

⁸⁷ Cf. xiv. 3, 2.

⁸⁸ A mountain range in Thrace in the narrower sense, not including Moesia.

⁸⁹ The Hellespont.

⁹⁰ On *alios* see xxiii. 3, 9, note 5.

⁹¹ See Index.

⁹² See Index II, Vol. I.

⁹³ A city of Thrace, according to xxvii. 4, 12; also called Beroia (*P.W.* iii. 304), Beroa, Beroae.

⁹⁴ *Congregatosque in cuneos* of the MSS. gives a very strange accusative construction, which, however, does not seem to have troubled the editors or commentators. . Cf. *conferti in globos*, 10, 4, below.

⁹⁵ 377 f. A.D.

⁹⁶ Since the year 354; of. xv. 4, 1.

⁹⁷ 378 A.D.

⁹⁸ Often mentioned with the Celts; for a possible explanation of this designation of a legion made up of foreign troops, see xx, 4, 2, note 5.

⁹⁹ Cf. xxviii. 5, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. xxviii. 5, 1, where he is called Nannenus.

¹⁰¹ Also called Argentovaria, a town of the Tribocci; modern Horburg (*T.L.L.*).

¹⁰² On *calles* see *A.J.P.* xxxvi. p ff.; and cf. Suet., *Jul.* 19, 2, note.

¹⁰³ To that of the imperial troops.

¹⁰⁴ Such as stones and the huge clubs of 7, 12, above.

¹⁰⁵ See Lamprid., *Commodus*, 12, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Parks where wild beasts were kept.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Capitolinus, *Ant. Phil.* 22, 3 ff.

¹⁰⁸ In Raetia; modern Arbon.

¹⁰⁹ In Noricum Ripense; modern Lorch (Lork).

¹¹⁰ See xxi. 10, 2 ff., and note 1.

¹¹¹ Cf. xx. 4, 18.

¹¹² Frigeridus.

¹¹³ Twelve days according to Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 38.

¹¹⁴ Zos. iv. 22, says that he left Italy through disgust at the growing influence of the eunuchs, and went to Constantinople, where Valens made him a commander-in-chief.

¹¹⁵ Agathius (v. 14, D), and after him Suidas (s.v. μελαντιάς), call it a village 140 stadia (102, Suidas) from Constantinople.

¹¹⁶ Cf. xxiii. 2, 2, *expeditionalis tessera*; xxi. 5, 13, note.

¹¹⁷ A town in Thrace, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 37, 95; *mansio Nice*, It. Burdig. (cf. *statione Nice*, 12, 3, below).

¹¹⁸ For this meaning of *impetrabilis*, cf. xiv. 8, 5, and Plautus, *Most.* 1162, etc.

¹¹⁹ Ptolemy locates this place in Upper Pannonia, the modern Banastar; cf. xxi. 9, 6.

¹²⁰ A small town in Dacia Ripensis (in Moesia, according to Sozomenus, ix. 5).

¹²¹ Eunapius says that Gratian had also, at the wish of his army, taken the younger Valentinian as his colleague, without consulting his uncle Valens; moreover, that Valens was an Arian, while Gratian, according to Ambrose, was a Christian (*christianissimus*). [Val. in Wagner-Erfurdt.]

¹²² Constantinople.

¹²³ See 11, 2, above, and note.

¹²⁴ See xxix. 5, 39, note on *agmine quadrato*.

¹²⁵ Or perhaps “to the vicinity of Hadrianopolis” — with Ammianus’ usual tautology. Clark has Hadrianopolis, with V.

¹²⁶ Although he is often mentioned, it is usually in this way (see e.g. 13, 9, below, and 7, 1, above).

¹²⁷ Unlike the Sarmatians generally.

¹²⁸ Elder.

¹²⁹ For the translation of *alias*, see xxiii. 3, 9, note 5.

¹³⁰ Aug. 9.

¹³¹ Here *cetera* is used as *alius* often is; see note 1, above.

¹³² I.e., the praetorian prefect.

¹³³ At about two in the afternoon.

¹³⁴ Lit. “turned by a lathe”.

¹³⁵ For *sibilantibus armis*, cf. xxv. 1, 18.

¹³⁶ I.e., by thirst.

¹³⁷ I.e., to exhaust the Romans by heat and thirst.

¹³⁸ The meaning of *ipse minas . . . necessaria* is uncertain, and the text perhaps corrupt. It seems to mean that he would put up with the anger felt by his own soldiers because of his virtual overture of peace.

¹³⁹ Cf. xxvi. 1, 4.

¹⁴⁰ There is a lacuna here of twenty letters; *indicia* is obviously the object of some word such as *ferens*.

¹⁴¹ On the northern frontier of Armenia.

¹⁴² Cf. *Iliad* xi. 595; xvii. 576 f.

¹⁴³ See xxi. 13, 16, note

¹⁴⁴ Libanius *Orat.* xxiv. II, (Foerster), agrees with this account, but adds that the emperor might have saved himself on horseback, but did not wish to survive the defeat of his army, and died fighting. The other authorities agree with the following account of Ammianus.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Zosimus, iv. 24.

¹⁴⁶ See Index II, Vol. I.

¹⁴⁷ I.e., Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus, 212 B.C. Livy, xxv. 36, 13.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Livy, xxv. 36, 13; Appian, *Bell. His.* 16 (*Rom. Hist.* vi. 3, 16).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Iliad*, 456; Virg., *Aen.* xi. 22; Val. Max. iv. 4, 2.

¹⁵⁰ On *numeri*, see xiv. 7, 19; on *vacantes*, Introd., Vol. I, p. xliv.

¹⁵¹ See xv. 4, 10, note 3, and Index II, Vol. I.

¹⁵² As a matter of fact, he reigned four months more than fourteen years, having been made Augustus by his brother in March of the year 364. He lost his life Aug. 8, 378. Pseud.-Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 46, gives 13 years and 5 months; Socrates and Sozomenus give 16 years.

¹⁵³ Cf. xviii. 6, 22; xxiii. 5, 15; xxvii. 6, 4.

¹⁵⁴ To the crown in payment for supplies; cf. xvi. 5, 15, *tributariae rei reliqua*; Spart. *Hadr.* 6, 5; 21, 7 and 12.

¹⁵⁵ I.e., one which had fallen to the emperor for lack of heirs.

¹⁵⁶ That is, the former owners or other interested parties.

¹⁵⁷ Very likely by cataract.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. xxix. 1, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. xxix. 1, 33.

¹⁶⁰ Lit. 'unfinished,' see xxi. 10, 8.

¹⁶¹ A city of Ionia. For Mimas, see Homer (*Odys.* iii. 172) and Cicero (*Ad Att.* xvi. 13a, 2); opposite the island Chios, and part of Mount Tmolus.

¹⁶² Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* B) and Zonaras (xiii. 16, p. iii, 32 A) speak of this, and say that the inscription read: "Here lies Mimas, a Macedonian general." They connect Valens' fears, not with the tripod, but with a dream of the emperor's.

¹⁶³ 378 A.D.

¹⁶⁴ Of Hadrianopolis.

¹⁶⁵ For *lorica* in this sense, cf. xxxi. 3, 7; xxiv. 5, 2.

¹⁶⁶ See xxxi. 7, 5, 7.

¹⁶⁷ For this meaning of *circa*, cf. *occupatam circa messem agrestem*, xxix. 6, 6.

¹⁶⁸ Text and meaning are somewhat uncertain.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. xxiii. 4, 4 and 7.

¹⁷⁰ There seems to be no other mention of the use of the *amentum* by slingers. It usually means a thong by means of which a javelin, or a spear, was given a whirling flight, or it may mean the missile itself (so perhaps here?). See *T.L.L.* s.v.

¹⁷¹ Cf. xxii. 2, 3.

¹⁷² See xxi. 10, 3.

¹⁷³ Especially xiv. 4, 1 ff.; xxv. 6, 8–10.

¹⁷⁴ xxiii. 3, 8.

¹⁷⁵ Shortly after the death of Valens, and before the accession of Theodosius; cf. Zos. iv. 26.

¹⁷⁶ For *proculdere*, cf. xv. 2, 8 (*ingenium*); xxx. 4, 13 (*ora*); Horace, *Odes*, iv. 15, 19.

¹⁷⁷ Apparently for Scyrorum (Scirorum), Exc. § 37.

The Anonymus Valesianus, First Part: The lineage of the Emperor Constantine

The excerpts of Valesius: Introduction

The *Excerpta Valesiana* are so-called because they were first published in Paris by Henricus Valesius ¹ in 1636 from one manuscript, which is now in the Royal Library of Berlin (cod. Berolinensis, formerly cod. Philip, Meermanianus). It belongs to the ninth century, and is cited by Gardthausen as M, by Mommsen as B. The *Excerpts* were reprinted by Hadrian Valesius in his edition of Ammianus of 1681, and they have been published in several subsequent editions of the. historian (in Wagner-Erfurdt with a commentary) and in the *Chronica Minora I* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctorum Antiquissimorum, IX*) of Mommsen, p–11 (*Pars Prior*) and 306 ff. (*Pars Posterior*). They are translated by C. Büchele (see Vol. I, p. xlix). I know of no commentary in English, and no English translation.

The first part, composed about A.D. 390, is a biography of Constantine the Great from 305 to 337, under the title *Origo Constantini Imperatoris*. It is based upon good sources, and the anonymous author is regarded by Mommsen as “Ammiano neque aetate neque auctoritate inferior.” Although it corresponds to some extent with the account of Orosius, it is clear that it was not compiled from his History, although that work is often useful in determining the text.

Diocletian ruled with Herculus² Maximianus for twenty years.

[2] Constantius, ³ grandson of the brother of that best of emperors Claudius, ⁴ was first one of the emperor’s bodyguard, then a tribune, and later, governor of Dalmatia. ⁵ With Galerius he was appointed Caesar by Diocletian ⁶ ; for he put away his former wife Helena and married Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, by whom he afterwards had six children, ⁷ brothers of Constantine. But by his former wife Helena he already had a son Constantine, who was later the mightiest of emperors.

[2] This Constantine, then, born of Helena, a mother of very common origin, and brought up in the town of Naissus, ⁸ which he afterwards splendidly adorned, had but slight training in letters. ⁹ He was held as a hostage by Diocletian and Galerius, ¹⁰ and did valiant service under those emperors in Asia. After the abdication of Diocletian and Herculus, ¹¹ Constantius ¹² asked Galerius to return his son; but Galerius first exposed him to many dangers. [3] For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a

fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius. [4] Then at last Galerius sent him back to his father. But in order to avoid meeting Severus ¹³ as he passed through Italy, Constantine crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, ordering the post-horses to be killed ¹⁴ as he went on; and he came up with his father Constantius at Bononia, ¹⁵ which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But his father Constantius, after winning a victory over the Picts, died at York, and Constantine was unanimously hailed as Caesar by all the troops.

[5] In the meantime, two other Caesars had been appointed, ¹⁶ Severus and Maximinus; to Maximinus was given the rule of the Orient; Galerius retained Illyricum for himself, as well as the Thracian provinces and Bithynia; Severus received Italy and whatever Herculus had formerly governed. ¹⁷ [6] But after Constantius died in Britain, and his son Constantine succeeded him, Maxentius, the son of Herculus, was suddenly hailed as emperor by the praetorian soldiers in the city of Rome. By order of Galerius, Severus took the field against Maxentius, but he was suddenly deserted by all his followers and fled to Ravenna. Thereupon Galerius, with a great army, came against Rome, threatening the destruction of the city, and encamped at Interamna ¹⁸ near the Tiber. [7] Then he sent Licinius and Probus to the city as envoys, asking that the son-in-law, that is Maxentius, should attain his desires from the father-in-law, that is Galerius, at the price of requests rather than of arms. Galerius' proposal was scorned, and having learned that through Maxentius' promises many of his own men had been led to desert his cause, he was disturbed and turned back; and in order to furnish his men with whatever booty he could, he gave orders that the Flaminian Road should be plundered. ¹⁹ [8] Maximianus ²⁰ took refuge with Constantine. Then Galerius made Licinius a Caesar ²¹ in Illyricum, and after that, leaving him in Pannonia, returned himself to Serdica, where he was attacked by a violent disease and wasted away so completely, that he died with the inner parts of his body exposed and in a state of corruption ²² — a punishment for a most unjust persecution, ²³ which recoiled as a well-merited penalty upon the author of the iniquitous order. He ruled for nineteen years.

[9] Severus Caesar was low both in character and in origin, given to drink, and hence a friend to Galerius. Accordingly Galerius made Caesars of him and Maximinus, without Constantine having knowledge of any such step. To this Severus were assigned some cities of Pannonia, Italy, and Africa. Through this chance Maxentius became emperor; for Severus was deserted by his men and fled to Ravenna. [10] Summoned to support his son Maxentius, Herculus came to Ravenna, deceived Severus by a false oath, gave him into custody, and took him to Rome in the condition of a captive; there he had him

kept under guard in a villa belonging to the state, situated thirty miles from Rome on the Appian Road.^[24] When Galerius later went to Italy, Severus was executed; then his body was taken to a place eight miles from the city, and laid in the tomb of Gallienus.^[11] Now Galerius was such a tippler²⁵ that when he was drunk he gave orders such as ought not to be obeyed; and so, at the advice of his prefect, he directed that no one should execute any commands which he issued after luncheon.

[12] Meanwhile Constantine, after defeating the tyrant's²⁶ generals at Verona, went on to Rome. When he had reached the city, Maxentius came out and chose a plain²⁷ above the Tiber as the place to do battle. There the usurper was defeated, and when all his men were put to flight, he was prevented from escaping by the crowd of fugitives, thrown from his horse into the river, and drowned. On the following day his body was recovered from the Tiber, and the head was cut off and taken to Rome. When his mother was questioned about his parentage, she admitted that he was the son of a Syrian. He ruled for six years.²⁸

[13] Now Licinius was a native of New Dacia, and was of somewhat common origin. He was made emperor²⁹ by Galerius, in order that he might take the field against Maxentius. But when Maxentius was overthrown and Constantine had recovered Italy, he made Licinius his colleague on condition that he should marry Constantine's sister Constantia at Mediolanum. After the celebration of the wedding Constantine went to Gaul, and Licinius returned to Illyricum.^[14] Some time after that Constantine sent Constantius³⁰ to Licinius, to persuade him to confer the rank of Caesar on Bassianus, who was married to a second sister of Constantine (named Anastasia), to the end that, after the manner of Maximianus, Bassianus might hold Italy and thus stand as a buffer between Constantine and Licinius.^[15] But Licinius thwarted such an arrangement, and influenced by Bassianus' brother Senicio, who was loyal to Licinius, Bassianus took up arms against Constantine. But he was arrested in the act of accomplishing his purpose, and by order of Constantine was condemned and executed. When the punishment of Senicio was demanded as the instigator of the plot and Licinius refused, the harmony between the two emperors came to an end; an additional reason for the break was, that Licinius had overthrown the busts and statues of Constantine at Emona.³¹ Then the two emperors declared open war.^[16] Their armies were led to the plain of Cibalae.³² Licinius had 35,000 infantry and cavalry; Constantine commanded 20,000. After an indecisive contest, in which 20,000 of Licinius' foot soldiers and a part of his mail-clad horsemen were slain, he himself with a great part of his other cavalry made his escape under cover of night to Sirmium.^[17] From there, taking with him his wife, his son, and his treasures, he went to Dacia and appointed Valens, who was commander on the frontier, to the rank of Caesar. Then, having through Valens mustered a large force at Hadrianopolis, a city of Thrace, he sent envoys to Constantine, who had

established himself at Philippi, to treat for peace. When the envoys were sent back without accomplishing anything, the war was renewed and the two rivals joined battle on the plain of Mardia. After a long and indecisive struggle, the troops of Licinius gave way and night aided them to escape. [18] Thereupon Licinius and Valens, believing that Constantine (as turned out to be the case), in order to follow up his advantage, would advance farther in the direction of Byzantium, turned aside and made their way towards Beroea. ³³ As Constantine was eagerly pushing on, he learned that Licinius had remained behind him; and just then, when his men were worn out from fighting and marching, Mestrianus was sent to him as an envoy, to propose peace in the name of Licinius, who promised to do as he was bidden. Valens was ordered to return again to his former private station; ³⁴ when that was done, peace was concluded by both emperors, with the stipulation that Licinius should hold the Orient, Asia, Thrace, Moesia, and Lesser Scythia. ³⁵ [19] Then Constantine, having returned to Serdica, arranged with Licinius, who was elsewhere, that Crispus and Constantinus, sons of Constantine, and Licinius, son of Licinius, should be made Caesars, and that thus the rule should be carried on in harmony by both emperors. Thus Constantine and Licinius became colleagues in the consulship. ³⁶ [20] In the regions of the Orient, while Licinius and Constantine were consuls, Licinius was stirred by sudden madness and ordered that all the Christians should be driven from the Palace. ³⁷

Soon war flamed out again between Licinius himself and Constantine. [21] Also, when Constantine was at Thessalonica, the Goths broke through the neglected frontiers, devastated Thrace and Moesia, and began to drive off booty. Then because of fear of Constantine and his check of their attack they returned their prisoners to him and peace was granted them. But Licinius complained of this action as a breach of faith, on the ground that his function had been usurped by another. [22] Finally, by using sometimes humble entreaties and sometimes arrogant threats, he aroused the deserved wrath of Constantine. During the interval before the civil war began, but while it was in preparation, Licinius gave himself up to a frenzy of wickedness, cruelty, avarice and lust; he put many men to death for the sake of their riches, and violated their wives. [23] Now peace was broken by consent of both sides; Constantine sent Crispus Caesar with a large fleet to take possession of Asia, and on the side of Licinius, Amandus opposed him, likewise with naval forces. [24] Licinius himself had covered the slopes of a high mountain near Hadrianopolis with a huge army. Hither Constantine turned his march with his entire force. While the war went on slowly by land and sea, although Constantine's army had great difficulty in scaling the heights, at last his good fortune and the discipline of his army prevailed, and he defeated the confused and disorganised army of Licinius; ³⁸ but Constantine was slightly wounded in the thigh. [25] Then Licinius fled to Byzantium; and while his scattered forces were on the way to the city, Licinius closed it, and feeling secure against an attack by sea, planned to meet a siege from the land-side. But Constantine got

together a fleet from Thrace. Then Licinius, with his usual lack of consideration,³⁹ chose Martinianus as his Caesar. [26] But Crispus, with Constantine's fleet, sailed to Callipolis,⁴⁰ where in a sea-fight he so utterly defeated Amandus that the latter barely made his escape with the help of the forces which he had left on shore. But Licinius' fleet was in part destroyed and in part captured. [27] Licinius, abandoning hope on the sea, by way of which he saw that he would be blockaded, fled with his treasures to Chalcedon. Constantine entered Byzantium, where he met Crispus and learned of his naval victory. Then Licinius began a battle at Chrysopolis,⁴¹ being especially aided by the Gothic auxiliaries which their prince Alica had brought; whereupon the army of Constantine was victorious, slaying 25,000 soldiers⁴² of the opposing side and putting the rest to flight. [28] Later, when they saw Constantine's legions coming in Liburnian galleys, the survivors threw down their arms and gave themselves up. But on the following day Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, came to her brother's camp and begged that her husband's life be spared, which was granted. Thus Licinius became a private citizen,⁴³ and was entertained at a banquet by Constantine. Martinianus' life was also spared. [29] Licinius was sent to Thessalonica; but Constantine, influenced by the example of his father-in-law Herculius Maximianus,⁴⁴ for fear that Licinius might again, with disastrous consequences to the State, resume the purple which he had laid down, and also because the soldiers mutinously demanded his death, had him assassinated at Thessalonica,⁴⁵ and Martinianus in Cappadocia. Licinius reigned nineteen years and was survived by his wife and a son. And yet, after all the other participants in the abominable persecution⁴⁶ had already perished, the penalty he deserved would surely demand this man also, a persecutor so far as he could act as such.⁴⁷

[30] In commemoration of his splendid victory Constantine called Byzantium Constantinople after his own name; and as if it were his native city, he adorned it with great magnificence and wished to make it equal to Rome. Then he sought out new citizens for it from every quarter,⁴⁸ and lavished such wealth on the city, that thereon he all but exhausted the imperial fortunes. There he also established a senate⁴⁹ of the second rank, the members of which had the title of *clari*.⁵⁰ [31] Then he began war against the Goths, rendering aid also to the Sarmatians, who had appealed to him for help.⁵¹ The result was that almost a hundred thousand of the Goths were destroyed by hunger and cold through Constantinus Caesar.⁵² Then he also received hostages, among whom was Ariaricus, the king's son. [32] When peace with the Goths had thus been secured, Constantine turned against the Sarmatians, who were showing themselves to be of doubtful loyalty. But the slaves of the Sarmatians rebelled against all their masters⁵³ and drove them from the country. These Constantine willingly received, and distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through

Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy.

[33] Constantine was also the first Christian emperor, with the exception of Philipppus ⁵⁴ who seemed to me to have become a Christian merely in order that the one-thousandth year of Rome ⁵⁵ might be dedicated to Christ rather than to pagan idols. ⁵⁶ But from Constantine down to the present day all the emperors that have been chosen were Christians, with the exception of Julian, whose disastrous life forsook him in the midst of the impious plans which it was said that he was devising. [34] Moreover, Constantine made the change ⁵⁷ in a just and humane fashion; for he issued an edict that the temples should be closed without any shedding of pagan blood. Afterwards he destroyed the bravest and most populous of the Gothic tribes in the very heart of the barbarian territory; that is, in the lands of the Sarmatians.

[35] Constantine also put down a certain Calocaerus, ⁵⁸ who tried to achieve a revolution in Cyprus. He made Dalmatius, son of his brother of the same name, ⁵⁹ a Caesar; Dalmatius' brother Hannibalianus he created King of Kings and ruler of the Pontic tribes, ⁶⁰ after giving him his daughter Constantiana ⁶¹ in marriage. Then it was arranged that the younger Constantine should rule the Gallic provinces, Constantius Caesar the Orient, Constans Illyricum and Italy, while Dalmatius was to guard the Gothic coastline. ⁶² While Constantine was planning to make war on the Persians, he died in an imperial villa ⁶³ in the suburbs of Constantinople, not far from Nicomedia, leaving the State in good order to his sons. He was buried in Constantinople, after a reign of thirty-one years. ⁶⁴

NOTES.

¹ Henri de Valois.

² This name was conferred on Maximianus by Diocletian.

³ Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine, emperor 305–306.

⁴ Claudius II.; his mother was Claudia, daughter of Crispus, brother of Claudius II; cf. Eutr. ix. 22; Hieron. a. Abr. 2307.

⁵ Under the emperor Carus, who wished to make him Caesar in place of his own brother Carinus.

⁶ In 292.

⁷ Three sons: Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, and Hannibalianus; and three daughters: Constantia, Anastasia, and Eutropia.

⁸ In Moesia, on the river Margus; cf. xxi. 10, 5; modern Nis, in Yugoslavia.

⁹ *minus = minus iusto*, Tillemont iv, (Wagner).

¹⁰ To secure his father's loyalty.

¹¹ Maximianus (Herculius), in 305.

¹² Constantius Chlorus.

¹³ He had been appointed Caesar by Galerius; see 3, 5, below.

¹⁴ At each station, so that his pursuers could not use them; cf. Zos. ii. 8; Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Caesares*, 40, 2, *cum ad frustrandos insequentes publica iumenta quaquam iter egerat interficeret*; and for another meaning, Amm. xv. 1, 2.

¹⁵ Boulogne, cf. Amm. xx. 1, 3.

¹⁶ By Galerius.

¹⁷ He had governed Italy and Africa.

¹⁸ In Southern Umbria on the river Nar, just below its junction with the Velinus; modern Terni.

¹⁹ Text and meaning are uncertain. Apparently he went along the Flaminian Road; cf. Lact., *De Mort. Persec.* 27, 5, *dedit militibus potestatem ut diriperent omnia vel corrumpere, ut si quis insequi vellet, utensilia non haberet*.

²⁰ *Ille* seems to refer to Maximianus, who wished to resume his imperial power; if so, something is missing from the text.

- ²¹ Other writers imply that he was made an Augustus at once.
- ²² Cf. Oros. vii. 28, 12, *put rescente introrsum pectore et visceribus dissolutis*
- ²³ Of the Christians; cf. Lact., *De Mort. Persec.* 33; Eusebius, *Church Hist.* viii. 16, 3 ff.
- ²⁴ According to Zos. ii. 10, and Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 40, 3, it was at Tres Tabernae.
- ²⁵ Pseud.-Vict. 40, 19, makes this statement regarding Maxentius.
- ²⁶ Maxentius, called “tyrant” because his sovereignty was not officially recognised.
- ²⁷ Saxa Rubra, near the Mulvian Bridge.
- ²⁸ The number is lacking in the text, but is known from the Panegyrics of Constantine and other sources. It was from 306–312.
- ²⁹ I.e., Augustus; see Introd. to Vol. I, p. xxv. He seems never to have been a Caesar.
- ³⁰ His son, the future emperor, Constantius II.
- ³¹ Modern Laibach in Carinthia.
- ³² Cf. Amm. xxx. 7, 2.
- ³³ A town of Thrace; cf. Amm. xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 9, 1.
- ³⁴ “Private” here means “not royal”; cf. Lucan, v. 666 ff.; *quamvis plenus honorum et dictator earn Stygias et consul ad umbras, privatum, Fortuna, mori.*
- ³⁵ This was at the time a part of Moesia.
- ³⁶ In 319.
- ³⁷ Orosius uses the same language.
- ³⁸ 324 A.D.
- ³⁹ I.e., without consulting Constantine; cf. § 9, above.
- ⁴⁰ Modern Gallipoli, on the Hellespont.
- ⁴¹ Modern Scutari, opposite Constantinople.
- ⁴² For this meaning of *armati*, cf. Amm. xv. 4, 8; xxvi. 1, 6.
- ⁴³ See note 1, on 5, 18, above.
- ⁴⁴ See note 4, on § 8 above. The second wife of Constantine’s father was a daughter of Maximianus; see 1, 2, above.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. Eutr. x. 6, 1, *contra religionem sacramenti privatus occisus est.*

⁴⁶ Of the Christians; see § 8, note 1, above.

⁴⁷ That is, as subordinate to Galerius (see § 8, *Caesarem fecit*), who was the leader in the persecution (§ 8, *auctorem*).

⁴⁸ Hieronymus says that he nearly depopulated the other cities of the empire.

⁴⁹ According to Zos. iii. 2, Julian established a senate at Constantinople; see Amm. xxii. 9, 2, and cf. *Paneg. Lat.* xi. 24 (*Gratiarum actio Juliana*), *cum Senatui non solum veterem reddideris dignitatem, sed plurimum etiam novi honoris adieceris*.

⁵⁰ The Roman senators were *clarissimi*.

⁵¹ In 334.

⁵² The son of Constantine the Great, afterwards Constantinus II; see § 19, above.

⁵³ The Limigantes; see Amm., xvii. 13, 1; xvii. 12, 18 ff.

⁵⁴ Philip, the Arab, emperor from 244 to 249.

⁵⁵ The one-thousandth year since the founding of the city.

⁵⁶ The words are those of Orosius, vii. 28.

⁵⁷ From the pagan to the Christian religion.

⁵⁸ He was a camel-driver.

⁵⁹ See 2, 2, note 6, above.

⁶⁰ See Amm. xiv. 1, 2, note 2.

⁶¹ This was Constantia, wrongly called Constantina in xiv. 11, 22 and elsewhere, afterwards wife of Gallus Caesar.

⁶² The name *Gothica ripa* was applied at that time to Thrace, Macedonia and Achaia

⁶³ The place where he died was called *Ancyrona* or *Anchyro* or *Anchyronis*, Hieron., *Chronica*, ann. Abr. 2353 (*T.L.L.*).

⁶⁴ From the death of Constantius Chlorus, in 306, to 337.

The Anonymus Valesianus, latter part: The History of King Theodoric ¹

[36] Now during the reign of Zeno Augustus ² at Constantinople, the patrician ³ Nepos came to the Port of the city of Rome, ⁴ deposed Glycerius, ⁵ who was made a bishop, while Nepos himself became emperor at Rome. Presently Nepos came ⁶ to Ravenna; he was followed by the patrician Orestes with an army, ⁷ and in fear of his coming Nepos embarked on board a ship and fled to Salona, ⁸ where he remained for five years; but later he was slain by his own men. Soon after Nepos left Rome Augustulus was made emperor and ruled for ten years.

[37] Augustulus, ⁹ who was called Romulus by his parents before he mounted the throne, was made emperor by his father, the patrician Orestes. Then Odoacar made his appearance with a force of Sciri ¹⁰ and killed the patrician Orestes at Placentia, and his brother Paulus at the Pine Grove, ¹¹ outside the Classis ¹² at Ravenna. [38] Then he entered Ravenna, deposed Augustulus from his throne, but in pity for his tender years, granted him his life; and because of his beauty he also gave him an income of six thousand gold-pieces ¹³ and sent him to Campania, ¹⁴ to live there a free man with his relatives. Now his father Orestes was a Pannonian, who joined with Attila at the time when he came to Rome, and was made his secretary, a position from which he had advanced to the rank of patrician.

[39] Then, after Zeno was made emperor by his son Leo, ¹⁵ who was the offspring of the daughter of Leo the Great, Ariagne by name, he reigned for a year with his son Leo, and it was through Leo's merit that Zeno retained his power. But after sharing the rule with his son for one year, Zeno was emperor for fourteen years more; he was an Isaurian of high rank, trained to arms, and worthy to receive an emperor's daughter in marriage. [40] It is said of him that he was of even superhuman speed as a swift runner, ¹⁶ since his kneepans were not attached to his knees, but moved freely. In the administration of the State he was in general most wise, but inclined to favour his own people. ¹⁷

[41] A plot was made against him by Basiliscus, himself a senator of high distinction. ¹⁸ As soon as Zeno learned of the plot, he took some of his wealth and went to Isauria. But soon after his departure Basiliscus, who, as was said, was plotting against him, seized upon the imperial power.

[42] Basiliscus ruled for two years. Zeno strengthened the Isaurians within the province; then he sent to the city of Nova, ¹⁹ where Theodoric, the general of the Goths and son of Walamericus, was stationed, and invited him to render him relief against Basiliscus. Then he came back ²⁰ to Constantinople after two years, brought an attacking force against the city, and laid siege to it. [43]

But because the senate and people feared Zeno, to prevent the city from suffering any harm they deserted Basiliscus, opened the gates, and all surrendered to Zeno. Basiliscus fled to a church and took refuge within the baptistery with his wife and his sons. After Zeno had given him a pledge confirmed by oath that his blood would not be shed,^[21] he came out and was shut up with his wife and children in a dry cistern,^[22] where they all died of cold.^[44] Zeno remembered the affection felt for him by the senate and people; and therefore showed himself so generous to all that he earned the gratitude of every one. He upheld so well the senate and people of Rome, that statues were even erected to him in various parts of the city. His times were peaceful.

[45] Odoacar, of whom we have made mention above,^[23] presently deposed Augustulus from the rule and was made king; he remained on the throne for thirteen years. His father was named Edico,^[24] and Odoacar is also mentioned in the books^[25] on *The Life of Saint Severinus*, a Pannonian monk, who gave him advice and predicted his future royal power.^[46] In that place you find the following words: “When some barbarians^[26] were on their way to Italy, they turned aside and went to Severinus’ abode with a view to earning his benediction; among them also came Odoacar, who afterwards ruled in Italy, a youth of tall stature, but very poorly clad; and when he bowed his head, in order that it might not touch the roof of the very low cell, he learned from the man of God that he would attain glory. And as Odoacar bade him farewell, Severinus said: ‘Go on to Italy; go on, now clad in paltry skins, but soon to be able to give great gifts to many ‘.’”^[47] Meanwhile, as the servant of God had predicted to him, as soon as Odoacar entered Italy he received the royal power. At that same time, after becoming king, Odoacar recalled the prophecy which he had heard from the holy man, and at once addressed to him a friendly letter, “wherein he respectfully offered to grant his wish, should he think there was anything worth while to ask. Accordingly the man of God, encouraged by so cordial a letter of the king, asked for the pardon of a certain Ambrosius, who was living in exile, and Odoacar gratefully granted his request.”

[48] After that, King Odoacar made war on the Rugi,^[27] and in a second campaign vanquished and utterly destroyed them. Then, since he was a man of good intentions and favoured the Arian^[28] sect, “it happened that once, when in the presence of the holy man many nobles, as often happens, were praising and flattering the said king, as men will do, he asked what king they had extolled with such high commendations. And when they replied ‘Odoacar,’ he said ‘Odoacar is safe for between thirteen and fourteen years,’ thus, of course, indicating the years of his safe reign.”

[49] Zeno accordingly rewarded Theodoric for his support, made him a patrician^[29] and a consul, gave him a great sum of money, and sent him to Italy. Theodoric stipulated with him, that if Odoacar should be vanquished, in

return for his own labours in Odoacar's place he should rule in his stead only until the arrival of Zeno. Therefore, when the patrician Theodoric came from the city of Nova with the Gothic people, he was sent by the emperor Zeno from the regions of the Orient, in order to defend Italy for him.

[50] As Theodoric was on his way, Odoacar met him at the river Sontius,³⁰ engaged in battle with him there, and was defeated and put to flight; he withdrew to Verona, and on the 27th of September made a fortified camp on a plain of moderate extent before the city. Theodoric followed him there, and joined battle with him; numbers fell on both sides: Odoacar, however, was overcome, and on the 30th of September fled to Ravenna.

[51] Theodoric the patrician went on to Mediolanum, and the most of Odoacar's army surrendered to him, including Tufa, his general-in-chief, whom Odoacar had appointed, along with his other high officials, on the 1st of April. In that same year Tufa, the commanding general, was sent by Theodoric to Ravenna against Odoacar. [52] Tufa came to Faventia,³¹ and with the army with which he had been sent besieged Odoacar. The latter left Ravenna and came to Faventia, where Tufa handed over to him the high officers of the patrician Theodoric, who were put in irons and taken to Ravenna.

[53] The consulship of Faustus and Longinus.³² When these were consuls, King Odoacar marched out from Cremona and went to Mediolanum. Then the Visigoths came to the help of Theodoric, and a battle was fought on the 11th of August on the bank of the river Addua,³³ where many fell on both sides; Pierius, commander of the household troops, was slain, and Odoacar fled to Ravenna. The patrician Theodoric soon followed him, came to the Pine Grove,³⁴ and made a camp there; then he kept Odoacar in a state of siege for three years in Ravenna, where the value of a modius of wheat rose to the price of six gold-pieces.³⁵ And Theodoric sent Festus, the head of the senate,³⁶ as an envoy to the emperor Zeno, hoping to be invested by him with the royal robe.

[54] The consulship³⁷ of Olybrius, *vir clarissimus*. In his consulship King Odoacar sallied forth from Ravenna by night, entered into the Pine Grove with the Heruli, and attacked the fortified camp of the patrician Theodoric. The losses were great on both sides, and Levila, Odoacar's commander-in-chief, fled and lost his life in the river Bedens³⁸; Odoacar was defeated and fled to Ravenna on the 15th of July. Then Odoacar was forced to give his son Thelanes to Theodoric as a hostage, first receiving a pledge that his blood would be spared.³⁹ [55] So Theodoric entered Ravenna, and after several days Odoacar laid a snare for him: but Theodoric discovered him in the palace and forestalled him, then caught him off his guard and with his own hand slew him with a sword as he was coming into the Laurel Grove.⁴⁰ [56] On the same day, all of Odoacar's army who could be found anywhere were killed by order of Theodoric, as well as all of his family. This same year the emperor Zeno died at Constantinople, and Anastasius was made emperor.

[57] Now Theodoric had sent Faustus Niger as an envoy to Zeno. But when the news of the latter's death came, before the envoy returned, but after Theodoric had entered Ravenna and killed Odoacar, the Goths, without waiting for the command of the new emperor, made Theodoric their king. [58] For he was a most brave and warlike man, whose father, Walamir, was called King of the Goths; but Theodoric was his natural son; his mother was called in Gothic Ereriliva, ⁴¹ but being a Catholic received at her baptism the name Eusebia. [59] Hence Theodoric was a man of great distinction and of good-will towards all men, and he ruled for thirty-three years. In his times Italy for thirty years enjoyed such good fortune that his successors also inherited peace. [60] For whatever he did was good. He so governed two races at the same time, Romans and Goths, that although he himself was of the Arian ⁴² sect, he nevertheless made no assault on the Catholic religion; he gave games in the circus and the amphitheatre, so that even by the Romans he was called a Trajan or a Valentinian, whose times he took as a model; and by the Goths, because of his edict, in which he established justice, he was judged to be in all respects their best king. Military service for the Romans he kept on the same footing as under the emperors. He was generous with gifts and the distribution of grain, and although he had found the public treasury nothing but a haystack, ⁴³ by his efforts it was restored and made rich.

[61] Although untrained in letters, he was nevertheless so wise that even now some of his sayings are regarded among the people as aphorisms, and for that reason I am glad to place on record a few out of many. He said, "One who has gold and a demon cannot hide the demon." Also, "A poor Roman plays the Goth, a rich ⁴⁴ Goth the Roman."

[62] A certain man died, leaving a wife and a little son who did not know his mother. Her son, when a small boy, was taken from her by some one, carried to another province, and there brought up. When he became a youth, he somehow returned to his mother, who had now become betrothed to another man. When the mother saw her son, she embraced him, thanking God that she had seen her son again, and he lived with her for a month. And behold! the mother's betrothed came, and seeing the young man, asked who he was. She replied that he was her son. But when her betrothed learned that the youth was her son, he began to ask the return of the earnest-money ⁴⁵ and to say: "Either deny that he is your son, or I certainly depart hence." The mother yielded to her betrothed and began to deny her son, whom she herself had before acknowledged, saying: "Leave my house, young man, since I took you up as a stranger." But he kept saying that he had come back to his mother and to the house of his father. To make a long story short, while this was going on the son appealed against his mother to the king, who ordered her to appear before him. And he said to her: "Woman, your son appeals against you; what have you to say? Is he your son, or not?" She replied: "He is not my son, but I took him up as a stranger." And when the woman's son had told the whole story in

order to the king, he again said to the woman: "Is he your son, or not?" She said: "He is not my son." The king said to her: "How much property have you, woman?" She replied: "As much as a thousand gold-pieces." And when the king declared with an oath that he would not make anyone else than the young man himself her husband, and that she should receive no other husband, then the woman was disconcerted and confessed that the young man was her son.⁴⁶ And there are many other things told of the king.

[63] Afterwards Theodoric took to wife⁴⁷ a Frankish woman named Augoflada. For before he began to reign he had a wife,⁴⁸ who had borne him daughters. One of these, called Areaagni, he gave in marriage in Gaul to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and another daughter of his, Theodegotha, to Sigismund, son of King Gundebadus.⁴⁹ [64] Theodoric, through Festus, made peace with the emperor Anastasius with regard to his assumption of the rule, and Anastasius sent back to him all the ornaments of the Palace, which Odoacar had transferred to Constantinople.

[65] At that same time a dispute arose in the city of Rome between Symmachus and Laurentius;⁵⁰ for both had been consecrated. But through God's ordinance Symmachus, who also deserved it, got the upper hand. After peace was made in the city of the Church, King Theodoric went to Rome⁵¹ and met Saint Peter with as much reverence as if he himself were a Catholic. The Pope Symmachus, and the entire senate and⁵² people of Rome amid general rejoicing met him outside the city. [66] Then coming to Rome and entering it, he appeared in the senate, and addressed the people at The Palm,⁵³ promising that with God's help he would keep inviolate whatever the former Roman emperors had decreed.

[67] In celebration of his *tricennalia*⁵⁴ he entered the Palace in a triumphal procession for the entertainment of the people, and exhibited games in the Circus for the Romans. To the Roman people and to the poor of the city he gave each year a hundred and twenty thousand measures of grain, and for the restoration of the Palace and⁵⁵ the rebuilding of the walls of the city he ordered two hundred pounds to be given each year from the chest that contained the tax on wine. [68] He also gave his own sister Amalafriгда in marriage to Transimundus, king of the Vandals. Liberius, whom he had appointed praetorian prefect at the beginning of his reign, he made a patrician, and appointed for him a successor.⁵⁶ Now his successor in the administration of the prefecture was Theodorus, son of Basilus. Odoin, his general, made a plot against the king. [69] When Theodoric learned of it, he had Odoin beheaded in the palace which is called the Sessorium.⁵⁷ At the request of the people he gave orders that the words of the promise which he had made to them should be inscribed upon a bronze tablet and set up in a public place.

[70] Then returning to Ravenna, five months later, he gave Amalabirga, another sister of his,⁵⁸ in marriage to Herminifred, king of the Turingi, and in that way gained peace with all the nations round about. He was besides a lover of building and restorer of cities. [71] At Ravenna he repaired the

aqueduct which the emperor Trajan had constructed, and thus brought water into the city after a long time. He completely finished the palace, but did not dedicate it. He completed the colonnades around the palace. He also built baths and a palace at Verona, and added a colonnade extending all the way from the gate to the Palace; besides that, he restored the aqueduct at Verona, which had long since been destroyed, and brought water into the city, as well as ⁵⁹ surrounding ⁶⁰ the city with new walls. Also at Ticinum ⁶¹ he built a palace, baths, and an amphitheatre, besides ⁶² new city walls.

[72] He also showed many favours to the other cities. And he so won the good-will of the neighbouring nations, that they offered to make treaties with him, in the hope that he would be their king. Indeed, merchants flocked to him from the various provinces, for his organization was such that if anyone wished to send consignments of gold or silver in his domain, it was deemed as good as if he were within the walls of a city. [73] And he followed this principle so fully throughout all Italy, that he gave no city a gate; and where there were already gates, they were never shut; and every one could carry on his business at whatever hour he chose, as if it were in daylight. In his time sixty measures of wheat were bought for a single gold-piece, ⁶³ and thirty amphorae of wine for the same price.

[74] Now at that same time the emperor Anastasius had three grandsons, namely, Pompeius, Probus, and Hypatius. Considering which one of them he should make his successor, he invited them to have luncheon with him one day, and after luncheon to take their midday siesta within the palace, where he had a couch prepared for each of them. Under the pillow on one couch he ordered the symbol of royalty to be put, and decided that whichever of them chose that couch for his nap, in him he ought to recognise the one to whom he should later turn over the rule. One of the grandsons threw himself down on one couch, but the other two, from brotherly affection, took their places together on another, and so it happened that none of them slept on the couch where the emblem of royalty had been placed. [75] When Anastasius saw this, he began to ponder, and learning from it that none of them should rule, he began to pray to God that He would show him a sign, so that while he still lived he might know who should receive the royal power after his death. While he was considering the question with fasting and prayer, one night in a dream he saw a man, who advised him as follows: "The person whose arrival shall first be announced to you tomorrow in your bedroom will be the one to receive your throne after you." [76] Now it chanced that Justinus, who was commander of the watch, on coming to a place whither he had been directed to go ⁶⁴ by the emperor, was the first to be announced to him by his head-chamberlain. And when the king knew this, he began to thank God for having decided to reveal to him who his successor should be.

[77] These words ⁶⁵ he kept to himself, but one day, when the emperor was in a procession, and Justinus wished to pass along quickly on one side of the

emperor, in order to put his followers in line, he trod on the emperor's cloak. [78] But the emperor only said to him: "What is your hurry?"⁶⁶ Then in the last days of his reign the devil tempted him, wishing him to follow the Eunomian sect;⁶⁷ but the people of the faith checked him and even cried out to him in the church: "You shall not hurl your puny lance against the Trinity." Not long afterwards Anastasius was taken ill and confined to his bed in the city of Constantinople, and ended his last day.

[79] Now King Theodoric was without training in letters, and of such dull comprehension that for ten years of his reign he had been wholly unable to learn the four letters necessary for endorsing his edicts. For that reason he had a golden plate with slits made, containing the four letters "legi";⁶⁸ then, if he wished to endorse anything, he placed the plate over the paper and drew his pen through the slits, so that only this subscription of his was seen.⁶⁹

[80] Then Theodoric made Eutharicus⁷⁰ consul and celebrated triumphs at Rome and at Ravenna. This Eutharicus was an excessively rough man, and an enemy to the Catholic faith. [81] After this, while Theodoric was remaining at Verona through fear of the neighbouring peoples, strife arose between the Christians and the Jews of the city of Ravenna; accordingly the Jews, being unwilling to be baptised, often in sport threw the holy water that was offered to them into the water of the river. Because of this the people were fired with anger, and without respect for the king, for Eutharicus, or for Peter, who was bishop at the time, they rose against the synagogues and presently set them on fire. And this same thing happened in a similar affair at Rome.

[82] Presently the Jews hastened to Verona, where the king was, and there the head-chamberlain Triwane acted on their behalf; he, too, as a heretic favoured the Jews, and cajoled the king into taking action against the Christians. Accordingly Theodoric, on the presumption that they had resorted to arson, presently gave orders that the whole Roman⁷¹ population should furnish money for the rebuilding of the synagogues of Ravenna which had been burned; and that those who did not have anything from which they could give should be whipped⁷² through the streets of the city while a herald made proclamation of their offence. This was in substance the order given to Eutharicus, Cilliga, and the Bishop Peter, and thus it was carried out.

[83] Shortly after that the devil found an opportunity to steal for his own a man who was ruling the state well and without complaint. For presently Theodoric gave orders that an oratory of St. Stephen, that is, a high altar, beside the springs in a suburb of the city of Verona, should be destroyed. He also forbade any Roman to carry arms, except a small pen-knife. [84] Also a poor woman of the Gothic race, lying in a colonnade not far from the palace at Ravenna, gave birth to four snakes; two of these in the sight of the people were carried up on clouds from west to east and then fell into the sea; the two others, which had but a single head, were taken away. A star with a train of fire appeared, of the kind called a comet,⁷³ and shone for fifteen days. There

were frequent earthquakes.

[85] After this the king began from time to time, when he found an opportunity, to vent his rage upon the Romans. Cyprianus, who was then a referee, ⁷⁴ afterwards count of the privy purse and a master, ⁷⁵ was led by avarice to make a charge against the patrician Albinus, to the effect that he had sent to the emperor Justinus a letter hostile to Theodoric's rule. When Albinus was summoned and denied this, the patrician Boethius, who was master of ceremonies, said in the king's presence: "The charge of Cyprianus is false, but if Albinus did that, so also have I and the whole senate with one accord done it; it is false, my Lord King." [86] Then Cyprianus, after some hesitation, produced false witnesses, not only against Albinus, but against his defender Boethius. Moreover, the king was plotting evil against the Romans and seeking an opportunity for killing them; hence he trusted the false witnesses rather than the senators. [87] Then Albinus and Boethius were imprisoned in the baptistery of a church. And the king summoned Eusebius, prefect of the city, to Ticinum, and pronounced sentence on Boethius without giving him a hearing. Presently at the Calventian estate, ⁷⁶ where Boethius was confined, ⁷⁷ he had him put to a wretched death. He was tortured for a long time with a cord bound about his forehead so tightly that his eyes cracked in their sockets, and finally, while under torture, he was beaten to death with a cudgel.

[88] Then the king, on his return to Ravenna, acted no longer as a friend of God, but as an enemy to His law; forgetful of all His kindness and of the favour which He had shown him, trusting to his own arm, believing, too, that the emperor Justinus stood in great fear of him, he sent and summoned to Ravenna Johannes, ⁷⁸ who at that time sat upon the apostolic throne, and said to him: "Go to the emperor Justinus in Constantinople, and tell him among other things to restore ⁷⁹ those who have become reconciled and joined the Catholic Church." [89] To him the Pope Johannes replied: "What you will do, O king, do quickly. Lo! here I stand before you. But this thing I will not promise you to do, nor will I give the emperor your command. But anything else which you may enjoin upon me with God's help I shall be able to obtain from him." [90] Thereupon the king in anger gave orders that a ship should be built, and that Johannes should be embarked on it with the other bishops; that is, Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fanum Fortunae, ⁸⁰ Sabinus of Campania, and two others; and with them the senators Theodorus, Importunus, and Agapitus, with another Agapitus. But God, who does not desert his faithful worshippers, conducted them in safety. [91] The emperor Justinus received the Roman bishop on his arrival as he would have received Saint Peter, gave him audience, and promised that he would do everything that was asked, except that those who had become reconciled and returned to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians. ⁸¹

[92] But while all this was going on, Symmachus, the head of the senate,

whose daughter Boethius had married, was brought from Rome to Ravenna. There the king, fearing that through resentment at the death of his son-in-law, ⁸² Symmachus might take some step in opposition to his rule, ordered him to be put to death under a false accusation. ^[93] Then Pope Johannes returned from Justinus; Theodoric received him in a hostile spirit, and ordered him to be deemed as one of his enemies; a few days later Johannes died. When the people were marching before his dead body, suddenly one of the crowd was possessed by a devil and fell down; but when they had come, with the coffin in which Johannes was carried, to the place where the stricken man lay, he suddenly got up sound and well and took his place in the front of the funeral procession. When the people and the senators beheld this, they began to take relics ⁸³ from the Pope's garments. Then the body was escorted out of the city attended by the great rejoicing of the people.

^[94] Then Symmachus, an advocate ⁸⁴ and a Jew, at the order of a tyrant rather than a king, announced on an appointed day, which was a Wednesday, the 26th of August, in the fourth indiction, ⁸⁵ under the consulship of Olybrius, ⁸⁶ that on the following Sabbath the Arians ⁸⁷ would take possession of the Catholic churches. ^[95] But He who does not allow his faithful worshippers to be oppressed by unbelievers soon brought upon Theodoric the same punishment that Arius, the founder of his religion, had suffered; for the king was seized with a diarrhea, and after three days of open bowels lost both his throne and his life on the very same day on which he rejoiced to attack the churches. ⁸⁸ ^[96] But before breathing his last he named his grandson Athalaric as his successor. During his lifetime he had made himself a mausoleum ⁸⁹ of squared blocks of stone, a work of extraordinary size, and sought out a huge rock to place upon it.

NOTES.

¹ For other titles see Introduction; for spelling, Preface.

² Emperor of the East, 474–491.

³ See Vol. I, Introduction, p. xxviii; at this time *a patricius* outranked a praetorian prefect.

⁴ Portus Augusti, modern Porto; see Index I, Vol. I.

⁵ Emperor of the West, 473–474. Nepos forced him to become a priest, and soon after that he was made a — bishop at Salona. Julius Nepos was emperor from 474 to 475.

⁶ The present participle in this writer is often used as a finite verb.

⁷ Nepos had given him command of the troops in Gaul.

⁸ Or Salona (Caes., *B.C.* iii. 9, 1 f.), a Dalmatian seaport; modern Split (formerly Spalato) in Yugoslavia.

⁹ His title Augustus was changed to Augustulus in mockery of, or perhaps because of, his youth.

¹⁰ See Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 97, and note 1, ; they served as mercenaries in the Roman army, but revolted.

¹¹ *Pineta* is a late form for *Pinetum*.

¹² Classes, or Classis, was a part of Ravenna near the harbour of the praetorian fleet.

¹³ See Amm. xx. 4, 18, note 5.

¹⁴ Cf. Jordanes, 46, in *Lucullano Campaniae castello exilii poena damnavit*.

¹⁵ Leo the Thracian, also called Leo the Great, having no son, named his son-in-law Zeno as his successor. Since the people of Constantinople did not approve the choice, Leo associated with himself his grandson Leo, who survived him a few months only.

¹⁶ Cf. Amm. xxi. 16, 19, of Constantius. Here Wagner has the pertinent note: *rem ipsam ut admissuri sint Anatomici, vehementer vereor*. The author must mean his kneepans were not fixed to the knees, but moved easily.

- ¹⁷ The Isaurians.
- ¹⁸ He was the brother of Varina, the widow of Leo the Great.
- ¹⁹ In Moesia on the Danube.
- ²⁰ See § 36, note 9, where we have a sure example; sometimes, as here, the use is less obvious, though probable.
- ²¹ An evasive way of pretending to spare his life, which was kept in the letter, but not in the spirit.
- ²² According to others, in a fortress of Cappadocia.
- ²³ 8, 37.
- ²⁴ Jordanes calls him Edeko.
- ²⁵ These are still extant.
- ²⁶ They were Goths.
- ²⁷ Living in what was in modern times Austria and Moravia.
- ²⁸ The correct spelling is Arian, from Arius, but the *ignotus auctor*, as well as some other late writers, spelled it Arrius, after the analogy of numerous Roman gentile names (*T.L.L.* ii. 507, 59). It seems best to use Arrius in the text. Arius in the translation. On his sect, see note, .
- ²⁹ See § 36, note 3.
- ³⁰ The modern Isonzo.
- ³¹ A town of Gallia Cispadana on the via Aenmilia, modern Faenza.
- ³² 490.
- ³³ A large river of Gallia Transpadana, flowing through Lake Larius (Como) into the Po, modern Adda.
- ³⁴ See § 37, note 3.
- ³⁵ See Amm. xx. 4, 18, note 5.
- ³⁶ That is, prefect of the city.
- ³⁷ 491.

³⁸ Also called Bidens, the modern Bedese, or Ronco.

³⁹ See § 43, note 6. Here neither spirit nor letter was kept.

⁴⁰ Apparently in, or near, Ravenna; cf. *Pinetam*, and see § 57, below, which implies that Theodoric killed Odoacar in Ravenna. According to A. Sleumer, *Kirchenlatein. Wörterbuch* (1926), s.v., Lauretum was a city near Ancona, but he does not cite this passage.

⁴¹ Jordanes calls her Erelieva. With *Gothica sc. lingua*.

⁴² See note on § 94 (), and for spelling, on § 48.

⁴³ Literally, “consisting of hay”; i.e. he found nothing there but hay; cf. Catull. 13, 7 f., *Catulli plenus sacculus est araneorum*.

⁴⁴ For this meaning of *utilis*, cf. Gregory of Tours, iv. 3, and *passim*. The rich Goth imitates the luxury of the wealthy Romans.

⁴⁵ As his part of the agreement of betrothal; *arra* is derived from a Hebrew word.

⁴⁶ Suet., *Claud.* 15, 2, tells a similar story of Claudius.

⁴⁷ *accepta uxore* is perhaps an example of the participle as a finite verb.

⁴⁸ Her name was Ermenberga.

⁴⁹ Jordanes mentions two natural daughters, Theudigotha and Ostrogotha, who also were married.

⁵⁰ About the bishopric.

⁵¹ In the year 500.

⁵² *vel* often has the force of *et* in late Latin; cf. Dracontius, *Satisfactio*, 229 and 257; it has nearly, if not quite, that force in Virg., *Aen.* vi. 769, *pariter pietate vel armis egregius*.

⁵³ A name apparently used from the fifth or sixth century for the area at Rome lying between the Curia and the arch of Septimius Severus; undoubtedly the same as the Palma Aurea of Fulgentius, *Acta S. Fulgenti*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, i., ch. 13, Jan.

⁵⁴ Theodoric was in the eighth year of his reign and the Decennalia were sometimes celebrated ahead of time. Hadr. Valesius proposed to read *decennalem* for *tricennalem*.

⁵⁵ *seu* perhaps = *et*; see note 1.

⁵⁶ A promotion; see § 36, note 6.

⁵⁷ A building of unknown origin, situated at the extreme south-east of the Fifth Region, adjoining the Amphitheatrum Castrense. After the part outside the Aurelian wall was destroyed, the extensive inner section became an imperial residence by the beginning of the fourth century, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, lived there.

⁵⁸ Others call her his niece.

⁵⁹ For this use of *alius* see *Class. Phil.* xxiii. (1928), p ff., and for its use in Ammianus, *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* lvii. (1936), p ff.

⁶⁰ *circuit*, late Latin for *circumdedi*.

⁶¹ Modern Pavia.

⁶² See note 2.

⁶³ Cf. 11, 53.

⁶⁴ *Or*: arriving when he had been summoned . . .

⁶⁵ *Of* the man seen in his dream, see § 75.

⁶⁶ Thus implying that Justinus would succeed him.

⁶⁷ The followers of Eunomius, a native of Cappadocia (died about 392). He became Bishop of Cyzicus, and was an extreme Arian.

⁶⁸ "I have read (it)." Or perhaps θεοδ; see *regis*, crit. note 2, and supply *nominis*.

⁶⁹ The same story is told by Procopius, *Anecdota*, 6, 15, of the emperor Justinus.

⁷⁰ He was the king's son-in-law, husband of Amalasuntha.

⁷¹ The Gothic population was not included, since they had taken no part in the burning.

⁷² The form *frustati* for *fustati* occurs in the edict *Langob. Luitpr.* ch. 141, *facit eas decalvari et frustari per vicos vicinantes* (Mommsen, who reads it here, with B).

⁷³ See Amm. xxv. 10, 2 ff.

⁷⁴ See Index II, Vol. I.

⁷⁵ Perhaps *magister militum*.

⁷⁶ Apparently named from an otherwise unrecorded CCalventius, modern Calvenzeno.

⁷⁷ The sentence of death had been changed to exile.

⁷⁸ The first Roman pope of that name, successor to Hormisdas.

⁷⁹ To the Arians; see note 1, § 94, .

⁸⁰ On the Metaurus river, in Umbria; cf. Tac., *Hist.* iii. 50. Also called Fanum, Caes., *B.C.* i. 11, 4 (modern Fano) and Colonia Julia Fanestris; cf. Mela, ii. 4, 64; Dessau, *Inscr.* 6651, 6652; *C.I.L.* xi, 6238, 6240.

⁸¹ See note 1.

⁸² Boethius; see 85–87, above.

⁸³ Cf. Amm. xxii. 11, 10.

⁸⁴ At this time called *scholasticus*.

⁸⁵ When the price of grain at Rome seemed likely to rise too high, contributions of grain were demanded of the provinces in addition to the regular tribute. These were called *annonae* (Dig. xxvi. 7, 32, 6), *indictiones temporariae* (Dig. xxxiii. 2, 28) or *indictiones* (Pliny, *Paneg.* 29). Their scope was extended in the fourth century and regulated by a census of 289. Diocletian made them annual, and after 297 held a new census, to be repeated every five years, and combined every three census-periods into a fifteen-year cycle, counting the years from one to fifteen and then beginning again. This arrangement was wrongly said to have begun in 312, for papyrus receipts show that the cycle began in 297 — 298, coinciding with Diocletian's stay in Egypt, when he personally conducted the siege of Alexandria, which ended early in 297 (Eutr. ix. 23). The fifteen-year cycle probably had some connection with Egypt. Augustus, or at latest Tiberius, established a rating there every fourteen years, because the fourteenth year was the end of puberty and the beginning of liability to taxation. The system was extended from Egypt to other provinces before the middle of the fourth century. In Italy the cycle began on September 1st (Ambros. *Noë et area* 17, 60, Migne, 14, 390, *a Septembri mense annus videatur incipere, sicut indictionum praesentium usus ostendit*). An inscr. of 552 gives August 11th as *in fine ind(ictionis) xv.*, De

Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. urbis Romae*, I. 979; and it was the same for the greater part (if not the whole) of the empire. September 1st was chosen as nearest to the beginning of the month in Egypt (Aug. 29). The *indictiones* were used as a means of dating in 307, at first in Egypt. In other provinces first in 359. In Italy first about 380 (Seeck in Pauly-Wiss., ix. (1916), 1327 ff.

⁸⁶ See 11, 54, note 3.

⁸⁷ A sect founded by Arius, an elder of Alexandria in the fourth century. He held that the Son was created by the Father, and subordinate to the Father, although possessing a similar nature; thus he practically denied the divinity of Christ. Although this doctrine was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325, it nevertheless had many adherents for a long time thereafter. On the spelling, see note on § 48, above.

⁸⁸ A.D. 526.

⁸⁹ This is still in existence at Ravenna, although stripped of its external decorations.

The Latin Text



The walls of Amida, built by Constantius II before the Siege of Amida of 359 — Ammianus served under Ursicinus and they were sent to the East twice. On one occasion Ammianus was separated from Ursicinus and took refuge in Amida during the siege of the city, which was then attacked by the Sassanid king Shapur II. Ammianus barely escaped with his life.

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LIBER XIV.

[1] Galli Caesaris saevitia.

Post emensos insuperabilis expeditionis eventus, languentibus partium animis, quas periculorum varietas fregerat et laborum, nondum tubarum cessante clangore, vel milite locato per stationes hibernas, fortunae saevientis procellae tempestates alias rebus infudere communibus, per multa illa et dira facinora Caesaris Galli, qui ex squalore imo miseriarum, in aetatis adultae primitiis, ad principale culmen insperato saltu proventus, ultra terminos potestatis delatae procurrens, asperitate nimia cuncta foedabat. Propinquitatem enim regiae stirpis, gentilitateque etiam tum Constantii nominis, efferebatur in fastus, si plus valuisset, ausurus hostilia in auctorem suae felicitatis (ut videbatur). [2] Cuius acerbitati uxor grave accesserat incentivum, germanitate Augusti turgida supra modum, quam Hanniballiano regi fratris filio antehac Constantinus iunxerat pater, Megaera quaedam mortalis, inflammatrix saevientis assidua, humani cruoris avida nihil mitius quam maritus. Qui paulatim eruditiores facti processu temporis ad nocendum, per clandestinos versutosque rumigerulos, compertis leviter addere quaedam male suetos, falsa et placentia sibi discentes, affectati regni vel artium nefandarum calumnias insontibus affigebant. [3] Eminuit autem inter humilia, supergressa iam impotentia fines mediocrium delictorum, nefanda Clematii cuiusdam Alexandrini nobilis mors repentina; cuius socrus cum misceri sibi generum, flagrans eius amore, non impetraret, ut ferebatur, per palatii pseudothyrum introducta, oblato pretioso reginae monili, id assecuta est, ut ad Honoratum, tum comitem Oriensis, formula missa letali, homo scelere nullo contactus, idem Clematius, nec hiscere nec loqui permissus, occideretur.

[4] Post hoc impie perpetratum, quod in aliis quoque iam timebatur, tamquam licentia crudelitati indulta, per suspicionum nebulas aestimati quidam am noxii damnabantur. Quorum pars necati alii puniti bonorum multatione, actique laribus suis extorres, nullo sibi relicto praeter querellas et lacrimas, stipe collaticia victitabant; et civili iustoque imperio ad voluntatem converso cruentam, claudebantur opulentae domus et clarae. [5] Nec vox accusatoris ulla (licet subditiis) in his malorum quaerebatur acervis, ut saltem specie tenus crimina praescriptis legum committerentur, quod aliquotiens fecere principes saevi; sed quidquid Caesaris implacabilitati sedisset, id velut fas iusque perpensum, confestim urgebatur impleri. [6] Excogitatum est super his, ut homines quidam ignoti, vilitate ipsa parum cavendi, ad colligendos rumores per Antiochiae latera cuncta destinarentur, relaturi quae audirent. Hi peragranter et dissimulanter honoratorum circulis assistendo, pervadendoque divites domus egentium habitu, quicquid noscere poterant vel audire, latenter intromissi per posticas in regiam, nuntiabant, id observantes conspiratione concordi, ut fingerent quaedam, et cognita duplicarent in peius, laudes vero supprimerent Caesaris, quas invitis compluribus formido malorum

impendentium exprimebat. [7] Et interdum acciderat, ut siquid in penetrali secreto, nullo citerioris vitae ministro praesente, paterfamilias uxori susurrasset in aurem, velut Amphiarao referente aut Marcio, quondam vatibus inclitis, postridie disceret imperator. Ideoque etiam parites arcanorum soli consciis timebantur. [8] adolescebat autem obstinatum propositum erga haec et similia multa scrutandi, stimulos admovente regina, quae abrupte mariti fortunas trudebat in exitium praeceps, cum eum potius lenitate feminea ad veritatis humanitatisque viam reducere utilia suadendo deberet, ut in Gordianorum actibus factitasse Maximini truculenti illius imperatoris retulimus coniugem.

[9] Novo denique perniciosoque exemplo, idem Gallus ausus est inire flagitium grave, quod Romae cum ultimo dedecore temptasse aliquando dicitur Gallienus, et adhibitis paucis clam ferro succinctis, vesperi per tabernas palabatur et compita, quaeritando Graeco sermone, cuius erat impendio gnarus, quid de Caesare quisque sentiret. Et haec confidenter agebat in urbe, ubi pernoctantium luminum claritudo dierum solet imitari fulgorem. Postremo agnitus saepe, iamque (si prodisset) conspicuum se fore contemplans, non nisi luce palam egrediens ad agenda quae putabat seria cernebatur. Et haec quidem medullitis multis gementibus agebantur.

[10] Thalassius vero ea tempestate praefectus praetorio praesens, ipse quoque arrogantis ingenii, considerans incitationem eius ad multorum augeri discrimina, non maturitate vel consiliis mitigabat, ut aliquotiens celsae potestates iras principum molliverunt, sed adversando iurgandoque cum parum congrueret, eum ad rabiem potius evibrabat, Augustum actus eius exaggerando creberrime docens, idque (incertum qua mente) ne lateret affectans. Quibus mox Caesar acrius efferatus, velut contumaciae quoddam vexillum altius erigens, sine respectu salutis alienae vel suae, ad vertenda opposita, instar rapidi fluminis, irrevocabili impetu ferebatur.

Isaurorum incursiones.

Nec sane haec sola perniciēs orientem diversis cladibus affligebat. Namque et Isauri, quibus est usitatum saepe pacari, saepeque inopinis excursibus cuncta miscere, ex latrociniiis occultis et raris, alente impunitate adulescentem in peius audaciam, ad bella gravia proruperunt, diu quidem perduelles spiritus irrequietis motibus erigentes, hac tamen indignitate perciti vehementer, ut iactitabant, quod eorum capti quidam consortes, apud Iconium Pisidiae oppidum in amphitheatrali spectaculo feris praedatricibus obiecti sunt praeter morem. [2] Atque (ut Tullius ait) ut etiam bestiae fame monitae plerumque ad cum locum ubi aliquando pastae sunt revertuntur, ita omnes instar turbinis degressi montibus impeditus et arduis, loca petivere mari confinia, per quae viis latebrosis sese convallibusque occultantes, non appetere noctes — luna etiam tum cornuta, ideoque nondum solido splendore fulgente — nauticos observabant. Quos cum in somnum sentirent effusos, per ancoralia quadrupedo gradu repentes, seseque suspensis passibus iniectantes in scaphas, eisdem nihil opinantibus assistebant, et incendente aviditate saevitiam, ne

cedentium quidem ulli parcendo, obtruncatis omnibus merces opimas vel utiles nullis repugnantibus avertebant. [3] Haecque non diu sunt perpetrata. Cognitis enim pilatorum caesorumque funeribus, nemo deinde ad has stationes appulit navem, sed ut Scironis praerupta letalia declinantes, litoribus Cypriis contigui navigabant, quae Isauriae scopulis sunt controversa. [4] Procedente igitur mox tempore cum adventicium nihil inveniretur, relicta ora maritima, in Lycaoniam annexam Isauriae se contulerunt, ibique densis intersaepientes itinera praetenturis, provincialium et viatorum opibus pascebantur. [5] Excitavit hic ardor milites per municipia plurima, quae eisdem conterminant, dispositos et castella, et quisque serpentes latius pro viribus repellere moliens, nunc globis confertos, aliquotiens et dispersos, multitudine superabatur viginti, quae nata et educata inter editos recurvosque ambitus montium, eos ut loca plana persultat et mollia, missilibus obvios eminus lacesens et ululatu truci perterrens. [6] Coactique aliquotiens nostri pedites ad eos persequendos scandere clivos sublimes, etiam si lapsantibus plantis fruticeta prensando vel dumos, ad vertices venerint summos, inter arta tamen et invia, nullas acies explicare permissi, r.ec firmare nisu valido gressus; hoste discursatore rupium abscisa volvente superne, periculose per prona discedunt, aut ex necessitate ultima fortiter dimicantes, ruinis ponderum immanium consternuntur. [7] Quam ob rem circumspecta cautela observatum est deinceps, et cum edita montium petere coeperint grassatores, loci iniquitati milites cedunt. Ubi autem in planitie potuerint reperiri, quod contingit assidue, nec exsertare lacertos nec crispare permissi tela quae vehunt bina vel terna, pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur.

[8] Metuentes igitur idem latrones Lycaoniam magna parte campestem, cum se impares nostris fore congressione stataria documentis frequentibus scirent, tramitibus deviis petivere Pamphyliam, diu quidem intactam, sed timore populationum et caedum, milite per omnia diffuso propinqua, magnis undique praesidiis communitam. [9] Raptim igitur properantes, ut motus sui rumores celeritate nimia praevenirent, vigore corporum ac levitate confisi, per flexuosas semitas ad summities collium tardius evadebant. Et cum, superatis difficultatibus arduis, ad supercilia venissent fluvii Melanis, alti et verticosi, qui pro muro tuetur accolae circumfusus, augente nocte adulta terrorem, quievere paulisper, lucem opperientes. Arbitrabantur enim nullo impediante transgressi, inopino accursu apposita quaeque vastare, sed in cassum labores pertulere gravissimos. [10] Nam sole orto magnitudine angusti gurgitis sed profundi a transitu arcebantur, et dum piscatorios quaerunt lenunculos, vel innare temere contextis cratibus parant, effusae legiones quae hiemabant tunc apud Siden, eisdem impetu occurrere veloci. Et signis prope ripam locatis, ad manus comminus conserendas, denseta scutorum compage, semet scientissime praestuebant, ausos quoque aliquos fiducia nandi, vel cavatis arborum truncis, amnem permeare latenter, facillime trucidarunt. [11] Unde temptatis ad discrimen ultimum artibus militum, cum nihil impetraretur, pavore vique repellente extrusi, et quo tenderent ambigentes, venere prope

oppidum Laranda. [12] Ibi victu recreati et quiete, postquam abierat timor, vicos opulentos adorti, equestrium adiumento cohortium, quae casu propinquabant, nec resistere planitie porrecta conati, digressi sunt, retroque cedentes, omne iuventutis robur relictum in sedibus acciverunt. [13] Et quoniam inedia gravi afflictabantur, locum petivere Paleas nomine, vergentem in mare, valido muro firmatum, ubi conduntur nunc usque commeatus, distribui militibus omne latus Isauriae defendentibus assueti. Circumstetere igitur hoc munimentum per triduum et trinoctium, et cum neque acclivitas ipsa sine discrimine posset adiri letali, nec cuniculis quicquam geri, nec procedebat ullam obsidionale commentum, maesti excedunt, postrema vi subigente maiora viribus aggressuri. [14] Proinde concepta rabie saeviore, quam desperatio incendebat et fames, amplificatis viribus, ardore incohibili in excidium urbium matris Seleucia efferebantur, quam comes tuebatur Castricius, tresque legiones bellicis sudoribus induratae. [15] Horum adventum praedocti speculationibus fidis, rectores militum tessera data sollemni, armatos omnes celeri eduxere procursu, et agiler praeterito Calycadni fluminis ponte, cuius undarum magnitudo murorum alluit turres, in speciem locavere pugnandi. Neque tamen exsiluit quisquam, nec permissus est congregi. Formidabatur enim flagrans vesania manus, et superior numero, et ruitura sine respectu salutis in ferrum. [16] Viso itaque exercitu procul, auditoque liticinum cantu, represso gradu parumper steterae praedones, exsertantesque minaces gladios postea lentius incedebant. [17] Quibus occurrere bene pertinax miles explicatis ordinibus parans, hastisque feriens scuta, qui habitus iram pugnantium concitat et dolorem, proximos iam gestu terrebat. Sed eum in certamen alacriter consurgentem, revocare ductores, rati intempestivum anceps subire certamen, cum haut longe muri distarent, quorum tutela securitas poterat in solido locari cunctorum. [18] Hac ita persuasione reducti intra moenia bellatores, obseratis undique portarum aditibus, propugnaculis insistebant et pinnis, congesta undique saxa telaque habentes in promptu, ut si quis se proripuisset citerius, multitudine missilium sterneretur et lapidum. [19] Illud tamen clausos vehementer angebat, quod captis navigiis, quae frumenta vehebant per flumen, Isauri quidem alimentorum copiis affluebant, ipsi vero solitarum rerum cibo iam consumendo, inediae propinquantis aerumnas exitialis horrebant. [20] Haec ubi latius fama vulgasset, missaeque relationes assiduae Gallum Caesarem permovissent, quoniam magister equitum longius ea tempestate distinebatur, iussus comes Orientis Nebridius, contractis undique militaribus copiis, ad eximendam periculo civitatem amplam et opportunam, studio properabat ingenti. Quo cognito abscessere latrones, nulla re amplius memorabili gesta, dispersique (ut solent,) avia montium petiere celsorum.

Persarum commentum irritum.

Eo adducta re per Isauriam, rege Persarum bellis finitimis illigato, repellenteque a collimitiis suis ferocissimas gentes, quae mente quadam

versabili hostiliter eum saepe incessunt, et in nos arma moventem aliquotiens iuvant, Nohodares quidam nomine e numero optimatum, incursare Mesopotamiam quotiens copia dederit ordinatus, explorabat nostra sollicitate, si repperisset usquam locum, vi subita perrupturus. [2] Et quia Mesopotamiae tractus omnes crebro inquietari sueti, praetenturis et stationibus servabantur agrariis, laevorsum flexo itinere, Osdroenae subsederat extimas partes, novum parumque aliquando temptatum commentum aggressus; quod si impetrasset, fulminis modo cuncta vastarat. Erat autem quod cogitabat huius modi.

[3] Batnae municipium in Anthemusia conditum Macedonum manu priscorum, ab Euphrate flumine brevi spatio disparatur, refertum mercatoribus opulentis, ubi annua sollemnitate prope Septembris initium mensis, ad nundinas magna promiscuae fortunae convenit multitudo, ad commercanda quae Indi mittunt et Seres, aliaque plurima vehi terra marique consueta. [4] Hanc regionem praestitutis celebritati diebus, invadere parans dux ante dictus, per solitudines Aboraeque amnis herbidas ripas, suorum indicio proditus, qui admissi flagitii metu exagitati, ad praesidia descivere Romana, absque ullo egressus effectum, deinde tabescebat immobilis.

Saracenorum irruptiones et mores.

Saraceni tamen nec amici nobis umquam nec hostes optandi, ultro citroque discursantes, quicquid inveniri poterat momento temporis parvi vastabant, milvorum rapacium similes, qui si praedam dispexerint celsius, volatu rapiunt celeri, ac si impetraverint, non immorantur. [2] Super quorum moribus licet in actibus principis Marci, et postea aliquotiens memini rettulisse, tamen nunc quoque pauca de eisdem expediam carptim. [3] Apud has gentes, quarum exordiens initium ab Assyriis, ad Nili cataractas porrigitur, et confinia Blemmyarum, omnes pari sorte sunt bellatores, seminudi coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti, equorum adiumento perniciem graciliumque camelorum per diversa reptantes, in tranquillis vel turbidis rebus; nec eorum quisquam aliquando stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva subigendo quaerit victum, sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta, sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus; nec idem perferunt diutius caelum, aut tractus unius sol illis umquam placet. [4] Vita est illis semper in fuga, uxoresque mercennariae conductae ad tempus ex pacto, atque (ut sit species matrimonii,) dotis nomine futura coniunx hastam et tabernaculum offert marito, post statum diem (si id elegerit,) discessura, et incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus. [5] Ita autem quoad vixerint late palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberosque procul educat, nulla copia quiescendi permissa. [6] Victus universis caro fe ina est, lactisque abundans copia qua sustentantur, et herbae multiplices, et siquae alites capi per aucupium possint, et plerosque nos vidimus frumenti usum et vini penitus ignorantes.

[7] Hactenus de natione perniciose. Nunc ad textum propositum revertamur. Magnentianorum supplicia.

Dum haec in Oriente aguntur, Arelate hiemem agens Constantius, post

theatralis ludos atque circenses ambizioso editos apparatu, diem sextum: idus Octobres, qui imperii eius annum tricensimum terminabat, insolentiae pondera gravius librans, siquid dubium deferebatur aut falsum, pro liquido accipiens et comperto, inter alia excarnificatum Gerontium, Magnentianae comitem partis, exsulari maerore multavit. [2] Utque aegrum corpus quassari etiam levibus solet offensis, ita animus eius angustus et tener, quicquid increpuisset, ad salutis suae dispendium existimans factum aut cogitatum, insontium caedibus fecit victoriam luctuosam. [3] Siquis enim militarium vel honoratorum aut nobilis inter suos, rumore tenus esset insimulatus fovisse partes hostiles, iniecto onere catenarum, in modum beluae trahebatur, et inimico urgente vel nullo, quasi sufficiente hoc solo, quod nominatus esset aut delatus aut postulatus, capite vel multatione bonorum, aut insulari solitudine damnabatur.

[4] Accedebant enim eius asperitati, ubi imminuta esse amplitudo imperii dicebatur, et iracundiae suspicionumque vanitati, proximorum cruentae blanditiae, exaggerantium incidentia, et dolere impendio simulantium, si principis petitur vita, a cuius salute velut filo pendere statum orbis terrarum fictis vocibus exclamabant. [5] Ideoque fertur neminem aliquando ob haec vel similia poenae addictum, oblato de more elogio, revocari iussisse, quod inexorabiles quoque principes factitarunt. Et exitiale hoc vitium, quod in aliis non numquam intepescit, in illo aetatis progressu effervescebat, obstinatum eius propositum accendente adulatorum cohorte.

[6] Inter quos Paulus eminebat notarius, ortus in Hispania coluber quidam sub vultu latens, odorandi vias periculorum occultas perquam sagax. Is in Britanniam missus, ut militares quosdam perduceret, ausos conspirasse Magnentio, cum reniti non possent, iussa licentius supergressus, fluminis modo fortunis complurium sese repentinus infudit, et ferebatur per strages multiplices ac ruinas, vinculis membra ingenuorum affligens, et quosdam obterens manicis, crimina scilicet multa consarcinando, a veritate longe discreta. Unde admissum est facinus impium, quod Constanti tempus nota inusserat sempiterna. [7] Martinus agens illas provincias pro praefectis, aerumnas innocentium graviter gemens, saepeque obsecrans, ut ab omni culpa immunibus parceretur, cum non impetraret, minabatur se discessurum; ut saltem id metuens, perquisitor malivolus tandem desineret quieti coalitos homines in aperta pericula proiectare. [8] Per hoc minui studium suum existimans Paulus, ut erat in complicandis negotiis artifex dirus, unde ei Catenae indutum est cognomentum, vicarium ipsum eos quibus praeerat adhuc defensantem, ad sortem periculorum communium traxit. Et instabat ut eum quoque cum tribunis et aliis pluribus, ad comitatum imperatoris vinctum perduceret; quo percitus ille, exitio urgente abrupto, ferro eundem adoritur Paulum. Et quia languente dextera letaliter ferire non potuit, iam dstrictum mucronem in proprium latus impegit. hocque deformi genere mortis, excessit e vita iustissimus rector, ausus miserabiles casus levare multorum. [9] Quibus ita sceleste patrat, Paulus cruore perfusus, reversusque ad principis castra, multos coopertos paene catenis adduxit, in squalorem deiectos atque

maestitiam, quorum adventu intendebantur eculei, uncosque parabat carnifex et tormenta. Et ex his proscripti sunt plures, actique in exsilium alii, non nullos gladii consumpsere poenales. Nec enim quisquam facile meminit sub Constantio, ubi susurro tenus haec movebantur, quemquam absolutum.

Senatus populique Romani vitia.

Inter haec Orfitus praefecti potestate regebat urbem aeternam, ultra modum delatae dignitatis sese efferens insolenter, vir quidem prudens, et forensium negotiorum oppido gnarus, sed splendore liberalium doctrinarum minus quam nobilem de, uerat institutus. Quo administrante seditiones sunt concitatae graves ob inopiam vini, cuius avidis usibus vulgus intentum, ad motus asperos excitatur et crebros.

[2] Et quoniam mirari posse quosdam peregrinos existimo, haec lecturos forsitan (si contigerit), quam ob rem cum oratio ad ea monstranda deflexerit quae Romae geruntur, nihil praeter seditiones narrator et tabernas et vilitates harum similis alias, summatim causas perstringam, nusquam a veritate sponte propria digressurus.

[3] Tempore quo primis auspiciis in mundanum fulgorem surgeret victura dum erunt homines Roma, ut augeretur sublimibus incrementis, foedere pacis aeternae Virtus convenit atque Fortuna, plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisset, ad perfectam non venerat summitatem. [4] Eius populus ab incunabulis primis ad usque pueritiae tempus extremum, quod annis circumcluditur fere trecentis, circummurana pertulit bella; deinde aetatem ingressus adultam, post multiplices bellorum aerumnas, Alpes transcendit et fretum; in iuvenem erectus et virum, ex omni plaga quam orbis ambit immensus, reportavit laureas et triumphos; iamque vergens in senium, et nomine solo aliquotiens vincens, ad tranquilliora vitae discessit. [5] Ideo urbs venerabilis, post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas, latasque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna, velut frugi parens et prudens et dives, Caesaribus tamquam liberis suis regenda patrimonii iura permisit. [6] Et olim licet otiosae sint tribus, pacataeque centuriae, et nulla suffragiorum certamina, sed Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis, per omnes tamen quot orae sunt partesque terrarum, ut domina suscipitur et regina, et ubique patrum reverenda cum auctoritate canities, populique Romani nomen circumspectum et verecundum.

[7] Sed laeditur hic coetuum magnificus splendor, levitate paucorum incondita, ubi nati sunt non reputantium, sed tamquam indulta licentia vitiis, ad errores lapsorum atque lasciviam. Ut enim Simonides lyricus docet, beate perfecta ratione victuro, ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam. [8] Ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas aestimantes, eas ardentem affectant, quasi plus praemii de figmentis aereis sensu carentibus adepturi, quam ex conscientia honeste recteque factorum, easque auro curant inbracteari, quod Acilio Glabrioni delatum est primo, cum consiliis armisque regem superasset Antiochum. Quam autem sit pulchrum, exigua haec spernentem et minima, ad ascensus verae gloriae tendere longos et arduos, ut

memorat vates Ascræus, Censorius Cato monstravit. Qui interrogatus quam ob rem inter multos ipse statuam non haberet, 'Malo' inquit 'ambigere bonos, quam ob rem id non meruerim, quam (quod est gravius) cur impetraverim mussitare.'

[9] Alii summum decus in carruchis solito altioribus, et ambitioso vestium cultu ponentes, sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas in collis insertas iugulis ipsis annectunt, nimia subtegminum tenuitate perflabiles, exceptantes eas manu utraque et vexantes crebris agitationibus, maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant, varietate liciorum effigiatae in species animalium multiformes. [10] Alii nullo quaerente, vultus severitate assimilata, patrimonia sua in immensum extollunt, cultorum (ut putant) feracium multiplicantes annuos fructus, quae a primo ad ultimum solem se abunde iactitant possidere, ignorantes profecto maiores suos per quos ita magnitudo Romana porrigitur, non divitiis eluxisse, sed per bella saevissima, nec opibus nec victu nec indumentorum vilitate gregariis militibus discrepantes, opposita cuncta superasse virtute. [11] Hac ex causa collaticia stipe Valerius humatur ille Publicola, et subsidiis amicorum mariti, inops cum liberis uxor alitur Reguli, et dotatur ex aerario filia Scipionis, cum nobilitas florem adultae virginis diuturnum absentia pauperis erubesceret patris.

[12] At nunc si ad aliquem bene nummatum tumentemque ideo, honestus advena salutatum introieris primitus, tamquam exoptatus suscipieris, et interrogatus multa coactusque mentiri, miraberis numquam antea visus, summam virum tenuem te sic enixius observantem, ut paeniteat ob haec bona tamquam praecipua non vidisse ante decennium Romam. [13] Hacque affabilitate confisus, cum eadem postridie feceris, ut incognitus haerebis et repentinus, hortatore illo hesterno suos enumerando, qui sis vel unde venias diutius ambigente. Agnitus vero tandem et asscitus in amicitiam, si te salutandi assiduitati dederis triennio indiscretus, et per totidem dierum defueris tempus, reverteris ad paria perferenda, nec ubi esses interrogatus, et ni inde miser discesseris, aetatem omnem frustra in stipite conteres summittendo. [14] Cum autem commodis intervallata temporibus, convivia longa et noxia coeperint apparari, vel distributio sollemnium sportularum, anxia deliberatione tractatur, an exceptis his quibus vicissitudo debetur, peregrinum invitari conveniet, et si digesto plene consilio, id placuerit fieri, is adhibetur qui pro domibus excubat aurigarum, aut artem tesserariam profitetur, aut secretiora quaedam se nosse confingit. [15] Homines enim eruditos et sobrios, ut infaustos et inutiles vitant, eo quoque accedente, quod et nomenclatores, assueti haec et talia venditare, mercede accepta, lucris quosdam et prandiis inserunt subditicios ignobiles et obscure.

[16] Mensarum enim voragines et varias voluptatum illecebras, ne longius progrediar, praetermitto, illuc transiturus, quod quidam per ampla spatia urbis, subversasque silices, sine periculi metu properantes equos velut publicos, ignitis quod dicitur calcibus agitant, familiarium agmina tamquam praedatorios globos post terga trahentes, ne Sannione quidem (ut ait comicus)

domi relicto. Quos imitatae matronae complures, opertis capitibus et basternis, per latera civitatis cuncta discurrunt. [17] Utque proeliorum periti rectores primo catervas densas opponunt et fortes, deinde leves armaturas, post iaculatores ultimasque subsidiales acies (si fors adegerit) iuvaturas, ita praepositis urbanae familiae suspense digerentibus atque sollicitis, quos insignes faciunt virgae dexteris aptatae, velut tessera data castrensi, iuxta vehiculi frontem omne textrinum incedit: huic atratum coquinae iungitur ministerium, dein totum promisce servitium, cum otiosis plebeis de vicinitate coniunctis; postrema multitudo spadonum a senibus in pueros desinens, obluridi distortaque lineamentorum compage deformes, ut quaqua incesserit quisquam, cernens mutilorum hominum agmina, detestetur memoriam Samiramidis reginae illius veteris, quae teneros mares castravit omnium prima, velut vim iniectans naturae, eandemque ab instituto cursu retorquens, quae inter ipsa oriundi crepundia, per primigenios seminis fontes, tacita quodam modo lege vias propagandae posteritatis ostendit.

[18] Quod cum ita sit, paucae domus studiorum seriis cultibus antea celebratae, nunc ludibriis ignaviae torpentis exundant, vocabili sonu, perflabili tinnitu fidium resultantes. Denique pro philosopho cantor, et in locum oratoris doctor artium ludicarum accitur, et bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis, organa fabricantur hydraulica, et lyrae ad speciem carpentorum ingentes, tibiaeque et histrionici gestus instrumenta non levia.

[19] Postremo ad id indignitatis est ventum, ut cum peregrini ob formidatam haud ita dudum alimentorum inopiam pellerentur ab urbe praecipites, sectoribus disciplinarum liberalium, impendio paucis, sine respiratione ulla extrusis, tenerentur mimarum adseclae veri, quique id simularunt ad tempus, et tria milia saltatricum, ne interpellata quidem, cum choris totidemque remanerent magistris. [20] Et licet, quocumque oculos flexeris, feminas affatim multas spectare cirratas, quibus (si nupsissent) per aetatem ter iam nixus poterat suppetere liberorum, ad usque taedium pedibus pavimenta tergentis, iactari volucriter gyris, dum exprimunt innumera simulacra, quae finxere fabulae theatrales.

[21] Illud autem non dubitatur, quod cum esset aliquando virtutum omnium domicilium Roma, ingenuos advenas plerique nobilium, ut Homerici bacarum suavitate Lotophagi, humanitatis multiformibus officiis retentabant. [22] Nunc vero inanes flatus quorundam, vile esse quicquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur aestimant praeter orbos et caelibes, nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae. [23] Et quoniam apud eos, ut in capite mundi, morborum acerbitates celsius dominantur, ad quos vel sedandos omnis professio medendi torpescit, excogitatum est adminiculum sospitale, nequi amicum perferentem similia videat, additumque est cautioribus paucis remedium aliud satis validum, ut famulos percontatum missos quem ad modum valeant noti hac aegritudine colligati, non ante recipiant domum, quam lavacro purgaverint corpus. Ita etiam alienis oculis visa metuitur labes. [24] Sed tamen haec cum ita tutius observentur, quidam

vigore artuum imminuto, rogati ad nuptias, ubi aurum dextris manibus cavatis offertur, impigre vel usque Spoletium pergunt. Haec nobilium sunt instituta.

[25] Ex turba vero imae sortis et paupertinae, in tabernis aliqui pernoctant vinariis, non nulli sub velabris umbraculorum theatralium latent, quae, Campanam imitatus lasciviam, Catulus in aedilitate sua suspendit omnium primus; aut pugnaciter aleis certant, turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto spiritu concrepantes; aut quod est studiorum omnium maximum ab ortu lucis ad vesperam sole fatiscunt vel pluviis, per minutias aurigarum equorumque praecipua vel delicta scrutantes. [26] Et est admodum mirum videre plebem innumeram, mentibus ardore quodam infuso, e dimicationum curulium eventu pendentem. Haec similiaque memorabile nihil vel serium agi Romae permittunt. Ergo redeundum ad textum.

Galli Caesaris immanitas et saevitia.

Latius iam disseminata licentia, onerosus bonis omnibus Caesar, nullum post haec adhibens modum, orientis latera cuncta vexabat, nec honoratis parcens nec urbium primatibus nec plebeis. [2] Denique Antiochensis ordinis vertices sub uno elogio iussit occidi, ideo efferatus, quod ei celerari vilitatem intempestivam urgenti, cum impenderet inopia, gravius rationabili responderunt; et perissent ad unum, ni comes orientis tunc Honoratus fixa constantia restitisset. [3] Erat autem diritatis eius hoc quoque indicium nec obscurum nec latens, quod ludicris cruentis delectabatur, et in circo sex vel septem aliquotiens deditus certaminibus, pugilum vicissim se concidentium, perfusorumque sanguine specie, ut lucratus ingentia, laetabatur. [4] Accenderat super his incitatum propositum ad nocendum aliqua mulier vilis, quae ad palatium (ut poposcerat) intromissa, insidias ei latenter obtendi prodiderat a militibus obscurissimis. Quam Constantina exultans, ut in tuto iam locata mariti salute, muneratam vehiculoque impositam per regiae ianuas emisit in publicum, ut his illecebris alios quoque ad indicanda proliceret paria vel maiora. [5] Post haec Gallus Hierapolim profecturus, ut expeditioni specie tenus adesset, Antiochensi plebi suppliciter obsecranti, ut inediae dispelleret metum, quae per multas difficilisque causas affore iam sperabatur, non ut mos est principibus, quorum diffusa potestas localibus subinde medetur aerumnis, disponi quicquam statuit, vel ex provinciis alimenta transferri conterminis, sed consularem Syriae Theophilum prope adstantem, ultima metuenti multitudini dedit, id assidue replicando, quod invito rectore, nullus egere poterit victu. [6] Auxerunt haec vulgi sordidioris audaciam; et cum ingravesceret penuria commeatum, famis et furoris impulsu, Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit, rectoremque ut sibi iudicio imperiali addictum, calcibus incessens et pugnis, conculcans seminecem laniatu miserando discerpsit. Post cuius lacrimosum interitum, in unius exitio quisque imaginem periculi sui considerans, documento recenti similia formidabat. [7] Eodem tempore Serenianus ex duce, cuius ignavia populatam in Phoenice Celsen ante rettulimus, pulsatae maiestatis imperii reus iure postulatus ac lege, incertum qua potuit suffragatione absolui, aperte convictus,

familiarum suum cum pileo quo caput operiebat, incantato vetitis artibus, ad templum misisse fatidicum, quaeritatum praesagia, an ei firmum portenderetur imperium (ut cupiebat) et tutum. [8] Duplexque eisdem diebus acciderat malum, quod et Theophilum insontem atrox interceperat casus, et Serenianus dignus execratione cunctorum, innoxius, modo non reclamante publico vigore, discessit.

[9] Haec subinde Constantius audiens, et quaedam referente Thalassio doctus, quem obisse iam compererat lege communi, scribens ad Caesarem blandius, adiumenta paulatim illi subtrahit, sollicitari se simulans ne, uti est militare otium fere tumultuosum, in eius perniciem conspiraret, solisque scholis iussit esse contentum palatinis et protectorum, cum Scutariis et Gentilibus, et mandabat Domitiano, ex comite largitionum praefecto provecto, ut cum in Syriam venerit, Gallum quem crebro acciverat, ad Italiam properare blande hortaretur et verecunde. [10] Qui cum venisset ob haec festinatis itineribus Antiochiam, praestricis palatii ianuis, contempto Caesare quem videri decuerat, ad praetorium cum pompa sollemni perrexit, morbosque diu causatus, nec regiam introiit, nec processit in publicum, sed abditus multa in eius moliebatur exitium, addens quaedam relationibus supervacua, quas subinde mittebat ad principem. [11] Rogatus ad ultimum, admissusque in consistorium, ambage nulla praegressa, inconsiderate et leviter, 'Proficiscere' inquit (ut praeceptum est) 'Caesar, sciens quod (si cessaveris) et tuas et palatii tui auferri iubebo prope diem annonas.' Hocque solo contumaciter dicto, subiratus abscessit, nec in conspectum eius postea venit, saepius arcessitus. [12] Hinc ille commotus, ut iniusta perferens et indigna, praefecti custodiam protectoribus mandaverat fidis. Quo conperto Montius tune quaestor, acer quidem sed ad lenitatem propensior, consulens in commune, advocatos palatarum primos scholarum allocutus est mollius, docens nec decere haec fieri nec prodesse, addensque vocis obiurgatorio sonu, quod si id placuerit, post statuas Constantii deiectas, super adimenda vita praefecto conveniet securius cogitari. [13] His cognitis Gallus ut serpens appetitus telo vel saxo, iamque spes extremas opperiens, et succurrens saluti suae quavis ratione, colligiones iussit armatos, et cum starent attoniti, districta dentium acie stridens, 'Adeste' inquit 'viri fortes mihi periclitanti vobiscum. [14] Montius nos tumore inusitato quodam et novo, ut rebelles et maiestati recalcitrantes Augustae, per haec quae strepit incusat, iratus nimirum, quod contumacem praefectum, quid rerum ordo postulat ignorare dissimulantem, formidine tenus iusserim custodiri.' [15] Nihil morati post haec militares avidi saepe turbarum, adorti sunt Montium primum, qui devertebat in proximo, levi corpore senem atque morbosum, et hirsutis resticulis cruribus eius innexis, divaricatum sine spiramento ullo ad usque praetorium traxere praefecti. [16] Et eodem impetu Domitianum praecipitem per scalas itidem funibus constrinxerunt, eosque coniunctos per ampla spatia civitatis acri raptare discursu. Iamque artuum et membrorum divulsa compage, superscandentes corpora mortuorum, ad ultimam truncata deformitatem, velut exsaturati mox abiecerunt in flumen. [17]

Incenderat autem audaces usque ad insaniam homines ad haec quae nefariis egere conatibus, Luscus quidam curator urbis subito visus, eosque ut heilans baiolorum praecentor, ad expediendum quod orsi sunt, incitans vocibus crebris. Qui haut longe postea ideo vivus exustus est.

[18] Et quia Montius inter dilancinantium manus spiritum efflaturus, Epigonum et Eusebium, nec professionem nec dignitatem ostendens, aliquotiens increpabat, aequisoni his magna quaerebantur industria, et nequid intepesceret, Epigonus e Cilicia philosophus ducitur, et Eusebius ab Emissa Pittacas cognomento, concitatus orator, cum quaestor non hos sed tribunos fabricarum insimulasset, promittentes armorum, si novae res agitari coepissent. [19] Eisdem diebus Apollinaris Domitiani gener paulo ante agens palatii Caesaris curam, ad Mesopotamiam missus a socero, per militares numeros immodice scrutabatur, an quaedam altiora meditantis iam Galli secreta susceperint scripta; qui compertis Antiochiae gestis, per minorem Armeniam lapsus, Constantinopolim petit, exindeque per protectores retractus, artissime tenebatur.

[20] Quae dum ita struuntur, indicatum est apud Tyrum indumentum regale textum occulte, incertum quo locante vel cuius usibus apparatus. Ideoque rector provinciae tunc pater Apollinaris eiusdem nominis ut conscius ductus est, alique congregati sunt ex diversis civitatibus multi, qui atrocium criminum ponderibus urgebantur.

[21] Iamque lituis cladium concrepantibus internarum, non celate (ut antea) turbidum saeviebat ingenium, a veri consideratione detortum, et nullo impositorum vel compositorum fidem sollemniter inquirente, nec discernente a societate noxiorum insontes, velut exturbatum e iudiciis fas omne discessit et causarum legitima silente defensione, carnifex rapinarum sequester, et obductio capitum, et bonorum ubique multatio versabatur per orientales provincias; quas recensere puto nunc opportunum, absque Mesopotamia, iam digesta cum bella Parthica narrarentur, et Aegypto, quam necessario aliud reiciemus ad tempus.

Orientis provinciarum descriptio.

Superatis Tauri montis verticibus, qui ad solis ortum sublimius attolluntur, Cilicia spatiis porrigitur late distentis, dives bonis omnibus terra, eiusque lateri dextro annexa Isauria, pari sorte uberi, palmite viret et frugibus multis, quam mediam navigabile flumen Calycadnus interscindit. [2] Et hanc quidem praeter oppida multa duae civitates exornant, Seleucia opus Seleuci regis, et Claudiopolis, quam deduxit coloniam Claudius Caesar. Isaura enim antehac nimium potens, olim subversa ut rebellatrix interneciva, aegre vestigia claritudinis pristinae monstrat admodum pauca. [3] Ciliciam vero, quae Cydno amni exultat, Tarsus nobilitat, urbs perspicabilis — hanc condidisse Perseus memoratur, Iovis filius et Danaes, vel certe ex Aethiopia profectus Sandan quidam nomine vir opulentus et nobilis — et Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens, et Mopsuestia, vatis illius domicilium Mopsi, quem a commilitio Argonautarum, cum aureo vellere directo redirent, errore abstractum,

delatumque ad Africae litus, mors repentina consumpsit, et ex eo caespite punico tecti, manes eius heroici, dolorum varietati medentur plerumque sospitales. [4] Hac duae provinciae, bello quondam piratico catervis mixtae praedonum, a Servilio pro consule missae sub iugum, factae sunt vectigales. Et hae quidem regiones velut in prominenti terrarum lingua positae, ab orbe eoo monte Amano disparantur. [5] Orientis vero limes in longum protentus et rectum, ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili, laeva Saracenis conterminans gentibus, dextra pelagi fragoribus patens, quam plagam Nicator Seleucus occupatam auxit magnum in modum, cum post Alexandri Macedonis obitum successorio iure teneret regna Persidis, efficaciae impetrabilis rex (ut indicat cognomentum). [6] Abusus enim multitudine hominum, quam tranquillis in rebus diutius rexit, ex agrestibus habitaculis urbes construxit, multis opibus firmas et viribus, quarum ad praesens pleraeque, licet Graecis nominibus appellentur, quae eisdem ad arbitrium imposita sunt conditoris, primigenia tamen nomina non amittunt, quae eis Assyria lingua institutores veteres indiderunt.

[7] Et prima post Osdroenam quam (ut dictum est) ab hac descriptione discrevimus, Commagena (nunc Euphratensis) clementer assurgit, Hierapoli (vetere Nino) et Samosata civitatibus amplis illustris.

[8] Dein Syria per speciosam interpatet diffusa planitiem. Hanc nobilitat Antiochia, mundo cognita civitas, cui non certaverit alia advecticiis ita affluere copiis et internis, et Laodicia et Apamia, itidemque Seleucia iam inde a primis auspiciis florentissimae.

[9] Post hanc acclinis Libano monti Phoenice, regio plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris; in quibus amoenitate celebritateque nominum Tyros excellit, Sidon et Berytus eisdemque pares Emissa et Damascus saeculis condita priscis. [10] Has autem provincias, quas Orontes ambiens amnis, imosque pedes Cassii montis illius celsi praetermeans, funditur in Parthenium mare, Gnaeus Pompeius superato Tigrane, regnis Armeniorum abstractas, dicioni Romanae coniunxit.

[11] Ultima Syriarum est Palaestina, per intervalla magna protenta, cultis abundans terris et nitidis, et civitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem, sed sibi vicissim velut ad perpendicularum aemulas: Caesaream, quam ad honorem Octaviani principis exaedificavit Herodes, et Eleutheropolim et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem Gazam, aevo superiore exstructas. [12] In his tractibus navigerum nusquam visitur flumen, et in locis plurimis aquae suapte natura calentes emergunt, ad usus aptae multiplicium medellarum. Verum has quoque regiones pari sorte Pompeius Iudaeis domitis et Hierosolymis captis, in provinciae speciem delata iuris dictione formavit.

[13] Huic Arabia est conserta, ex alio latere Nabataeis contigua, opima varietate commerciorum castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quae ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excursus, sollicitudo pervigil veterum per opportunos saltus erexit et cautos. Haec quoque civitates habet inter oppida quaedam ingentes, Bostram et Gerasam atque Philadelphiam, murorum

firmitate cautissimas. Hanc provinciae imposito nomine, rectoreque adtributo, obtemperare legibus nostris Traianus compulit imperator, incolarum tumore saepe contunso, cum glorioso Marte Mediam urget et Parthos.

[14] Cyprum itidem insulam procul a continenti discretam et portuosam, inter municipia crebra urbes duae faciunt claram, Salamis et Paphus, altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris temple insignis. Tanta autem tamque multiplici fertilitate abundat rerum omnium eadem Cyprus, ut nullius externi indigens adminiculi, indigenis viribus, a fundamento ipso carinae ad supremos usque carbasos, aedificet onerariam navem, omnibusque armamentis instructam, mari committat. [15] Nec piget dicere avide magis hanc insulam populum Romanum invasisse quam iuste. Ptolomaeo enim rege foederato nobis et socio, ob aerarii nostri angustias iusso sine ulla culpa proscribi, ideoque hausto veneno, voluntaria morte deleta, et tributaria facta est, et velut hostiles eius exuviae classi impositae, in urbem advectae sunt per Catonem. Nunc repetetur ordo gestorum.

De Constantio Gallo Caesare.

Inter has ruinarum varietates, a Nisibi quam tuebatur accitus Ursicinus, cui nos obsecuturos iunxerat imperiale praeceptum, dispicere litis exitialis crimina cogebatur, abnuens et reclamans, adlляторum oblatrantibus turmis, bellicosus sane milesque semper et militum ductor, sed forensibus iurgiis longe discretus, qui metu sui discriminis. anxius, cum accusatores quaesitoresque subditivos sibi consociatos, ex eisdem foveis cerneret emergentes, quae clam palamve agitabantur occultis Constantium litteris edocebat, implorans subsidia, quorum metu tumor notissimus Caesaris exhalaret. [2] Sed cautela nimia in peiores haeserat plagas, ut narrabimus postea, aemulis consarcinantibus insidias graves apud Constantium, cetera medium principem, sed siquid auribus eius huius modi quivis infudisset ignotus, acerbum et implacabilem, et in hoc causarum titulo dissimilem sui.

[3] Proinde die funestis interrogationibus praestituto, imaginarius iudex equitum resedit magister, adhibitis allis, iam quae essent agenda praedoctis, et assistebant hinc inde notarii, quid quaesitum esset quidve responsum, cursim ad Caesarem perferentes; cuius imperio truci, stimulis reginae exsertantis ora subinde per aulaeum, nec diluere obiecta permissi nec defensi periire complures. [4] Primi igitur omnium statuuntur Epigonus et Eusebius, ob nominum gentilitatem oppressi. Praediximus enim Montium sub ipso vivendi termino his vocabulis appellatos, fabricarum culpasse tribunos, ut adminicula futurae molitioni pollicitos. [5] Et Epigonus quidem amictu tenuis philosophus, ut apparuit, prece frustra temptata, sulcatis lateribus, mortisque metu admoto, turpi confessione cogitatorum socium (quae nulla erant) fuisse firmavit, cum nec vidisset quicquam nec audisset, penitus expers forensium rerum; Eusebius vero obiecta fidentius negans, suspensus in eodem gradu constantiae stetit, latrocinium illud esse, non iudicium clamans. [6] Cumque pertinacius (ut legum gnarus) accusatorem flagitaret atque sollemnia, doctus id Caesar, libertatemque superbiam ratus, tamquam obtrectatorem audacem excarnificari

praecepit, qui ita evisceratus ut cruciatibus membra deessent, implorans caelo iustitiam, torvum renidens, fundato pectore mansit immobilis, nec se incusare nec quemquam alium passus, et tandem nec confessus nec confutatus, cum abiecto consorte poenali est morte multatus. Et ducebatur intrepidus, temporum iniquitati insultans, imitatus Zenonem illum veterem Stoicum, qui ut mentiretur quaedam laceratus diutius, avulsam sedibus linguam suam cum cruento sputamine, in oculos interrogantis Cyprii regis impegit.

[7] Post haec indumentum regale quaerebatur, et ministris fucandae purpurae tortis, confessisque pectoralem tuniculam sine manicis textam, Maras nomine quidam inductus est (ut appellant Christiani) diaconus; cuius prolatae litterae scriptae Graeco sermone, ad Tyrii tetrarchae praepositum, celerari speciem perurgebant, quam autem non indicabant; denique etiam idem ad usque discrimen vitae vexatus, nihil fateri compulsus est. [8] Quaestione igitur per multiplices dilatata fortunas, cum ambigerentur quaedam, non nulla levius actitata constaret, post multorum clades Apollinares ambo pater et filius, in exilium acti, cum ad locum Crateras nomine pervenissent, villam scilicet suam, quae ab Antiochia vicensimo et quarto disiungitur lapide, ut mandatum est, fractis cruribus occiduntur. [9] Post quorum necem nihilo lenius ferociens Gallus, ut leo cadaveribus pastus, multa huius modi scrutabatur. Quae singula narrare non refert, ne professionis modum (quod sane vitandum est) excedamus.

Pax Alamannis potentibus datur a Constantio A.

Haec dum oriens diu perferret, caeli reserato tepore, Constantius consulatu suo septies et Caesaris iterum, egressus Arelate Valentiam petit, in Gundomadum et Vadomarium fratres Alamannorum reges arma moturus, quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae Gallorum. [2] Dumque ibi diu moratur, commeatus opperiens, quorum translationem ex Aquitania verni imbres solito crebriores prohibebant auctique torrentes, Herculanus advenit protector domesticus, Hermogenis ex magistro equitum filius, apud Constantinopolim (ut supra retulimus) popularium quondam turbela discepti. Quo verissime referente quae Gallus egerat coniuxque, super praeteritis maerens, et futurorum timore suspensus, angorem animi quam diu potuit emendabat. [3] Miles tamen interea omnis apud Cabyllona collectus, morarum impatiens saeviebat, hoc irritior, quod nec subsidia vivendi suppeterent, alimentis nondum ex usu translatis. [4] Unde Rufinus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ad discrimen trusus est ultimum. Ire enim ipse compellebatur ad militem, quem exagitabat inopia simul et feritas, et alioqui coalito more in ordinarias dignitates asperum semper et saevum, ut satisfaceret, atque monstraret, quam ob causam annonae convectio sit impedita. [5] Quod opera consulta cogitabatur astute, ut hoc insidiarum genere Galli periret avunculus, ne eum ut praepotens acueret in fiduciam, exitiosa coeptantem. Verum navata est opera diligens, hocque dilato, Eusebius praepositus cubiculi missus est Cabyllona, aurum secum perferens, quo per turbulentos seditionum concitatores occultius distributo, et tumor consenuit

militum, et salus est in tuto locata praefecti. Deinde cibo abunde perlato, castra die praedicto sunt mota. [6] Emensis itaque difficultatibus multis, et nive obrutis callibus plurimis, ubi prope Rauracum ventum est ad supercilia fluminis Rheni, resistente multitudine Alamanna, pontem suspendere navium compage Romani vi nimia vetabantur, ritu grandinis undique convolantibus telis; et cum id impossibile videretur, imperator cogitationibus magnis attonitus, quid capesseret ambigebat. [7] Ecce autem ex inproviso index quidam regionum gnarus advenit, et mercede accepta, vadosum locum nocte monstravit, unde superari potuit flumen. Et potuisset aliorum intentis hostibus exercitus inde transgressus, nullo id opinante, cuncta vastare, nisi pauci ex eadem gente, quibus erat honoratoris militis cura commissa, populares suos haec per nuntios docuissent occultos, ut quidam existimabant. [8] Infamabat autem haec suspicio Latinum domesticorum comitem et Agilonem tribunum stabuli atque Scudilonem scutariorum rectorem, qui tunc, ut dextris suis gestantes rem publicam, colebantur. [9] At barbari suscepto pro instantium rerum ratione consilio, dirimentibus forte auspiciis, vel congregi prohibente auctoritate sacrorum, mollito rigore, quo fidentius resistebant, optimates misere, delictorum veniam petituros et pacem. [10] Tentis igitur regis utriusque legatis, et negotio tectius diu pensato, cum pacem oportere tribui quae iustis condicionibus petebatur, eamque ex re fore sententiarum via concinens approbasset, advocato in contionem exercitu, imperator pro tempore pauca dicturus, tribunali adsistens, circumdatus potestatum coetu celsarum, ad hunc disseruit modum:

[11] 'Nemo (quaeso) miretur, si post exsudatos labores itinerum longos, congestosque adfatim commeatus, fiducia vestri ductante, barbaricos pagos adventans, velut mutato repente consilio, ad placidiora deverti. [12] Pro suo enim loco et animo, quisque vestrum reputans id inveniet verum, quod miles ubique, licet membris vigentibus firmus, se solum vitamque propriam circumspicit et defendit, imperator vero officiorum, dum aequis omnibus consulit, plenus, alienae custos salutis, nihil non ad sui spectare tutelam rationes populorum cognoscit, et remedia cuncta quae status negotiorum admittit, arripere debet alacriter, secunda numinis voluntate delata. [13] Ut in breve igitur conferam et ostendam qua ex causa omnes vos simul adesse volui, commilitones mei fidissimi, accipite aequis auribus quae succinctius explicabo. Veritatis enim absolutio semper est simplex. [14] Arduos vestrae gloriae gradus, quos fama per plagarum quoque accolae extimarum diffundit, excellenter accrescens, Alamannorum reges et populi formidantes, per oratores quos videtis, summissis cervicibus, concessionem praeteritorum poscunt et pacem. Quam ut cunctator et cautus, utiliumque monitor, (si vestra voluntas adest) tribui debere censeo multa contemplans. Primo ut Martis ambigua declinentur, dein ut auxiliares pro adversariis adsciscamus, quod pollicentur, tum autem ut incruenti mitigemus ferociae flatus, perniciosos saepe provinciis, postremo id reputantes, quod non ille hostis vincitur solus, qui cadit in acie, pondere armorum oppressus et virium, sed multo tutius etiam

tuba tacente, sub iugum mittitur voluntarius, qui sentit expertus, nec fortitudinem in rebelles nec lenitatem in supplices animos abesse Romanis. [15] In summa tanquam arbitros vos quid suadetis opperior, ut princeps tranquillus, temperanter adhibere modum adlapsa felicitate decernens. Non enim inertiae sed modestiae humanitaeque (mihi credite) hoc quod recte consultum est adsignabitur.'

[16] Mox dicta finierat, multitudo omnis ad quae imperator voluit promptior, laudato consilio, consensit in pacem, ea ratione maxime percita, quod norat expeditionibus crebris fortunam eius in malis tantum civilibus vigilasse; cum autem bella moverentur externa, accidisse plerumque luctuosa. Icto post haec foedere gentium ritu, perfectaue sollemnitate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna discessit.

Constantius Gallus Caesar evocatur a Constantio A. et capite truncatur.

Ubi curarum abiectis ponderibus aliis, tanquam nodum et codicem difficillimum, Caesarem convellere nisu valido cogitabat; eique deliberanti cum proximis, clandestinis colloquiis et nocturnis, qua vi quibusve commentis id fieret, antequam effundendis rebus pertinacius incumberet confidentia, acciri mollioribus scriptis, per simulationem tractatus publici nimis urgentis, eundem placuerat Gallum, ut auxilio destitutus, sine ullo interiret obstaculo. [2] Huic sententiae versabilium adulatorum refragantibus globis, inter quos erat Arbetio, ad insidiandum acer et flagrans, et Eusebius tunc praepositus cubiculi effusior ad nocendum, id occurrebat, Caesare discedente, Ursicinum in oriente perniciose relinquendum, si nullus esset qui prohiberet altiora meditaturum. [3] Eisdemque residui regii accessere spadones, quorum ea tempestate plus habendi cupiditas ultra mortalem modum adolescebat, inter ministeria vitae secretioris per arcanos susurros nutrimenta fictis criminibus subserentes; qui ponderibus invidiae gravioris virum fortissimum opprimebant, subolescere imperio adultos eius filios mussitantes, decore corporum favorabiles et aetate, per multiplicem armaturae scientiam, agilitatenque membrorum, inter cotidiana prologia exercitus, consulto consilio cognitos: Gallum suoapte ingenio trucem, per suppositos quosdam ad saeva facinora ideo animatum, ut eo digna omnium ordinum detestatione exoso, ad magistri equitum liberos principatus insignia transferantur.

[4] Cum haec taliaque sollicitas eius aures everberarent, expositas semper eius modi rumoribus et patentes, vario animi motu miscente consilia, tandem id ut optimum factu elegit: et Ursicinum primum ad se venire summo cum honore mandavit, ea specie ut pro rerum tune urgentium captu, disponderetur concordi consilio, quibus virium incrementis, Parthicarum gentium arma minantium impetus frangerentur. [5] Et nequid suspicaretur adversi venturus, vicarius eius (dum redit) Prosper missus est comes; acceptisque litteris, et copia rei vehiculariae data, Mediolanum itineribus properavimus magnis.

[6] Restabat ut Caesar post haec properaret accitus, et abstergendae causa suspicionis, sororem suam (eius uxorem) Constantius ad se tandem desideratam venire, multis fictisque blanditiis hortabatur. Quae licet

ambigeret, metuens saepe cruentum, spe tamen quod eum lenire poterit ut germanum, profecta, cum Bithyniam introisset, in statione quae Caenos Gallicanos appellatur, absumpta est vi febrium repentina. Cuius post obitum maritus contemplans cecidisse fiduciam qua se fultum existimabat, anxia cogitatione quid moliretur haerebat. [7] Inter res enim impeditas et turbidas, ad hoc unum mentem sollicitam dirigebat, quod Constantius cuncta ad suam sententiam conferens, nec satisfactionem suscipiet aliquam, nec erratis ignoscet, sed ut erat in propinquitatis perniciem inclinatio, laqueos ei latenter obtendens, si cepisset incautum, morte multaret. [8] Eo necessitatis adductus, ultimaque ni vigilasset opperiens, principem locum, si copia patuisset, clam affectabat, sed perfidiam proximorum ratione bifaria verebatur, qui eum ut truculentum horrebant et levem, quique altiore Constantii fortunam in discordiis civilibus formidabant. [9] Inter has curarum moles immensas, imperatoris scripta suscipiebat assidua, monentis orantisque ut ad se veniret, et mente monstrantis obliqua, rem publicam nec posse dividi nec debere, sed pro viribus quemque ei ferre suppetias fluctuanti, nimirum Galliarum indicans vastitatem. [10] Quibus subserebat non adeo vetus exemplum, quod Diocletiano et eius collegae, ut apparitores Caesares non resides sed ultro citroque discurrentes, obtemperabant, et in Syria Augusti vehiculum irascentis, per spatium mille passuum fere pedes antegressus est Galerius purpuratus.

[11] Advenit post multos Scudilo scutariorum tribunus, velamento subagrestis ingenii, persuasionis opifex callidus. Qui eum adulabili sermone periuriis admixto, solus omnium proficisci pellexit, vultu assimilato saepius replicando, quod flagrantibus votis eum videre frater cuperet patruelis, siquid per imprudentiam gestum est, remissurus, ut mitis et clemens, participemque eum suae maiestatis asciscet, futurum laborum quoque socium, quos Arctoae provinciae diu fessae poscebant. [12] Utque solent manum iniectantibus fatis, hebetari sensus hominum et obtundi, his illecebris ad meliorum expectationem erectus, egressusque Antiochia numine laevo ductante, prorsus ire tendebat de fumo, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, ad flammam; et ingressus Constantinopolim, tamquam in rebus prosperis et securis, editis equestribus ludis, capiti Thoracis aurigae coronam imposuit, ut victoris.

[13] Quo cognito Constantius ultra mortalem modum exarsit; ac nequo casu idem Gallus de futuris incertus, agitare quaedam conducentia saluti suae per itinera conaretur, remoti sunt omnes de industria milites agentes in civitatibus perviis. [14] Eoque tempore Taurus quaestor ad Armeniam missus, confidenter nec appellate eo nec viso transivit. Venere tamen aliqui iussu imperatoris, administrationum specie diversarum, eundem ne commovere se posset, neve temptaret aliquid occulte custodituri; inter quos Leontius erat, postea urbi praefectus, ut quaestor, et Lucillianus quasi domesticorum comes et scutariorum tribunus nomine Bainobaudes. [15] Emensis itaque longis intervallis et planis, cum Hadrianopolim introisset, urbem Haemimontanam, Uscudamam antehac appellatam, fessasque labore diebus duodecim recreans vires, comperit Thebaeas legiones in vicinis oppidis hiemantes, consortes suos

misisse quosdam, eum ut remaneret promissis fidis hortaturos et firmis, cum animarentur roboris sui fiducia, abunde per stationes locatae confines, sed observante cura pervigili proximorum, nullam videndi vel audiendi quae ferebant, furari potuit facultatem. [16] Inde aliis super alias urgentibus litteris exire et decem vehiculis publicis, ut praeceptum est, usus, relicto palatio omni, praeter paucos tori ministros et mensae, quos avexerat secum, squalore concretus, celerare gradum compellebatur, adigentibus multis, temeritati suae subinde flebiliter imprecatus, quae eum iam despectum et vilem arbitrio subdiderat infimorum. [17] Inter haec tamen per indutias naturae conquiescentis, sauciabantur eius sensus circumstridentium terrore larvarum, interfectorumque catervae, Domitiano et Montio praevis, correptum eum (ut existimabat in somnis), uncis furialibus obiectabant. [18] Solutus enim corporeis nexibus, animus semper vicens motibus indefessis, ex cogitationibus subiectis et curis, quae mortalium sollicitant mentes, colligit visa nocturna, quas φαντασίας nos appellamus.

[19] Pandente itaque viam factorum sorte tristissima, qua praestitutum erat eum vita et imperio spoliari, itineribus rectis permutatione iumentorum emensis, venit Petobionem oppidum Noricorum, ubi reseratae sunt insidiarum latebrae omnes, et Barbatio repente apparuit Comes, qui sub eo domesticis praefuit, cum Apodemio agente in rebus, milites ducens, quos beneficiis suis oppigneratos elegerat imperator, certus nec praemiis nec miseratione ulla posse deflecti.

[20] Iamque non umbratis fallaciis res agebatur, sed qua palatium est extra muros, armatis Barbatio omne circumdedit. Ingressusque obscuro iam die, ablatis regiis indumentis, Caesarem tunica texit et paludamento communi, eum post haec nihil passurum, velut mandato principis iurandi crebritate confirmans, et ‘Statim’ inquit ‘exsurge,’ et inopinum carpento privato impositum, ad Histriam duxit, prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam peremptum Constantini filium accipimus Crispum. [21] Et cum ibi servaretur artissime, terrore propinquantis exitii iam praesepultus, accurrit Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, Pentadiusque notarius, et Mallobaudes armaturarum tribunus, iussu imperatoris compulsuri eum singillatim docere, quam ob causam quemque apud Antiochiam necatorum iusserat trucidari. [22] Ad quae Adrasteo pallore perfusus, hactenus valuit loqui, quod plerosque incitante coniuge iugulaverit Constantina, ignorans profecto Alexandrum Magnum urgenti matri ut occideret quendam insontem, et dictitanti spe impetrandi postea quae vellet, eum se per novem menses utero portasse praegnantem, ita respondisse prudenter: ‘Aliam, parens optima, posce mercedem; hominis enim salus beneficio nullo pensatur.’ [23] Quo comperto irrevocabili ira princeps percitus et dolore, fiduciam omnem fundandae securitatis in eodem posuit abolendo. Et misso Sereniano, quem in crimen maiestatis vocatum praestigiis quibusdam absolutum esse supra monstravimus, Pentadio quin etiam notario, et Apodemio agente in rebus, eum capitali supplicio destinavit, et ita colligatis manibus in modum noxii cuiusdam latronis, cervice abscisa, ereptaque vultus

et capitis dignitate, cadaver est relictum informe, paulo ante urbibus et provinciis formidatum. [24] Sed vigilavit utrobique superni numinis aequitas. Nam et Gallus actus oppressere crudeles, et non diu postea ambo cruciabili morte absumpti sunt, qui eum licet nocentem, blandius palpantes periuriis, ad usque plagas perduxere letales. Quorum Scudilo destillatione iecoris pulmones vomitans interiit; Barbatio, qui in eum iam diu falsa composuerat crimina, cum ex magisterio peditum altius niti quorundam susurris incusaretur, damnatus extincti per fallacias Caesaris manibus inlacrimoso obitu parentavit.

[25] Haec et huius modi quaedam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impiorum, bonorumque praemiatrix, aliquotiens operatur Adrastia, (atque utinam semper!): quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum, vel ut definiunt alii, substantialis tutela generali potentia partilibus praesidens fati, quam theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam, ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena. [26] Haec ut regina causarum, et arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix, urnam sortium temperat, accidentium vices alternans, voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio quam quo contendebant exitu terminans, multiplices actus permutando convolvit. Eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus, tumentes in cassum, et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versabilis librans (ut novit), nunc erectas eminentium cervices opprimit et enervat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene vivendum extollit. Pinnas autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucris cunctis existimeretur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur.

[27] Hoc immaturo interitu, ipse quoque sui pertaesus, excessit e vita, aetatis nono anno atque vicensimo, cum quadriennio imperasset. Natus apud Tuscos in Massa Veternensi patre Constantio, Constantini fratre imperatoris, matreque Galla, sorore Rufini et Cerealis, quos trabeae consulares nobilitarunt, et praefecturae. [28] Fuit autem forma conspicuus bona, decente filo corporis membrorumque recta compage, flavo capillo et molli, barba licet recens emergente lanugine tenera, ita tamen ut maturius auctoritas emineret; tantum a temperatis moribus Iuliani differens fratris, quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit Domitianum et Titum. [29] Assumptus autem in amplissimum fortunae fastigium, versabilis eius motus expertus est, qui ludunt mortalitatem, nunc evehentes quosdam in sidera, nunc ad Cocyti profunda mergentes. Cuius rei cum innumera sint exempla, pauca tactu summo transcurram. [30] Haec fortuna mutabilis et inconstans fecit Agathoclem Siculum ex figulo regem, et Dionysium, gentium quondam terrorem, Corinthi litterario ludo praefecit. [31] Haec Adramytenum Andrisum, in fullonio natum, ad Pseudophilippi nomen evexit, et Persei legitimum filium artem ferrariam ob quaerendum docuit victum. [32] Eadem Mancinum post imperium dedit Numantinis, Samnitum atrocitati Veturium, et Claudium Corsis, substravitque feritati Carthaginis

Regulum; istius iniquitate Pompeius, post quaesitum Magni ex rerum gestarum amplitudine cognomentum, ad spadonum libidinem in Aegypto trucidatur. ^[33] Et Eunus quidam ergastularius servus ductavit in Sicilia fugitivos. Quam multi splendido loco nati Romani, eadem rerum domina conivente, Viriathi genua sunt amplexi vel Spartaci? Quot capita quae horruere gentes funesti carnifices absciderunt? Alter in vincula ducitur, alter insperatae praeficitur potestati, alius a summo culmine dignitatis excutitur. ^[34] Quae omnia si scire quisquam velit quam varia sint et assidua, harenarum numerum idem iam desipiens et montium pondera scrutari putabit.

LIBER XV.

[1] Mors Galli Caesaris imperatori nuntiatur.

Utrumque potui veritatem scrutari, ea quae videre licuit per aetatem, vel perplexe interrogando versatos in medio scire, narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum; residua quae secuturus aperiet textus, pro virium captu limatius absolvemus, nihil obtrectatores longi (ut putant) operis formidantes. Tunc enim laudanda est brevitās, cum moras rumpens intempestivas, nihil subtrahit cognitioni gestorum.

[2] Nondum apud Noricum exuto penitus Gallo, Apodemius quoad vixerat igneus turbarum incentor, raptos eius calceos vehens, equorum permutatione veloci, ut nimietate cogendi quosdam exstingeret, praecursorius index Mediolanum advenit ingressusque regiam, ante pedes proiecit Constantii, velut spolia regis occisi Parthorum; et perlato nuntio repentino, docente rem insperatam et arduam ad sententiam totam facilitate completam, hi qui summam aulam tenebant, omni placendi studio in adulationem ex more collato, virtutem felicitatemque imperatoris extollebant in caelum, cuius nutu in modum gregariorum militum (licet diversis temporibus) duo exauctorati sunt principes, Veteranio nimirum et Gallus. [3] Quo ille studio blanditiarum exquisite sublatus, immunemque se deinde fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim a iustitia declinavit ita intemperanter, ut 'Aeternitatem meam' aliquotiens subsereret ipse dictando, scribendoque propria manu orbis totius se dominum appellaret; quod dicentibus aliis, indignanter admodum ferre deberet is qui ad aemulationem civilium principum formare vitam moresque suos, ut praedicabat, diligentia laborabat enixa. [4] Namque etiam si mundorum infinitates Democriti regeret, quos Anaxarcho incitante Magnus somniabat Alexander, id reputasset legens vel audiens, quod (ut docent mathematici concinentes), ambitus terrae totius, quae nobis videtur immensa, ad magnitudinem universitatis instar brevis optinet puncti.

Ursicinus, magister equitum per orientem, Julianus, Galli Caesaris frater, et Gorgonius, praepositus Caesariani cubiculi, accusantur maiestatis.

Iamque post miserandam deleti Caesaris cladem, sonante periculorum iudicialium tuba, in crimen laesae maiestatis arcessebatur Ursicinus, adulescente magis magisque contra eius salutem livore, omnibus bonis infesto. [2] Hac enim superabatur difficultate, quod ad suscipiendas defensiones aequas et probabiles, imperatoris aures oclusae, patebant susurris insidiantium clandestinis, qui Constantii nomine per orientis tractus omnes abolito, ante dictum ducem domi forisque desiderari, ut formidolosum Persicae genti, fingebant. [3] Sed contra accidentia vir magnanimus stabat immobilis, ne se proiceret abiectius cavens, parum tuto loco innocentiam stare medullitus gemens, hocque uno tristior quod amici ante haec frequentes ad potiores desciverant, ut ad successores officiorum, more poscente, solent

transire lictores. [4] Impugnabat autem eum per fictae benignitatis illecebras, collegam et virum fortem propalam saepe appellans Arbetio, ad innectendas letales insidias vitae simplici perquam callens, et ea tempestate nimium potens. Ut enim subterraneus serpens, foramen subsidens occultum, adsultu subito singulos transitores observans incessit, ita ille odio alienae sortis etiam post adeptum summum militiae munus, nec laesus aliquando nec lacessitus, inexplibili quodam laedendi proposito, conscientiam polluebat. [5] Igitur paucis arcanorum praesentibus consciis, latenter cum imperatore sententia diu digesta, id sederat, ut nocte ventura, procul a conspectu militarium raptus, Ursicinus indemnatu occideretur, ut quondam Domitius Corbulo dicitur caesus, in colluvione illa Neroniani saeculi provinciarum fidus defensor et cautus. [6] Quibus ita compositis, cum ad hoc destinati praedictum tempus operirentur, consilio in lenitudinem flexo, facinus impium ad deliberationem secundam differri praeceptum est.

[7] Indeque ad Iulianum, recens perductum, calumniarum vertitur machina, memorabilem postea principem, gemino crimine, ut iniquitas aestimabat, implicitum: quod a Macelli fundo, in Cappadocia posito, ad Asiam demigrarat, liberalium desiderio doctrinarum, et per Constantinopolim transeuntem viderat fratrem. [8] Qui cum obiecta dilueret, ostenderetque neutrum sine iussu fecisse, nefando assentatorum coetu perisset urgente, ni adspiratione superni numinis Eusebia suffragante regina, ductus ad Comum oppidum Mediolano vicinum, ibique paulisper moratus, procudendi ingenii causa (ut cupidine flagravisset) ad Graeciam ire permissus est. [9] Nec defuere deinceps ex his emergentia casibus, quae diceret secundis avibus contigisse, dum punirentur ex iure, vel tamquam irrita difflebant et vana. Sed accidebat non numquam, ut opulenti pulsantes praesidia potiorum, eisdemque tamquam ederae celsis arboribus adhaerentes, absolutionem pretiis mercarentur immensis; tenues vero, quibus exiguae vires erant ad redimendam salutem aut nullae, damnabantur abrupte. Ideoque et veritas mendaciis velabatur, et valere pro veris aliquotiens falsa.

[10] Perductus est eisdem diebus et Gorgonius, cui erat thalami Caesariani cura commissa, cumque eum ausorum fuisse participem, concitoremque interdum, ex confesso pateret, conspiratione spadonum iustitia concinnatis mendaciis obumbrata, periculo evolutus abscessit.

In Galli Caesaris amicos et ministros animadvertitur.

Haec dum Mediolani aguntur, militarium catervae ab oriente perductae sunt Aquileiam, cum aulicis pluribus, membris inter catenas fluentibus, spiritum trahentes exiguum vivendique moras per aerumnas detestati multiplices. Arcessebantur enim ministri fuisse Galli ferocientis, perque eos Domitianus discerptus credebatur et Montius, et alii post eos acti in exitium praeceps. [2] Ad quos audiendos Arboreus missus est et Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, ambo inconsideratae iactantiae, iniusti pariter et cruenti. Qui nullo perspicaciter inquisito, sine innocentium sontiumque differentia, alios

verberibus vel tormentis afflictos exsulari poena damnarunt, quosdam ad infimam trusere militiam, residuos capitalibus addixere suppliciis. Impletisque funerum bustis, reversi velut ovantes, gesta rettulerunt ad principem, erga haec et similia palam obstinatum et gravem. [3] Vehementius hinc et deinde Constantius, quasi praescriptum factorum ordinem convulsurus, recluso pectore patebat insidiantibus multis. Unde rumorum aucupes subito exstitere complures, honorum vertices ipsos ferinis morsibus appetentes, posteaque pauperes et divites indiscrete; non ut Cibratae illi Verrini, tribunal unius legati lambentes, sed rei publicae membra totius per incidentia mala vexantes. [4] Inter quos facile Paulus et Mercurius eminebant: hic origine Persa, ille natus in Dacia: notarius ille, hic a ministro triclinii rationalis. Et Paulo quidem, ut relatum est supra, Catenae inditum est cognomentum, eo quod in complicandis calumniarum nexibus erat indissolubilis, mira inventorum sese varietate dispensans, ut in colluctationibus callere nimis quidam solent artifices palaestritae. [5] Mercurius vero somniorum appellatus est comes, quod ut clam mordax canis interna saevitia summissius agitans caudam, epulis coetibusque se crebris inserens, si per quietem quisquam, ubi fusius natura vagatur, vidisse aliquid amico narrasset, id venenatis artibus coloratum in peius, patulis imperatoris auribus infundebat, et ob hoc homo tamquam inexpiabili obnoxius culpaе, gravi mole criminis pulsabatur. [6] Haec augente vulgatus fama, tantum aberat, ut proderet quisquam visa nocturna, ut contra aegre homines dormisse sese praesentibus faterentur externis, maerebantque docti quidam, quod apud Atlanteos nati non essent, ubi memorantur somnia non videri; quod unde eveniat, rerum scientissimis relinquamus.

[7] Inter has quaestionum suppliciorumque species diras, in Illyrico exoritur alia clades, ad multorum pericula ex verborum inanitate progressa. In convivio Africani, Pannoniae secundae rectoris, apud Sirmium poculis amplioribus madefacti quidam, arbitrum adesse nullum existimantes, licenter imperium praesens ut molestissimum incusabant; quibus alii optatam permutationem temporum adventare, veluti e praesagiis affirmabant, non nulli maiorum augurio sibi portendi, incogitabili dementia promittebant. [8] E quorum numero Gaudentius agens in rebus, mente praecipiti stolidus, rem ut seriam detulerat ad Rufinum, apparitionis praefecturae praetorianae tune principem, ultimorum semper avidum hominem, et coalita pravitate famosum. [9] Qui confestim quasi pinnis elatus, ad comitatum principis advolavit, eumque ad suspiciones huius modi mollem et penetrabilem, ita acriter inflammavit, ut sine deliberatione ulla Africanus, et omnes letalis mensae participes, iuberentur rapi sublimes. Quo facto delator funestus, vetita ex more humano validius cupiens, biennio id quod agebat (ut postularat) continuare praeceptus est. [10] Missus igitur ad eos corripiendos Teutomeres protector domesticus cum collega onustos omnes catenis (ut mandatum est) perducebat. Sed ubi ventum est Aquileiam, Marinus tribunus ex campidoctore eo tempore vacans, auctor perniciosi sermonis, et alioqui naturae ferventis, in taberna relictus, dum parantur itineri necessaria, lateri cultrum longiorem casu

reperitum impiegit, statimque extractis vitalibus, interiit. [11] Residui ducti Mediolanum, excruciatique tormentis, et confessi inter epulas petulanter se quaedam locutos, iussi sunt attineri poenalibus claustris, sub absolutionis aliqua spe (licet incerta). Protectores vero pronuntiati vertere solum exilio, ut Marino eisdem consciis mori permissio, veniam Arbetione meruere precante.

Lentienses Alamanni a Constantio Aug. pars caesi, pars fugati.

Re hoc modo finita, ... et Lentiensibus, Alamannicis pagis, indictum est bellum, collimitia saepe Romana latius irrumpentibus. Ad quem procinctum imperator egressus, in Raetias camposque venit Caninos, et digestis diu consiliis, id visum est honestum et utile, ut eo cum militis parte ibidem opperiente, Arbetio magister equitum cum validiore exercitus manu, relegens margines lacus Brigantiae pergeret, protinus barbaris congressurus. Cuius loci figuram breviter quantum ratio patitur, designabo.

[2] Inter montium celsorum amfractus, immani pulsu Rhenus exoriens, per scopulos extenditur altis, nullos advenas amnes adoptans, ut per cataractas inclinatione praecipiti funditur Nilus. Et navigari ab ortu poterat primigenio copiis exuberans propriis, ni ruenti curreret similis potius quam fluenti lenius amni. [3] Iamque ad plana volutus, altaque divortia riparum adradens, lacum invadit rotundum et vastum, quem Brigantiam accola Raetus appellat, perque quadringenta et sexaginta stadia longum, parique paene spatio late diffusum, horrore silvarum squalentium inaccessum, nisi qua vetus illa Romana virtus et sobria iter composuit latum, barbaris et natura locorum et caeli inclementia refragante. [4] Hanc ergo paludem spumosis strepando verticibus amnis irrumpens, et undarum quietem permeans pigram, mediam velut finali intersecat libramento, et tamquam elementum perenni discordia separatum, nec aucto nec imminuto agmine quod intulit, vocabulo et viribus absolvitur integris, nec contagia deinde ulla perpetiens, oceani gurgitibus intimatur. [5] Quodque est impendio mirum, nec stagnum aquarum rapido transcurso movetur, nec limosa subluvie tardatur properans flumen, et confusum misceri non potest corpus; quod, ni ita agi ipse doceret aspectus, nulla vi credebatur posse discerni. [6] Sic Alpheus oriens in Arcadia, cupidine fontis Arethusae captus, scindens Ionium mare, ut fabulae ferunt, ad usque amatae confinia proruit nymphae. [7] Arbetio qui adventus barbarorum nuntiarent non exspectans dum adessent, licet sciret aspera orta bellorum, in occultas delatus insidias, stetit immobilis, malo repentino percussus. [8] Namque improvisi e latebris hostes exsiliunt, et sine parsimonia quicquid offendi poterat telorum genere multiplici configebant; nec enim resistere nostrorum quisquam potuit, nec aliud vitae subsidium, nisi discessu sperare veloci. Quocirca vulneribus declinandis intenti, incomposito agmine milites huc et illuc dispalantes, terga ferienda dederunt. Plerique tamen per angustas semitas sparsi, periculoque praesidio tenebrosae noctis extracti, revoluta iam luce, redintegratis viribus agmini quisque proprio sese consociavit. In quo casu ita tristi et inopino, abundans numerus armatorum, et tribuni desiderati sunt decem. [9] Ob quae Alamanni sublatis animis ferocius incedentes secuto die prope munimenta

Romana, adimente matutina nebula lucem, strictis mucronibus discurrebant, frendendo minas tumidas intentantes. Egressique repente scutarii, cum obiectu turmarum hostilium percussi stetissent, omnes suos conspiratis mentibus ciebant ad pugnam. [10] Verum cum plerosque recentis aerumnae documenta terrent, et intuta fore residua credens haereret Arbetio, tres simul exsiluere tribuni, Arintheus agens vicem armaturarum rectoris, et Seniachus qui equestrem turmam comitum tuebatur, et Bappo ducens promotos. [11] Qui cum commissis sibi militibus, pro causa communi se velut propria Deciorum veterum exemplo voventes, more fluminis hostibus superfusi, non iusto proelio sed discursionibus rapidis, universos in fugam coegere foedissimam. Qui dispersi laxatis ordinibus, dumque elabi properant impediti, corpora nudantes intacta, gladiatorum hastarumque densis ictibus truncabantur. [12] Multique cum equis interfecti iacentes, etiam tum eorum dorsis videbantur innexi; quo viso omnes e castris effusi, qui prodire in proelium cum sociis ambigebant, cavendi immemores, proterebant barbaram plebem, nisi quos fuga exemerat morte, calcantes cadaverum strues, et perfusi sanie peremptorum. [13] Hocque exitu proelio terminate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna ovans revertit et laetus.

Silvanus Francus, magister peditum per Gallias, Coloniae Augustus appellatur, et xxviii. Imperi die per insidias opprimitur.

Exoritur iam hinc rebus afflictis, haut dispari provinciarum malo calamitatum turbo novarum, exstincturus omnia simul, ni Fortuna moderatrix humanorum casuum motum eventu celeri consummavit, impendio formidatum. [2] Cum diuturna incuria Galliae caedes acerbis rapinasque et incendia, barbaris licenter grassantibus, nullo iuvante perferrent, Silvanus pedestris militiae rector, ut efficax ad haec corrigenda, principis iussu perrexit, Arbetione id maturari modis quibus poterat adigente, ut absenti aemulo quem superesse adhuc gravabatur periculosae molis onus impingeret.

[3] Dynamius quidam actuarius sarcinalium principis iumentorum, commendaticias ab eo petierat litteras ad amicos, ut quasi familiaris eiusdem esset notissimus. Hoc impetrato, cum ille nihil suspicans simpliciter praestitisset, servabat epistulas, ut perniciosum aliquid in tempore moliretur.

[4] Memorato itaque duce Gallias ex re publica discursante, barbarosque propellente, iam sibi diffidentes et trepidantes, idem Dynamius inquietus agens, ut versutus et in fallendo exercitatus, fraudem comminiscitur impiam, subornatore et conscio, ut iactavere rumores incerti, Lampadio praefecto praetorio, et Eusebio ex comite rei privatae, cui cognomentum erat inditum Mattyocopae, atque Aedesio ex magistro memoriae, quos ad consulatum ut amicos iunctissimos idem curarat rogari praefectus; et peniculo serie litterarum abstersa, solaque incolumi relictis subscriptione, alter multum a vero illo dissonans superscribitur textus: velut Silvano rogante verbis obliquis, hortanteque amicos agentes intra palatium, vel privatos, inter quos et Tuscus erat Albinus, aliique plures, ut se altiora coeptantem, et prope diem loci principalis aditum petiturum iuvarent. [5] Hunc fascem ad arbitrium figmenti

compositum, vitam pulsaturum insontis, a Dynamio susceptum praefectus imperatori, avide scrutari haec et similia consueto, secrete obtulit soli, ingressus intimum conclave in tempore, deinde sperans accepturum se a principe praemium, ut pervigilem salutis eius custodem et cautum, lectaque consistorio astu callido consarcinata materia, tribuni iussi sunt custodiri, et de provinciis duci privati, quorum epistolae nomina designabant. [6] Confestimque iniquitate rei percitus Malarichus, gentilium rector, collegis adhibitis strepebat immaniter, circumveniri homines dicatos imperio per factiones et dolos minime debere proclamans, petebatque ut ipse relictis obsidum loco necessitudinibus suis, Mallobaude armaturarum tribuno spondente quod remeabit, velocius iuberetur ire ducturus Silvanum, aggredi nihil tale conatum, quale insidiatores acerrimi concitarunt; vel contra se paria promittente, Mallobaudem orabat properare permitti, haec quae ipse pollicitus est impleturum. [7] Testabatur enim id se procul dubio scire, quod siqui mitteretur externus, suoapte ingenio Silvanus etiam nulla re perterrente timidior, composita forte turbabit.

[8] Et quamquam utilia moneret et necessaria, ventis tamen loquebatur incassum. Namque Arbetione auctore, Apodemius ad eum vocandum cum litteris mittitur, inimicus bonorum omnium diuturnus et gravis. Qui incidentia parvi ducens cum venisset in Gallias, dissidens a mandatis, quae proficiscenti sunt data, nec viso Silvano nec oblatis scriptis ut veniret admonito, remansit adscitoque rationali, quasi proscripti iamque necandi magistri peditum clientes et servos hostili tumore vexabat. [9] Inter haec tamen dum praesentia Silvani speratur, et Apodemius quieta perturbat, Dynamius ut argumento validiore impie structorum adsereret fidem, compositas litteras his concinentes quas obtulerat principi per praefectum, ad tribunum miserat fabricae Cremonensis, nomine Silvani et Malarichi, a quibus ut arcanorum conscius monebatur parare propere cuncta. [10] Qui cum haec legisset, haerens et ambigens diu quidnam id esset — nec enim meminerat secum aliquando super negotio ullo interiore hos quorum litteras acceperat collocutos — epistulas ipsas per baiulum qui portarat, iuncto milite ad Malarichum remisit, obsecrans ut doceret aperte quae vellet, non ita perplexe; nec enim intellexisse firmabat, ut subagrestem et simplicem, quid significatum esset obscurius. [11] Haec Malarichus subito nactus, etiam tunc squalens et maestus, suamque et popularis Silvani vicem graviter ingemiscens, adhibitis Francis, quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius iam loquebatur; tumultuando patefactis insidiis reserataque iam fallacia, per quam ex confesso salus eorum appetebatur. [12] Hisque cognitis statuit imperator, dispicientibus consistorianis et militaribus universis, in negotium perspicaciter inquiri. Cumque iudices resedissent, Florentius Nigriniani filius agens tune pro magistro officiorum, contemplans diligentius scripta, apicumque pristinorum quasi quandam umbram repperiens animadvertit (ut factum est) priore textu interpolato longe alia quam dictarat Silvanus, ex libidine consarcinatae falsitatis adscripta. [13] Proinde fallaciarum nube discussa, imperator doctus gesta relatione fidei,

abrogata potestate praefectum statui sub quaestione praecepit, sed absolutus est enixa conspiratione multorum. Suspensus autem Eusebius ex comite privatarum, se conscio haec dixerat concitata. [14] Aedesius omnino nescisse quid actum sit pertinaci infitiatione contendens, abiit innoxius, et ita finito negotio, omnes sunt absoluti quos exhiberi delatio compulit criminosa. Dynamius vero ut praeclaris artibus illustratus, cum correctoris dignitate regere iussus est Tuscos et Umbros.

[15] Agens inter haec apud Agrippinam Silvanus, assiduisque suorum comperiens nuntiis, quae Apodemius in labem suarum ageret fortunarum, et sciens animum tenerum versabilis principis, timensque ne trucidaretur absens et inauditus, in difficultate positus maxima, barbaricae se fidei committere cogitabat. [16] Sed Laniogaiso vetante (tunc tribuno) quem dum militaret candidatus solum adfuisse morituro Constanti supra rettulimus, docenteque Francos, unde oriebatur, interfectores eum aut accepto praemio prodituros, nihil tutum ex praesentibus ratus, in consilia agitabatur extrema et sensim cum principiorum verticibus erectius collocutus, eisdemque magnitudine promissae mercedis accensis, cultu purpureo a draconum et vexillorum insignibus ad tempus abstracto, ad culmen imperiale surrexit.

[17] Dumque haec aguntur in Galliis, ad occasum inclinato iam die, perfertur Mediolanum insperabilis nuntius, aperte Silvanum demonstrans, dum ex magisterio peditum altius nititur, sollicitato exercitu ad augustum culmen evectum. [18] Hac mole casus inopini Constantio icto, quasi fulmine Fati, primates, consilio secunda vigilia convocato, properarunt omnes in regiam. Cumque nulli ad eligendum quid agi deberet, mens suppetere posset aut lingua, submissis verbis perstringebatur Ursicini mentio, ut consiliis rei bellicae praestantissimi, frustra gravi iniuria laccessiti, et per admissionum magistrum — qui mos est honoratior — accito eodem, ingresso consistorium offertur purpura multo quam antea placidius. Diocletianus enim Augustus omnium primus, externo et regio more instituit adorari, cum semper antea ad similitudinem iudicum salutados principes legerimus. [19] Et qui paulo antea cum insectatione malivola, orientis vorago, invadendaeque summae rei per filios affectator compellabatur, tunc dux prudentissimus, et Constantini magnus erat commilito, solusque ad extinguendum, probis quidem sed insidiosis rationibus petebatur. Diligens enim opera navabatur, exstingui Silvanum, ut fortissimum perduellem, aut (si secus accidisset) Ursicinum exulceratum iam penitus aboleri, ne superesset scopulus impendio formidandus. [20] Igitur cum de profectione celeranda disponderetur, propulsationem obiectorum criminum eundem ducem parantem praegressus, oratione leni prohibet imperator, non id esse memorans tempus, ut controversa defensio causae susciperetur, cum vicissim restitui in pristinam concordiam partes necessitas subigeret urgentium rerum, antequam cresceret mollienda. [21] Habita igitur deliberatione multiplici, id potissimum tractabatur, quo commento Silvanus gesta etiam tum imperatorem ignorare existimaret. Et probabili argumento ad firmandam fidem reperto monetur honorificis scriptis,

ut accepto Ursicino successore cum potestate rediret intacta. [22] Post haec ita digesta protinus iubetur exire, tribunis et protectoribus domesticis decem, ut postularat, ad iuvandas necessitates publicas ei coniunctis, inter quos ego quoque eram cum Veriniano collega, residui omnes propinqui et familiares. [23] Iamque eum egressum solum de se metuens quisque per longa spatia deducebat. Et quamquam ut bestiarii obiceremur intractabilibus feris, perpendentes tamen hoc bonum habere tristia accidentia, quod in locum suum secunda substituunt, mirabamur illam sententiam Tullianam, ex internis veritatis ipsius promulgatam, quae est talis: ‘Et quamquam optatissimum est perpetuo fortunam quam florentissimam permanere, illa tamen aequalitas vitae non tantum habet sensum, quantum cum ex miseris et perditis rebus ad meliorem statum fortuna revocatur.’

[24] Festinamus itaque itineribus magnis, ut ambitiosus magister armorum, ante allapsum per Italicos de tyrannide ullum Rumorem, in suspectis finibus appareret, verum cursim nos properantes aerea quadam via antevolans prodiderat Fama, et Agrippinam ingressi, invenimus cuncta nostris conatibus altiora. [25] Namque convena undique multitudine trepide coepta fundante, coactisque copiis multis, pro statu rei praesentis id aptius videbatur, ut ad imperatoris novelli, per ludibriosa auspicia virium accessu firmandi sensum ac voluntatem dux flexibilis verteretur; quo variis assentandi figmentis in mollius vergente securitate, nihil metuens hostile deciperetur. [26] Cuius rei finis arduus videbatur; erat enim cautius observandum, ut appetitus opportunitati obtemperarent, nec praecurrentes eam nec deserentes. Qui si eluxissent intempestive, constabat nos omnes sub elogio uno morte multandos.

[27] Susceptus tamen idem dux leniter adactusque, inclinante negotio ipso cervices, adorare sollemniter anhelantem celsius purpuratum, ut spectabilis colebatur et intimus: facilitate aditus honoreque mensae regalis adeo antepositus aliis, ut iam secretius de rerum summa consultaretur. [28] Aegre ferebat Silvanus ad consulatum potestatesque sublimes elatis indignis, se et Ursicinum solos post exsudatos magnos pro re publica labores et crebros, ita fuisse despectos, ut ipse quidem per quaestiones familiarium sub disceptatione ignobili crudeliter agitatus, commisisse in maiestatem arcesseretur, alter vero ab oriente raptus odiis inimicorum addiceretur; et haec assidue clam querebatur et palam. [29] Terrebant nos tamen, cum dicerentur haec et similia, circumfremencia undique murmura causantis inopiam militis, et rapida celeritate ardentis angustias Alpium perrumpere Cottiarum.

[30] In hoc aestu mentis ancipiti, ad effectum tendens consilium occulta scrutabamur indagine, sederatque tandem mutatis prae timore saepe sententiis, ut quaesitis magna industria cautis rei ministris, obstricto religionum consecratione colloquio, Bracchiati sollicitarentur atque Cornuti, fluxioris fidei et ubertate mercedis ad momentum omne versabiles. [31] Firmato itaque negotio per sequestres quosdam gregarios, obscuritate ipsa ad id patrandum idoneos, praemiorum exspectatione accensus solis ortu iam rutilo, subitus armorum globus erupit, atque ut solet in dubiis rebus, audentior caesis

custodibus, regia penetrata, Silvanum extractum aedícula, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Christiani tendentem, densis gladiatorum ictibus trucidarunt.

[32] Ita dux haut exsilium meritorum hoc genere oppetit mortis, metu calumniarum, quibus factione iniquorum irretitus est absens, ut tueri possit salutem, ad praesidia progressus extrema. [33] Licet enim ob tempestivam illam cum armaturis prodicionem ante Mursense proelium obligatum gratia retineret Constantium, ut dubium tamen et mutabilem verebatur, licet patris quoque Boniti praetenderet fortia facta, Franci quidem sed pro Constantini partibus in bello civili acriter contra Licinianos saepe versati. [34] Evenerat autem ut, antequam huius modi aliquid ageretur in Galliis, Romae in Circo maximo populus, incertum relatione quadam percitus an praesagio, 'Silvanus devictus est' magnis vocibus exclamaret.

[35] Igitur Silvano Agrippinae (ut relatum est) interfecto, inaestimabili gaudio re cognita princeps, insolentia coalitus et timore, hoc quoque felicitatis suae prosperis cursibus assignabat, eo more quo semper oderat fortiter facientes, ut quondam Domitianus, superare tamen quacumque arte contraria cupiebat. [36] Tantumque afuit laudare industrie gesta, ut etiam quaedam scriberet de Gallicanis intercepta thesauris, quos nemo attigerat. Idque scrutari iusserat artius interrogare Remigio, etiam tum rationario apparitionis armorum magistri, cui multo postea Valentiniani temporibus laques vitam in causa Tripolitanae legationis, eripuit. [37] Post quae ita completa, Constantius ut iam caelo contiguus, casibusque imperaturus humanis, magniloquentia sufflabatur adulatorum, quos augebat ipse spernendo prociendoque id genus parum callentes, ut Croesum legimus ideo regno suo Solonem expulisse praecipitem, quia blandiri nesciebat; et Dionysium intentasse poetae Philoxeno mortem, cum eum recitantem proprios versus absurdos et inconcinnos, laudantibus cunctis, solus audiret immobilis. [38] Quae res perniciose vitiorum est alitrix. Ea demum enim laus grata esse potestati debet excelsae, cum interdum et vituperationi secus gestorum pateat locus.

Silvani amici et consocii necati.

Iamque post securitatem quaestiones agitabantur ex more, et vinculis catenisque plures ut noxii plectebantur. Exsurgebat enim effervens laetitia Paulus, tartareus ille delator, ad venenatas artes suas licentius exercendas, et inquiringibus in negotium consistorianis atque militaribus (ut praeceptum est) Proculus admovetur eculeo, Silvani domesticus, homo gracilis et morbosus, metuentibus cunctis, ne vi nimia tormentorum, levi corpore fatigato, reos atrocium criminum promiscue citari faceret multos. Verum contra quam speratum est contigit. [2] Memor enim somnii quo vetitus erat per quietem (ut ipse firmavit) pulsare quendam insontem, usque ad confinia mortis vexatus, nec nominavit nec prodidit aliquem, sed asserebat factum Silvani constanter, id eum cogitasse quod iniit, non cupiditate sed necessitate compulsus, argumento evidenti demonstrans. [3] Causam enim probabilem ponebat in

medio, multorum testimoniis claram, quod die quinto antequam infulas susciperet principatus, donatum stipendio militem Constanti nomine allocutus est, fortis esset et fidus. Unde apparebat quod si praesumere fortunae superioris insignia conaretur, auri tam grave pondus largiretur ut suum. [4] Post hunc damnatorum sorte Poemenius raptus ad supplicium interiit, qui (ut supra rettulimus) cum Treveri civitatem Caesari clausissent Decentio, ad defendendam plebem electus est. Tum Asclepiodotus et Lutto et Maudio comites interempti sunt, aliique plures, haec et similia perplexe temporis obstinatione scrutante.

Ab Leontio praefecto urbi populi R. seditiones repressae. Liberius episcopus sede pulsus.

Dum has exitiorum communium clades suscitatur turbo feralis, urbem aeternam Leontius regens, multa spectati iudicis documenta praebebat, in audiendo celerior, in disceptando iustissimus, natura benevolus, licet auctoritatis causa servandae acer quibusdam videbatur, et inclinior ad damnandum. [2] Prima igitur causa seditionis in eum concitandae vilissima fuit et levis. Philoromum enim aurigam rapi praeceptum, secuta plebs omnis, velut defensura proprium pignus, terribili impetu praefectum incessebat ut timidum, sed ille stabilis et erectus, immissis apparitoribus, correptos aliquos vexatosque tormentis, nec strepente ullo nec obsistente, insulari poena multavit. [3] Diebusque paucis secutis cum itidem plebs excita calore quo consuevit, vini causando inopiam, ad Septemzodium convenisset, celebrem locum, ubi operis ambitiosi Nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator, illuc de industria pergens praefectus, ab omni toga apparitioneque rogabatur enixius, ne in multitudinem se arrogantem immitteret et minacem, ex commotione pristina saevientem; difficilis ad pavorem, recta tetendit, adeo ut eum obsequentium pars desereret, licet in periculum festinantem abruptum. [4] Insidens itaque vehiculo, cum speciosa fiducia contuebatur acribus oculis tumultuantium undique cuneorum, veluti serpentium vultus, perpessusque multa dici probrosa, agnitum quendam inter alios eminentem vasti corporis rutilique capilli, interrogavit, an ipse esset Petrus Valuomeres (ut audierat) cognomento; eumque cum esse sonu respondisset obiurgatorio, ut seditiosorum antesignanum olim sibi compertum, reclamantibus multis, post terga manibus vinctis, suspendi praecepit. [5] Quo viso sublimi, tribuliumque adiumentum nequicquam implorante, vulgus omne paulo ante confertum, per varia urbis membra diffusum, ita evanuit ut turbarum acerrimus concitor, tamquam in iudiciali secreto exaratis lateribus, ad Picenum eiceretur, ubi postea ausus eripere virginis non obscurae pudorem, Patruini consularis sententia supplicio est capitali addictus.

[6] Hoc administrante Leontio, Liberius Christianae legis antistes, a Constantio ad comitatum mitti praeceptus est, tamquam imperatoriis iussis et plurimorum sui consortium decretis obsistens, in re quam brevi textu percurram. [7] Athanasium episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam, ultra professionem altius se efferentem, scitarique conatum externa, ut prodidere

rumores assidui, coetus in unum quaesitus eiusdem legis cultorum (synodus ut appellant) removit a sacramento quod optinebat. [8] Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quaeve augurales portenderent alites, scientissime callens, aliquotiens praedixisse futura; super his intendebantur ei alia quoque, a proposito legis abhorrentia cui praesidebat. [9] Hunc per subscriptionem abicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens ceteris, iubente principe Liberius monitus, perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum saepe exclamans, aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. [10] Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, licet sciret impletum, tamen auctoritate quoque potiore aeternae urbis episcopi firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti; quo non impetrato, Liberius aegre populi metu, qui eius amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit asportari.

Iulianus, Galli frater, a Constantio Aug. fratre patrueli Caesar creatur, ac praeficitur Galliae.

Et haec quidem Romae (ut ostendit textus superior) agebantur. Constantium vero exagitabant assidui nuntii, deploratas iam Gallias indicantes, nullo renitente ad internecionem barbaris vastantibus universa; aestuansque diu qua vi propulsaret aerumnas, ipse in Italia residens, ut cupiebat periculosum enim existimabat se in partem contrudere longe dimotam — repperit tandem consilium rectum, et Iulianum patruelem fratrem haut ita dudum ab Achaico tractu accitum, etiam tum palliatum, in societatem imperii adsciscere cogitabat. [2] Id ubi, urgente malorum impendentium mole, confessus est proximis, succumbere tot necessitatibus tamque crebris unum se (quod numquam fecerat) aperte demonstrans, illi in assentationem nimiam eruditi, infatuabant hominem, nihil esse ita asperum dictitantes, quod praepotens eius virtus, fortunaque tam vicina sideribus, non superaret ex more. Addebantque noxarum conscientia stimulante complures, deinceps caveri debere Caesaris nomen, replicantes gesta sub Gallo. [3] Quis annitentibus obstinate opponebat se sola regina, incertum migrationem ad longinqua pertimescens, an pro nativa prudentia consulens in commune, omnibusque memorans anteponi debere propinquum. Post multa itaque per deliberationes ambiguas actitata, stetit fixa sententia, abiectisque disputationibus irritis, ad imperium placuit Iulianum assumere. [4] Et cum venisset accitus, praedicto die advocato omni quod aderat commilitio, tribunali ad altiorem suggestum erecto, quod aquilae circumdederunt et signa, Augustus insistens eumque manu retinens dextera, haec sermone placido peroravit:

[5] ‘Adsisimus apud vos — optimi rei publicae defensores — causae communi uno paene omnium spiritu vindicandae, quam acturus tamquam apud aequos iudices succinctius edocebo. [6] Post interitum rebellium tyrannorum, quos ad haec temptanda quae moverunt, rabies egit et furor, velut impiis eorum manibus Romano sanguine parentantes, persultant barbari Gallias, rupta limitum pace; hac animati fiducia, quod nos per disiunctissimas terras arduae necessitates adstringunt. [7] Huic igitur malo ultra apposita iam

proserpenti, si dum patitur tempus, occurrerit nostri vestrique consulti suffragium, et colla superbarum gentium detumescant, et imperii fines erunt intacti. Restat ut venturorum spem quam gero secundo roboretis effectu. [8] Iulianum hunc fratrem meum patruelem (ut nostis,) verecundia qua nobis ita ut necessitudine carus est, recte spectatum, iamque elucentis industriae iuvenem, in Caesaris adhibere potestatem exopto, coeptis (si videntur utilia) etiam vestra consensione firmandis.'

[9] Dicere super his plura conantem, interpellans contio lenius prohibebat, arbitrium summi numinis id esse non mentis humanae velut praescia venturi proclamans. [10] Stansque imperator immobilis dum silerent, residua fidentius explicavit: 'Quia igitur vestrum quoque favorem adesse fremitus indicat laetus, adulescens vigoris tranquilli, cuius temperati mores imitandi sunt potius quam praedicandi, ad honorem prosperante deo delatum exsurgat; cuius praeclaram indolem bonis artibus institutam, hoc ipso plene videor exposuisse quod elegi. Ergo eum, praesente nutu dei caelestis, amictu principali velabo.'

[11] Dixit moxque indutum avita purpura Iulianum, et Caesarem cum exercitus gaudio declaratum, his alloquitur contractiore vultu submaestum:

[12] 'Recepisti primaevus originis tuae splendidum florem, amantissime mihi omnium frater; aucta gloria mea, confiteor, qui iustius in deferenda suppari potestate nobilitati mihi propinqua, quam ipsa potestate videor esse sublimis. [13] Adesto igitur laborum periculorumque particeps, et tutelam ministerii suscipe Galliarum, omni beneficentia partes levaturus afflictas: et si hostilibus congredi sit necesse, fixo gradu consiste inter signiferos ipsos, audendi in tempore consideratus hortator, pugnantes accendens praeundo cautissime, turbatosque subsidiis fulciens, modesteque increpans desides, verissimus testis adfuturus industriis et ignavis. [14] Proinde urgente rei magnitudine, perge vir fortis, ducturus viros itidem fortes. Aderimus nobis vicissim amoris robusta constantia, militabimus simul, una orbem pacatum, deus modo velit quod oramus, pari moderatione pietateque recturi. Mecum ubique videberis praesens, et ego tibi quodcumque acturo non deero. Ad summam i, propera sociis omnium votis, velut assignatam tibi ab ipsa re publica, stationem cura pervigili defensurus.'

[15] Nemo post haec finita reticuit, sed militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes (quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum hastis clipei feriuntur, irae documentum est et doloris) immane quo quantoque gaudio praeter paucos Augusti probavere iudicium, Caesaremque admiratione digna suscipiebant, imperatorii muricis fulgore flagrantem. [16] Cuius oculos cum venustate terribilis, vultumque excitatius gratum, diu multumque contuentes, qui futurus sit colligebant velut scrutatis veteribus libris, quorum lectio per corporum signa pandit animorum interna. Eumque ut potiori reverentia servaretur, nec supra modum laudabant, nec infra quam decebat, atque ideo censorum voces sunt aestimatae, non militum. [17] Susceptus denique ad consessum vehiculi, receptusque in regiam, hunc versum ex Homérico carmine susurrabat:

ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος φάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

Haec diem octavum iduum Novembrium gesta sunt, cum Arbetionem consulem annus haberet et Lollianum. [18] Deinde diebus paucis Helena virgine, Constanti sorore, eidem Caesari iugali foedere copulata, paratisque universis quae maturitas proficiscendi poscebat, comitatu parvo suscepto, kalendis Decembribus egressus est deductusque ab Augusto ad usque locum duabus columnis insignem, qui Laumellum interiacet et Ticinum, itineribus rectis Taurinos pervenit, ubi nuntio percellitur gravi, qui nuper in comitatum Augusti perlatus, de industria silebatur, ne parata diffuerent. [19] Indicabat autem Coloniam Agrippinam, ampli nominis urbem in secunda Germania, pertinaci barbarorum obsidione reseratam magnis viribus et deletam. [20] Quo maerore percussus, velut primo adventantium malorum auspicio, murmurans querulis vocibus saepe audiebatur: nihil se plus assecutum, quam ut occupator interiret. [21] Cumque Viennam venisset, ingredientem optatum quidem et impetabilem honorifice susceptura omnis aetas concurrebat et dignitas, proculque visum plebs universa, cum vicinitate finitima, imperatorem clementem appellans et faustum, praevia consonis laudibus celebrabat, avidius pompam regiam in principe legitimo cernens: communiumque remedium aerumnarum in eius locabat adventu, salutarem quendam genium affulsisse conclamatis negotiis arbitrata. [22] tunc anus quaedam orba luminibus, cum percontando quinam esset ingressus, Iulianum Caesarem comperisset, exclamavit hunc deorum templa reparaturum.

De origine Gallorum; et unde dicti Celtae ac Galatae; deque eorum doctoribus.

Proinde quoniam — ut Mantuanus vates praedixit excelsus— ‘maius opus moveo’ maiorque mihi rerum nascitur ordo, Galliarum tractus et situm ostendere puto nunc tempestivum, ne inter procinctus ardentes, proeliorumque varios casus, ignota quibusdam expediens imitari videar desides nauticos, attrita lintea cum rudentibus, quae licuit parari securius, inter fluctus resarcire coactos et tempestates. [2] Ambigentes super origine prima Gallorum, scriptores veteres notitiam reliquere negotii semiplenam, sed postea Timagenes, et diligentia Graecus et lingua, haec quae diu sunt ignorata collegit ex multiplicibus libris. Cuius fidem secuti, obscuritate dimota, eadem distincte docebimus et aperte. [3] Aborigines primos in his regionibus quidam visos esse firmarunt, Celtas nomine regis amabilis et matris eius vocabulo Galatas dictos — ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat — alii Dorienses antiquiorem secutos Herculem oceani locos inhabitasse confines. [4] Drysidæ memorant re vera fuisse populi partem indigenam, sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis confluxisse et tractibus transrhenanis, crebritate bellorum et alluvione fervidi maris sedibus suis expulsos. [5] Aiunt quidam paucos post excidium Troiae fugitantes Graecos ubique dispersos loca haec occupasse tunc vacua. [6] Regionum autem incolae id magis omnibus asseverant, quod etiam nos legimus in monumentis eorum incisum, Amphitryonis filium Herculem ad

Geryonis et Taurisci saevum tyrannorum perniciem festinasse, quorum alter Hispanias, alter Gallias infestabat; superatisque ambobus, coisse cum generosis feminis suscepisseque liberos plures, et eos partes quibus imperitabant suis nominibus appellasse. [7] A Phocaea vero Asiaticus populus, Harpali inclementiam vitans, Cyri regis praefecti, Italiam navigio petit. Cuius pars in Lucania Veliam, alia condidit in Viennensi Massiliam: dein secutis aetatibus oppida, aucta virium copia, instituere non pauca. Sed declinanda varietas saepe satietati coniuncta. [8] Per haec loca hominibus paulatim excultis, viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum, inchoata per bardos et euhagis et drasidas. Et Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyrae modulis cantitarunt, Euhages vero scrutantes sublimia, leges naturae pandere conabantur internas. Drysidæ ingeniis celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagorae decrevit, sodaliciis astricti consortiis, quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt, et despectantes humana, pronuntiarunt animas immortales.

De Alpibus Gallicanis; et de variis per eas itineribus.

Hanc Galliarum plagam ob suggestus montium arduos, et horrore nivali semper obductos, orbis residui incolis antehac paene ignotam, nisi qua litoribus est vicina, munimina claudunt undique natura velut arte circumdata. [2] Et a latere quidem australi, Tyrrheno alluitur et Gallico mari; qua caeleste suspicit plastrum, a feris gentibus fluentis distinguitur Rheni; ubi occidentali subiecta est sideri, oceano et altitudine Pyrenaea arcetur; unde ad solis ortus attollitur, aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum; quas rex Cottius perdomitis Galliis, solus in angustiis latens, inviaque locorum asperitate confisus, lenito tandem tumore, in amicitiam principis Octaviani receptus molibus magnis extruxit, ad vicem memorabilis muneris, compendiarias et viantibus opportunas, medias inter alias Alpes vetustas, super quibus comperta paulo postea referemus. [3] In his Alpibus Cottii, quarum initium a Segusione est oppido, praecelsum erigitur iugum, nulli fere sine discrimine penetrabile. [4] Est enim e Galliis venientibus prona humilitate devexum, pendentium saxorum alitrinsecus visu terribile praesertim verno tempore, cum liquente gelu nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum, per diruptas utrimque angustias et lacunas, pruinarum congerie latebrosas, descendentes cunctantibus plantis homines et iumenta procidunt et carpenta; idque remedium ad arcendum exitium repertum est solum, quod pleraque vehicula vastis funibus illigata pone cohibente virorum vel boum nisu valido vix gressu reptante, paulo tutius devolvuntur. Et haec (ut diximus) anni verno contingunt. [5] Hieme vero humus crustata frigoribus et tamquam levigata ideoque labilis incessum praecipitantem impellit; et patulae valles per spatia plana glacie perfidae vorant non numquam transeuntes. Ob quae locorum callidi eminentes ligneos stilos per cautiora loca defigunt, ut eorum series viatorem ducat innoxium; qui si nivibus operti latuerint, aut montanis defluentibus rivis eversi, calles agrestibus praevis difficile pervadunt. [6] A summitate autem huius Italici clivi, planities ad usque stationem nomine Martis per septem

extenditur milia, et hinc alia celsitudo erectior, aegreque superabilis, ad Matronae porrigitur verticem, cuius vocabulum casus feminae nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter sed expeditius ad usque castellum Brigantiam patet. [7] Huius sepulcrum reguli, quem itinera struxisse rettulimus, Segusione est moenibus proximum, manesque eius ratione gemina religiose coluntur, quod iusto moderamine rexerat suos, et asscitus in societatem rei Romanae, quietem genti praestitit sempiternam. [8] Et licet haec quam diximus viam media sit et compendiaria, magisque celebris, tamen etiam aliae multo antea temporibus sunt constructae diversis. [9] Et primam Thebaeus Hercules, ad Geryonem exstinguendum (ut relatum est) et Tauriscum lenius gradiens, prope maritimas composuit Alpes, hisque Graiarum indidit nomen; Monoeci similiter arcem et portum ad perennem sui memoriam consecravit. Deinde emensis postea saeculis multis, hac ex causa sunt Alpes excogitatae Poeninae. [10] Superioris Africani pater Publius Cornelius Scipio, Saguntinis memorabilibus aerumnis et fide, pertinaci destinatione Afrorum obsessis, iturus auxilio, in Hispaniam traduxit onustam manu valida classem, sed civitate potiore Marte deleta, Hannibalem sequi nequiens, triduo ante transito Rhodano, ad partes Italiae contententem, navigatione veloci intercurso spatio maris haut longo, degressurum montibus apud Genuam observabat, Liguria oppidum, ut cum eo (si copiam fors dedisset) viarum asperitate fatigato decerneret in planitie. [11] Consulens tamen rei communi, Cn. Scipionem fratrem ire monuit in Hispanias, ut Hasdrubalem exinde similiter erupturum arceret. Quae Hannibal doctus a perfugis, ut erat expeditae mentis et callidae, Taurinis ducentibus accolis, per Tricasinos et oram Vocontiorum extremam, ad saltus Tricorios venit. Indeque exorsus, aliud iter antehac insuperabile fecit; excisaque rupe in immensum elata, quam cremando vi magna flammaram acetoque infuso dissolvit, per Druentiam flumen, gurgitibus vagis intuitum, regiones occupavit Etruscas. Hactenus super Alpibus. Nunc ad restantia veniamus.

Brevis divisio ac descriptio Galliarum; et cursus fluminis Rhodani.

Temporibus priscis, cum laterent hae partes ut barbarae, tripertitae fuisse creduntur in Celtas eosdemque Gallos divisae, et Aquitanos et Belgas, lingua institutis legibusque discrepantes. [2] Et Gallos quidem (qui Celtae sunt) ab Aquitanis Garumna disternat flumen, a Pyrenaeis oriens collibus, postque oppida multa transcurra, in oceano delitescens. [3] Belgis vero eandem gentem Matrona discindit et Sequana, amnes magnitudinis geminae; qui fluentes per Lugdunensem, post circumclausum ambitu insulari Parisiorum castellum, Lutetiam nomine, consociati, meantesque protinus prope astra Constantia funduntur in mare. [4] Horum omnium apud veteres Belgae dicebantur esse fortissimi, ea propter quod ab humaniore cultu longe discreti, nec adventiciis effeminati deliciis, diu cum transrhenanis certavere Germanis. [5] Aquitani enim, ad quorum litora ut proxima placidaque, merces adventiciae convehuntur, moribus ad mollitiem lapsis, facile in dicionem venere Romanam. [6] Regebantur autem Galliae omnes, iam inde uti crebritate

bellorum urgenti cessere Iulio dictatori, potestate in partes divisa quattuor, quarum Narbonensis una Viennensem intra se continebat et Lugdunensem; altera Aquitanis praeerat universis; superiorem et inferiorem Germaniam Belgasque duae iurisdictiones eisdem rexere temporibus. [7] At nunc numerantur provinciae per omnem ambitum Galliarum: secunda Germania, prima ab occidentali exordiens cardine, Agrippina et Tungris munita, civitatibus amplis et copiosis. [8] Dein prima Germania, ubi praeter alia municipia Mogontiacus est et Vangiones, et Nemetae et Argentoratus, barbaricis cladibus nota. [9] Post has Belgica prima Mediomatricos praetendit et Treveros, domicilium principum clarum. [10] Huic annexa secunda est Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alias eminens, et Catelauni et Remi. [11] Apud Sequanos Bisontios videmus et Rauracos, aliis potiores oppidis multis. Lugdunensem primam Lugdunum ornat et Cabillona et Senones et Biturigae et moenium Augustuduni magnitudo vetusta. [12] Secundam enim Lugdunensem Rotomagi et Turini, Mediolanum ostendunt et Tricasini; Alpes Graiae et Poeninae exceptis obscurioribus habent et Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem sed non ignobilem quondam, ut aedificia semiruta nunc quoque demonstrant. Haec provinciae urbesque sunt splendidae Galliarum. [13] In Aquitania quae Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem spectat oceani quae pertinet ad Hispanos, prima provincia est Aquitanica, amplitudine civitatum admodum culta omissis aliis multis, Burdigala et Arverni excellunt, et Santones et Pictavi. [14] Novem populos Ausci commendant et Vasatae. In Narbonensi Elusa et Narbona et Tolosa principatum urbium tenent. Viennensis civitatum exsultat decore multarum, e quibus potiores sunt Vienna ipsa et Arelate et Valentia; quibus Massilia iungitur, cuius societate et viribus in discriminibus arduis fultam aliquotiens legimus Romam. [15] His prope Salluvii sunt et Nicaea et Antipolis, insulaeque Stoechades. [16] Et quoniam ad has partes opere contexto pervenimus, silere super Rhodano, maximi nominis flumine, incongruum est et absurdum. A Poeninis Alpibus effusiore copia fontium Rhodanus fluens, et proclivi impetu ad planiora degrediens, proprio agmine ripas occultat, et paludi sese ingurgitat, nomine Lemanno, eamque intermeans, nusquam aquis miscetur externis, sed altrinsecus summitates undae praeterlabens segnioris, quaeritans exitus, viam sibi impetu veloci molitur. [17] Unde sine iactura rerum per Sapaudiam fertur et Sequanos, longeque progressus, Viennensem latere sinistro perstringit, dextro Lugdunensem, et emensus spatia flexuosa, Ararim quem Sauconnam appellant, inter Germaniam primam fluentem et Sequanos, suum in nomen asciscit, qui locus exordium est Galliarum. Exindeque non millenis passibus sed leugis itinera metiuntur. [18] Dein Isarae Rhodanus aquis advenis locupletior, vehit grandissimas naves, ventorum difflatu iactari saepius assuetas, finitisque intervallis quae ei natura praescripsit, spumeus Gallico mari incorporatur, per patulum sinum quem vocant Ad gradus, ab Arelate octavo decimo ferme lapide disparatum. Sit satis de situ locorum. Nunc figuras et mores hominum designabo.

De moribus Gallorum.

Celsioris staturae et candidi paene Galli sunt omnes et rutili, luminumque torvitate terribiles, avidi iurgiorum, et sublatius insolentes. Nec enim eorum quemquam adhibita uxore rixantem, multo se fortiore et glauca, peregrinorum ferre poterit globus, tum maxime cum illa inflata cervice suffrendens, ponderansque niveas ulnas et vastas, admixtis calcibus emittere coeperit pugnos, ut catapultas tortilibus nervis excussas. [2] Metuendae voces complurium et minaces, placatorum iuxta et irascentium, tersi tamen pari diligentia cuncti et mundi, nec in tractibus illis, maximeque apud Aquitanos, vir poterit aliquis videri vel femina, licet perquam pauper, ut alibi frustis squalere pannorum. [3] Ad militandum omnis aetas aptissima, et pari pectoris robore senex ad procinctum ducitur et adultus, gelu duratis artubus et labore assiduo, multa contempturus et formidanda. Nec eorum aliquando quisquam (ut in Italia) munus Martium pertimescens, pollicem sibi praecidit, quos localiter murcos appellant. [4] Vini avidum genus, affectans ad vini similitudinem multiplices potus, et inter eos humiles quidam, obtunsis ebrietate continua sensibus, quam furoris voluntariam speciem esse Catoniana sententia definivit, raptantur discursibus vagis, ut verum illud videatur quod ait defendens Fonteium Tullius: ‘Gallos post haec dilutius esse poturos quod illi venenum esse arbitrabantur.’

[5] Hae regiones, praecipueque confines Italicis, paulatim levi sudore sub imperium venere Romanum, primo temptatae per Fulvium, deinde proeliis parvis quassatae per Sextium, ad ultimum per Fabium Maximum domitae. Cui negotii plenus effectus, asperiore Allobrogum gente devicta, hoc indidit cognomentum. [6] Nam omnes Gallias (nisi qua paludibus inviae fuere, ut Sallustio docetur auctore) post decennalis belli mutuas clades subegit Caesar dictator, societatique nostrae foederibus iunxit aeternis. Evectus sum longius; sed remeabo tandem ad coepta.

De Musaniano praefecto praetorio per Orientem.

Domitiano crudeli morte consumpto, Musonianus eius successor orientem praetoriani regebat potestate praefecti, facundia sermonis utriusque clarus. Unde sublimius quam sperabatur eluxit. [2] Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quaereret sectas, Manichaeorum et similium, nec interpret inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit; quem, officio functum perite, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum, et ex eo percursis honorum gradibus multis, ascendit ad praefecturam, prudens alia tolerabilisque provinciis, et mitis et blandus, sed ex qualibet occasione, maximeque ex controversis litibus (quod nefandum est) et in totum lucrandi aviditate sordescens, ut inter alia multa, evidenter apparuit in quaestionibus agitatis super morte Theophili Syriae consularis, proditione Caesaris Galli, impetu plebis promiscuae discerpti, ubi damnatis pauperibus, quos cum haec agerentur, peregre fuisse constabat, auctores diri facinoris exutis patrimoniis absoluti sunt divites.

[3] Hunc Prosper adaequabat, pro magistro equitum agente etiam tum in

Galliis, militem regens, abiecte ignavus et (ut ait comicus) arte despecta furtorum rapiens propalam.

[4] Quis concordantibus, mutuaque commercia vicissim sibi conciliando locupletatis, Persici duces vicini fluminibus, rege in ultimis terrarum suarum terminis occupato, per praedatorios globos nostra vexabant, nunc Armeniam aliquotiens Mesopotamiam confidentius incursantes, Romanis ductoribus ad colligendas oboedientium exuvias occupatis.

LIBER XVI.

[1] Iuliani Caesaris laus.

Haec per orbem Romanum factorum ordine contexto versante, Caesar apud Viennam in collegium factorum a consule octiens Augusto adscitus, urgente genuino vigore, pugnarum fragores caedesque barbaricas somniabat, colligere provinciae fragmenta iam parans, si adfuisset fortuna flatu tandem secundo. [2] Quia igitur res magnae quas per Gallias virtute felicitateque correxit, multis veterum factis fortibus praestant, singula serie progrediente monstrabo, instrumenta omnia mediocris ingenii (si suffecerint) commoturus. [3] Quicquid autem narrabitur, quod non falsitas arguta concinnat, sed fides integra rerum absolvit, documentis evidentibus fulta, ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit. [4] Videtur enim lex quaedam vitae melioris hunc invenem a nobilibus cunis ad usque spiritum comitata supremum. Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi forisque colluxit, ut prudentia Vespasiani filius Titus alter aestimaretur, bellorum gloriosis cursibus Traiani simillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectae perfectaeque rationis indigine congruens Marco, ad cuius aemulationem actus suos effingebat et mores. [5] Et quoniam (ut Tulliana docet auctoritas) 'omnium magnarum artium sicut arborum altitudo nos delectat, radices stirpesque non item,' sic praeclarae huius indolis rudimenta, tunc multis obnubilantibus tegebantur, quae anteferri gestis eius postea multis et miris, hac ratione deberent, quod adulescens primaevus, ut Erechtheus in secessu Minervae nutritus, ex Academiae quietis umbraculis, non e militari tabernaculo, in pulverem Martium tractus, strata Germania, pacatisque regentis Rheni meatibus, cruenta spirantium regum hic sanguinem fudit, alibi manus catenis afflixit.

Iulianus Caesar Alamannos adoritur, caedit, capit, et fugat.

Agens itaque negotiosam hiemem apud oppidum ante dictum, inter rumores, qui volitabant assidui, comperit Augustuduni civitatis antiquae muros spatiosi quidem ambitus sed carie vetustatis invalidos, barbarorum impetu repentino inessos, torpente praesentium militum manu, veteranos concursatione pervigili defendisse, ut solet abrupta saepe discrimina salutis ultima desperatio propulsare. [2] Nihil itaque remittentibus curis, ancillari adulatione posthabita, qua eum proximi ad amoenitatem flectebant et luxum, satis omnibus comparatis, octavum kalendas Iulias Augustudunum pervenit, velut dux diuturnus viribus eminens et consiliis, per diversa palantes barbaros ubi dedisset fors copiam aggressurus. [3] Habita itaque deliberatione assistantibus locorum peritis, quodnam iter eligeretur ut tutum, multa ultro citroque dicebantur aliis per Arbor ... quibusdam per Sedelaucum et Coram iri debere firmantibus. [4] Sed cum subsererent quidam, Silvanum paulo ante magistrum peditum per compendiosas vias, verum suspectas, quia ramorum tenebris multis umbrantur, cum octo auxiliarium milibus aegre transisse,

fidentius Caesar audaciam viri fortis imitari magnopere nitebatur. [5] Et nequa interveniat mora, adhibitis cataphractariis solis et ballistariis, parum ad tuendum rectorem idoneis, percurso eodem itinere, Autosudorum pervenit. [6] Ubi brevi (sicut solebat) otio cum milite recreatus, ad Tricasinos tendebat, et barbaros in se catervatim ruentes partim, cum timeret ut ampliores, confertis lateribus observabat, alios occupatis habilibus locis, decursu facili proterens, non nullos pavore traditos cepit, residuos in curam celeritatis omne quod poterant conferentes, quia sequi non valebat, gravitate praepeditus armorum, innocuos abire perpessus est. [7] Proinde certiore iam spe ad resistendum ingruentibus confirmatus, per multa discrimina venit Tricasas, adeo insperatus, ut eo portas paene pulsante, diffusae multitudinis barbarae metu, aditus urbis non sine anxia panderetur ambage. [8] Et paulisper moratus, dum fatigato consulit militi, civitatem Remos, nihil prolatandum existimans, petit, ubi in unum congregatum exercitum vehentem unius mensis cibaria iusserat operiri praesentiam suam; cui praesidebat Ursicini successor Marcellus, et ipse Ursicinus, ad usque expeditionis finem agere praeceptus eisdem in locis. [9] Post variatas itaque sententias plures, cum placuisset per Decem pagos Alamannam aggredi plebem densatis agminibus, tendebat illuc solito alacrior miles. [10] Et quia dies umectus et decolor, vel contiguum eripiebat aspectum, iuvante locorum gnaritate hostes tramite obliquo discurso, post Caesaris terga legiones duas arma cogentes adorti, paene delessent, ni subito concitus clamor sociorum auxilia coegisset. [11] Hinc et deinde nec itinera nec flumina transire posse sine insidiis putans, erat providus et cunctator, quod praecipuum bonum in magnis ductoribus, opem ferre solet exercitibus et salutem. [12] Audiens itaque Argentoratum, Brotomagum, Tabernas, Salisonem, Nemetas et Vangionas et Mogontiacum civitates barbaros possidentes, territoria earum habitare (nam ipsa oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant) primam omnium Brotomagum occupavit, eique iam adventanti Germanorum manus pugnam intentans occurrit. [13] Cumque in bicornem figuram acie divisa, collato pede res agi coepisset, exitioque hostes urgerentur ancipiti, captis non nullis, aliis in ipso proelii fervore truncatis, residui discessere, celeritatis praesidio tecti.

Julianus Caesar Coloniam a Francis captum recipit, et pacem ibi cum Francorum regibus facit.

Nulla itaque post haec repugnante, ad recuperandam ire placuit Agrippinam, ante Caesaris in Gallias adventum excisam, per quos tractus nec civitas ulla visitur nec castellum, nisi quod apud Confluentes, locum ita cognominatum, ubi amnis Mosella confunditur Rheno, Rigomagum oppidum est et una prope ipsam Coloniam turris. [2] Igitur Agrippinam ingressus, non ante motus est exinde, quam Francorum regibus furore mitesciente perterritis, pacem firmaret rei publicae interim profuturam, et urbem reciperet munitissimam. [3] Quibus vincendi primitiis laetus, per Treveros hiematurus, apud Senonas oppidum tune opportunum abscessit. Ubi bellorum inundantium

molem umeris suis (quod dicitur) vehens, scindebatur in multiplices curas, ut milites qui a solitis descivere praesidiis reducerentur ad loca suspecta, et conspiratas gentes in noxam Romani nominis disiectaret, ac provideret ne alimenta deessent exercitui per varia discursuro.

Iulianus Caesar apud Senonas oppidum ab Alemannis obsidetur.

Haec sollicitate perpensantem, hostilis aggreditur multitudo, oppidi capiundi spe in maius accensa, ideo confidenter quod ei nec scutarios adesse prodentibus perfugis didicerant nec gentiles, per municipia distributos, ut commodius vrescerentur quam antea. [2] Clausa ergo urbe murorumque intuta parte firmata, ipse cum armatis die noctuque inter propugnacula visebatur et pinnae, ira exundante substridens, cum erumpere saepe conatus, paucitate praesentis manus impediretur. Post tricesimum denique diem, abiere barbari tristes, inaniter stulteque cogitasse civitatis obsidium mussitantes. [3] Et (quod indignitati rerum est assignandum) periclitanti Caesari distulit suppetias ferre Marcellus, magister equitum agens in stationibus proximis, cum etiam si civitas absque principe vexaretur, opposita multitudine malis obsidionalibus expediri deberet. [4] Hoc metu solutus, efficacissimus Caesar providebat constanti sollicitudine, ut militum diuturno labori quies succederet aliqua licet brevis, ad recreandas tamen sufficiens vires, quamquam ultima squalentes inopia terrae, saepe vastitatae exigua quaedam victui congrua suggerebant. [5] Verum hoc quoque diligentia curate pervigili, affusa laetiore spe prosperorum, sublata animo ad exsequenda plurima consurgebat.

Iuliani Caesaris virtutes.

Primum igitur factuque difficile, temperantiam ipse sibi indixit atque retinuit, tamquam adstrictus sumptuariis legibus viveret, quas ex rhetris Lycurgi (id est axibus) Romam translatas, diuque observatas et senescentes, paulatim reparavit Sulla dictator, reputans ex praedictis Democriti, quod ambitiosam mensam fortuna, parcam virtus apponit. [2] Id enim etiam Tusculanus Cato prudenter definiens, cui Censorii cognomentum, castior vitae indidit cultus: 'Magna' inquit 'cura cibi, magna virtutis incuria.' [3] Denique cum legeret libellum assidue, quem Constantius, ut privignum ad studia mittens, manu sua conscripserat, praelicenter disponens quid in convivio Caesaris impendi deberet, phasianum et vulvam et sumen exigi vetuit et inferri, munificis militis vili et fortuito cibo contentus.

[4] Hinc contingebat ut noctes ad officia divideret tripartita, quietis et publicae rei et musarum, quod factitasse Alexandrum legimus Magnum; sed multo hic fortius. Ille namque aenea concha supposita, brachio extra cubile protento pilam tenebat argenteam, ut cum nervorum vigorem sopor laxasset infusus, gestaminis lapsi tinnitus abrumperet somnum. [5] Iulianus vero absque instrumento, quotiens voluit evigilavit, et nocte dimidiata semper exurgens, non e plumis vel stragulis sericis ambiguo fulgore nitentibus, sed ex tapete et sisysra, quam vulgaris simplicitas susurnam appellat, occulte Mercurio supplicabat, quem mundi velociorem sensum esse motum mentium

suscitantem, theologiae prodidere doctrinae; atque in tanto rerum defectu, explore rei publicae munera cuncta curabat. [6] Post quae ut ardua et seria terminata, ad procudendum ingenium vertebatur, et incredibile quo quantoque ardore, principalium rerum notitiam celsam indagans, et quasi pabula quaedam animo ad sublimiora scandenti conquirens, per omnia philosophiae membra prudenter disputando currebat. [7] Sed tamen cum haec effecte pleneque colligeret, nec humiliora despexit, poeticam mediocriter et rhetoricam tractans (ut ostendit orationum epistularumque eius cum gravitate comitas incorrupta) et nostrarum externarumque rerum historiam multiformem. Super his aderat Latine quoque disserendi sufficiens sermo. [8] Si itaque verum est, quod scriptores varii memorant, Cyrum regem et Simonidem lyricum, et Hippian Eleum sophistarum acerrimum, ideo valuisse memoria, quod epotis quibusdam remediis id impetrarunt, credendum est hunc etiam tum adultum totum memoriae dolium (si usquam repperiri potuit) exhausisse. Et haec quidem pudicitiae virtutumque sunt signa nocturna.

[9] Diebus vero quae ornate dixerit et facete, quaeve in apparatu vel in ipsis egerit congressibus proeliorum, aut in re civili magnanimitate correxerit et libertate, suo quaeque loco singulatim demonstrabuntur. [10] Cum exercere proodia disciplinae castrens philosophus cogeretur ut princeps, artemque modulatus incedendi per pyrricham concinentibus disceret fistulis, vetus illud proverbium ‘clitellae bovi sunt impositae; plane non est nostrum onus’ Platonem crebro nominans exclamabat. [11] Cum inducti essent iussu eius quadam sollemnitate agentes in rebus in consistorium, ut aurum acciperent inter alios, quidam ex eorum consortio, non (ut moris est) pansa chlamyde, sed utraque manu cavata suscepit. Et imperator ‘rapere’ inquit ‘non accipere sciunt agentes in rebus.’ [12] Aditus a parentibus virginis raptae, eum qui violarat convictum relegari decrevit. Hisque indigna pati querentibus, quod non sit morte multatus, responderat hactenus: ‘Incusent iura clementiam, sed imperatorem mitissimi animi legibus praestare ceteris decet.’ [13] Egressurum eum ad expeditionem plures interpellabant ut laesi, quos audiendos provinciarum rectoribus commendabat; et reversus, quid egerint singuli quaerens, delictorum vindictas genuina lenitudine mitigabat. [14] Ad ultimum exceptis victoriis, per quas cadentes saepe incolumi contumacia barbaros fudit, quod profuerit anhelantibus extrema penuria Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingressus, pro capitulis singulis tributi nomine vicanos quinos aureos repperit flagitari, discedens vero septenos tantum munera universa complentes: ob quae tamquam solem sibi serenum post squalentes tenebras affulsisse, cum alacritate et tripudiis laetabantur. [15] Denique id eum ad usque imperii finem et vitae scimus utiliter observasse, ne per indulgentias (quas appellant) tributariae rei concederet reliqua. Norat enim hoc facto se aliquid locupletibus additurum, cum constet ubique, pauperes inter ipsa indictorum exordia solvere universa sine laxamento compelli.

[16] Inter has tamen regendi moderandique vias, bonis principibus aemulandas, barbarica rabies exarserat rursus in maius. [17] Utque bestiae

custodum neglegentia raptu vivere solitae, ne his quidem remotis, appositisque fortioribus abscesserunt, sed tumescentes inedia, sine respectu salutis, armenta vel greges incursant, ita etiam illi, cunctis quae diripuerunt consumptis, fame urgente, agebant aliquotiens praedas, interdum antequam contingerent aliquid, oppetebant.

Arbetio vir consularis accusatur, et absolvitur.

Haec per eum annum spe dubia eventu tamen secundo per Gallias agebantur. In comitatu vero Augusti, circumlatrabat Arbetionem invidia, velut summa mox adepturum, decora cultus imperatorii praestruxisse, instabatque ei strepens immania, comes Verissimus nomine, arguens coram, quod a gregario ad magnum militiae culmen evectus, hoc quoque non contentus (ut parvo) locum appeteret principalem. [2] Sed specialiter eum insectabatur Dorus quidam ex medico scutariorum, quem nitentium rerum centurionem sub Magnentio Romae provectum, retulimus accusasse Adelphium, urbi praefectum, ut altiora coeptantem. [3] Cumque res in inquisitionem veniret, necessariisque negotio tentis, obiectorum probatio speraretur, tamquam per saturam subito cubiculariis suffragantibus, ut loquebatur pertinax rumor, et vinculis sunt exutae personae quae stringebantur ut consciae, et Dorus evanuit, et Verissimus ilico tacuit, velut aulaeo deposito scenae.

Iulianus Caesar a praeposito cubiculi sui Eutherio apud imperatorem defenditur adversus Marcellum; et laus Eutherii.

Eisdem diebus, allapso rumore Constantius doctus, obsessio apud Senonas Caesari auxilium non tulisse Marcellum, eum sacramento solutum abire iussit in larem. Qui tamquam iniuria gravi percussus, quaedam in Iulianum moliebatur, auribus Augusti confisus, in omne patentibus crimen. [2] Ideoque cum discederet, Eutherus praepositus cubiculi mittitur statim post eum, siquid finxerit convicturus. Verum ille hoc nesciens, mox venit Mediolanum, strepens et tumultuans, (ut erat vanidicus et amenti propior); admissus in consistorium, Iulianum ut procacem insimulat, iamque ad evagandum altius validiores sibi pinnas aptare; ita enim cum motu quodam corporis loquebatur ingenti. [3] Haec eo fingente licentius, Eutherus (ut postulavit) inductus, iussusque loqui quod vellet, verecunde et modice docet, velari veritatem mendaciis. Magistro enim armorum, ut credebatur, cessante consulto, industria vigili Caesarem obsessum apud Senonas diu barbaros reppulisse, apparitoremque fidum auctori suo quoad vixerit fore, obligata cervice sua spondebat.

[4] Res monuit super hoc eodem Eutherio pauca subserere, forsitan non credenda, ea re quod si Numa Pompilius vel Socrates bona quaedam dicerent de spadone, dictisque religionum adderent fidem, a veritate descivisse arguebantur. Sed inter vepres rosae nascuntur, et inter feras non nullae mitescunt, itaque carptim eius praecipua, quae sunt comperta, monstrabo. [5] Natus in Armenia sanguine libero, captusque a finitimis hostibus, etiam tum parvulus abstractis geminis Romanis mercatoribus venundatus, ad palatium Constantini deducitur; ubi paulatim adulescens rationem recte vivendi,

sollertiamque ostendebat, litteris quantum tali fortunae satis esse poterat eruditus, cogitandi inveniendique dubia et scrupulosa, acumine nimio praestans, immensum quantum memoria vigens, benefaciendi avidus plenusque iusti consilii, quem si Constans imperator olim ex adulto iamque maturum audiret, honesta suadentem et recta, nulla vel venia certe digna peccasset. [6] Is praepositus cubiculi etiam Iulianum aliquotiens corripbat, Asiaticis coalitum moribus, ideoque levem. Denique digressus ad otium, asscitusque postea in palatium, semper sobrius et in primis consistens, ita fidem continentiamque virtutes coluit amplas, ut nec prodidisse aliquando arcanum, nisi tuendae causa alienae salutis, nec exarsisse cupidine plus habendi arcesseretur, ut ceteri. [7] Unde factum est ut subinde Romam secedens, ibique fixo domicilio consenesens, comitem circumferens conscientiam bonam, colatur a cunctis ordinibus et ametur, cum soleant id genus homines post partas ex iniquitate divitias latebras captare secretas, ut lucifugae vitantes multitudinis laesae conspectus. [8] Cui spadonum veterum hunc comparare debeam, antiquitates replicando complures invenire non potui. Fuerunt enim apud veteres (licet oppido pauci) fideles et frugi, sed ob quaedam vitia maculosi. Inter praecipua enim, quae eorum quisque studio possederat vel ingenio, aut rapax aut feritate contemptior fuit, aut propensior ad laedendum, vel regentibus nimium blandus, aut potentiae fastu superior; ex omni latere autem ita paratum, neque legisse me neque audisse confiteor, aetatis nostrae testimonio locupleti confisus. [9] Verum si forte scrupulosus quidam lector antiquitatum, Menophilum Mithridatis Pontici regis eunuchum, nobis opponat, hoc monitu recordetur, nihil super eo relatum praeter id solum, quod in supremo discrimine gloriose monstravit. [10] Ingenti proelio superatus a Romanis et Pompeio rex praedictus, fugiensque ad regna Colchorum, adultam filiam nomine Drypetinam, vexatam asperitate morborum, in castello Sinhorio huic Menophilo commissam reliquit. Qui virginem omni remediorum solacio plene curatam, patri tutissime servans, cum a Mallio Prisco, imperatoris legato, munimentum quo claudebatur obsideri coepisset, defensoresque eius deditionem meditari sentiret, veritus ne parentis opprobrio puella nobilis captiva superesset et violata, interfecta illa mox gladium in viscera sua compegit. Nunc redeam unde diverti.

Delationes et calumniae in castris Constantii Augusti, et aulicorum rapacitas.

Superato ut dixi Marcello, reversoque Serdicam, unde oriebatur, in castris Augusti per simulationem tuendae maiestatis imperatoriae, multa et nefanda perpetrabantur. [2] Nam si super occentu soricis vel occursu mustelae, vel similis signi gratia consulisset quisquam peritum, aut anile incantamentum ad leniendum adhibuisset dolorem, quod medicinae quoque admittit auctoritas, reus unde non poterat opinari delatus, raptusque in iudicium, poenaliter interibat.

[3] Per id tempus fere servum quendam, nomine Danum, terrore tenus uxor rerum levium incusarat: hanc incertum unde notam Rufinus subsedit, — quo

indicante quaedam cognita per Gaudentium, agentem in rebus, consularem Pannoniae tunc Africanum, cum convivis rettulimus interfectum — apparitionis praefecturae praetorianae tum etiam princeps ob devotionem. [4] Is (ut loquebatur iactantius) versabilem feminam, post nefandum concubitum, in periculosam fraudem illexit; suasit consarcinatis mendaciis laesae maiestatis arcessere maritum insontem, et fingere quod velamen purpureum, a Diocletiani sepulcro furatus, quibusdam consciis occultabat. [5] Hisque ad multorum exitium ita formatis, ipse spe potiorum ad imperatoris pervolat castra, excitaturus calumnias consuetas. Reque comperta, iubetur Mavortius, tunc praefectus praetorio, vir sublimis constantiae, crimen acri inquisitione spectare, iuncto ad audiendi societatem Ursulo (largitionum comite) severitatis itidem non improbandae. [6] Exaggerato itaque negotio ad arbitrium temporum, cum nihil post tormenta multorum inveniretur, iudicesque haerent ambigui, tandem veritas respiravit oppressa, et in abrupto necessitatis mulier Rufinum totius machinae confitetur auctorem, nec adulterii foeditate suppressa; statimque legibus contemplatis, illi amore recti concordēs et iusti, ambos sententia damnare letali. [7] Quo cognito Constantius fremens, et tamquam vindicem salutis suae lugens exstinctum, missis equitibus citis, Ursulum redire ad comitatum minaciter iussit. Qui cum eo venisset adireque principem vellet, ab aulicis arcebatur, ne defendendae posset assistere veritati; sed ille spretis qui prohibebant, perrupit intrepidus, ingressusque consistorium, ore et pectore libero docuit gesta; hacque fiducia linguis adulatorum oclusis, et praefectum et se discrimine gravi subtrahit.

[8] Tunc illud apud Aquitanos evenit, quod latior fama vulgarat. Veterator quidam ad lautum convivium rogatus et mundum, qualia sunt in his regionibus plurima, cum vidisset linteorum toralium purpureos clavos ita latissimos, ut sibi vicissim arte ministrantium cohaerent, mensamque operimentis paribus tectam, anteriorem chlamydis partem utraque manu vehens intrinsecus, structuram omnem ut amictus adornaverat principalis; quae res patrimonium dives evertit.

[9] Malignitate simili quidam agens in rebus in Hispania ad cenam itidem invitatus, cum inferentes vespertina lumina pueros exclamasse audisset ex usu ‘vincamus,’ verbum sollemne interpretatum atrociter delevit nobilem domum.

[10] Haec taliaque ideo magis magisque crescebant, quod Constantius impendio timidus et de vita sollicitus, semper se ferro peti sperabat, ut Dionysius tyrannus ille Siciliae, qui ob hoc idem vitium et tonstrices docuit filias, necui alieno ora committeret leviganda, aedemque brevem, ubi cubitare sueverat, alta circumdedit fossa eamque ponte solubili superstravit, cuius disiectos asseres et axiculos secum in somnum abiens transferebat, eosdemque compaginabat, lucis initio processurus. [11] Inflabant itidem has malorum civilium bucinas potentes in regia, ea re ut damnatorum petita bona suis accorporarent, essetque materia per vicinities eorum late grassandi. [12] Namque ut documenta liquida prodiderunt, proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus, sed eos medullis provinciarum saginavit Constantius.

[13] Sub hoc enim ordinum singulorum auctores, infinita cupidine divitiarum arserunt, sine iustitiae distinctione vel recti, inter ordinarios iudices Rufinus primus praefectus praetorio, et inter militares equitum magister Arbetio, praepositusque cubiculi Eusebius, ... anus quaestor, et in urbe Anicii, quorum ad avorum aemulationem posteritas tendens, satiari numquam potuit cum possessione multo maiore.

Agitur de pace cum Persis.

At Persae in oriente per furta et latrocinia potius quam (ut solebant antea) per concursatorias pugnas, hominum praedas agitabant et pecorum, quas non numquam lucrabantur ut repentini, aliquotiens superati multitudine militum amittebant, interdum nihil conspiciere prorsus quod poterat rapi permittebantur. [2] Musonianus tamen praefectus praetorio, multis (ut ante diximus) bonis artibus eruditus, sed venalis et flecti a veritate pecunia facilis, per emissarios quosdam, fallendi perstringendique gnaros, Persarum scitabatur consilia, assumpto in deliberationes huius modi Cassiano Mesopotamiae duce, stipendiis et discriminibus indurato diversis. [3] Qui cum fide concinente speculatorum aperte cognosset Saporem in extremis regni limitibus, suorum sanguine fuso multiplici, aegre propulsare gentes infestas, Tamsaporem ducem parti nostrae contiguum, occultis per ignotos milites temptavere colloquiis, ut si copiam fors dedisset, suaderet regi per litteras pacem tandem aliquando cum principe Romano firmare, ut hoc facto ab occidentali latere omni securus, perduelles involaret assiduus. [4] Paruit Tamsapor, hisque fretus refert ad regem, quod bellis acerrimis Constantius implicatus, pacem postulat precativam. Dumque ad Chionitas et Eusenos haec scripta mittuntur, in quorum confiniis agebat hiemem Sapor, tempus interstitit longum.

Constantii Aug. militaris ac velut triumphalis in urbem Romam adventus.

Haec dum per eoas partes et Gallias pro captu temporum disponuntur, Constantius quasi cluso Iani templo stratisque hostibus cunctis, Romam visere gestiebat, post Magnenti exitium absque nomine ex sanguine Romano triumphaturus. [2] Nec enim gentem ullam bella cientem per se superavit, aut victam fortitudine suorum comperit ducum, vel addidit quaedam imperio, aut usquam in necessitatibus summis primus vel inter primos est visus, sed ut pompam nimis extentam, rigentiaque auro vexilla, et pulcritudinem stipatorum ostenderet agenti tranquillius populo, haec vel simile quicquam videre nec speranti umquam nec optanti. [3] Ignorans fortasse, quosdam veterum principum in pace quidem lictoribus fuisse contentos, ubi vero proeliorum ardor nihil perpeti poterat segne, alium anhelante rabido flatu ventorum lenunculo se commisisse piscantis, alium ad Deciorum exempla vovisse pro re publica spiritum, alium hostilia castra per semet ipsum cum militibus infimis explorasse, diversos denique actibus inclaruisse magnificis, ut glorias suas posteritatis celebri memoriae commendarent.

[4] Ut igitur multa quaeque consumpta sunt in apparatu regio, pro meritis

cuilibet munera reddita, secunda Orfiti praefectura, transcurso Ocriculo, elatus honoribus magnis, stipatusque agminibus formidandis, tamquam acie ducebatur instructa, omnium oculis in eum contuitu pertinaci intentis. [5] Cumque urbi propinquaret, senatus officia, reverendasque patriciae stirpis effigies, ore sereno contemplans, non ut Cineas ille Pyrri legatus, in unum coactam multitudinem regum, sed asylum mundi totius adesse existimabat. [6] Unde cum se vertisset ad plebem, stupebat qua celebritate omne quod ubique est hominum genus confluerit Romam. Et tamquam Euphraten armorum specie territurus aut Rhenum, altrinsecus praeceuntibus signis, insidebat aureo solus ipse carpento, fulgenti claritudine lapidum variorum, quo micante lux quaedam misceri videbatur alterna. [7] Eumque post antegressos multiplices alios, purpureis subtegminibus texti, circumdedere dracones, hastarum aureis gemmatisque summitatibus illigati, hiatu vasto perflabiles, et ideo velut ira perciti sibilantes, caudarumque volumina relinquentes in ventum. [8] Et incedebat hinc inde ordo geminus armatorum, clipeatus atque cristatus, corusco lumine radians, nitidis loricis indutus, sparsique cataphracti equites (quos clibanarios dictitant) personati thoracum muniti tegminibus, et limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non viros; quos laminarum circuli tenues, apti corporis flexibus ambiebant, per omnia membra diducti, ut quocumque artus necessitas commovisset, vestitus congrueret, iunctura cohaerenter aptata. [9] Augustus itaque faustis vocibus appellatus, non montium litorumque intonante fragore cohorrui, talem se tamque immobilem, qualis in provinciis suis visebatur, ostendens. [10] Nam et corpus perhumile curvabat portas ingrediens celsas, et velut collo munito, rectam aciem luminum tendens, nec dextra vultum nec laeva flectebat et (tamquam figmentum hominis) nec cum rota concuteret nutans, nec spuens, aut os aut nasum tergens vel fricans, manumve agitans visus est umquam. [11] Quae licet affectabat, erant tamen haec et alia quaedam in citeriore vita, patientiae non mediocris indicia, ut existimari dabatur, uni illi concessae. [12] Quod autem per omne tempus imperil, nec in consessum vehiculi quemquam suscepit, nec in trabea socium privatum asscivit, ut fecere principes consecrati, et similia multa elatus in arduum supercilium, tamquam leges aequissimas observavit, praetereo, memor ea me rettulisse cum incidissent.

[13] Proinde Romam ingressus imperil virtutumque omnium larem, cum venisset ad rostra, perspectissimum praeae potentiae forum, obstipuit, perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent, miraculorum densitate praestricus, allocutus nobilitatem in curia, populumque e tribunali, in palatium receptus favore multiplici, laetitia fruebatur optata, et saepe, cum equestres ederet ludos, dicacitate plebis oblectabatur, nec superbae nec a libertate coalita desciscantis, reverenter modum ipse quoque debitum servans. [14] Non enim (ut per civitates alias) ad arbitrium suum certamina finiri patiebatur, sed (ut mos est) variis casibus permittebat. Deinde intra septem montium culmina, per acclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra collustrans et suburbana, quicquid viderat primum, id eminere inter alia cuncta sperabat: Iovis Tarpei

delubra, quantum terrenis divina praecellunt; lavacra in modum provinciarum exstructa; amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cuius summitatem aegre visio humana conscendit; Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam; elatosque vertices qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes, et Urbis templum forumque Pacis, et Pompei theatrum et Odeum et Stadium, aliaque inter haec decora urbis aeternae. [15] Verum cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni caelo structuram, ut opinamur, etiam numinum assensione mirabilem, haerebat attonitus, per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem, nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos. Omni itaque spe huius modi quicquam conandi depulsa, Traiani equum solum, locatum in atrii medio, qui ipsum principem vehit, imitari se velle dicebat et posse. [16] Cui prope adstans regalis Ormisda, cuius e Perside discessum supra monstravimus, respondit astu gentili: ‘Ante’ inquit ‘imperator, stabulum tale condi iubeto, si vales; equus quem fabricare disponis, ita late succedat, ut iste quem videmus.’ Is ipse interrogatus quid de Roma sentiret, id tantum sibi placuisse aiebat, quod didicisset ibi quoque homines mori. [17] Multis igitur cum stupore visis horrendo, imperator de fama querebatur, ut invalida vel maligna, quod augens omnia semper in maius, erga haec explicanda quae Romae sunt obsolescit, deliberansque diu quid ibi ageret, urbis addere statuit ornamentis, ut in maximo circo erigeret obeliscum, cuius originem formamque loco competenti monstrabo.

[18] Inter haec Helenae sorori Constanti, Iuliani coniugi Caesaris, Romam affectionis specie ductae, regina tunc insidiabatur Eusebia, ipsa quoad vixerat sterilis, quaesitumque venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotienscumque concepisset, immaturum abiceret partum. [19] Nam et pridem in Galliis, cum marem genuisset infantem, hoc perdidit dolo, quod obstetrix corrupta mercede, mox natum, praesepto plus quam convenerat umbilico, necavit; tanta tamque diligens opera navabatur, ne fortissimi viri soboles appareret.

[20] Cupiens itaque augustissima omnium sede morari diutius imperator, ut otio puriore frueretur et voluptate, assiduis nuntiis terrebatur et certis, indicantibus Suebos Raetias incursare, Quadosque Valeriam, et Sarmatas, latrocinandi peritissimum genus, superiorem Moesiam et secundam populari Pannoniam; quibus percitus tricensimo postquam ingressus est die, quantum kal. lunias ab urbe profectus, per Tridentum iter in Illyricum festinavit. [21] Unde misso in locum Marcelli Severo, bellorum usu et maturitate firmato, Ursicinum ad se venire praecepit. Et ille litteris gratanter acceptis, Sirmium venit, comitantibus sociis, libratisque diu super pace consiliis, quam fundari posse cum Persis Musonianus rettulerat, in orientem cum magisterii remittitur potestate, provectis e consortio nostro ad regendos milites natu maioribus, adulescentes eum sequi iubemur, quicquid pro re publica mandaverit impleturi.

Iulianus Caesar Alamannos in insulis Rheni, quo se et sua receperant, aggreditur, et Tres Tabernas adversus eos reparat.

At Caesar exacta apud Senonas hieme turbulenta, Augusto novies seque iterum consule, Germanicis undique circumfremmentibus minis, secundis ominibus motus, Remos properavit alacrior, magisque laetus quod exercitum regebat Severus, nec discors nec arrogans, sed longa militiae frugalitate compertus, et eum recta praeuntem secutus, ut ductorem morigerus miles. [2] Parte alia Barbatio, post Silvani interitum promotus ad peditum magisterium, ex Italia iussu principis cum XXV milibus armatorum Rauracos venit. [3] Cogitatum est enim, solliciteque praestructum, ut saevientes ultra solitum Alamanni vagantesque fusius, multitudine geminata nostrorum, forcipis specie, trusi in angustias caederentur. [4] Dum haec tamen rite disposita celerantur, Laeti barbari ad tempestiva furta sollertes, inter utriusque exercitus castra occulte transgressi, invasere Lugdunum incautam, eamque populatam vi subita concremassent, ni clausis aditibus reperi, quicquid extra oppidum potuit inveniri vastassent. [5] Qua clade cognita, agili studio Caesar missis cuneis tribus equitum expeditorum et fortium, tria observavit itinera, sciens per ea erupturos procul dubio grassatores; nec conatus ei insidianti irritus fuit. [6] Cunctis enim qui per eos tramites exiire truncatis, receptaque praeda omni intacta, hi soli innoxii absoluti sunt, qui per vallum Barbationis transiere securi, ideo labi permissi, quod Bainobaudes tribunus, et Valentinianus postea imperator, cum equestribus turmis quas regebant, ad exsequendum id ordinati, a Cella tribuno scutariorum, qui Barbationi sociatus venerat ad procinctum, iter observare sunt vetiti, unde redituros didicere Germanos. [7] Quo non contentus, magister peditum ignavus et gloriarum Iuliani pervicax obtrectator, sciens se id contra utilitatem Romanae rei iussisse — hoc enim cum argueretur, Cella confessus est — relatione fefellit Constantium, finxitque hos eosdem tribunos, ad sollicitandos milites quos duxerat per speciem venisse negotii publici; qua causa abrogata potestate ad lares redire privati.

[8] Eisdem diebus, exercituum adventu perterriti barbari, qui domicilia fixere cis Rhenum, partim difficiles vias et suapte natura clivosas, concaedibus clausere sollerter, arboribus immensi roboris caesis; alii occupatis insulis sparsis crebro per flumen Rhenum, ferum ululantes et lugubre, conviciis Romanos incessebant et Caesarem; qui graviore motu animi percitus, ad corripiendos aliquos septem a Barbatione petierat naves, ex his quas velut transiturus amnem ad compaginandos paraverat pontes; qui, nequid per eum impetraretur, omnes incendit. [9] Doctus denique exploratorum delatione recens captorum, aestate iam torrida fluvium vado posse transiri, hortatus auxiliares velites cum Bainobaude Cornutorum misit tribuno, facinus memorabile si iuvisset fors patratos, qui nunc incedendo per brevina, aliquotiens scutis in modum alveorum suppositis, nando ad insulam venire propinquam, egressique promiscue virile et muliebre secus sine aetatis ullo discrimine trucidabant ut pecudes, nantique vacuas lintres, per eas licet vacillantes evecti, huius modi loca plurima perruperunt, et ubi caedendi satias cepit, opimitate praedarum onusti, cuius partem vi fluminis amiserunt, redire

omnes incolumes. [10] Hocque comperto, residui Germani, ut infido praesidio insularum relicto, ad ulteriora necessitudines et fruges opesque barbaricas contulerunt. [11] Conversus hinc Iulianus ad reparandas Tres Tabernas (munimentum ita cognominatum,) haut ita dudum obstinatione subversum hostili, quo aedificato constabat ad intima Galliarum (ut consueverant) adire Germanos arceri, et opus spe celerius consummavit, et victum defensoribus ibi locandis, ex barbaricis messibus non sine discriminis metu collectum militis manu, condidit ad usus anni totius. [12] Nec sane hoc solo contentus, sibi quoque viginti dierum alimenta parata collegit. Libentius enim bellatores quaesito dexteris propriis utebantur, admodum indignati, quoniam ex commeatu, qui eis recens advectus est, ideo nihil sumere potuerunt, quod partem eius Barbatio, cum transiret iuxta, superbe praesumpsit; residuumque quod superfuit congestum in acervum exussit, quae utrum ut vanus gerebat et demens, an mandatu principis confidenter nefanda multa temptabat, usque in id temporis latuit. [13] Illud tamen rumore tenus ubique iactabatur, quod Iulianus non levaturus incommoda Galliarum electus est, sed ut possit per bella deleri saevissima, rudis etiam tum ut existimabatur, et ne sonitum quidem duraturus armorum. [14] Dum castrorum opera mature consurgunt, militisque pars stationes praetendit agrarias, alia frumenta insidiarum metu colligit caute, multitudo barbarica rumorem nimia velocitate praeversa, Barbationem cum exercitu quem regebat (ut praedictum est) Gallico vallo discretum impetu repentino aggressa, sequensque fugientes ad usque Rauracos et ultra quoad potuit, rapta sarcinarum et iumentorum cum calonibus parte maxima redit ad suos. [15] Et ille tamquam expeditione eventu prospero terminata, milite disperso per stationes hibernas, ad comitatum imperatoris revertit, crimen compositurus in Caesarem (ut solebat).

Iulianus C. vii Alamannorum reges Galliam incubantes aggreditur, et barbaros apud Argentoratum acie fundit.

Quo dispalato foedo terrore, Alamannorum reges Chonodomarius et Vestralpus, Urius quin etiam et Ursicinus, cum Serapione et Suomario et Hortario, in unum robore virium suarum omni collecto, bellicumque canere bucinis iussis, venere prope urbem Argentoratum, extrema metuentem Caesarem arbitrati retrocessisse, cum ille tum etiam perficiendi munimenti studio stringeretur. [2] Erexit autem confidentiam caput altius attollentum scutarius perfuga, qui commissi criminis metuens poenam, transgressus ad eos post ducis fugati discessum, armatorum tredecim milia tantum remansisse cum Iuliano docebat — is enim numerus eum sequebatur — barbara feritate certaminum rabiem undique concitante. [3] Cuius asseveratione eadem subinde replicantis, ad maiora stimulati fiducia, missis legatis, satis pro imperio Caesari mandaverunt, ut terris abscederet virtute sibi quaesitis et ferro; qui ignarus pavendi, nec ira nec dolore perculsus, sed fastus barbaricos ridens, tentis legatis ad usque perfectum opus castrorum, in eodem gradu constantiae stetit immobilis.

[4] Agitabat autem miscebatque omnia, sine modo ubique sese diffunditans, et princeps audendi periculosa, rex Chonodomarius, ardua subrigens supercilia, ut saepe secundis rebus elatus. [5] Nam et Decentium Caesarem superavit, aequo Marte congressus, et civitates erutas multas vastavit et opulentas, licentiusque diu nullo refragante Gallias persultavit. Ad cuius roborandam fiduciam, recens quoque fuga ducis accessit, numero praestantis et viribus. [6] Alamanni enim scutorum insignia contuentes, norant eos milites permisisse paucis suorum latronibus terrain, quorum metu aliquotiens, antequam gradum conferrent, amissis pluribus abiire dispersi. Quae anxie ferebat sollicitus Caesar, quod trudente ipsa necessitate, digresso periculi socio, cum paucis (licet fortibus) populosis gentibus occurrere cogeatur.

[7] Iamque solis radiis rutilantibus, tubarumque concinente clangore, pedestres copiae lentis incessibus educuntur, earumque lateri equestres iunctae sunt turmae, inter quas cataphractarii erant et sagittarii, formidabile genus armorum. [8] Et quoniam a loco, unde Romana promota sunt signa, ad usque vallum barbaricum quarta leuga signabatur et decima, id est unum et viginti milia passuum, utilitati securitatisque recte consulens Caesar, revocatis procursatoribus iam antegressis, indictaque solitis vocibus quiete, cuneatim circumsistentes alloquitur, genuina placiditate sermonis:

[9] ‘Urget ratio salutis tuendae communis, ut parcissime dicam, non iacentis animi Caesarem hortari vos et orare, commilitones mei — ut adulta robustaque virtute confisi, cautiorem viam potius eligamus, ad toleranda vel ad depellenda quae sperantur, non praeproperam et ancipitem. [10] Ut enim in periculis iuventutem impigram esse convenit et audacem, ita (cum res postulat) regibilem et consultam. Quid igitur censeo, si arbitrium affuerit vestrum, iustaque sustinet indignatio, paucis absolvam. [11] Iam dies in meridiem vergit, lassitudine nos itineris fatigatos, scrupulosi tramites excipient et obscuri, nox senescente luna nullis sideribus adiuvanda, terrae protinus aestu flagrant, nullis aquarum subsidiis fultae; quae si dederit quisquam commode posse transiri, ruentibus hostium examinibus post otium cibique refectionem et potus, quid nos agamus? Quo vigore inedia siti laboreque membris marcentibus occurramus? [12] Ergo quoniam negotiis difficillimis quoque saepe dispositio tempestiva prospexit, et statum nutantium rerum, recto consilio in bonam partem accepto, aliquotiens divina remedia repararunt, hic quaeso vallo fossaque circumdati, divisus vigiliis, quiescamus, somnoque et victu congruis potiti pro tempore, pace dei sit dictum, triumphaturas aquilas et vexilla victricia primo lucis moveamus exordio.’

[13] Nec finiri perpassi quae dicebantur, stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta monstrantes, in hostem se duci iam conspicuum exorabant, caelestis dei favore, fiduciaque sui, et fortunati rectoris expertis virtutibus freti, atque (ut exitus docuit) salutaris quidam genius praesens ad dimicandum eos (dum adesse potuit), incitabat. [14] Accessit huic alacritati plenus celsarum potestatum assensus, maximeque Florenti praefecti praetorio, periculose quidem sed ratione secunda

pugnandum esse censis, dum starent barbari conglobati, qui si diffluxissent, motum militis in seditiones nativo calore propensioris ferri non posse aiebat, extortam sibi victoriam (ut putavit) non sine ultimorum conatu graviter toleraturi. [15] Addiderat autem fiduciam nostris consideratio gemina, recordantibus quod anno nuper emenso, Romanis per transrhenana spatia fusius volitantibus, nec visus est quisquam laris sui defensor, nec obviis stetit, sed concaede arborum densa undique semitis clausis, sidere urente brumali, aegre vixere barbari longius amendati, quodque imperatore terras eorum ingresso, nec resistere ausi, nec apparere, pacem impetraverunt, suppliciter obsecrantes. [16] Sed nullus mutatam rationem temporis advertebat, quod tune triperito exitio premebantur, imperatore urgente per Raetias, Caesare proximo nusquam elabi permittente, finitimis, quos hostes fecere discordiae, modo non occipitia conculcantibus hinc indeque cinctorum. Postea vero pace data discesserat imperator, et sedata iurgiorum materia, vicinae gentes iam concordabant, et turpissimus ducis Romani digressus ferociam natura conceptam auxit in maius. [17] Alio itidem modo res est aggravata Romana, ex negotio tali. Regii duo fratres vinculo pacis adstricti, quam anno praeterito impetraverant a Constantio, nec tumultuare nec commoveri sunt ausi. Sed paulo postea uno ex his Gundomado, qui potior erat, fideique firmioris, per insidias interempto, omnis eius populus cum nostris hostibus conspiravit et confestim Vadomarii plebs (ipso invito, ut asserebat) agminibus bella cientium barbarorum sese coniunxit.

[18] Cunctis igitur summis infimisque approbantibus tune opportune congregiendum, nec de rigore animorum quicquam remittentibus, exclamavit subito signifer 'Perge, felicissime omnium Caesar, quo te fortuna prosperior ducit; tandem per te virtutem et consilia militare sentimus. Praevius ut faustus antesignanus et fortis, experieris quid miles sub conspectu bellicosi ductoris testisque individui gerendorum, modo adsit superum numen, viribus efficiet excitatis.' [19] His auditis cum nullae laxarentur indutiae, promotus exercitus prope collem advenit molliter editum, opertum segetibus iam maturis, a superciliis Rheni haut longo intervallo distantem; ex cuius summitate speculatores hostium tres equites exciti, subito nuntiaturi Romanum exercitum adventare, festinarunt ad sues, unus vero pedes qui sequi non potuit, captus agilitate nostrorum, indicavit per triduum et trinoctium flumen transisse Germanos. [20] Quos cum iam prope densantes semet in cuneos nostrorum conspexere ductores, steterunt vestigiis fixis, antepilanis hastisque et ordinum primis, velut insolubili muro fundatis, et pari cautela hostes stetero cuneati. [21] Cumque ita ut ante dictus docuerat perfuga, equitatum omnem a dextro latere sibi vidissent oppositum, quicquid apud eos per equestres copias praepollebat, in laevo cornu locavere confertum. Eisdemque sparsim pedites miscuere discursatores et leves, profecto ratione tuta poscente. [22] Norant enim licet prudentem ex equo bellatorem cum clibanario nostro congressum, frena retinentem et scutum, hasta una manu vibrata, tegminibus ferreis abscondito bellatori nocere non posse, peditem vero inter ipsos discriminum vertices,

cum nihil caveri solet praeter id quod occurrit, humiliter et occulte reptantem, latere forato iumentum, incautum rectorem praecipitem agere, levi negotio trucidandum. [23] Hoc itaque disposito, dextrum sui latus struxere clandestinis insidiis et obscuris. Ductabant autem populos omnes pugnaces et saevos Chonodomarius et Serapio, potestate excelsiores ante alios reges. [24] Et Chonodomarius quidem nefarius turbinis totius incentor, cuius vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur, anteibat cornu sinistrum, audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor proelii sperabatur, immanis, equo spumante sublimior, erectus in iaculum formidandae vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus ante alios, et strenuus miles et utilis praeter ceteros ductor. [25] Latus vero dextrum Serapio agebat etiam tum adultae lanuginis iuvenis, efficacia praecurrens aetatem; Mederichi fratris Chonodomarii filius, hominis quoad vixerat perfidissimi; ideo sic appellatus, quod pater eius diu obsidatus pignore tentus in Galliis, doctusque Graeca quaedam arcana, hunc filium suum, Agenarichum genitalem vocabulo dictitatum, ad Serapionis transtulit nomen. [26] Hos sequebantur potestate proximi reges, numero quinque, regalesque decem, et optimatum series magna, armatorumque milia triginta et quinque, ex variis nationibus partim mercede, partim pacto vicissitudinis reddendae quaesita.

[27] Iamque torvum concrepantibus tubis, Severus dux Romanorum, aciem dirigens laevam, cum prope fossas armatorum refertas venisset, unde dispositum erat ut abditi repente exorti cuncta turbarent, stetit impavidus, suspensorque de obscuris, nec referre gradum nec ulterius ire temptavit. [28] Quo viso, animosus contra labores maximos Caesar, ducentis equitibus saeptus, ut ardor negotii flagitabat, agmina peditum impetu veloci discurrerent, verbis hortabatur et gestu. [29] Et quoniam alloqui pariter omnes nec longitudine spatiorum extenta, nec in unum coactae multitudinis permetteret crebritas, (et alioqui vitabat gravioris invidiae pondus, ne videretur id affectasse quod soli sibi deberi Augustus existimabat) incautior sui hostium tela praetervolans, his et similibus notos pariter et ignotos ad faciendum fortiter accendebat. [30] ‘Advenit — o socii — iustum pugnandi iam tempus, olim exoptatum mihi vobiscum, quod antehac arcessentes, arma inquietis motibus poscebatis.’ [31] Item cum ad alios postsignanos, in acie locatos extrema, venisset, ‘En’ inquit ‘commilitones, diu speratus praesto est dies, compellens nos omnes, elutis pristinis maculis, Romanae maiestati reddere proprium decus. Hi sunt barbari quos rabies et immodicus furor ad perniciem rerum suarum coegit occurrere, nostris viribus opprimendos.’ [32] Alios itidem bellandi usu diutino callentes, aptius ordinans, his exhortationibus adiuvabat: ‘Exsurgamus — viri fortes — propulsemus fortitudine congrua illis nostris partibus probra, quae contemplanus Caesaris nomen cunctando suscepi.’ [33] Quoscumque autem pugnae signum inconsulte poscentes, rupturosque imperium irrequietis motibus praevideret, ‘Quaeso’ inquit ‘ne hostes vertendos in fugam sequentes avidius, futurae victoriae gloriam violetis, ne quis ante necessitatem ultimam cedat. Nam fugituros procul dubio deseram,

hostium terga caesuris adero indiscretus, si hoc pensatione moderata fiat et cauta.'

[34] Haec aliaque in eundem modum saepius replicando, maiorem exercitus partem primae barbarorum opposuit fronti, et subito Alamannorum peditum fremitus, indignationi mixtus auditus est, unanimi conspiratione vociferantium, relictis equis secum oportere versari regales, ne siquid contigisset adversum, deserta miserabili plebe, facilem discedendi copiam reperirent. [35] Hocque comperto, Chonodomarius iumento statim desiluit, et secuti eum residui idem fecere, nihil morati; nec enim eorum quisquam ambigebat partem suam fore victricem.

[36] Dato igitur aeneatorum accentu sollemniter signo ad pugnandum utrimque, magnis concursum est viribus. Paulisper praepilabantur missilia, et properantes concito quam considerato cursu Germani, telaque dextris explicantes, involavere nostrorum equitum turmas, frendentes immania, eorumque ultra solitum saevientium, comae fluentes horrebant, et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor, quos contra pertinax miles, scutorum obicibus vertices tegens, eiectansque gladios, vel tela concrispans, mortem minitantia perterrebat. [37] Cumque in ipso proeliorum articulo eques se fortiter conturmaret, et muniret latera sua firmius pedes, frontem artissimis conserens parmis, erigebantur crassi pulveris nubes, varique fuere discursus, nunc resistentibus, nunc cedentibus nostris, et obnixi genibus quidam barbari peritissimi bellatores, hostem propellere laborabant, sed destinatione nimia dexteræ dextris miscebantur et umbo trudebat umbonem, caelumque exsultantium cadentiumque resonabat a vocibus magnis, et cum cornu sinistrum artius gradiens, urgentium tot agmina Germanorum vi nimia pepulisset, iretque in barbaros fremens, equites nostri cornu tenentes dextrum, praeter spem incondite discesserunt, dumque primi fugientium postremos impediunt, gremio legionum protecti, fixerunt integrate proelio gradum. [38] Hoc autem exinde acciderat, quod dum ordinum restituitur series, cataphracti equites viso rectore suo leviter vulnerato, et consorte quodam per cervicem equi labente, pondere armorum oppressi, dilapsi qua quisque poterat, peditesque calcando cuncta turbassent, ni conferti illi sibi vicissim innexi stetissent immobiles. Igitur cum equites nihil praeter fugae circumspectantes praesidia, vidisset longius Caesar, concito equo, eos velut repagulum quoddam cohibuit. [39] Quo agnito per purpureum signum draconis, summitati hastae longioris aptatum, velut senectutis pendentis exuvias, stetit unius turmae tribunus, et pallore timoreque percussus, ad aciem integrandam recurrit. [40] Utque in rebus amat fieri dubiis, eosdem lenius increpans Caesar, 'Quo' inquit 'cedimus, viri fortissimi? an ignoratis, fugam quae salutem numquam repperit, irriti conatus stultitiam indicare? Redeamus ad nostros, saltem gloriae futuri participes, si eos pro re publica dimicantes reliquimus inconsulte.' [41] Haec reverenter dicendo, reduxit omnes ad munia subeunda bellandi, imitatus salva differentia veterem Sullam, qui cum contra Archelaum (Mithridatis ducem)educta acie proelio fatigabatur ardenti, relictus a militibus

cunctis, cucurrit in ordinem primum, raptoque et coniecto vexillo in partem hostilem, ‘Ite’ dixerat ‘socii periculorum electi, et scitantibus ubi relictus sim imperator, respondete nihil fallentes: ‘ solus in Boeotia pro omnibus nobis cum dispendio sanguinis sui decernens.’”

[42] Proinde Alamanni, pulsus disiectisque equitibus nostris, primam aciem peditum incesserunt, earn abiecta resistendi animositate pulsuri. [43] Sed postquam comminus ventum est, pugnabatur paribus diu momentis. Cornuti enim et Bracchiati, usu proeliorum diuturno firmati, eos iam gestu terrentes, barritum ciere vel maximum: qui clamor ipso fervore certaminum, a tenui susurro exoriens, paulatimque adulescens ritu extollitur fluctuum, cautibus illisorum; iaculorum deinde stridentium crebritate, hinc indeque convolante, pulvis aequali motu adsurgens, et prospectum eripiens arma armis corporaque corporibus obtrudebat. [44] Sed violentia iraque incompediti, barbari in modum exarsere flammarum, nexamque scutorum compagem, quae nostros in modum testudinis tuebatur, scindebant ictibus gladiatorum assiduis. [45] Quo cognito opitulatum contumalibus suis celeri cursu Batavi venire cum Regibus, formidabilis manus, extremae necessitatis articulo circumventos, (si iuvisset fors) ereptura, torvumque canentibus classicis, adultis viribus certabatur. [46] Verum Alamanni bella alacriter ineuntes, altius anhelabant, velut quodam furoris afflatu, opposita omnia deleturi. Spicula tamen verrutaque missilia non cessabant, ferrataeque arundines fundebantur, quamquam etiam comminus mucro feriebat contra mucronem, et loricae gladiis findebantur, et vulnerati nondum effuso cruore ad audendum exsertius consurgebant. [47] Pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti. [48] Resurgebat tamen aliquotiens armorum pondere pulsus loco Romanus, lassatisque impressus genibus laevum reflectens poplitem barbarus subsidebat, hostem ultro lacescens, quod indicium est obstinationis extremae. [49] Exsiluit itaque subito ardens optimatum globus, inter quos decernebant et reges, et sequente vulgo ante alios agmina nostrorum irrupit, et iter sibi aperiendo, ad usque Primanorum legionem pervenit locatam in medio — quae confirmatio castra praetoria dictitatur, ubi densior et ordinibus frequens, miles instar turrium fixa firmitate consistens, proelium maiore spiritu repetivit, et vulneribus declinandis intentus, seque in modum mirmillonis operiens, hostium latera, quae nudabat ira flagrantior, districtis gladiis perforabat. [50] At illi prodigere vitam pro victoria contententes, temptabant agminis nostri laxare compagem. Sed continuata serie peremptorum, quos Romanus iam fidentior stravit, succedebant barbari superstites interfectis, auditoque occumbentium gemitu crebro, pavore perfusi torpebant. [51] Fessi denique tot aerumnis, et ad solam deinceps strenui fugam, per diversos tramites tota celeritate digredi festinabant, ut e mediis saevientis pelagi fluctibus, quocumque avexerit ventus, eici nautici properant et vectores; quod voti magis quam spei fuisse fatebitur quilibet tunc praesens. [52] Aderatque propitiati numinis arbitrium

clemens, et secans terga cedentium miles cum interdum flexis ensibus ferendi non suppetere instrumenta, erepta ipsis barbaris tela eorum vitalibus immergebat, nec quisquam vulnerantium sanguine iram explevit nec satiavit caede multiplici dexteram, vel miseratus supplicantem abcessit. [53] Iacebant itaque plurimi transfixi letaliter, remedia mortis compendio postulantes, alii semineces, labente iam spiritu, lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant, quorundam capita discissa trabalibus telis, et pendentia iugulis cohaerebant, pars per limosum et lubricum solum, in sociorum cruore relapsi, intactis ferro corporibus, acervis superruentium obruti necabantur. [54] Quae ubi satis evenere prosperrime, validius instante victore, acumina densis ictibus hebescebant, splendentesque galeae sub pedibusolvebantur et scuta, ultimo denique trudente discrimine, barbari, cum elati cadaverum aggeres exitus impedirent, ad subsidia fluminis petivere, quae sola restabant, eorum terga iam perstringentis. [55] Et quia cursu sub armis concito, fugientes miles indefessus urgebat, quidam nandi peritia eximi se posse discriminibus arbitrati, animas fluctibus commiserunt. Qua causa celeri corde futura praevidens Caesar, cum tribunis et ducibus clamore obiugatorio prohibebat, ne hostem avidius sequens, nostrorum quisquam se gurgitibus committeret verticosis. [56] Unde id observatum est, ut marginibus insistentes, confoderent telorum varietate Germanos, quorum siquidem morti velocitas subtraxisset, iacti corporis pondere ad ima fluminis subsidebat. [57] Et velut in quodam theatriali spectaculo, aulaeis miranda monstrantibus multa, licebat iam sine metu videre nandi strenuis quosdam nescios adhaerentes, fluitantes alios cum expeditioribus linquerentur ut stipites, et velut luctante amnis violentia vorari quosdam fluctibus involutos, non nullos clipeis vectos, praeruptas undarum occursantium molis, obliquatis meatibus declinantes, ad ripas posteriores post multa discrimina pervenire. Spumans denique cruore barbarico, decolor alveus insueta stupebat augmenta.

[58] Dum haec ita aguntur, rex Chonodomarius reperta copia discedendi, lapsus per funerum strues, cum satellitibus paucis, celeritate rapida properabat ad castra, quae prope Tribuncos et Concordiam munimenta Romana, fixit intrepidus, ut escensis navigiis, dudum paratis ad casus ancipites, in secretis secessibus se amenderet. [59] Et quia non nisi Rheno transito ad territoria sua poterat pervenire, vultum ne agnosceretur operiens, sensim retulit pedem. Cumque propinquaret iam ripis, lacunam palustribus aquis interfusam circumgrediens ut transiret, calcata mollitie glutinosa, equo est evolutus, et confestim licet obeso corpore gravior, ad subsidium vicini collis evasit, quem agnitum (nec enim potuit celare qui fuerit, fortunae prioris magnitudine proditus), statim anhelu cursu cohors cum tribuno secuta, armis circumdatum aggerem nemorosum, cautius obsidebat, perrumpere verita, ne fraude latenti inter ramorum tenebras exciperetur occultas. [60] Quibus visis, compulsus ad ultimos metus, ultro se dedit solus egressus, comitesque eius ducenti numero et tres amici iunctissimi, flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, si ita tulerit casus, tradidere se vinciendos. [61] Utque nativo

more sunt barbari humiles in adversis, dispaesque in secundis, servus alienae voluntatis trahebatur pallore confusus, claudente noxarum conscientia linguam, immensum quantum ab eo differens, qui post feros lugubresque terrores, cineribus Galliarum insultans, multa minabatur et saeva.

[62] Quibus ita favore superni numinis terminatis, post exactum iam diem, occidente liticine revocatus invitissimus miles, prope supercilia Rheni tendebat, scutorumque ordine multiplicato vallatus, victu fruebatur et somno.

[63] Ceciderunt autem in hac pugna Romani quidem CCXL et III, rectores vero III: Bainobaudes Cornutorum tribunus, adaeque Laipso et Innocentius cataphractarios ducens, et vacans quidam tribunus, cuius non suppetit nomen; ex Alamannis vero sex milia corporum numerata sunt, in campo constrata, et alii inaestimabiles mortuorum acervi per undas fluminis ferebantur. [64] Tunc Iulianus, ut erat fortuna sui spectatior, meritisque magis quam imperio potens, Augustus acclamatione concordii totius exercitus appellatus, ut agentes petulantius milites increpabat, id se nec sperare nec adipisci velle iurando confirmans. [65] Et ut augeret eventus secundi laetitiam, concilio convocato propositisque praemiis, propitio ore Chonodomarium sibi iussit offerri. Qui primo curvatus, deinde humi suppliciter fusus, gentilique prece veniam poscens, bono animo esse est iussus. [66] Et diebus postea paucis ductus ad comitatum imperatoris, missusque exinde Romam, in castris peregrinis, quae in monte sunt Caelio, morbo veterni consumptus est.

[67] His tot ac talibus prospero peractis eventu, in palatio Constanti quidam Iulianum culpantes, ut princeps ipse delectaretur, irrisive Victorinum ideo nominabant, quod verecunde referens quotiens imperaret, superatos indicabat saepe Germanos. [68] Interque exaggerationem inanum laudum, ostentationemque aperte lucentium, inflabant ex usu imperatorem, suoapte ingenio nimium, quicquid per omnem terrae ambitum agebatur, felicibus eius auspiciis assignantes. [69] Quocirca magniloquentia elatus adulatorum, tunc et deinde edictis propositis, arroganter satis multa mentiebatur, se solum (cum gestis non adfuisset) et dimicasse et vicisse et supplices reges gentium erexisse aliquotiens scribens, et si verbi gratia eo agente tunc in Italia, dux quidam egisset fortiter contra Persas, nulla eius mentione per textum longissimum facta, laureatas litteras ad provinciarum damna mittebat, se inter primores versatum cum odiosa sui iactatione significans. [70] Exstant denique eius dicta, in tabulariis principis publicis condita, in quibus ambitiose delata narrandi extollendique semet in caelum. Ab Argentorato cum pugnaretur, mansione quadragesima disparatus, describens proelium aciem ordinasse, et stetisse inter signiferos, et barbaros fugasse praecipites, sibi oblatum falso indicat Chonodomarium (pro rerum indignitas) super Iuliani gloriosis actibus conticescens, quos sepelierat penitus, ni fama res maximas, vel obumbrantibus plurimis, silere nesciret.

LIBER XVII.

[1] Iulianus C. transito Rheno Alamannorum vicos diripit ac incendit; ibi munimentum Traiani reparat, et decimestres indutias barbaris concedit.

Hac rerum varietate, quam iam digessimus, ita conclusa, Martius iuvenis, Rheno post Argentoratensem pugnam otiose fluente, securus, sollicitusque idem ne dirae volucres consumerent corpora peremptorum, sine discretione cunctos humari mandavit, absolutisque legatis, quos ante certamen superba quaedam portasse praediximus, ad Tres Tabernas revertit. [2] Unde cum captivis omnibus praedam Mediomatricos servandam ad reditum usque suum duci praecipit, et petiturus ipse Mogontiacum, ut ponte compacto transgressus, in suis regionibus requireret barbaros, cum nullum reliquisset in nostris, refragante vetabatur exercitu; verum facundia iucunditateque sermonum allectum, in voluntatem traduxerat suam. Amor enim post documenta flagrantior, sequi libenter hortatus est omnis operae conturmalem, auctoritate magnificum ducem, plus laboris indicere sibi quam militi, sicut perspicue contigit, assuetum. Moxque ad locum praedictum est ventum, flumine pontibus constratis transmisso, occupavere terras hostiles. [3] At barbari perstricti negotii magnitudine, qui se in tranquillo positos otio, tunc parum inquietari posse sperabant, aliorum exitio quid fortunis suis immineret anxie cogitantes, simulata pacis petitione, ut primae vertiginis impetum declinarent, misere legatos cum verbis compositis, quae denuntiarent concordem foederum firmitatem; incertumque quo consilio statim instituto, mutata voluntate, per alios cursu celeri venire compulsos, acerrimum nostris minati sunt bellum, ni eorum regionibus excessissent.

[4] Quibus clara fide compertis, Caesar noctis prima quiete, navigiis modicis et velocibus octingentos imposuit milites, ut spatio stadiorum xx sursum versus decurso egressi, quicquid invenire potuerint, ferro violarent et flammis. [5] Quo ita disposito, solis primo exortu, visis per montium vertices barbaris, ad celsiora ducebatur alacrior miles, nulloque invento (hoc si quidem opinati discessere confestim) eminus ingentia fumi volumina visebantur, indicantia nostros perruptas populari terras hostiles. [6] Quae res Germanorum perculit animos, atque desertis insidiis, quas per arcta loca et latebrosa struxerant nostris, trans Menum nomine fluvium ad opitulandum suis necessitudinibus avolarunt. [7] Ut enim in rebus amat fieri dubiis et turbatis, hinc equitum nostrorum accursu, inde navigiis vectorum militum impetu repentino perterrefacti, evadendi subsidium velox locorum invenere prudentes, quorum digressu miles libere gradiens, opulentas pecore villas et frugibus rapiebat, nulli parcendo, extractisque captivis, domicilia cuncta, curatius ritu Romano constructa, flammis subditis exurebat. [8] Emensaque aestimatione decimi lapidis, cum prope silvam venisset squalore tenebrarum horrendam, stetit dux diu cunctando, indicio perfugae doctus per subterranea quaedam occulta, fossasque multifidas, latere hostium plurimos, ubi habile

visum fuerit erupturos. [9] Ausi tamen omnes accedere fidentissime, ilicibus incisis et fraxinis, roboreque abietum magno, semitas invenere constratas. Ideoque gradientes cautius retro, non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse, vix indignationem capientibus animis, advertebant. [10] Et quoniam aeris urente saevitia cum discriminibus ultimis laboratur in cassum (aequinotio quippe autumnali exacto, per eos tractus superfusae nives opplevire montes simul et campos) opus arreptum est memorabile. [11] Et dum nullus obsisteret, munimentum quod in Alamannorum solo conditum Traianus suo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario studio reparatum est; locatisque ibi pro tempore defensoribus, ex barbarorum visceribus alimenta congesta sunt. [12] Quae illi maturata ad suam perniciem contemplantes, metuque rei peractae volucriter congregati, precibus et humilitate suprema, petiere missis oratoribus pacem; quam Caesar omni consiliorum via firmatam, causatus veri similia plurima, per decem mensium tribuit intervallum; id nimirum sollerti colligens mente, quod castra supra quam optari potuit occupata sine obstaculo, tormentis muralibus et apparatu deberent valido communiri. [13] Hac fiducia tres immanissimi reges venerunt tandem aliquando iam trepidi, ex his qui misere victis apud Argentoratum auxilia, iurantes conceptis ritu patrio verbis nihil inquietum acturos, sed foedera ad praestitutum usque diem, quia id nostris placuerat, cum munimento servaturos intacto, frugesque portaturos humeris suis, si defuisse sibi docuerint defensores. Quod utrumque, metu perfidiam frenante, fecerunt.

[14] Hoc memorabili bello, comparando quidem Punicis et Teutonicis, sed dispendiis rei Romanae peracto levissimis, ut faustus Caesar exultabat et felix; credique obtrectatoribus potuit, ideo fortiter eum ubique fecisse fingentibus, quod oppetere dimicando gloriose magis optabat, quam damnatorum sorte (sicut sperabat,) ut frater Gallus occidi, ni pari proposito post excessum quoque Constanti actibus mirandis inclaruisset.

Julianus Caesar DC Francos, Germaniam II vastantes obsidet, et ad deditionem fame compellit.

Quibus ut in tali re compositis firmiter, ad sedes revertens hibernas, sudorum reliquias repperit tales. Remos Severus magister equitum per Agrippinam petens et Iuliacum, Francorum validissimos cuneos, in sexcentis velitibus (ut postea claruit,) vacua praesidiis loca vastantes, offendit; hac opportunitate in scelus audaciam erigente, quod Caesare in Alamannorum secessibus occupato, nulloque vetante, expleri se posse praedarum opimitate sunt arbitrati. Sed metu iam reversi exercitus, munimentis duobus, quae olim exinanita sunt, occupatis, se quoad fieri poterat, tuebantur. [2] Hac Iulianus rei novitate perculsus, et coniciens quorsum erumperet, si eisdem transisset intactis, retento milite circumvallare disposuit castella munita, quae Mosa fluvius praeterlambit, et ad usque quartum et quinquagesimum diem, Decembri scilicet et Ianuario mense, obsidionales tractae sunt morae, destinatis barbarorum animis incredibili pertinacia reluctantibus. [3] tunc pertimescens sollertissimus Caesar, ne observata nocte inluni, barbari gelu

vinctum amnem pervaderent, cotidie a sole in vesperam flexo, ad usque lucis principium, lusoriis navibus discurrere flumen ultro citroque milites ordinavit, ut crustis pruinarum diffractis, nullus ad erumpendi copiam facile perveniret. Hocque commento, inedia et vigiliis et desperatione postrema lassati, sponte se propria dederunt, statimque ad comitatum Augusti sunt missi. [4] Ad quos eximendos periculo, multitudo Francorum egressa, cum captos comperisset et asportatos, nihil amplius ausa, repedavit ad sua, hisque perfectis, acturus hiemem revertit Parisios Caesar.

Iulianus C. Gallos tributis oppresses levare conatur.

Quia igitur plurimae gentes vi maiore collaturae capita sperabantur, dubia bellorum coniectans, sobrius rector magnis curarum molibus stringebatur. Dumque per indutias, licet negotiosas et breves, aerumnosis possessorum damnis mederi posse credebat, tributi ratiocinia dispensavit. [2] Cumque Florentius praefectus praetorio, cuncta permensus (ut contendebat,) quicquid in capitatione deesset, ex conquisitis se supplere firmaret, talium gnarus, animam prius amittere quam hoc sinere fieri memorabat. [3] Norat enim huius modi provisionum, immo eversionum, ut verius dixerim, insanabilia vulnera, saepe ad ultimam egestatem provincias contrusisse, quae res (ut docebitur postea,) penitus evertit Illyricum. [4] Ob quae praefecto praetorio ferri non posse clamante, se repente factum infidum, cui Augustus summam commiserit rerum, Iulianus eum sedatius leniens, scrupulose computando et vere, docuit non sufficere solum, verum etiam exuberare capitationis calculum ad commeatum necessarios apparatus. [5] Nihilo minus tamen, diu postea indictionale augmentum oblatum sibi nec recitare nec subnotare perpersus, humi proiecit. Litterisque Augusti monitus ex relatione praefecti, non agere ita perplexe, ut videretur parum Florentio credi, rescripsit, gratandum esse si provincialis, hinc inde vastatus, saltem sollemnia praebeat nedum incrementa quae nulla supplicia egenis possent hominibus extorquere. Factumque est tunc et deinde, unius animi firmitate, ut praeter solita nemo Gallis quicquam exprimere conaretur. [6] Denique, inusitato exemplo, id petendo Caesar impetraverat a praefecto, ut secundae Belgicae multiformibus malis oppressae, dispositio sibi committeretur, ea videlicet lege, ut nec praefectianus nec praesidialis apparitor ad solvendum quemquam urgeret. Quo levati solatio cuncti, quos in curam susceperat suam, nec interpellati, ante praestitutum tempus debita contulerunt.

Iussu Constantii Aug. obeliscus Romae in Circo Maximo subrectus constituitur; et de obeliscis ac de notis hieroglyphicis.

Inter haec recreandarum exordia Galliarum, administrante secundam adhuc Orfito praefecturam, obeliscus Romae in circo erectus est maximo. Super quo nunc (quia tempestivum est) pauca discurram. [2] Urbem priscis saeculis conditam, ambitiosa moenium strue et portarum centum quondam aditibus celebrem, hecatompylos Thebas, institutores ex facto cognominarunt, cuius vocabulo provincia nunc usque Thebais appellatur. [3] Hanc inter exordia

pandentis se late Carthaginis, improviso excursu duces oppressere Poenorum, posteaque reparatam, Persarum rex ille Cambyses, quoad vixerat alieni cupidus et immanis, Aegypto perrupta aggressus est, ut opes exinde raperet invidendas, ne deorum quidem donariis parcens. [4] Qui dum inter praedatores turbulente concursat, laxitate praepeditus indumentorum, concidit pronus, ac suomet pugione, quem aptatum femori dextro gestabat, subita vi ruinae nudato, vulneratus paene letaliter interisset. [5] Longe autem postea Cornelius Gallus Octaviano res tenente Romanas, Aegypti procurator, exhaustis civitatem plurimis interceptis, reversusque cum furtorum arcesseretur, et populatae provinciae, metu nobilitatis acriter indignatae, cui negotium spectandum dederat imperator, stricto incubuit ferro. Is est (si recte existimo) Gallus poeta, quem flens quodam modo in postrema Bucolicorum parte Vergilius carmine leni decantat.

[6] In hac urbe inter delubra ingentia, diversasque moles, figmenta Aegyptiorum numinum exprimentes, obeliscos vidimus plures, aliosque iacentes et comminutos, quos antiqui reges bello domitis gentibus, aut prosperitatibus summarum rerum elati, montium venis vel apud extremos orbis incolas perscrutatis excisos, et erectos dis superis in religione dicarunt. [7] Est autem obeliscus asperrimus lapis, in figuram metae cuiusdam sensim ad proceritatem consurgens excelsam, utque radium imitetur, gracilescens paulatim, specie quadrata in verticem productus angustum, manu levigatus artificii. [8] Formarum autem innumeras notas, hieroglyphicas appellatas, quas ei undique videmus incisas, initialis sapientiae vetus insignivit auctoritas. [9] Volucrum enim ferarumque etiam alieni mundi genera multa sculptentes, ut ad aevi quoque sequentis aetates, impetratorum vulgatus perveniret memoria, promissa vel soluta regum vota monstrabant. [10] Non enim ut nunc litterarum numerus praestitutus et facilis exprimit, quicquid humana mens concipere potest, ita prisca quoque scriptitarunt Aegyptii, sed singulae litterae singulis nominibus serviebant et verbis; non numquam significabant integros sensus. [11] Cuius rei scientiam his interim duobus exemplis monstrari sufficit: per vulturem naturae vocabulum pandunt, quia mares nullos posse inter has alites inveniri, rationes memorant physicae, perque speciem apes mella conficientis, indicant regem, moderatori cum iucunditate aculeos quoque innasci debere his rerum insignibus ostendentes. Et similia plurima.

[12] Et quia sufflantes adulatorem ex more Constantium id sine modo strebebant, quod cum Octavianus Augustus obeliscos duos ab Heliopolitana civitate transtulisset Aegyptia, quorum unus in Circo Maximo alter in Campo locatus est Martio, hunc recens advectum, difficultate magnitudinis territus, nec contrectare ausus est nec movere, discant qui ignorant, veterem principem translatis aliquibus hunc intactum ideo praeterisse, quod Deo Soli speciali munere dedicatus, fixusque intra ambitiosi templi delubra, quae contingi non poterant, tamquam apex omnium eminebat. [13] Verum Constantinus id parvi ducens, avulsam hanc molem sedibus suis, nihilque committere in religionem recte existimans, si ablatum uno templo miraculum Romae sacraret, id est in

temple mundi totius, iacere diu perpessus est, dum translationi pararentur utilia. Quo convecto per alveum Nili, proiectoque Alexandriae, navis amplitudinis antehac inusitatae aedificata est, sub trecentis remigibus agitanda. [14] Quibus ita provisus, digressoque vita principe memorato, urgens effectus intepuit, tandemque sero impositus navi, per maria fluentaque Tibridis, velut paventis, ne quod paene ignotus miserat Nilus, ipse parum sub emeatus sui discrimine moenibus alumnis inferret, defertur in vicum Alexandri, tertio lapide ab urbe seiunctum. Unde chamulcis impositus, tractusque lenius per Ostiensem portam piscinamque publicam, Circo illatus est Maximo. [15] Sola post haec restabat erectio, quae vix aut ne vix quidem sperabatur posse compleri. At ea ita est facta: aggestis erectisque digestisque ad perpendicularum altis trabibus (ut machinarum cerneret nemos) innectuntur vasti funes et longi, ad speciem multiplicium liciorum, caelum densitate nimia subtexentes. Quibus colligatus mons ipse effigiatus scriptilibus elementis, paulatimque in arduum per inane protentus, diu pensilis, hominum milibus multis tamquam molendinarias rotantibus metas, cavea locatur in media, eique sphaera superponitur ahenea, aureis lamminis nitens, qua confestim vi ignis divini contacta, ideoque sublata, facis imitamentum infigitur aereum, itidem auro imbracteatum, velut abundanti flamma candentis. [16] Secutaeque aetates alios transtulerunt, quorum unus in Vaticano, alter in hortis Sallusti, duo in Augusti monumento erecti sunt. [17] Qui autem notarum textus obelisco incisus est veteri, quem videmus in Circo, Hermapionis librum secuti interpretatum litteris subiecimus Graecis. αρχην απο του νοτιου διερμηνευμενα εχει στιχος πρωτος ταδε λεγει [18] "ηλιος βασιλεῖ 'παμέστη : δεδώρημαί σοι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην μετὰ χαρᾶς βασιλεύειν, ὃν "ηλιος φιλεῖ. — [καὶ] 'απόλλων κρατερὸς φιλαλήθης υἱὸς ἡρωνος, θεογέννητος κτιστὴς τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃν "ηλιος προέκρινεν, ἄλκιμος ἄρεως βασιλεὺς 'παμέστης. ὧ πᾶσα ὑποτέτακται ἢ γῇ μετὰ ἀλκῆς καὶ θάρσους. βασιλεὺς 'παμέστης 'ηλίου παῖς αἰωνόβιος.

στιχος δευτερος

[19] 'απόλλων κρατερὸς, ὁ ἐστὼς ἐπ' ἀληθείας, δεσπότης διαδήματος, τὴν αἴγυπτον δοξάσας κεκτημένος, ὁ ἀγλαοποιήσας 'ηλίου πόλιν, καὶ κτίσας τὴν λοιπὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ πολυτιμήσας τοὺς ἐν 'ηλίου πόλει θεοὺς ἀνιδρυμένους, ὃν "ηλιος φιλεῖ.

τριτος στιχος

[20] 'απόλλων κρατερὸς 'ηλίου παῖς παμφεγγής, ὃν "ηλιος προέκρινεν καὶ "αρης ἄλκιμος ἐδωρήσατο. οὗ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν παντὶ διαμένει καιρῷ. ὃν "αμμων ἀγαπᾷ, πληρώσας τὸν νέων τοῦ φοίνικος ἀγαθῶν. ὧ οἱ θεοὶ ζωῆς χρόνον ἐδωρήσαντο.

'απόλλων κρατερὸς υἱὸς ἡρωνος βασιλεὺς οἰκουμένης 'ραμέστης, ὃς ἐφύλαξεν αἴγυπτον τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς νικήσας, ὃν "ηλιος φιλεῖ, ὧ πολὺν χρόνον ζωῆς ἐδωρήσαντο θεοὶ. δεσπότης οἰκουμένης 'ραμέστης αἰωνόβιος.

λιβος στιχος δεγτερος

[21] "ηλιος φεδὸς μέγας δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ. δεδώρημαί σοι βίον

ἀπρόσκοπον. ἁπλόων κρατερὸς κύριος διαδήματος ἀνείκαστος, ὃς τῶν
φεῶν ἀνδριάντας ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βασιλείᾳ, δεσπότης αἰγύπτου, καὶ
ἐκόσμησεν ἡλίου πόλιν ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸν ἡλίον δεσπότην οὐρανοῦ.
συντετελεύτησεν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡλίου παῖς βασιλεὺς αἰωνόβιος.

τρίτος στίχος

[22] ἡλιος θεὸς δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ ἡμέστη βασιλεῖ. δεδώρημαι τὸ
κράτος καὶ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν. ὃν ἁπλόων φιλαλήθης δεσπότης
χρόνων καὶ ἡφαιστος ὁ τῶν φεῶν πατήρ προέκρινεν διὰ τὸν ἄρεα.
βασιλεὺς παγχαρῆς ἡλίου παῖς, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡλίου φιλούμενος.

ἀφελιωτής. πρῶτος στίχος

[23] ὁ ἄφ' ἡλίου πόλεως μέγας θεὸς ἐνουράνιος ἁπλόων κρατερὸς,
ἥρωνος υἱὸς, ὃν ἡλιος ἡγάπησεν, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ ἐτίμησαν, ὁ πάσης γῆς
βασιλεὺς, ὃν ἡλιος προέκρινεν, ὁ ἄλκιμος διὰ τὸν ἄρεα βασιλεὺς, ὃν
ἄμμων φιλεῖ. καὶ ὁ παμφεγγῆς συγκρίνας αἰώνιον βασιλεῖα et reliqua.

Constantius Aug. et Sapor Persarum rex frustra de pace per litteras et
legatos agunt.

Datiano et Cereali consulibus, cum universa per Gallias studio cautiore
disponerentur, formidoque praeteritorum barbaricos hebetaret excursus, rex
Persarum in confiniis agens adhuc gentium extimarum, iamque cum Chionitis
et Gelanis, omnium acerrimis bellatoribus, pignore icto societatis, rediturus ad
sua, Tamsaporis scripta suscepit, pacem Romanum principem nuntiantis
poscere precativam. [2] Ideoque non nisi infirmato imperii robore temptari talia
suspiciatus, latius semet extentans, pacis amplectitur nomen, et condiciones
proposuit graves, missoque cum muneribus Narseo quodam legato, litteras ad
Constantium dedit nusquam a genuino fastu declinans, quarum hunc fuisse
accepimus sensum:

[3]

Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae, Constantio
Caesari fratri meo salutem plurimam dico.

Gaudeo tandemque mihi placet, ad optimam viam te revertisse, et
incorruptum aequitatis agnovisse suffragium, rebus ipsis expertum pertinax
alieni cupiditas quas aliquotiens ediderit strages. [4] Quia igitur veritatis ratio
soluta esse debet et libera, et celsiores fortunas idem loqui decet atque sentire,
propositum meum in pauca conferam reminiscens, haec quae dicturus sum me
saepius replicasse. [5] Ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines
tenuisse maiores imperium meos, antiquitates quoque vestrae testantur; haec
me convenit flagitare (ne sit arrogans quod affirmo) splendore virtutumque
insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem. Sed ubique mihi cordi est recta
ratio, cui coalitus ab adulescentia prima, nihil umquam paenitendum admisi. [6]
Ideoque Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo, avo meo composita
fraude praereptam. Illud apud nos numquam in acceptum feretur, quod
asseritis vos exsultantes, nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli, prosperos omnes
laudari debere bellorum eventus. [7] Postremo si morem gerere suadenti
vulneris recte, contemne partem exigua, semper luctificam et cruentam, ut

cetera regas securus, prudenter reputans medellarum quoque artifices urere non numquam et secare et partes corporum amputare, ut reliquis uti liceat integris, hocque bestias factitare: quae cum advertant cur maximo opere capiantur, illud propria sponte amittunt, ut vivere deinde possint impavidae. [8] Id sane pronuntio, quod si haec mea legatio redierit irrita, post tempus hiemalis quietis exemptum, viribus totis accinctus, fortuna condicionumque aequitate spem successus secundi fundante, venire, quoad ratio siverit, festinabo.

[9] His litteris diu librat, recto pectore (quod dicitur) considerateque responsum est, hoc modo:

[10] 'Victor terra marique Constantius, semper Augustus, fratri meo Sapor regi salutem plurimam dico.

Sospitati quidem tuae gratulor ut futurus (si velis,) amicus, cupiditatem vero semper inflexam fusiusque vagantem, vehementer insimulo. [11] Mesopotamiam poscis ut tuam, perindeque Armeniam, et suades integro corpori adimere membra quaedam, ut salus eius deinceps locetur in solido, quod infindendum est potius quam ulla consensione firmandum. Accipe igitur veritatem, non obtectam praestigiis, sed perspicuam, nullisque minis inanibus perterrendam. [12] Praefectus praetorio meus, opinatus aggredi negotium publicae utilitati conducens, cum duce tuo per quosdam ignobiles, me inconsulto, sermones conseruit super pace. Non refutamus hanc nec repellimus: adsit modo cum decore et honestate, nihil pudori nostro praereptura vel maiestati. [13] Est enim absonum et insipiens nunc cum gestarum rerum ordines (placatae sint aurae invidiae!) nobis multipliciter illuxerunt, cum deletis tyrannis, totus orbis Romanus nobis obtemperat, ea prodere, quae contrusi in orientales angustias, diu servavimus inlibata. [14] Cessent autem quaeso formidines, quae nobis intentantur ex more, cum ambigi nequeat, non inertia nos sed modestia, pugnas interdum excepsisse potius quam intulisse, et nostra quotiens lacessimur, fortissimo bonae conscientiae spiritu defensare, id experiendo legendoque scientes, in proeliis quibusdam raro rem titubasse Romanam, in summa vero bellorum numquam ad deteriora prolapsam.

[15] Hanc legationem nullo impetrato remissam, — nec enim effrenatae regis cupiditati responderi amplius quicquam potuit — post paucissimos dies secutus est Prosper comes et Spectatus tribunus, et notarius itemque Eustathius, Musoniano suggerente philosophus, ut opifex suadendi; imperatoris scripta perferentes et munera, enisuri apparatus interim Saporis arte quadam suspendere, ne supra humanum modum provinciae munirentur arctoae.

Iuthungi, gens Alamannica, in Raetiis quas populabantur, a Romanis caesi fugatique.

Inter quae ita ambigua, Iuthungi Alamannorum pars Italicis conterminans tractibus, obliti pacis et foederum, quae adepti sunt obsecrando, Raetias

turbulente vastabant, adeo ut etiam oppidorum temptarent obsidia praeter solitum. [2] Ad quos repellendos cum valida manu missus Barbatio, in locum Silvani peditum promotus magister, ignavus sed verbis effusior, alacritate militum vehementer erecta, prostravit acerrime multos, ita ut exigua portio, quae periculi metu se dedit in fugam, aegre dilapsa, lares suos non sine lacrimis reviseret et lamentis. [3] Huic pugnae Nevitta, postea consul, equestris praepositus turmae, et adfuisse et fortiter fecisse firmatur.

Nicomedia terrae motu prostrata; et quot modis terra quatitur.

Eisdem diebus terrae motus horrendi, per Macedoniam Asiamque et Pontum, assiduis pulsibus oppida multa concusserunt et montes. Inter monumenta tamen multiformium aerumnarum, eminere Nicomediae clades, Bithyniae urbium matris, cuius ruinarum eventum vere breviterque absolvam.

[2] Primo lucis exortu, diem nonum kal. Septembrium, concreti nubium globi nigrantium, laetam paulo ante caeli speciem confuderunt, et amendato solis splendore, nec contigua vel apposita cernebantur; ita oculorum obtutu praestricto, humo involutus crassae caliginis squalor insedit. [3] Dein velut numine summo fatales contorquente manubias, ventosque ab ipsis excitante cardinibus, magnitudo furentium incubuit procellarum, cuius impetu pulsorum auditus est montium gemitus, et elisi litoris fragor, haecque secuti typhones atque presteres, cum horrifico tremore terrarum, civitatem et suburbana funditus everterunt. [4] Et quoniam acclivitate collium aedes pleraeque vehebantur, aliae super alias concidebant, reclangentibus cunctis sonitu ruinarum immenso. Inter quae clamoribus variis celsa culmina resultabant, quaeritantium coniugium liberosque, et siquid necessitudines artae constringunt. [5] Post horam denique secundam (multo ante tertiam) aer iam sudus et liquidus latentes rexit funereas strages. Non nulli enim superruentium rudum vi nimia constipati, sub ipsis interiere ponderibus; quidam collo tenus aggeribus obruti, cum superesse possent siqui iuissent, auxiliorum inopia necabantur; alii lignorum exstantium acuminibus fixi pendebant. [6] Uno ictu caesi complures, paulo ante homines tunc promiscuae strages cadaverum cernebantur. Quosdam domorum inclinata fastigia intrinsecus servabant intactos, angore et inedia consumendos. Inter quos Aristaenetus affectatam recens dioecensin curans vicaria potestate, quam Constantius ad honorem uxoris Eusebiae, Pietatis cognominarat, animam hoc casu cruciatam diutius exhalavit. [7] Alii subita magnitudine ruinae oppressi, eisdem adhuc molibus conteguntur. Collis quidam capitibus, vel umeris praeseclis aut cruribus, inter vitae mortisque confinia, aliorum adiumenta paria perferentium implorantes, cum obtestatione magna deserebantur. [8] Et superesse potuit aedium sacrarum et privatarum, hominumque pars maior, ni palantes abrupti flammarum ardores per quinque dies et noctes, quicquid consumi poterat exussissent.

[9] Adesse tempus existimo, pauca dicere quae de terrae pulsibus coniectura veteres collegerunt. Ad ipsius enim veritatis arcana, non modo haec nostra vulgaris inscitia, sed ne sempiterna quidem lucubrationibus longis nondum

exhausta, physicorum iurgia penetrarunt. ^[10] Unde et in ritualibus et pontificio sacerdotio obtemperantibus libris super auctore motus terrae nihil dicitur caute, ne alio deo pro alio nominato, cum qui eorum terram concutiat, sit in abstruse, piacula committantur. ^[11] Accidunt autem, (ut opiniones aestimant inter quas Aristoteles aestuat et laborat), aut in cavernis minutis terrarum, quas Graece οὐρίγγας appellamus, impulsu crebriore aquis undabundis; aut certe (ut Anaxagoras affirmat,) ventorum vi subeuntium ima terrarum; qui cum soliditatibus concrustatis inciderint, eruptiones nullas reperientes, eas partes soli convibrant, quas subrepserint tumidi. Unde plerumque observatur, terra tremente, ventorum apud nos spiramina nulla sentiri, quod in ultimis eius secessibus occupantur. ^[12] Anaximander ait, arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate, aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetrat supernus aer violentus et nimius, ac per eas vehementi spiritu quassatam, cieri propriis sedibus. Qua de causa terrores huius modi, vaporatis temporibus, aut nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione, contingunt. Ideoque Neptunum, umentis substantiae potestatem, Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncuparunt.

^[13] Fiunt autem terrarum motus modis quattuor: aut enim brasmatiae sunt, qui humum more aestus imitus suscitantes, sursum propellunt immanissimas moles, ut in Asia Delos emersit, et Hieria et Anaphe et Rhodus, Ophiusa et Pelagia, prioribus saeculis dictitata, aureo quondam imbri perfusa, et Eleusin in Boeotia, et apud Tyrrenos Vulcanus, insulaeque plures; aut climatiae qui limes ruentes atque obliqui, urbes aedificia montesque complanant; aut chasmatiae qui grandiore motu patefactis subito voratrinis, terrarum partes absorbent, ut in Atlantico mari, Europaeo orbe spatiosior insula, et in Crisaeo sinu Helice et Bura, et in Ciminia Italiae parte, oppidum Saccumum, ad Erebi profundos hiatus abactae, aeternis tenebris occultantur. ^[14] Inter haec tria genera terrae motuum, mycematiae sonitu audiuntur minaci, cum dissolutis elementa compagibus, ultro assiliunt, vel relabuntur considentibus terris. Tunc enim necesse est velut taurinis reboare mugitibus, fragores fremitusque terrenos. Sed hinc ad exorsa.

Iulianus C. Salios, gentem Francicam, in deditionem accipit; Chamavorum alios caedit, alios capit, reliquis pacem tribuit.

At Caesar hiemem apud Parisios agens, Alamannos praevenire studio maturabat ingenti, nondum in unum coactos, sed ad insaniam post Argentoratum audaces omnes et saevos, opperiensque Iulium mensem, unde sumunt Gallicani procinctus exordia, diutius angebatur. Nec enim egredi poterat, antequam ex Aquitania aestatis remissione, solutis frigoribus et pruinis, veheretur annona. ^[2] Sed ut est difficultatum paene omnium diligens ratio victrix, multa mente versans et varia, id tandem repperit solum, ut anni maturitate non exspectata, barbaris occurreret insperatus, firmatoque consilio, XX dierum frumentum, ex eo quod erat in sedibus consumendum, ad usus diuturnitatem excoctum, bucellatum (ut vulgo appellant,) umeris imposuit

libentium militum, hocque subsidio fretus, secundis (ut ante,) auspiciis profectus est, intra mensem quintum vel sextum, duas expeditiones consummari posse urgentes et necessarias arbitratus. [3] Quibus paratis, petit primos omnium Francos, eos videlicet quos consuetudo Salios appellavit, ausos olim in Romano solo apud Toxandriam locum habitacula sibi figere praelicenter. Cui cum Tungros venisset, occurrit legatio praedictorum, opinantium reperiri imperatorem etiam tum in hibernis, pacem sub hac lege praetendens, ut quiescentes eos tamquam in suis, nec lacerasset quisquam nec vexaret. Hos legatos negotio plene digesto, oppositaque condicionum perplexitate, ut in eisdem tractibus moraturus, dum redeunt, muneratos absolvit. [4] Dictoque citius secutus profectos, Severo duce misso per ripam, subito cunctos aggressus, tamquam fulminis turbo percussit, iamque precantes potius quam resistentes, in opportunitam clementiae partem effectui victoriae flexo, dedentes se cum opibus liberisque suscepit. [5] Chamavos itidem ausos similia adortus, eadem celeritate partim cecidit, partim acriter repugnantes, vivosque captos, compegit in vincula, alios praecipiti fuga repedantes ad sua, ne militem spatio longo defatigaret, abire interim permisit innocuos; quorum legatis paulo postea missis precatum consultumque rebus suis, humi prostratis sub obtutibus eius, pacem hoc tribuit pacto, ut ad sua redirent incolumes.

Iulianus C. tria munimenta ad Mosam eversa a barbaris instaurat, et a milite famem patiente probris ac minis incessitur.

Cunctis igitur ex voto currentibus, studio pervigili properans, modis omnibus utilitatem fundare provinciarum, munimenta tria recta serie superciliis imposita fluminis Mosae, subversa dudum obstinatione barbarica, reparare pro tempore cogitabat, et ilico sunt instaurata, procinctu paulisper omisso. [2] Atque ut consilium prudens celeritas faceret tutum, ex annona decem dierum et septem, quam in expeditionem pergens vehebat cervicibus miles, portionem subtractam in eisdem condidit castris, sperans ex Chamavorum segetibus id suppleri posse quod ablatum est. [3] Longe autem aliter accidit. Frugibus enim nondum etiam maturis, miles, expensis quae portabat, nusquam reperiens victus, extrema minitans Iulianum compellationibus incessebat et probris, Asianum appellans Graeculum et fallacem, et specie sapientiae stolidum. Utque inveniri solent quidam inter armatos verborum volubilitate conspicui, haec et similia multa strebebant: [4] ‘Quo trahimur spe meliorum abolita, olim quidem dura et perpessu asperissima per nives tolerantes et acumina crudelium pruinarum? Sed nunc (pro nefas!) cum ultimis hostium fatis instamus, fame, ignavissimo mortis genere tabescentes. [5] Et nequi nos turbarum existimet concitores, pro vita loqui sola testamur, non aurum neque argentum petentes, quae olim nec contrectare potuimus nec videre, ita nobis negata, velut contra rem publicam, tot suscepisse labores et pericula confutatis.’ [6] Et erat ratio iusta querellarum. Inter tot enim rerum probabilium cursus, articulosque necessitatum ancipites, sudoribus Gallicanis miles exhaustus, nec donativum meruit nec stipendium,

iam inde ut Iulianus illo est missus, ea re quod nec ipsi quod daret suppetere poterat usquam, nec Constantius erogari more solito permittebat. [7] Hocque exinde claruit fraude potius quam tenacitate committi, quod cum idem Caesar petenti ex usu gregario cuidam, ut barbas detonderet, dedisset aliquid vile, contumeliosis calumniis appetitus est a Gaudentio tunc notario, ad explorandos eius actus diu morato per Gallias, quem postea ipse interfici iusserat, ut loco monstrabitur competenti.

Suomarius et Hortarius, Alamannorum reges, captivis redditis, ab Iuliano Caes. pacem impetrant.

Lenito tandem tumultu, non sine blanditiarum genere vario, contextoque navali ponte transito Rheno, terris Alamannorum calcatis, Severus magister equitum, bellicosus ante haec et industrius, repente conmarcuit. [2] Et qui saepe universos ad fortiter faciendum hortabatur et singulos, tunc dissuasor pugnandi, contemptus videbatur et timidus, mortem fortasse metuens adventantem, ut in Tageticis libris legitur vel Vegonicis fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari, ut nec tonitruum nec maiores aliquos possint audire fragores. Et iter ignaviter egerat praeter solitum, ut ductores, viarum praeceuntes alacri gradu, ultima minitando terreret, ni omnes conspirantes in unum, se loca penitus ignorare firmarent. Qui interdicti, metuentes auctoritatem, nusquam deinde sunt progressi.

[3] Inter has tamen moras, Alamannorum rex Suomarius ultro cum suis improvisus occurrit, ferox ante saeviensque in damna Romana, sed tum lucrum existimans insperatum, si propria retinere permetteretur. Et quia vultus incessusque supplicem indicabat, susceptus bonoque animo esse iussus et placido, nihil arbitrio suo relinquens, pacem genibus curvatis oravit. [4] Et eam cum concessione praeteritorum sub hac meruit lege, ut captivos redderet nostros, et quotiens sit necesse, militibus alimenta praeberet, susceptorum vilium more securitates accipiens pro illatis: quas si non ostendisset in tempore, sciret se rursus eadem flagitandum.

[5] Quod ita recte dispositum est, impraepedite completo, Hortari nomine petendus erat regis alterius pagus, et quia nihil videbatur deesse praeter ductores, Nesticae tribuno scutariorum, et Chariettoni viro fortitudinis mirae, imperaverat Caesar, ut magna quaesitum industria, comprehensumque offerrent sibi captivum, et correptus velociter, adulescens ducitur Alamannus, pacto obtinendae salutis pollicitus itinera se monstraturum. [6] Hoc progressu secutus exercitus, celsarum arborum obsistente concaede, ire protinus vetabatur. Verum per circuitus longos et flexuosos ubi ventum est tandem ad loca, ira quisque percitus armorum urebat agros et peoora diripiebat et homines, resistentesque sine ulla parsimonia contruncabant. [7] His malis percussus, rex cum multiplices legiones, vicorumque reliquias cerneret exustorum, ultimas fortunarum iacturas adesse iam contemplatus, oravit ipse quoque veniam, facturum se imperanda iurandi exsecratione promisit. Captivos restituere universos — id enim cura agebatur impensiore — iussus

fidem non praestitit. Detentisque plurimis reddidit paucos. [8] Quo cognito ad indignationem iustam Iulianus erectus, cum munerandus venisset ex more, quattuor comites eius, quorum ope et fide maxime nitebatur, non ante absolvit, dum omnes rediere captivi. [9] Ad colloquium tandem accitus a Caesare, trementibus oculis adorato, victorisque superatus aspectu, condicione difficili premebatur, hac scilicet ut quoniam consentaneum erat, post tot secundos eventus, civitates quoque reparari, vi barbarorum excisas, carpenta et materias ex opibus suis suorumque praeberet; et haec pollicitus imprecatusque (si perfidum quicquam egisset,) luenda sibi cruore supplicia, ad propria remeare permissus est. Annonam enim transferre, ita ut Suomarius, ea re compelli non potuit, quod ad internicionem regione eius vastata, nihil inveniri poterat quod daretur.

[10] Ita reges illi tumentes quondam immaniter, rapinisque ditescere assueti nostrorum, Romanae potentiae iugo subdidere colla iam domita, et velut inter tributarios nati et educati, obsecundabant imperiis ingravate. Quibus hoc modo peractis, disperso per stationes milite consuetas, ad hiberna regressus est Caesar.

Iulianus Caes., post res in Gallia bene gestas, in aula Constantii Aug. ab invidis deridetur, segnisque et timidus appellatur.

Haec cum in comitatu Constantii subinde noscerentur — erat enim necesse, tamquam apparitorem, Caesarem super omnibus gestis ad Augusti referre scientiam — omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores iam docti, recte consulta prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum, talia sine modo strepentes insulse: ‘In odium venit cum victoriis suis capella, non homo,’ ut hirsutum Iulianum carpentes, appellantesque ‘loquacem talpam’ et ‘purpuratam simiam’ et ‘litterionem Graecum,’ et his congruentia plurima. Atque ut tintinnabula principi resonantes, audire haec taliaque gestienti, virtutes eius obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque secus verbis comptioribus exornantem; quod non tunc primitus accidit. [2] Namque ut solet amplissima quaeque gloria obiecta esse semper invidiae, legimus in veteres quoque magnificos duces vitia criminaque, etiam si inveniri non poterant, finxisse malignitatem, spectatissimis actibus eorum offensam. [3] Ut Cimonem Miltiadis filium, insimulatum incesti, qui saepe ante et prope Eurymedonta Pamphylium flumen Persarum populum delevit innumerum, coegitque gentem insolentia semper elatam obsecrare suppliciter pacem; Aemilianum itidem Scipionem ut somniculosum aemulorum incusari malivolentia, cuius impetrabili vigilantia, obstinatae in perniciem Romae, duae potentissimae sunt urbes excisae. [4] Nec non etiam in Pompeium obtrectatores iniqui, multa scrutantes, cum nihil unde vituperari deberet, inveniretur, duo haec observarunt ludibriosa et irrita: quod genuino quodam more caput digito uno scalpebat, quodque aliquandiu tegendi ulceris causa deformis fasciola candida crus colligatum gestabat: quorum alterum factitare ut dissolutum, alterum ut novarum rerum cupidum asserebant; nihil interesse oblatrantes argumento subfrigido, quam partem

corporis redimiret regiae maiestatis insigni; eum virum, quo nec fortior nec autem cautior quisquam patriae fuit, ut documenta praeclara testantur.

[5] Dum haec ita aguntur, Romae Artemius curans vicariam praefecturam, pro Basso quoque agebat, qui recens promotus urbi praefectus, fatali decesserat sorte, cuius administratio seditiones perpessa est turbulentas, nec memorabile quicquam habuit quod narrari sit dignum.

Constantius Aug. Sarmatas dominos olim, tum exules, et Quados, Pannoniarum et Moesiae vastatores, ad obsides dandos et captivos reddendos compellit; atque exulibus Sarmatis, in libertatem avitasque sedes restitutis, regem imposuit.

Augusto inter haec quiescenti per hiemem apud Sirmium, indicabant nuntii graves et crebri, permixtos Sarmatas et Quados, vicinitate et similitudine morum armaturaeque concordēs, Pannonias Moesiarumque alteram cuneis incursare dispersis. [2] Quibus ad latrocinia magis quam aperto habilibus Marti, hastae sunt longiores et loricae ex cornibus rasis et laevigatis, plumarum specie linteis indumentis innexae; equorumque plurimi ex usu castrati, ne aut feminarum visu exagitati, raptentur, aut in subsidiis ferocientes, prodant hinnitu densiore vectores. [3] Et per spatia discurrunt amplissima, sequentes alios vel ipsi terga vertentes, insidendo velocibus equis et morigeris, trahentesque singulos, interdum et binos, uti permutatio vires foveat iumentorum, vigorque otio integretur alterno.

[4] Aequinoctio itaque temporis verni confecto, imperator coacta militum valida manu, ductu laetioris fortunae profectus, cum ad locum aptissimum pervenisset, flumen Histrum exundantem pruinarum iam resoluta congerie, super navium foros ponte contexto transgressus, populandis barbarorum incubuit terris. Qui itinere festinato praeventi, catervasque bellatoris exercitus iugulis suis imminere cernentes, quem nondum per anni tempus colligi posse rebantur, nec spirare ausi nec stare, sed vitantes exitium insperatum, semet omnes effuderunt in fugam. [5] Stratisque plurimis, quorum gressus vinxerat timor, si quos exemit celeritas morti, inter latebrosas convalles montium occultati, videbant patriam ferro pereuntem, quam vindicassent profecto, si vigore quo discesserant restitissent. [6] Gerebantur haec in ea parte Sarmatae, quae secundam prospectat Pannoniam, parique fortitudine circa Valeriam opes barbaras urendo rapiendoque occurrentia militaris turbo vastabat. [7] Cuius cladis immensitate permoti, posthabito latendi consilio, Sarmatae petendae specie pacis, agmine tripertito agentes, securius nostros aggredi cogitarunt ut nec expedire tela nec vim vulnere declinare, nec quod est in rebus artissimis ultimum, verti possent in fugam. [8] Aderant autem ilico Sarmatis periculorum Quadi participes, qui noxarum saepe socii fuerant indiscreti, sed ne eos quidem prompta iuvat audacia, in discrimina ruentes aperta. [9] Caesis enim compluribus, pars quae potuit superesse, per notos calles evasit; quo eventu vires et animos incitante, iunctis densius cuneis, ad Quadorum regna properabat exercitus, qui ex praeterito casu impendentia formidantes, rogaturi suppliciter pacem, fidentes ad principis venere

conspectum, erga haec et similia lenioris, dictoque die statuendis condicionibus pari modo Zizais quoque etiam tum regalis, ardui corporis iuvenis, ordines Sarmatarum more certaminis instruxit ad preces; visoque imperatore, abiectis armis pectore toto procubuit, exanimis stratus. Et amisso vocis officio prae timore, tum cum orare deberet, maiorem misericordiam movit, conatus aliquotiens, parumque impediendo singultu, permissus explicare quae poscebat. [10] Recreatus denique tandem, iussusque exsurgere, genibus nixus, usu linguae recuperate, concessionem delictorum sibi tribui supplicavit et veniam, eoque ad precandum admissa multitudo, cuius ora formido muta claudebat, periculo adhuc praestantioris ambiguo, ubi ille solo iussus attolli orandi signum exspectantibus diu monstravit, omnes clipeis telisque proiectis, manus precibus dederunt plura excogitantes, ut vincerent humilitate supplicandi regalem. [11] Duxerat potior cum ceteris Sarmatis etiam Rumonem et Zinafrum et Fragiledum subregulos, plurimosque optimates, cum impetrandi spe similia petituos. Qui, licet elati gaudio salutis indultae, condicionum sarcina compensare inimice facta pollicebantur, seque cum facultatibus et liberis et coniugibus terrarumque suarum ambitu Romanae potentiae libenter offerrent. Praevaluit tamen aequitati iuncta benignitas, iussique obtinere sedes impavidi, nostros reddidere captivos. Duxeruntque obsides postulatatos, et obedire praeceptis deinde promptissime spoponderunt. [12] Hortante hoc exemplo clementiae, advolarunt regalis cum suis omnibus Araharius, et Usafer inter optimates excellens, agminum gentilium duces, quorum alter Transiugitanorum Quadorumque parti, alter quibusdam Sarmatis praeerat, locorum confiniis et feritate iunctissimis; quorum plebem veritus imperator, ne ferire foedera simulans, in arma repente consurgeret, discreto consortio, pro Sarmatis obsecrantes iussit paulisper abscedere, dum Araharii et Quadorum negotium spectaretur. [13] Qui cum reorum ritu oblatis, stantes curvatis corporibus, facinora gravia purgare non possent, ultimae sortis infortunia metuentes, dederunt obsides imperatos, numquam antea pignora foederis exhibere compulsi. [14] His ex aequo bonoque compositis Usafer in preces admissus est, Arahario pertinaciter obstrepente, firmanteque pacem quam ipse meruit, ei quoque debere proficere, ut participi licet inferiori, et obtemperare suis imperiis consueto. [15] Verum quaestione discussa, aliena potestate eripi Sarmatae iussi (ut semper Romanorum clientes,) offerre obsides quietis vincula conservandae, gratanter amplexi sunt. [16] Ingerebat autem se post haec maximus numerus catervarum confluentium nationum et regum, suspendi a iugulis suis gladios obsecrantium, postquam Araharium impune compererat abscessisse; et pari modo ipsi quoque adepti pacem quam poscebant, accitos ex intimis regni procerum filios obsidatus sorte opinione celerius obtulerunt, itidemque captivos (ut placuerat) nostros, quos haut minore gemitu perdere quam suos.

[17] Quibus ordinatis translata est in Sarmatas cura, miseratione dignos potius quam simultate. Quibus incredibile quantum prosperitatis haec attulit causa: ut verum illud aestimaretur, quod opinantur quidam, fatum vinci

principis potestate vel fieri. [18] Potentes olim ac nobiles erant huius indigenae regni, sed coniuratio clandestina servos armavit in facinus. Atque ut barbaris esse omne ius in viribus adsuevit, vicerunt dominos ferocia pares, et numero praeminentes. [19] Qui confundente metu consilia, ad Victohalos discretos longius confugerunt, obsequi defensoribus, (ut in malis) optabile, quam servire mancipiis arbitrati; quae deplorantes, post impetratam veniam recepti in fidem, poscebant praesidia libertati, eosque iniquitate rei permotus, inspectante omni exercitu, convocatos allocutus verbis mollioribus imperator, nulli nisi sibi ducibusque Romanis parere praecepit. [20] Atque ut restitutio libertatis haberet dignitatis augmentum, Zizaim regem eisdem praefecit, conspicuae fortunae tum insignibus aptum profecto, (ut res docuit) et fidelem, nec discedere quisquam post haec gloriose gesta permissus est, antequam (ut placuerat) remearent nostri captivi. [21] His in barbarico gestis, Bregetionem castra commota sunt, ut etiam ibi belli Quadorum reliquias, circa illos agitantium tractus, lacrimae vel sanguis extingueret. Quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, alique optimates et iudices, variis populis praesidentes, viso exercitu in gremio regni solique genitalis, sub gressibus militum iacuerunt, et adepti veniam iussa fecerunt, sobolemque suam obsidatus pignore (ut obsecuturi condicionibus impositis) tradiderunt, eductisque mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide.

Constantius Aug. Limigantes Sarmatas servos, post magnam ipsorum caedem factam, cogit sedibus suis emigrare, ac milites suos alloquitur.

His (ut narratum est) secundo finitis eventu, ad Limigantes, Sarmatas servos, ocius signa transferri utilitas publica flagitabat, quos erat admodum nefas, impune multa et nefaria perpetrasse. Nam velut obliti priorum, tunc erumpentibus Liberis, ipsi quoque tempus aptissimum nancti, limitem perrupere Romanum, ad hanc solam fraudem dominis suis hostibusque concordem. [2] Deliberatum est tamen, id quoque lenius vindicari, quam criminum magnitudo poscebat, hactenus ultione porrecta, ut ad longinqua translati, amitterent copiam nostra vexandi, quos pericula formidare monebat scelerum conscientia diutius commissorum. [3] Ideoque in se pugnae molem suspicati vertendam, dolos parabant et ferrum et preces. Verum aspectu primo exercitus tamquam fulminis ictu perculsi, ultimaque cogitantes, vitam precati, tributum annuum delectumque validae iuventutis et servitium spoponderunt, abnuere parati si iuberentur aliorum migrare, ut gestibus indicabant et vultibus, locorum confisi praesidio, ubi lares post exactos dominos fixere securi. [4] Has enim terras Parthiscus irruens obliquatis meatibus, Histromiscetur. Sed dum solus licentius fluit, spatia longa et lata sensim praelabens, et ea coartans prope exitum in angustias, accolae ab impetu Romanorum alveo Danubii defendit, a barbaricis vero excursibus suo tutos praestat obstaculo, ubi pleraque umidioris soli natura, et incrementis fluminum redundantia, stagnosa sunt et referta salicibus, ideoque invia, nisi perquam gnaris; et super his insularem anfractum, aditu Parthisci paene contiguum, amnis potior

ambiens, terrae consortio separavit. [5] Hortante igitur principe, cum genuino fastu ad citeriorem venere fluminis ripam, ut exitus docuit, non iussa facturi, sed ne viderentur militis praesentiam formidasse, stabantque contumaciter, ideoque propinquasse monstrantes, ut iubenda repudiarent. [6] Quae imperator accidere posse contemplans, in agmina plurima clam distributo exercitu, celeritate volucris morantes intra suorum acies clausit. Stansque in aggre celsiore cum paucis, et stipatorum praesidio tectus, eos ne ferocirent lenius admonebat. [7] Sed fluctuantes ambiguitate mentium in diversa rapiebantur, et furori mixta versutia, temptabant cum precibus proelium, vicinumque sibi in nostros parantes excursum, proiecere consulto longius scuta, ut ad ea recuperanda sensim progressi, sine ullo fraudis indicio spatia furarentur.

[8] Iamque vergente in vesperum die, cum moras rumpere lux moneret excedens, erectis vexillis in eos igneo miles impetu ferebatur. Qui conferti acieque densiore contracta, adversus ipsum principem stantem (ut dictum est) altius, omnem impetum contulerunt, eum oculis incessentes et vocibus truculentis. [9] Cuius furoris amentiam exercitus ira ferre non potuit, eosque imperatori (ut dictum est) acriter imminentes, desinente in angustum fronte (quem habitum caput porci simplicitas militaris appellat,) impetu disiecit ardenti, et dextra pedites catervas peditum obtruncabant, equites laeva equitum se turmis agilibus infuderunt. [10] Cohors praetoria ex adverso Augustum cautius stipans, resistentium pectora moxque terga fugientium incidebat, et cadentes insuperabili contumacia barbari non tam mortem dolere, quam nostrorum laetitiam, horrendo stridore monstrabant, et iacentes absque mortuis plurimi, succisis poplitibus ideoque adempto fugiendi subsidio, alii dexteris amputatis, non nulli ferro quidem intacti, sed superruentium collisi ponderibus, cruciatus alto silentio perferebant. [11] Nec eorum quisquam inter diversa supplicia veniam petit aut ferrum proiecit, aut exoravit celerem mortem, sed arma iugiter retinentes, licet afflicti, minus criminis aestimabant, alienis viribus potius quam conscientiae suae iudicio vinci; mussantesque audiebantur interdum, fortunae non meriti fuisse quod evenit. Ita in semihorae curriculo discrimine proeliorum emenso, tot procubuerunt subito barbari, ut pugnam fuisse sola victoria declararet.

[12] Vix dum populis hostilibus stratis, gregatim peremptorum necessitudines ducebantur, humilibus extractae tuguriis, aetatis sexusque promiscui, et fastu vitae prioris abolito, ad infimitatem obsequiorum venere servilium, et exiguo temporis intervallo decurso, caesorum aggeres et captivorum agmina cernebantur. [13] Incitante itaque fervore certaminum, fructuque vincendi, consurrectum est in perniciem eorum qui deseruerant proelia, vel in tuguriis latitantes occultabantur. Hos, cum ad loca venisset avidus barbarici sanguinis miles, disiectis culmis levibus obtruncabant, nec quemquam casa, vel trabibus compacta firmissimis, periculo mortis extraxit. [14] Denique cum inflammarentur omnia nullusque latere iam posset, cunctis vitae praesidiis circumcisis, aut obstinate igni peribat absumptus, aut incendium vitans, egressusque uno supplicio declinato, ferro sternebatur

hostili. [15] Fugientes tamen aliqui tela, incendiorumque magnitudinem, amnis vicini se commisere gurgitibus, peritia nandi ripas posteriores occupare posse sperantes, quorum plerique summersi necati sunt, alii iaculis periere confixi, adeo ut abunde cruore diffuso, meatus fluminis spumaret immensi; ita per elementum utrumque, Sarmatas vincentium ira virtusque delevit.

[16] Placuerat igitur post hunc rerum ordinem cunctis adimi spem omnem vitaeque solacium. Et post lares incensos, raptasque familias, navigia iussa sunt colligi, ad indagandos eos quos a nostrorum acie ulterior discreverat ripa.

[17] Statimque ne alacritas intepesceret pugnatorum, impositi lintribus, per abdita ducti, velites expediti occuparunt latibula Sarmatarum, quos repentinus fefellit aspectus, gentiles lembos et nota remigia conspicientes. [18] Ubi vero procul micantibus telis, quod verebantur, propinquare senserunt, ad suffugia locorum palustrium se contulerunt, eosque secutus infestius miles, caesis plurimis ibi victoriam repperit, ubi nec caute posse consistere, nec audere aliquid credebatur. [19] Post absumptos paene diffusosque Amicenses, petiti sunt sine mora Picenses, ita ex regionibus appellati conterminis; quos tutiores fecere sociorum aerumnae, rumorum assiduitate compertae. Ad quos opprimendos, (erat enim arduum sequi per diversa conspersos, imprudentia viarum arcente,) Taifalorum auxilium et Liberiorum adaeque Sarmatarum assumptum est. [20] Cumque auxiliorum agmina locorum ratio separaret, tractus contiguos Moesiae sibi miles elegit, Taifali proxima suis sedibus obtinebant, Liberi terras occupaverant e regione sibi oppositas.

[21] Quae perpersi Limigantes territique subactorum exemplis et subitum prostratorum, diu haesitabant ambiguis mentibus, utrum oppeterent an rogarent, cum utriusque rei suppeterent documenta non levia. Vicit tamen ad ultimum coetu seniorum urgente, dedendi sese consilium. Variaequae palmae victoriarum accessit eorum quoque supplicatio, qui armis libertatem invaserant, et reliqui eorum cum precibus, ut superatos et imbelles dominos aspernati, fortioribus visis inclinavere cervices.

[22] Accepta itaque publica fide, deserto montium propugnaculo, ad castra Romana convolvavit eorum pars maior, diffusa per spatia ampla camporum, cum parentibus et natis atque coniugibus, opumque vilitate, quam eis celeritatis ratio furari permisit. [23] Et qui animas amittere potius, quam cogi solum vertere putabantur, dum licentem amentiam libertatem existimarent, parere imperiis, et sedes alias suscipere sunt assensi, tranquillae et fidas, ut nec bellis vexari, nec mutari seditionibus possint. Eisdemque ex sententia (ut credebatur,) acceptis, quievere paulisper, post feritate nativa in exitiale scelus erecti, ut congruo docebitur textu.

[24] Hoc rerum prospero currente successu, tutela Illyrico competens gemina est ratione firmata, cuius negotii duplicem magnitudinem imperator aggressus utramque perfecit. Infidis attritis stratisque, exsules populos (licet mobilitate suppres) acturos tamen paulo verecundius, tandem reductos in avitis sedibus collocavit. Eisdemque ad gratiae cumulum, non ignobilem quempiam regem, sed quem ipsi antea sibi praefecere regalem, imposuit,

bonis animi corporisque praestantem. [25] Tali textu recte factorum, Constantius iam metuente sublimior, militarique consensu, secundo Sarmaticus appellatus, ex vocabulo subactorum, iamque discessurus, convocatis cohortibus, et centuriis, et manipulis omnibus, tribunal insistens, signisque ambitus et aquilis, et agmine multiplicium potestatum, his exercitum allocutus est, ore omnium favorabilis, (ut solebat).

[26] 'Hortatur recordatio rerum gloriose gestarum, omni iucunditate viris fortibus grator, ea ad modum verecundiae replicare, quae divinitus delata sorte vincendi, et ante proelia et in ipso correximus fervore pugnarum, Romanae rei fidissimi defensores. Quid enim tam pulchrum tamque posteritatis memoriae iusta ratione mandandum, quam ut miles strenue factis, ductor prudenter consultis exultet? [27] Persultabat Illyricum furor hostilis, absentiam nostram inanitate tumenti despiciens, dum Italos tueremur et Gallos, variisque discursibus vastabat extima limitum, nunc cavatis roboribus, aliquotiens peragrans pedibus flumina, non congressibus nec armis fretus aut viribus, sed latrociniiis assuetus occultis, astu et ludificandi varietate, iam inde ab instituta gente nostris quoque maioribus formidatus; quae longius disparati, qua ferri poterant tulimus, saeviores iacturas efficacia ducum vitari posse sperantes. [28] Ubi vero per licentiam scandens in maius, ad funestas provinciarum clades erepsit et crebras, communitis aditibus Raeticis, tutelaque pervigili Galliarum securitate fundata, terrore nullo relicto post terga, venimus in Pannonias, si placuerit numini sempiterno, labentia firmaturi; cunctisque paratis (ut nostis,) vere adulto egressi, arripuimus negotiorum maximas moles: primum ne struendo textis compagibus ponti, telorum officeret multitudo, quo opera levi perfecto, visis terris hostilibus et calcatis, obstinatis ad mortem animis conatos resistere Sarmatas, absque nostrorum dispendio stravimus, parique petulantia ruentes in agmina nobilium legionum, Quados Sarmatis adiumenta ferentes attrivimus. Qui post aerumnosa dispendia, inter discursus et repugnandi minaces anhelitus, quid nostra valeat virtus experti, manus ad dimicandum aptatas, armorum abiecto munimine, pone terga vinxerunt, restareque solam salutem contemplantes in precibus, affusi sunt vestigiis Augusti clementis, cuius proelia saepe compererant exitus habuisse felices. [29] His sequestratis Limigantes quoque fortitudine superavimus pari, interfectisque pluribus, alios periculi declinatio adegit suffugia petere latebrarum palustrium. [30] Hisque secundo finitis eventu, lenitatis tempus aderat tempestivae. Limigantes ad loca migrare compulimus longe discreta, ne in perniciem nostrorum se commovere possent ulterius et pepercimus plurimis, et Zizaim praefecimus Liberis, dicatum nobis futurum et fidum, plus aestimantes creare quam auferre barbaris regem, hoc decore augente sollemnitatem, quod eisdem quoque rector tributus antehac electus est et acceptus. [31] Quadruplex igitur praemium, quod unus procinctus absolvit, nos quaesivimus et res publica, primo ultione parta de grassatoribus noxiis, deinde quod vobis abunde sufficient ex hostibus capta. His enim virtutem oportet esse contentam, quae sudore quaesivit et dexteris. [32] Nobis amplae facultates

opumque sunt magni thesauri, si integra omnium patrimonia nostri labores et fortitudo servarint. Hoc enim boni principis menti, hoc successibus congruit prosperis. [33] Postremo ego quoque hostilis vocabuli spoliū prae me fero, secundo Sarmatici cognomentum, quod vos unum idemque sentientes, mihi (ne sit arrogans dicere,) merito tribuistis.'

Post hunc dicendi finem contio omnis alacrior solito, aucta spe potiorum et lucris, vocibus festis in laudes imperatoris adsurgens, deumque ex usu testata non posse Constantium vinci, tentoria repetit laeta. Et reductus imperator ad regiam, otioque bidui recreatus, Sirmium cum pompa triumphali regressus est, et militares numeri destinatas remearunt ad sedes.

Romani legati de pace, re infecta revertuntur ex Perside, Sapore Armeniam et Mesopotamiam repetente.

Hisce eisdem diebus, Prosper et Spectatus atque Eustathius, legati ad Persas (ut supra docuimus) missi, Ctesiphonta reversum regem adiere, litteras perferentes imperatoris et munera, poscebantque rebus integris pacem, et mandatorum principis memores, nusquam ab utilitate Romanae rei maiestateque discedebant, amicitiae foedus sub hac lege firmari debere adseverantes, ne super turbando Armeniae vel Mesopotamiae statu quicquam moveretur. [2] Diu igitur ibi morati, cum obstinatissimum regem, nisi harum regionum dominio sibi adiudicato, obdurescentem ad suscipiendam cernerent pacem, negotio redierunt infecto. [3] Post quod id ipsum condicionum robore pari impetraturi, Lucillianus missus est comes, et Procopius tunc notarius, qui postea nodo quodam violentae necessitatis adstrictus, ad res consurrexerat novas.

LIBER XVIII.

[1] Iulianus Caesar Gallorum commodis consulit, et ubique ab omnibus ius servandum curat.

Haec per orbis varias partes uno eodemque anno sunt gesta. At in Galliis cum in meliore statu res essent, et Eusebium atque Hypatium fratres sublimarent vocabula consulum, Iulianus contextis successibus clarus, apud Parisios hibernans, sequestratis interim sollicitudinibus bellicis, haut minore cura provinciarum fortune multa conducentia disponebat, diligenter observans nequem tributorum sarcina praegravaret, neve potentia praesumeret aliena, aut hi versarentur in medio, quorum patrimonialia publicae clades augebant, vel iudicum quisquam ab aequitate deviare impune. [2] Idque ea re levi labore correxit, quod ipse iurgia dirimens, ubi causarum cogebat magnitudine vel personarum, erat indeclinabilis iustorum iniustorumque distinctor. [3] Et licet multa sint eius laudanda in huius modi controversiis, unum tamen sufficit poni, ad cuius similitudinem acta vel dicta sunt. [4] Numerium Narbonensis paulo ante rectorem, accusatum ut furem, inusitato censorio vigore, pro tribunali palam admissis volentibus audiebat, qui cum infitiatione defenderet obiecta, nec posset in quoquam confutari, Delphidius orator acerrimus, vehementer eum impugnans, documentorum inopia percitus, exclamavit: 'Ecquis, florentissime Caesar, nocens esse poterit usquam, si negare sufficit?' Contra quem Iulianus prudenter motus ex tempore, 'Ecquis' ait 'innocens esse poterit, si accusasse sufficit?' Et haec quidem et huius modi multa civilia.

Iulianus C. castellorum ad Rhenum quae receperat moenia reparat; Rhenum transit, et hostili Alamanniae parte vastata, V Alamannorum reges ad pacem petendam et captivos reddendos compellit.

Egressurus autem ad procinctum urgentem, cum Alamannorum pagos aliquos esse reputaret hostiles, et ausuros immania, ni ipsi quoque ad ceterorum sternerentur exempla, haerebat anxius qua vi qua celeritate, cum primum ratio copiam tribuisset, rumore praecurso, terras eorum invaderet repentinus. [2] Seditque tandem multa et varia cogitanti, id temptare quod utile probavit eventus. Hariobaudem vacantem tribunum, fidei fortitudinisque notae, nullo conscio legationis specie ad Hortarium miserat regem iam pacatum, ut exinde facile ad collimitia progressus eorum, in quos erant arma protinus commovenda, scitari possit quid molirentur, sermonis barbarici perquam gnarus. [3] Quo fidenter ad haec patranda digresso, ipse anni tempore opportuno, ad expeditionem undique milite convocato, profectus, id inter potissima mature duxit implendum, ut ante proeliorum fervorem, civitates multo ante excisas ac vacuas introiret, receptasque communiret, horrea quin etiam exstrueret pro incensis, ubi condi possit annona, a Britanniis sueta transferri. [4] Et utrumque perfectum est spe omnium citius. Nam et horrea veloci opere surrexerunt, alimentorumque in eisdem satias condita, et civitates

occupatae sunt septem: Castra Herculis Quadriburgium Tricensima et Novesium, Bonna Antennacum et Vingo, ubi laeto quodam eventu, etiam Florentius praefectus apparuit subito, partem militum ducens, et commeatum perferens copiam, sufficientem usibus longis.

[5] Post haec impetrata, restabat adigente necessitatum articulo, receptarum urbium moenia reparari, nullo etiam tum inturbante; idque claris indiciis apparet, ea tempestate utilitati publicae metu barbaros oboedissee, rectoris amore Romanos. [6] Reges ex pacto superioris anni aedificiis habilia multa suis misere carpentis, et auxiliarii milites semper munia spernentes huius modi, ad obsequendi sedulitatem Iuliani blanditiis deflexi, quinquagenarias longioresque materias vexere cervicibus ingravate, et fabricandi ministeriis opem maximam contulerunt.

[7] Quae dum diligenti maturantur effectu, Hariobaudes exploratis omnibus rediit, docuitque comperta. Post cuius adventum incitatis viribus omnes venere Mogontiacum, ubi Florentio et Lupicino (Severi successore) destinate certantibus, per pontem illic constitutum transiri debere, renitebatur firmissime Caesar, asserens pacatorum terras non debere calcari, ne (ut saepe contigit) per incivilitatem militis occurrentia vastitantis, abrupte foedera frangerentur.

[8] Alamanni tamen omnes quos petebat exercitus, confine periculum cogitantes, Suomarium regem amicum nobis ex pactione praeterita monuerunt minaciter, ut a transitu Romanos arceret. Eius enim pagi Rheni ripis ulterioribus adhaerebant. Quo testante resistere solum non posse, in unum coacta barbara multitudo venit prope Mogontiacum, prohibitura viribus magnis exercitum, ne transmitteret flumen. [9] Gemina itaque ratione visum est habile quod suaserat Caesar, ne pacatorum terrae corrumperebatur, neve renitente pugnacissima plebe, pons cum multorum discrimine iungeretur iri in locum ad compaginandum pontem aptissimum. [10] Quod hostes sollertissime contemplati, per contrarias ripas leniter incedentes, ubi nostros figere tentoria, procul cernebant, ipsi quoque noctes agebant exsomnes, custodientes pervigili studio, ne transitus temptaretur. [11] Verum cum nostri locum adventarent provisum, vallo fossaque quievere circumdati, et asscito Lupicino in consilium, Caesar certis imperavit tribunis, ut trecentenos pararent cum sudibus milites expedites, quid agi quove iri deberet penitus ignorantes. [12] Et collecti nocte provecta, impositique omnes quos lusoriae naves quadraginta quae tunc aderant solae, ceperunt, decurrere iubentur per flumen, adeo taciti, ut etiam remi suspenderentur, ne barbaros sonitus excitaret undarum, atque mentis agilitate et corporum, dum hostes nostrorum ignes observant, adversas perrumpere milites ripas.

[13] Dum haec celerantur, Hortarius rex nobis antea foederatus, non novaturus quaedam, sed amicus finitimis quoque suis, reges omnes et regales et regulos ad convivium corrogatos retinuit, epulis ad usque vigiliam tertiam gentili more extensis; quos discedentes inde casu nostri ex improvviso adorti, nec interficere nec corripere ullo genere potuerunt, tenebrarum equorumque

adiumento, quo dubius impetus trusit, abreptos; lixas vero vel servos, qui eos pedibus sequebantur, (nisi quos exemit discrimine temporis obscuritas) occiderunt.

[14] Cognito denique transitu Romanorum, qui tune perque expeditiones praeteritas, ibi levamen sumere laborum opinabantur, ubi hostem contingeret inveniri, perculsi reges eorumque populi, qui pontem ne strueretur, studio servabant intento, metu exhorrescentes diffuse vertuntur in pedes; et indomito furore sedato, necessitudines opesque suas transferre longius festinabant. Statimque difficultate omni depulsa, ponte constrato, sollicitarum gentium opinione praeventa, visus in barbarico miles per Hortarii regna transibat intacta. [15] Ubi vero terras infestorum etiam tum tetigit regum, urens omnia rapiensque, per medium rebellium solum grassabatur intrepidus.

Postque saepimenta fragilium penatium inflammata, et obtruncatam hominum multitudinem, visosque cadentes multos aliosque supplicantes, cum ventum fuisset ad regionem (cui Capillacii vel Palas nomen est) ubi terminales lapides Alamannorum et Burgundiorum confinia distinguebant, castra sunt posita, ea propter ut Macrianus et Hariobaudus, germani fratres et reges, susciperentur impavidi, qui propinquare sibi perniciem sentientes, venerant pacem anxiiis animis precaturi. [16] Post quos statim rex quoque Vadomarius venit, cuius erat domicilium contra Rauracos, scriptisque Constantii principis, quibus commendatus est artius, allegatis, leniter susceptus est (ut decebat), olim ab Augusto in clientelam rei Romanae susceptus. [17] Et Macrianus quidem cum fratre inter aquilas admissus et signa, stupebat armorum viriumque varium decus, visa tune primitus, proque suis orabat. Vadomarius vero nostris coalitus (utpote vicinus limiti) mirabatur quidem apparatus ambitiosi procinctus, sed vidisse se talia saepe ab adulescentia meminerat prima. [18] Libratis denique diu consiliis, concordii assensione cunctorum, Macriano quidem et Hariobaudo pax est attributa, Vadomario vero, qui suam locaturus securitatem in tuto, et legationis nomine precator venerat, pro Urrio et Ursicino et Vestralpo regibus pacem itidem obsecrans, interim responderi non poterat, ne (ut sunt fluxioris fidei barbari) post abitum recreati nostrorum, parum acquiescerent per alios impetratis. [19] Sed cum ipsi quoque missis legatis, post messes incensas et habitacula, captosque plures et interfectos, ita supplicarent tamquam ipsi haec deliquissent in nostros, pacem condicionum similitudine meruerunt. Inter quas id festinatum est maxime, ut captives restituerent omnes, quos rapuerant excursibus crebris.

Barbationi magistro peditum et uxori eius cur capita abscissa sint iussu Constantii Aug.

Haec dum in Galliis caelestis corrigit cura, in comitatu Augusti turbo novarum exoritur rerum, a primordiis levibus ad luctus et lamenta progressus. In domo Barbationis, pedestris militiae tunc rectoris, examen apes fecere perspicuum. Superque hoc ei prodigiorum gnaros sollicite consulenti, discrimen magnum portendi responsum est, coniectura videlicet tali, quod hae

volucres post compositas sedes, opesque congestas, fumo pelluntur, et turbulento sonitu cymbalorum. [2] Huic uxor erat Assyria nomine, nec taciturna nec prudens, quae eo ad expeditionem profecto, et multiplici metu suspenso, ob ea quae meminerat sibi praedicta, perculsa vanitate muliebri, ancilla asscita notarum perita, quam e patrimonio Silvani possederat, ad maritum scripsit intempestive, velut flens obtestans ne post obitum Constanti propinquantem, in imperium ipse ut sperabat admissus, despecta se anteponeret Eusebiae matrimonium tune reginae, decore corporis inter multas feminas excellentis. [3] Quibus litteris occulte quantum fieri potuit missis, ancilla, quae domina dictante perscripserat, reversis omnibus e procinctu, exemplum ferens ad Arbetionem noctis prima quiete confugit, avideque suscepta, chartulam prodidit. [4] Hocque indicio ille confusus, ut erat ad criminandum aptissimus, principi detulit, atque ex usu, nec mora ulla negotio tributa nec quiete, Barbatio epistolam suscepisse confessus, et mulier scripsisse documento convicta non levi, cervicibus interiere praecisis. [5] Hisque punitis, quaestiones longe serpebant, vexatique multi nocentes sunt et innocentissimi. Inter quos etiam Valentinus ex primicerio protectorum tribunus, ut conscius inter complures alios tortus aliquotiens supervixit, penitus quid erat gestum ignorans. Ideoque ad iniuriae periculique compensationem, ducis in Illyrico meruit potestatem.

[6] Erat autem idem Barbatio subagrestis, arrogantisque propositi, ea re multis exosus, quod et dum domesticos protectores sub Gallo regeret Caesare, proditor erat et perfidus, et post eius excessum, nobilioris militiae fastu elatus, in Iulianum itidem Caesarem paria confingebat, crebroque detestantibus bonis, sub Augusti patulis auribus multa garriebat et saeva. [7] Ignorans profecto veteris Aristotelis sapiens dictum, qui Callisthenem sectatorem et propinquum suum ad regem Alexandrum mittens, ei saepe mandabat, ut quam rarissime et iucunde apud hominem loqueretur, vitae potestatem et necis in acie linguae portantem. [8] Ne sit hoc mirum, homines profutura discernere non numquam et nocentia, quorum mentes cognatas caelestibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia salutem suam interdum alto tueri silentio solent, ut exemplum est hoc perquam notum. [9] Linquentes orientem anseres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occiduam, cum montem penetrare coeperint Taurum, aquilis abundantem, timentes fortissimas volucres, rostra lapillis occludunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem, eisdemque collibus agiliore volatu transcursis, proiciunt calculos, atque ita securius pergunt.

Rex Persarum Sapor Romanos totis viribus aggredi parat.

Dum apud Sirmium haec diligentia quaeruntur impensa, Orientis fortuna periculorum terribiles tubas reflat. Rex enim Persidis, ferarum gentium quas placarat adiumentis accinctus, augendique regni cupiditate supra homines flagrans, arma viresque parabat et commeatus, consilia tartareis manibus miscens, et superstitiones omnes consulens de futuris; hisque satis collectis, pervadere cuncta prima verni temperie cogitabat.

[2] Et cum haec primo rumores, dein nuntii certi perferrent, omnesque

suspensos adventantium calamitatum complicaret magna formido, comitatensis fabrica eandem incudem (ut dicitur) diu noctuque tundendo, ad spadonum arbitrium, imperatori suspicaci ac timido intendebat Ursicinum, velut vultus Gorgonei torvitatem, haec saepe taliaque replicans, quod interempto Silvano, quasi paenuria meliorum, ad tuendas partes eoas denuo missus, altius anhelabat. [3] Hac autem assentandi nimia foeditate, mercari complures nitebantur Eusebi favorem, cubiculi tunc praepositi, apud quem (si vere dici debeat) multa Constantius posuit, ante dicti magistri equitum salutem acriter impugnantis ratione bifaria, quod omnium solus nec opes eius augebat, ut ceteri, et domo sua non cederet Antiochiae, quam molestissime flagitabat. [4] Qui ut coluber copia virus exuberans, natorum multitudinem etiam tum aegre serpentium, excitans ad nocendum, emittebat cubicularios iam adultos, ut inter ministeria vitae secretioris, gracilitate vocis semper puerilis et blandae, apud principis aures nimium patulas, existimationem viri fortis invidia gravi pulsarent. Et brevi iussa fecerunt. [5] Horum et similium taedio iuvat veterem laudare Domitianum, qui licet patris fratrisque dissimilis, memoriam nominis sui inexpressibili detestatione perfudit, tamen receptissima inclaruit lege, qua minaciter interdixerat ne intra terminos iuris dictionis Romanae castraret quisquam puerum; quod ni contigisset, quis eorum ferret examina, quorum raritas difficile toleratur? [6] Actum est tamen cautius, ne (ut fingebat) rursus accitus idem Ursicinus, metu cuncta turbaret, sed cum fors copiam detulisset, raperetur ad mortem.

[7] Haec operientibus illis, et ancipiti cogitatione districtis, nobis apud Samosatam, Commageni quondam regni clarissimam sedem, parumper morantibus, repente novi motus rumoribus densis audiuntur et certis. Quos docebit orationis progrediens textus.

Antoninus protector cum suis omnibus ad Saporem transfugit; eumque in bellum Romanum sponte iam motum impellit.

Antoninus quidam ex mercatore opulento rationarius apparitor Mesopotamiae ducis, tunc protector exercitatus et prudens, perque omnes illas notissimas terras, aviditate quorundam nexus ingentibus damnis, cum iurgando contra potentis, se magis magisque iniustitia frangi contemplaretur, ad deferendam potioribus gratiam, qui spectabant negotium, inclinatis, ne contra acumina calcitraret, flexus in blanditias molliores, confessusque debitum per colludia in nomen fisci translatum, iamque ausurus immania, rimabatur tectius rei publicae membra totius, et utriusque linguae litteras sciens, circa ratiocinia versabatur, qui vel quarum virium milites ubi agant, vel procinctus tempore quo sint venturi describens, itidem armorum et comteatuum copiae, aliaque usui bello futura, an abunde suppetant indefessa scitatione percontans. [2] Et cum totius Orientis didicisset interna, virorum stipendiique parte maxima per Illyricum distributa, ubi distinebatur ex negotiis seriis imperator, allapsuro iam praestituto die solvendae pecuniae, quam per syngrapham debere se confiteri, vi metuque compulsus est, cum omnibus se prospiceret undique periculis opprimendum, largitionum comite

ad alterius gratiam infestius perurgente, fugam ad Persas cum coniage liberis et omni vinculo caritatum, ingenti molimine conabatur. [3] Atque ut lateret stationarios milites, fundum in Iaspide (qui locus Tigridis fluentis adluitur,) pretio non magno mercatur. Hocque commento cum nullus causam veniendi ad extremas Romani limitis partes, iam possessorem cum plurimis auderet exigere, per familiares fidos peritosque nandi, occultis saepe colloquiis cum Tamsapore habitis, qui tractus omnes adversos ducis potestate tune tuebatur, et antea cognitus, misso a Persicis castris auxilio virorum perniciem, lembis impositus, cum omni penatium dulcedine, nocte concubia transfretatur ex contraria specie Zopyri illius similis Babylonii proditoris.

[4] Rebus per Mesopotamiam in hunc statum deductis, Palatina cohors palinodiam in exitium concinens nostrum, invenit tandem amplam nocendi fortissimo viro, auctore et incitatore coetu spadonum, qui feri et acidi semper, carentesque necessitudinibus ceteris, divitias solas ut filiolas iucundissimas amplectuntur. [5] Stetitque sententia, ut Sabinianus cultus quidem senex et bene nummatus, sed imbellis et ignavus et ab impetranda magisterii dignitate per obscuritatem adhuc longe discretus, praeficiendus eis partibus mitteretur, Ursicinus vero curaturus pedestrem militiam, et successurus Barbationi, ad comitatum reverteretur, quo praesens rerum novarum avidus concitor, (ut iactabant,) a gravibus inimicis et metuendis incesceretur.

[6] Dum haec in castris Constantii quasi per lustra aguntur et scaenam, et diribitores venundatae subito potestatis pretium per potiores diffunditant domos, Antoninus ad regis hiberna perductus, averter suscipitur, et apicis nobilitatus auctoritate, quo honore participantur mensae regales, et meritorum apud Persas ad suadendum, ferendasque sententias in contionibus ora panduntur, non contis nec remulco (ut aiunt,) id est non flexiloquis ambagibus vel obscuris, sed velificatione plena in rem publicam ferebatur, eundemque incitans regem, ut quondam Maharbal lentitudinis Hannibalem increpans, posse eum vincere, sed victoria uti nescire, assidue praedicabat. [7] Educatus enim in medio, ut rerum omnium gnarus, auditorum nactus vegetos sensus, et aurium delenimenta captantes, nec laudantium, sed secundum Homericos Phaeacas cum silentio admirantium, iam inde quadragessimae anni memoriam replicabat, post bellorum assiduos casus, et maxime apud Hileiam et Singaram, ubi acerrima illa nocturna concertatione pugnatum est, nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis, quasi dirimente quodam medio fetiali, Persas nondum Edessam nec pontes Euphratis tetigisse victores quos armipotencia fretos, successibusque magnificis, ita dilatasse decuerat regna, ut toti Asia imperarent, eo maxime tempore quo diuturnis bellorum civilium motibus, sanguis utrimque Romani roboris fundebatur.

[8] His ac talibus subinde inter epulas sobrius perfuga, ubi de apparatu bellorum et seriis rebus apud eos Graiorum more veterum consultatur, regem incendebat ardentem, ut exacta hieme statim arma fretus fortunae suae magnitudine concitaret, ipse quoque in multis ac necessariis operam suam fidenter promittens.

Ursicinus magister militum ex Oriente evocatus, cum iam venisset in Thraciam, remittitur in Mesopotamiam; quo reversus, per Marcellinum Saporis adventum explorat.

Sub eisdem fere diebus, Sabinianus adepta repentina potestate sufflatus, et Ciliciae fines ingressus, decessori suo principis litteras dedit, hortantis ut ad comitatum dignitate afficiendus superiore citius properaret, eo necessitatum articulo, quo etiam si apud Thulen moraretur Ursicinus, acciri eum magnitudine rerum ratione probabili flagitabat, utpote disciplinae veteris et longo usu bellandi artis Persicae scientissimum. [2] Quo rumore provinciis percitis, ordines civitatum et populi, decretis et acclamationibus densis, iniecta manu detinebant paene publicum defensorem, memores quod relictus ad sui tutelam, cum inerti et umbratili milite, nihil amiserat per decennium; simul metuentes saluti, quod tempore dubio, remoto illo advenisse hominem compererant inertissimum. [3] Credimus (neque enim dubium est) per aërios tramites Famam praepetem volitare, cuius indicio haec gesta pandente, consiliorum apud Persas summa proponebatur; et multis ultro citroque deliberatis, placuit Antonino suadente, ut Ursicino procul amoto, despectoque duce novello, posthabitis civitatum perniciosis obsidiis, perrumperetur Euphrates, ireturque prorsus, ut occupari possint provinciae, fama celeritate praeventa, omnibus ante bellis (nisi temporibus Gallieni,) intactae, paceque longissima locupletes, cuius rei prosperante deo ductorem commodissimum fore spondebat. [4] Laudato firmatoque concordi omnium voluntate consilio, conversisque universis ad ea quae erant citius congerenda, commeatus milites arma ceteraque instrumenta, quae poscebat procinctus adventans, perpetua hieme parabantur.

[5] Nos interea paulisper cis Taurum morati, ex imperio ad partes Italiae festinantes, prope flumen venimus Hebrum, ex Odrysarum montibus decurrentem, ibique principis scripta suscepimus, iubentia omni causatione posthabita, reverti Mesopotamiam, sine apparitione ulla expeditionem curaturi periculosam, ad alium omni potestate translata. [6] Quod ideo per molestos formatores imperil struebatur, ut si Persae frustra habiti redissent ad sua, ducis novi virtuti facinus adsignaretur egregium; si fortuna sequior ingruisset, Ursicinus reus proditae rei publicae deferretur. [7] Agitatis itaque rationibus, diu cunctati reversique, fastidii plenum Sabinianum invenimus, hominem mediocris staturae, et parvi angustique animi, vix sine turpi metu sufficientem ad levem convivii, nedum proelii strepitum, perferendum.

[8] Tamen quoniam speculatores apparatus omnes apud hostes fervere, constanti asseveratione perfugis concinentibus, affirmabant, oscitante homunculo, Nisibin propere venimus, utilia paraturi, ne dissimulantes obsidium, Persae civitati supervenirent incautae. [9] Dumque intra muros maturanda perurgerentur, fumus micantesque ignes assidue a Tigride per Castra Maurorum et Sisara et collimitia reliqua, ad usque civitatem continui perlucebant, solito crebriores, erupisse hostium vastatorias manus superato

flumine permonstrantes. [10] Qua causa ne occuparentur itinera, celeri cursu praegressi, cum ad secundum lapidem venissemus, liberalis formae puerum torquatum, (ut coniectabamus) octennem, in aggeris medio vidimus heulantem, ingenui cuiusdam filium (ut aiebat); quem mater dum imminentium hostium terrore percita fugeret, impeditior trepidando reliquerat solum. Hunc dum imperatu ducis miseratione commoti, impositum equo, prae me ferens ad civitatem reduco, circumvallato murorum ambitu praedatores latius vagabantur. [11] Et quia me obsidionales aerumnae terrebant, intra semiclausam posticam exposito puero, nostrorum agmen agilitate volucris repetebam exanimis, nec multum afuit quin caperer. [12] Nam cum Abdigildum quendam tribunum, fugientem cum calone ala sequeretur hostilis, lapsoque per fugam domino servum deprehensum, cum ego rapido ictu transirem, interrogassent, quisnam provectus sit iudex, audissentque Ursicinum paulo ante urbem ingressum, montem Izalam petere; occiso indice in unum quaesiti complures nos irrequietis cursibus sectabantur. [13] Quos cum iumentis agilitate praegressus, apud Amudin munimentum infirmum, dispersis per pabulum equis, recubantes nostros securius invenissem, porrecto extentius brachio, et summitatibus sagi contortis elatius, adesse hostes signo solito demonstrabam, eisdemque iunctis impetu communi ferebar, equo iam fatisciente. [14] Terrebat autem nos plenilunium noctis, et planities supina camporum, nulla (si occupasset artior casus,) latibula praebere sufficiens, ubi nec arbores nec frutecta nec quicquam praeter herbas humiles visebatur. [15] Excogitatum est ergo ut ardente superposita lampade, et circumligata ne rueret, iumentum solum quod eam vehebat solutum, sine rectore laevorsus ire permetteretur, cum nos ad montanos excessus dextra positos tenderemus, ut praelucere sebarem facem duci lenius gradienti, Persae credentes, eum tenerent potissimum cursum; quod ni fuisset praevisum, circumventi et capti, sub dicionem venissemus hostilem.

[16] Hoc extracti periculo, cum ad nemorosum quendam locum vineis arbustisque pomiferis consitum, Meiacarire nomine venissemus, cui fontes dedere vocabulum gelidi, dilapsis accolis omnibus, solum in remoto secessu latentem invenimus militem, qui oblatus duci et locutus varia prae timore, ideoque suspectus, adigente metu qui intentabatur, pandit rerum integram fidem, docetque quod apud Parisios natus in Galliis, et equestri militans turma, vindictam quondam commissi facinoris timens, ad Persas abierat profugus, exindeque morum probitate spectata, sortita coniuge liberisque susceptis, speculatorem se missum ad nostra, saepe veros nuntios reportasse. At nunc se a Tamsapore et Nohodare optimatibus missum, qui catervas ductaverant praedatorum, ad eos redire quae didicerat perlaturum. Post haec, adiectis quae agi in parte diversa norat, occiditur.

[17] Proinde curarum crescente sollicitudine, inde passibus citis Amidam pro temporis copia venimus, civitatem postea secutis cladibus inclutam. Quo reversis exploratoribus nostris, in vaginae internis notarum figuris membranam repperimus scriptam, a Procopio ad nos perferri mandatam,

quem legatum ad Persas antea missum cum comite Lucilliano praedixi, haec consulto obscurius indicantem, ne captis baiulis, sensuque intellecto scriptorum, excitaretur materia funestissima.

[18] ‘Amendatis procul Graiorum legatis, forsitan et necandis, rex ille longaevus non contentus Hellesponto, iunctis Grenici et Rhyndaci pontibus, Asiam cum numerosis populis pervasurus adveniet, suoapte ingenio irritabilis et asperrimus, auctore et incensore Hadriani quondam Romani Principis successore; actum et conclamatum est, ni caverit Graecia.’

[19] Qui textus significabat Persarum regem transitis fluminibus Anzaba et Tigride, Antonino hortante, dominium Orientis affectare totius. His ob perplexitatem nimiam aegerrime lectis, consilium suscipitur prudens.

[20] Erat eo tempore satrapa Corduenae, quae obtemperabat potestati Persarum, Iovinianus nomine appellatus in solo Romano, adulescens nobiscum occulte sentiens ea gratia, quod obsidatus sorte in Syriis detentus, et dulcedine liberalium studiorum illectus, remeare ad nostra ardenti desiderio gestiebat. [21] Ad hunc missus ego cum centurione quodam fidissimo, exploratius noscendi gratia quae gerebantur, per avios montes angustiasque praecipites veni. Visusque et agnitus, comiterque susceptus, causam praesentiae meae uni illi confessus, adiuncto taciturno aliquo locorum perito, mittor ad praecelsas rupes exinde longe distantes, unde nisi oculorum deficeret acies, ad quinquagesimum usque lapidem, quodvis etiam minutissimum apparebat. [22] Ibi morati integrum biduum, cum sol tertius affulisset, cernebamus terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos, quos ὀρίζοντες appellamus, agminibus oppletos innumeris, et antegressum regem vestis claritudine rutilantem. Quem iuxta laevus incedebat Grumbates, Chionitarum rex nervositate quidem media rugosisque membris, sed mente quadam grandifica, multisque victoriarum insignibus nobilis; dextra rex Albanorum, pari loco atque honore sublimis; post duces varii, auctoritate et potestatibus eminentes, quos ordinum omnium multitudo sequebatur, ex vicinarum gentium roboribus lecta, ad tolerandam rerum asperitatem diuturnis casibus erudita. [23] Quo usque nobis Doriscum Thraciae oppidum, et agminatim intra consaepta exercitus, recensitos Graecia fabulosa narrabis? cum nos cauti vel (ut verius dixerim) timidi, nihil exaggeremus, praeter ea quae fidei testimonia neque incerta monstrarunt.

Sapor cum Chionitarum et Albanorum regibus Mesopotamiam intrat. Romani suos ipsi agros incendunt, agrestes in oppida compellunt, ac citeriorem ripam Euphratis castellis praesidiisque communiunt.

Postquam reges Nineve Adiabenae ingenti civitate transmissa, in medio pontis Anzabae hostiis caesis, extisque prosperantibus, transiere laetissimi, coniectantes nos residuam plebem omnem aegre penetrare post triduum posse, citius exinde ad satrapen reversi quievimus, hospitalibus officiis recreati. [2] Unde per loca itidem deserta et sola, magno necessitatis ducente solacio, celerius quam potuit sperari reversi, confirmavimus animos haesitantium, unum e navalibus pontem transisse reges absque ulla circumitione perdoctos.

[3] Extemplo igitur equites citi mittuntur ad Cassianum, Mesopotamiae ducem, rectoremque provinciae tune Euphronium, compulsuri agrestes cum familiis et pecoribus universis ad tutiora transire, et agiliter deserere Carras, oppidum invalidis circumdatum muris; super his campos omnes incendi, ne pabulorum suppeteret copia. [4] Et imperatis sine mora completis, iniecto igni furentis elementi vis maxima, frumenta omnia cum iam stipula flaverent turgerent, herbasque pubentes ita contorruit, ut ad usque Euphraten, ab ipsis marginibus Tigridis, nihil viride cerneretur. Tune exustae sunt ferae complures, maximeque leones, per ea loca saevientes immaniter, consumi vel caecari sueti paulatim hoc modo. [5] Inter harundineta Mesopotamiae fluminum et frutecta, leones vagantur innumeri, dementia hiemis ibi mollissimae semper innocui. At ubi solis radiis exarserit tempus, in regionibus aestu ambustis, vapore sideris et magnitudine culicum agitantur, quorum examinibus per eas terras referta sunt omnia. Et quoniam oculos, quasi umida et lucentia membra, eadem appetunt volucres, palpebrarum libramentis mordicus insidentes, idem leones, cruciati diutius, aut fluminibus mersi sorbentur, ad quae remedii causa confugiunt, aut amissis oculis, quos unguibus crebro lacerantes effodiunt, immanius efferascunt; quod ni fieret, universus oriens huius modi bestiis abundaret.

[6] Dum campi cremantur (ut dictum est) tribuni cum protectoribus missi, ceterioris ripae Euphratis castellis et praeacutis sudibus omnique praesidiorum genere communibant, tormenta, quae parum erat voraginosum, locis opportunis aptantes.

[7] Dum haec celerantur, Sabinianus inter rapienda momenta periculorum communium lectissimus moderator belli internecivi, per Edessena sepulchra, quasi fundata cum mortuis pace, nihil formidans, more vitae remissioris fluxius agens, militari pyrrice sonantibus modulis pro histrionicis gestibus, in silentio summo delectabatur, ominoso sane et incepto et loco, cum haec et huius modi factu dictoque tristia, futuros praenuntiantia motus, vitare optimum quemque debere saeculi progressionem discamus. [8] Interea reges, Nisibi pro statione vili transmissa, incendiis arida nutrimentorum varietate crescentibus, fugitantes inopiam pabuli, sub montium pedibus per valles gramineas incedebant. [9] Cumque Bebasen villam venissent, unde ad Constantinam usque oppidum, quod centesimo lapide disparatur, arescunt omnia siti perpetua, nisi quod in puteis aqua reperitur exilis, quid agerent diu cunctati, iamque suorum duritiae fiducia transituri, exploratore fido docente, cognoscunt Euphratem, nivibus tabefactis inflatum, late fuscis gurgitibus evagari, ideoque vado nequaquam posse transiri. [10] Convertuntur ergo ad ea quae amplectenda fortuita daret occasio, spe concepta praeter opinionem exclusi, ac proposito pro abrupto rerum praesentium statu urgenti consilio, Antoninus dicere quid sentiat iussus, orditur, flecti iter suadens in dexterum latus, ut per longiorem circumitum, omnium rerum usu regionum feracium, et consideratione ea qua rectus pergeret hostis, adhuc intactarum, castra duo praesidiaria Barzalo et Claudias peterentur, sese ductante, ubi tenuis fluvius

prope originem et angustus, nullisque adhuc aquis advenis adolescens, facile penetrari poterit ut vadosus. [11] His auditis laudatoque suasore, et iusso ducere qua norat, agmina cuncta, ab institute itinere conversa, praevium sequebantur.

Septingenti equites Illyriciani necopinantes a Persis coniiciuntur in fugam. Evadunt hinc Ursicinus, inde Marcellinus.

Quo certis speculationibus cognito, nos disposuimus properare Samosatam, ut superato exinde flumine, pontiumque apud Zeugma et Capersana iuncturis abscisis, hostiles impetus (si iuvisset fors ulla,) repelleremus. [2] Sed contigit atrox et silentio omni dedecus obruendum. Namque duarum turmarum equites circiter septingenti, ad subsidium Mesopotamiae recens ex Illyrico missi, enerves et timidi, praesidium per eos tractus agentes, nocturnasque paventes insidias, ab aggeribus publicis vesperi, quando custodiri magis omnes tramites conveniret, longius discedebant. [3] Hocque observato, eos vino oppresses et somno, viginti milia fere Persarum, Tamsapore et Nohodare ductantibus, nullo prospiciente transgressa, post tumulos celso vicinos Amidae, occultabantur armata.

[4] Moxque (ut dictum est) cum abituri Samosatam luce etiam tum dubia pergeremus, ab alta quadam specula radiantium armorum splendore perstricti, hostisque adesse excitatius clamitantes, signo dato quod ad proelium solet hortari, restitimus conglobati, nec fugam capessere, cum essent iam in contuitu qui sectarentur, nec congregi cum hoste equitatu et numero praevalente, metu indubitatae mortis cautum existimantes. [5] Denique ex ultima necessitate manibus iam conserendis, cum quid agi oporteat cunctaremur, occiduntur quidam nostrorum, temere procursantes, et urgente utraque parte, Antoninus ambitiosius praegrediens agmen, ab Ursicino agnitus, et obiurgatorio sonu vocis increpitus, proditorque et nefarius appellatus, sublata tiara, quam capiti summi ferebat honoris insigne, desiluit equo, curvatisque membris, humum vultu paene contingens, salutavit patronum appellans et dominum, manus post terga conectens, quod apud Assyrios supplicis indicat formam. [6] Et 'Ignosce mihi' inquit 'amplissime comes, necessitate non voluntate ad haec quae novi scelestas, prolapso; egere me praecipitem iniqui flagitatores, ut nosti, quorum avaritiae ne tua quidem excelsa illa fortuna, propugnans miseriis meis, potuit refragari.' Simul haec dicens, e medio prospectu abscessit, non aversus, sed dum evanesceret, verecunde retrogrediens et pectus ostentans.

[7] Quae dum in curriculo semihorae aguntur, postsignani nostri, qui tenebant editiora collis exclamant, aliam cataphractorum multitudinem equitum pone visam, celeritate quam maxima propinquare. [8] Atque ut in rebus solent afflictis, ambigentes cuinam deberet aut posset occurri, trudente pondere plebis immensae, passim qua cuique proximum videbatur, diffundimur universi, dumque se quisque expedire discrimine magno conatur, sparsim disiecti hosti concursatori miscemur. [9] Itaque sprete iam vivendi cupiditate, fortiter decernentes, ad ripas pellimur Tigridis, alte excisas. Unde quidam praecipites pulsi, implicantibus armis, haeserunt, ubi vadosus est

annis, alii lacunarum hausti vertigine, vorabantur, non nulli cum hoste congressi, vario eventu certabant, quidam cuneorum densitate perterriti, petebant proximos Tauri montis excessus. [10] Inter quos dux ipse agnitus pugnatorumque mole circumdatus, cum Aiadalthe tribuno, caloneque uno, equi celeritate ereptus, abscessit.

[11] Mihi dum avius ab itinere comitum quid agerem circumspecto, Verennianus domesticus protector occurrit, femur sagitta confixus, quam dum avellere obtestante collega conarer, cinctus undique antecedentibus Persis, civitatem petebam, anhelo cursu rependo, ex eo latere quo incessebamur in arduo sitam, unoque ascensu perangusto meabilem, quem scissis collibus molinae, ad calles aptandas aedificatae, densius constringebant. [12] Hic mixti cum Persis, eodem ictu procurrentibus ad superiora nobiscum, ad usque ortum alterius solis immobiles stetimus, ita conferti, ut caesorum cadavera multitudine fulta, reperire ruendi spatium nusquam possent, utque miles ante me quidam, discriminate capite, quod in aequas partes ictus gladii fiderat validissimus, in stipitis modum undique coartatus haereret. [13] Et licet multiplicia tela, per tormentorum omnia genera, volarent e propugnaculis, hoc tamen periculo murorum nos propinquitatis eximebat, tandemque per posticam civitatem ingressus, refertam inveni, confluyente ex finitimis virili et muliebri secus. Nam et casu illis ipsis diebus, in suburbanis peregrina commercia, circumacto anno solita celebrari, multitudo convenarum augebat agrestium. [14] Interea sonitu vario cuncta miscentur, partim amissos gementibus, aliis cum exitio sauciis, multis caritates diversas, quas prae angustiis videre non poterant, invocantibus.

Descriptio Amidae, et quot tum ibi legiones ac turmae in praesidio fuerint.

Hanc civitatem olim perquam brevem, Caesar etiam tum Constantius, ut accolae suffugium possint habere tutissimum, eo tempore quo Antoninupolim oppidum aliud struxit, turribus circumdedit amplis et moenibus, locatoque ibi conditorio muralium tormentorum, fecit hostibus formidatam, suoque nomine voluit appellari. [2] Et a latere quidem australi, geniculato Tigridis meatu subluitur, propius emergentis; qua Euri opponitur flatibus, Mesopotamiae plana despectat; unde aquiloni obnoxia est, Nymphaeo amni vicina, verticibus Taurinis umbratur, gentes Transtigritanas dirimentibus et Armeniam; spiranti zephyro contraversa Gumathenam contingit, regionem ubere et cultu iuxta fecundam, in qua vicus est Abarne nomine, sospitalium aquarum lavacris calentibus notus. In ipso autem Amidae meditullio sub arce fons dives exundat, potabilis quidem, sed vaporatis aestibus non numquam faetens. [3] Cuius oppidi praesidio erat semper Quinta Parthica legio destinata, cum indigenarum turma non contemnenda. Sed tunc ingruentem Persarum multitudinem sex legiones, raptim percursis itineribus antegressae, muris adstitero firmissimis, Magnentiaci et Decentiaci, quos post consummatos civiles procinctus, ut fallaces et turbidos, ad Orientem venire compulsi imperator, ubi nihil praeter bella timetur externa, et Tricensimani Decimanique, Fortenses et Superventores atque Praeventores, cum Aeliano

iam comite, quos tirones tum etiam novellos, hortante memorato adhuc protectore, erupisse a Singara, Persasque fusos in somnum retulimus trucidasse complures. [4] Aderat comitum quoque sagittariorum pars maior, equestris videlicet turmae ita cognominatae, ubi merent omnes ingenui barbari, armorum viriumque firmitudine inter alios eminentes.

Sapor duo castella Romana in fidem recipit.

Haec dum primi impetus turbo conatibus agitat insperatis, rex cum populo suo gentibusque quas ductabat, a Bebase loco itinere flexo dextrorsus ut monuerat Antoninus, per Horren et Meiacarire et Charcha, ut transiturus Amidam, cum prope castella Romana venisset, quorum unum Reman, alterum Busan appellatur, perfugarum indicio didicit, multorum opes illuc translatas servari, ut in munimentis praecelsis et fidis, additumque est, ibi cum suppellectili pretiosa, inveniri feminam pulchram cum filia parvula, Craugasii Nisibeni cuiusdam uxorem, in municipali ordine genere fama potentiaque circumspecti. [2] Aviditate itaque rapiendi aliena festinans, petit impetu fidenti castella, unde subita animi consternatione defensores armorum varietate praestricti, se cunctosque prodidere, qui ad praesidia confugerunt, et digredi iussi confestim claves obtulere portarum, patefactisque aditibus, quicquid ibi congestum erat eruitur, et productae sunt attonitae metu mulieres, et infantes matribus implicati, graves aerumnas inter initia tenerioris aetatis experti. [3] Cumque rex percontando cuiusnam coniux esset, Craugasii comperisset, vim in se metuentem, prope venire permisit intrepidam, et confisam opertamque ad usque labra ipsa atro velamine, certiore iam spe mariti recipiendi, et pudoris inviolati mansuri, benignius confirmavit. Audiens enim coniugem miro eius amore flagrare, hoc praemio Nisibenam prodicionem mercari se posse arbitrabatur. [4] Inventas tamen alias quoque virgines, Christiano ritu cultui divino sacratas, custodiri intactas, et religioni servire solito more, nullo vetante, praecepit, lenitudinem profecto in tempore simulans, ut omnes quos antehac diritate crudelitateque terrebat, sponte sua metu remoto venirent, exemplis recentibus docti, humanitate eum et moribus iam placidis magnitudinem temperasse fortunae.

LIBER XIX.

[1] Sapor, dum Amidenses ad deditionem hortatur, a praesidiariis sagittis et tragulis petitur. Idem dum temptat Grumbates rex, filius eius interficitur.

Hoc miserae nostrorum captivitatis eventu rex laetus, successusque operiens similes, egressus exinde paulatimque incedens, Amidam die tertio venit. [2] Cumque primum aurora fulgeret, universa quae videri poterant armis stellantibus coruscabant, ac ferreus equitatus campos opplevit et colles. [3] Insidens autem equo, ante alios celsior, ipse praeibat agminibus cunctis, aureum capitis arietini figmentum, interstinctum lapillis, pro diademate gestans, multiplici vertice dignitatum, et gentium diversarum comitatu sublimis. Satisque eum constabat, colloquio tenus defensores moenium temptaturum, aliorum Antonini consilio festinantem. [4] Verum caeleste numen ut Romanae rei totius aerumnas intra unius regionis concluderet ambitum, adegerat in immensum se extollentem, credentemque quod viso statim obsessi omnes metu exanimati, supplices venirent in preces. [5] Portis obequitabat, comitante cohorte regali, qui dum se prope confidentius inserit, ut etiam vultus eius possit aperte cognosci, sagittis missilibusque ceteris, ob decora petitus insignia, corruisset, ni pulvere iaculantium adimente conspectum parte indumenti tragulae ictu discissa, editurus postea strages innumeras evasisset. [6] Hinc quasi in sacrilegos violati saeviens templi, temeratumque tot regum et gentium dominum praedicans, eruendae urbis apparatu nisibus magnis instabat, et orantibus potissimis ducibus ne profusus in iram a gloriosis descisceret coeptis, leni summatum petitione placatus, postridie quoque super deditione moneri decreverat defensores.

[7] Ideoque cum prima lux advenisset, rex Chionitarum Grumbates, fidenter domino suam operam navaturus, tendebat ad moenia, cum manu promptissima stipatorum, quem ubi venientem iam telo forte contiguum contemplator peritissimus advertisset, contorta ballista, filium eius primae pubis adulescentem, lateri paterno haerentem, thorace cum pectore perforato perfodit, proceritate et decore corporis aequalibus antestantem. [8] Cuius occasu in fugam dilapsi populares eius omnes, moxque ne raperetur, ratione iusta regressi, numerosas gentes ad arma clamoribus dissonis concitarunt, quarum concursu ritu grandinis hinc inde convolantibus telis, atrox committitur pugna. [9] Et post interneciva certamina, ad usque finem diei protenta, cum iam noctis esset initium, per acervos caesorum et scaturigines sanguinis aegre defensum caligine tenebrarum extrahitur corpus, ut apud Troiam quondam super comite Thessali ducis exanimi socii Marte acerrimo conflixerunt. [10] Quo funere regia maesta, et optimatibus universis cum parente subita clade percussis, indicto iustitio, iuvenis nobilitate commendabilis et dilectus ritu nationis propriae lugebatur. Itaque ut armari solebat elatus, in amplo quodam suggestu locatur et celso, circaque eum lectuli decem sternuntur, figmenta vehentes hominum mortuorum, ita curate

pollincta, ut imagines essent corporibus similes iam sepultis, ac per dierum spatium septem, viri quidem omnes per contubernia et manipulos epulis indulgebant, saltando, et cantando tristia quaedam genera naeniarum, regium iuvenem lamentantes. [11] Feminae vero miserabili planctu, in primaevo flore succisam spem gentis solitis fletibus conclamabant, ut lacrimare cultrices Veneris saepe spectantur, in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris, quod simulacrum aliquod esse frugum adularum religiones mysticae docent.

Amida circumsidetur, et intra biduum bis oppugnatur a Persis.

Post incensum corpus ossaque in argenteam urnam collecta, quae ad gentem humo mandanda portari statuerat pater, agitata summa consiliorum, placuerat busto urbis subversae expiare perempti iuvenis manes; nec enim Grumbates, inulta unci pignoris umbra, ire ultra patiebatur. [2] Biduoque ad otium dato, ac missis abunde qui pacis modo patentes agros pingues cultosque vastarent, quinquens ordine multiplicato scutorum, cingitur civitas ac tertiae principio lucis, corusci globi turmarum impleverunt cuncta quae prospectus humanus potuit undique contueri, et sorte loca divisa, clementi gradu incedentes ordines occuparunt. [3] Persae omnes murorum ambitus obsidebant. Pars, quae orientem spectabat, Chionitis evenit, qua funestus nobis ceciderat adulescens, cuius manibus excidio urbis parentari debebat, Gelani meridiano lateri sunt destinati, tractum servabant septentrionis Albani, occidentali portae oppositi sunt Segestani, acerrimi omnium bellatores, cum quibus elata in arduum specie elephantorum agmina rugosis horrenda corporibus, leniter incedebant, armatis onusta, ultra omnem diritatem taetri spectaculi formidanda, ut rettulimus saepe.

[4] Cernentes populos tam indimensos, ad orbis Romani incendium diu quaesitos, in nostrum conversos exitium, salutis rata desperatione, gloriosos vitae exitus deinde curabamus, iamque omnibus nobis optatos. [5] A sole itaque orto usque diei ultimum, acies immobiles stabant, ut fixae nullo variato vestigio, nec sonitu vel equorum audito hinnitu, eademque figura digressi qua venerant, cibo recreati et somno, cum superesset exiguum noctis, aeneatorum clangore ductante, urbem ut mox casuram terribili corona cinxerunt. [6] Vixque ubi Grumbates hastam infectam sanguine ritu patrio nostrique more coniecerat fetialis, armis exercitus concrepans, involat muros, confestimque lacrimabilis belli turbo crudescit, rapido turmarum processu, in procinctum alacritate omni tendentium, et contra acri intentaque occursatione nostrorum.

[7] Proinde diffractis capitibus, multos hostium scorpionum iactu moles saxae colliserunt, alii traieci sagittis, pars confixi tragulis humum corporibus obstruebant, vulnerati alii socios fuga praecipiti repetebant. [8] Nec minores in civitate luctus aut mortes, sagittarum creberrima nube auras spissa multitudine obumbrante, tormentorumque machinis, quae direpta Singara possederant Persae, vulnera inferentibus plura. [9] Namque viribus collectis propugnatores, omissa vicissim certamina repetentes, in maximo defendendi ardore saucii perniciose cadebant, aut laniati volvendo stantes proxime subvertebant, aut certe spicula membris infixae, viventes adhuc vellendi peritos quaeritabant. [10]

Ita strages stragibus implicatas, et ad extremum usque diei productas, ne vespertinae quidem hebetaverunt tenebrae, ea re quod obstinatione utrimque magna decernebatur. [11] Agitatis itaque sub onere armorum vigiliis, resultabant alitrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles, nostris virtutes Constanti Caesaris extollentibus, ut domini rerum et mundi, Persis Saporem saansaan appellantis et pirosen, quod rex regibus imperans, et bellorum victor interpretatur.

[12] Ac priusquam lux quinta occiperet, signo per lituos dato, ad fervorem similium proeliorum excitae undique inaestimabiles copiae in modum alituum ferebantur, unde longe ac late prospici poterat, campis et convallibus nihil praeter arma micantia ferarum gentium demonstrantibus. [13] Moxque clamore sublato, cunctis temere prorumpentibus, telorum vis ingens volabat e muris, utque opinari dabatur, nulla frustra mittebantur inter hominum cadentia densitatem. Tot enim nos circumstantibus malis, non obtinendae causa salutis, (ut dixi) sed fortiter moriendi studio flagrabamus, et a diei principio ad usque lucem obscuram, neutrubi proelio inclinato, ferocius quam consultius pugnabatur. Exsurgebant enim terrentium paventiumque clamores, ut prae alacritate consistere sine vulnere vix quisquam possit. [14] Tandemque nox finem caedibus fecit, et satias aerumnarum indutias partibus dederat longiores. Ubi enim quiescendi nobis tempus est datum, exiguas quae supererant vires, continuus cum insomnia labor absumpsit, sanguine et pallente expirantium facie perterrente, quibus ne suprema quidem humandi solacia tribui sinebant angustiae spatiorum, intra civitatis ambitum non nimium amplae, legionibus septem et promiscua advenarum civiumque sexus utriusque plebe, et militibus aliis paucis, ad usque numerum milium centum viginti cunctis inclusis. [15] Medebatur ergo suis quisque vulneribus pro possibilitate vel curantium copia, cum quidam graviter saucii, cruore exhausto, spiritus reluctantes efflarent, alii confossi mucronibus frustra curati, animis in ventum solutis, proiciebantur extincti, aliquorum foratis undique membris mederi periti vetabant, ne offensionibus cassis animae vexarentur afflictae, non nulli vellendis sagittis in ancipiti curatione graviora morte supplicia perferebant.

Ursicinus noctu obsidentibus supervenire frustra conatur, Sabiniano magistro militum repugnante.

Dum apud Amidam hac partium destinatione pugnatur, Ursicinus maerens, quod ex alterius pendebat arbitrio, auctoritatis tune in regendo milite potioris, Sabinianum etiam tum sepulcris haerentem, crebro monebat, ut compositis velitaribus cunctis, per imos pedes montium occultis itineribus properarent, quo levium armorum auxilio, siqua fors iuvisset, stationibus interceptis, nocturnas hostium aggredierentur excubias, quae ingenti circumitu vallaverant muros, aut lacessionibus crebris occuparent obsidioni fortiter adhaerentes. [2] Quibus Sabinianus renitebatur ut noxiis, palam quidem litteras imperiales praetendens, intacto ubique milite, quicquid geri potuisset impleri debere aperte iubentes, clam vero corde altissimo retinens, saepe in comitatu sibi mandatum, ut amplam omnem adipiscendae laudis decessori suo ardenti

studio gloriae circumcideret, etiam ex re publica processuram. [3] Adeo vel cum exitio provinciarum festinabatur, ne bellicosus homo memorabilis alicuius facinoris auctor nuntiaretur aut socius. Ideoque his attonitus malis, exploratores ad nos saepe mittendo, licet ob custodias artas nullus facile oppidum poterat introire, et utilia agitando complura, nihil proficiens visebatur, ut leo magnitudine corporis et torvitate terribilis, inclusos intra retia catulos periculo ereptum ire non audens, unguibus ademptis et dentibus.

Pestilentia Amidae orta, intra decimum diem exiguo imbre sedatur. Et de causis acgeneribus pestilentiae.

Sed in civitate, ubi sparsorum per vias cadaverum multitudo humandi officia superaret, pestilentia tot malis accessit, verminantium corporum lue tabifica, vaporatis aestibus varioque plebis languore nutrita, quae genera morborum unde oriri solent breviter explicabo.

[2] Nimietatem frigoris aut caloris, vel umoris vel siccitatis, pestilentias gignere philosophi et illustres medici tradiderunt. Unde accolentes loca palustria vel umecta tusses et oculares casus et similia perferunt, contra confines caloribus tepore febrium arescunt. Sed quanto ignis materies ceteris est efficacior, tanto ad perimendum celerior siccitas. [3] Hinc cum decennali bello Graecia desudaret, ne peregrinus poenas dissociati regalis matrimonii lucraretur, huius modi grassante pernicie, telis Apollinis periere complures (qui sol aestimatur). [4] Atque ut Thucydides exponit, clades illa, quae in Peloponnesiaci belli principiis Athenienses acerbo genere morbi vexavit, ab usque ferventi Aethiopiae plaga paulatim proserpens, Atticam occupavit. [5] Aliis placet auras (ut solent) aquasque vitiatas faetore cadaverum, vel similibus, salubritatis violare maximam partem, vel certe aeris permutationem subitam aegritudines parere leviores. [6] Affirmant etiam aliqui, terrarum halitu densiore crassatum aera, emittendis corporis spiraminibus resistantem, necare non nullos, qua causa animalia praeter homines cetera iugiter prona, Homero auctore, et experimentis deinceps multis, cum talis incesserit labes, ante novimus interire. [7] Et prima species luis pandemus appellatur, quae efficit in aridioribus locis agentes, caloribus crebris interpellari, secunda epidemus, quae tempore ingruens, acies hebetat luminum, et concitat periculosos umores, tertia loemodes, quae itidem temporaria est, sed volucris velocitate letabilis.

[8] Hac exitiali peste quassatis, paucis intemperantia aestuum consumptis, quos multitudo augebat, tandem nocte quae diem consecuta est decimum, exiguis imbribus disiecto concreto spiritu et crassato, sospitas retenta est corporum firma.

Amida hinc circum muros, inde per subterraneos fornices duce transfuga oppugnatur.

Verum inter haec inquires Persa vineis civitatem pluteisque circumdabat, et erigi aggeres coepti, turresque fabricabantur, frontibus ferratis excelsae,

quarum fastigiis ballistae locatae sunt singulae, ut a propugnaculis propellerent defensores, levia tamen per funditores et sagittarios proelia ne puncto quidem brevi cessabant. [2] Erant nobiscum duae legiones Magnentiacae recens e Galliis ductae (ut praediximus) virorum fortium et pernicium, ad planarios conflictus aptorum, ad eas vero belli artes quibus stringebamur, non modo inhabiles, sed contra nimii turbatores, qui cum neque in machinis neque in operum constructione iuvarent, aliquotiens stolidius erumpentes, dimicantesque fidentissime minuto numero revertabant, tantum proficientes, quantum in publico (ut aiunt) incendio, aqua unius hominis manu adgesta. [3] Postremo obseratis portis praecaute vetantibusque tribunis, egredi nequeunt, frendebant ut bestiae. Verum secutis diebus efficacia eorum eminuit (ut docebimus).

[4] In summoto loco partis meridianae murorum, quae despectat fluvium Tigrim, turris fuit in sublimitatem exurgens, sub qua hiabant rupes abscisae, ut despici sine vertigine horrenda non posset, unde cavatis fornicibus subterraneis, per radices montis scalae ad usque civitatis ducebant planitiem, quo ex amnis alveo haurirentur aquae furtim, ut in omnibus per eas regiones munimentis quae contingunt flumina vidimus, fabre politae. [5] Per has tenebras ob derupta neglectas, oppidano transfuga quodam ductante, qui ad diversam partem desciverat, septuaginta sagittarii Persae ex agmine regio arte fiduciaque praestantes, silentio summoti loci defensi, subito singuli noctis medio ad contignationem turris tertiam ascenderunt, ibique occultati, mane sago punici coloris elato, quod erat subeundae indicium pugnae, cum ex omni parte circumveniri urbem suis copiis inundantibus advertissent, exinanitis proiectisque ante pedes pharetris, clamoris ululabilis incendio tela summa peritia dispergebant. Moxque acies omnes densae petebant multo infestius quam antea civitatem. [6] Inter incertos nos et ancipites, quibus occurri deberet, instantibus supra, an multitudini transcensu scararum iam propugnacula ipsa prensanti, dividitur opera, et translatae leviores quinque ballistae, contra turrim locantur, quae ocus lignea tela fundentes, non numquam et binos forabant, e quibus pars graviter vulnerati ruebant, alii machinarum metu stridentium praecipites acti, laniatis corporibus interibant. [7] Quibus hac celeritate confectis, relatisque ad loca sueta tormentis, paulo securius moenia omnium concursu defendebantur. [8] Et quoniam augebat iras militum scelestum facinus perfugae, quasi decurrentes in planum, ita iaculantes diversa missilia lacertis fortibus incumbabant, ut vergente in meridiem die, gentes acri repulsa disiectae, lacrimantes complurium mortes, tentoria repeterent vulnerum metu.

Gallicanarum legionum eruptio Persis exitiabilis.

Adspiravit auram quandam salutis fortuna, innoxio die cum hostili clade emenso, cuius reliquo tempore ad quietem reficiendis corporibus dato, posterae lucis initio ex arce innumeram cernimus plebem, quae Ziata capto castello, ad hosticum ducebatur, quem in locum ut capacissimum et munitum — spatio quippe decem stadiorum ambitur — promiscua confugerat

multitudo. [2] Nam etiam alia munimenta eisdem diebus rapta sunt et incensa, unde hominum milia extracta complura, servituri sequebantur, inter quos multi senecta infirmi, et mulieres iam grandaevae, cum ex variis deficerent causis, itineris longinquitate offensae, abiecta vivendi cupiditate, suris vel suffraginibus relinquebantur exsectis.

[3] Has miserabiles turmas Galli milites contuentes, rationabili quidem sed intempestivo motu, conferendae cum hostibus manus copiam sibi dari poscebant, mortem tribunis vetantibus, primisque ordinibus minitantes, si deinceps prohiberent. [4] Utque dentatae in caveis bestiae, taetro paedore acerbius efferatae, evadendi spe repagulis versabilibus illiduntur, ita gladiis portas caedebant, quas supra diximus obseratas, admodum anxii, ne urbe excisa ipsi quoque sine ullo specioso facinore deleantur, aut exuta periculis, nihil egisse operae pretium pro magnanimitate Gallica memorentur, licet antea saepe egressi, structoresque aggerum confossis quibusdam impedire conati, paria pertulerunt.

[5] Inopes nos consilii, et quid opponi deberet saevientibus ambigentes, id potissimum aegre eisdem assentientibus, tandem elegimus, ut quoniam ultra ferri non poterant, paulisper morati, custodias aggredi permitterentur hostiles, quae non procul erant a coniectu locatae telorum, ut eis perruptis, pergerent prorsus. Apparebat enim eos (si impetrassent) strages maximas edituros. [6] Quae dum parantur, per varia certaminum genera defensabantur acriter muri, laboribus et vigiliis, et tormentis, ad emittenda undique saxa telaque dispositis. Duo tamen aggeres celsi Persarum peditum manu, e regione et ex pugnaculo civitatis, struebantur operibus lentis, contra quos nostrorum quoque impensiore cura moles excitabantur altissimae, fastigio adversae celsitudinis aequatae, propugnatorum vel nimia pondera duraturae.

[7] Inter haec Galli morarum impatientes, securibus gladiisque succincti, patefacta sunt egressi postica, observata nocte squalida et inluni, orantes caeleste praesidium, ut propitium adesset et libens. Atque ipsum spiritum reprimentes, cum prope venissent, conferti valido cursu, quibusdam stationariis interfectis, exteriores castrorum vigiles (ut in nullo tali metu) sopitos obruncant, et supervenire ipsi regiae (si prosperior iuvisset eventus) occulte meditabantur. [8] Verum audito licet levi reptantium sonitu, gemituque caesorum, discusso somno excitatis multis et ad arma pro se quoque clamitante, steterunt milites vestigiis fixis, progredi ultra non ausi; nec enim cautum deinde videbatur, expergefactis quos petebant insidiae, in apertum properare discrimen, cum iam undique frendentium catervae Persarum in proelia venirent accensae. [9] Contra Galli corporum robore, audaciaque quoad poterant inconcussi, gladiis secantes adversos, parte suorum strata vel sagittarum undique volantium crebritate confixa, cum unum in locum totam periculi molem conversam, et concurrentium hostium agmina advertissent, nullo terga vertente, evadere festinabant, et velut repedantes sub modulis, sensim extra vallum protrusi, cum manipulos confertius invadentes sustinere non possent, tubarum perciti clangore castrensium, discedebant. [10] Et

resultantibus e civitate lituis multis, portae panduntur, recepturae nostros si pervenire illuc usque valuissent, tormentorumque machinae stridebant sine iaculatione ulla telorum, ut stationibus praesidentes, post interemptos socios, quae pone agerentur ignari, urbis oppositi moenibus nudarent intuta et porta viri fortes susciperentur innoxii. [11] Hacque arte Galli portam prope confinia lucis introiere minuto, numero quidam perniciose, pars leviter vulnerati, quadringentis ea nocte desideratis, qui non Rhesum nec cubitantes pro muris Iliacis Thracas, sed Persarum regem armatorum centum milibus circumsaepum, ni obstitisset violentior casus, in ipsis tentoriis obruncarant. [12] Horum campiductoribus, ut fortium factorum antesignanis, post civitatis excidium, armatas statuas apud Edessam in regione celebri locari iusserat imperator, quae ad praesens servantur intactae.

[13] Recte sequenti luce funeribus, cum inter caesorum cadavera optimates invenirentur, et satrapae, clamoresque dissoni fortunam aliam alibi cum lacrimis indicabant, luctus ubique et indignatio regum audiebatur, arbitrantium per stationes muris obiectas irrupisse Romanos indutiisque ob haec tridui datis assensu communi, nos quoque spatium ad respirandum accepimus.

Turres et alia opera urbis muris admoventur; incenduntur a Romanis.

Percussae deinde novitate rei efferataeque gentes, omissa omni cunctatione, operibus (quoniam vis minime procedebat) decernere iam censebant, et concito extremo belli ardore, omnes oppetere gloriose iam properabant, aut ruina urbis animis litasse caesorum.

[2] Iamque apparatu cunctorum alacritate perfecto, exsiliante lucifero, operum variae species cum turribus ferratis admovebantur, quorum in verticibus celsis aptatae ballistae propugnatores agitantes humilium disiectabant. [3] Et albescente iam die, ferrea munimenta membrorum caelum omne subtexunt, densetaeque acies non inordinatim ut antea, sed tubarum sonitu leni ductante, nullis procursantibus incedebant, machinarum operi tegminibus, cratesque vimineas praetendentes. [4] Cumque propinquantes ad coniectum venere telorum, oppositis scutis, Persae pedites sagittas tormentis excussas e muris aegrius evitantes laxaverant aciem, nullo paene iaculi genere in vanum cadente; etiam cataphracti hebetati et cedentes animos auxere nostrorum. [5] Tamen quia hostiles ballistae ferratis impositae turribus, in humiliora ex supernis valentes, ut loco dispari ita eventu dissimili, nostra multo cruore foedabant, ingruente iam vespera, cum requiescerent partes, noctis spatium maius consumptum est, ut excogitari possit quid exitio ita atroci obiectaretur.

[6] Et tandem multa versantibus nobis, sedit consilium quod tutius celeritas fecit, quattuor eisdem ballistis scorpiones opponi, qui dum translati e regione, caute (quod artis est difficillimae) collocantur, lux nobis advenit maestissima, Persarum manipulos formidatos ostentans, adiectis elephantorum agminibus, quorum stridore immanitateque corporum nihil humanae mentes terribilium cernunt. [7] Cumque omni ex latere armorum et operum beluarumque molibus

urgeremur, per scorpionum ferreas fundas e propugnaculis subinde rotundi lapides iacti, dissolutis turrium coagmentis, ballistas earumque tortores ita fudere praecipites, ut quidam citra vulnerum noxas, alii obtriti magnitudine ponderum interirent, elephantis vi magna propulsis, quos flammis coniectis undique circumnexus, iam corporibus tactis, gradientesque retrosus regere magistri non poterant, postque exustis operibus, nulla quies certaminibus data. [8] Rex enim ipse Persarum, qui numquam adesse certaminibus cogitur, his turbinum infortuniis percitus, novo et nusquam antea cognito more, proelioris militis ritu prosiluit in confertos, et quia conspectior tegentium multitudine procul speculantibus visebatur, petitus crebritate telorum, multis stipatoribus stratis, abscessit, alternans regibilis acies, et ad extremum diei, nec mortium truci visu nec vulnerum territus, tandem tempus exiguum tribui quieti permisit.

Amida per celsos aggeres muris proximos temptatur a Persis ac invaditur. Marcellinus post captam urbem nocte evadit, ac fuga Antiochiam petit.

Verum nocte proelia dirimente, somno per breve otium capto, nitescente iam luce, ad potiunda sperata ira et dolore exundans, nec fas ullum prae oculis habiturus, gentes in nos excitabat. Cumque crematis operibus (ut docuimus), pugna per aggeres celsos muris proximos temptaretur, ex aggestis erectis intrinsecus, quantum facere nitique poterant, nostri aequis viribus per ardua resistebant.

[2] Et diu cruentum proelium stetit, nec metu mortis quisquam ex aliqua parte a studio propugnandi removebatur, eoque producta contentione, cum sors partium eventu regeretur indeclinabili, diu laborata moles illa nostrorum, velut terrae quodam tremore quassata procubuit, et tamquam itinerario aggere, vel superposito ponte, complanatum spatium, quod inter murum congestamque forinsecus struem hiabat, patefecit hostibus transitum, nullis obicibus impeditum, et pars pleraque militum deiectionum oppressa vel debilitata cessavit. [3] Concursum est tamen undique ad propulsionem periculi tam abrupti, et festinandi studio aliis impredientibus alios, audacia hostium ipso successu crescebat. [4] Accitis igitur regis imperio proelioribus universis, strictoque comminus ferro, cum sanguis utrobique immensis caedibus funderetur, oppilatae sunt corporibus fossae latiorque via ideo pandebatur, et concursu copiarum ardenti iam civitate oppleta, cum omnis defendendi vel fugiendi spes esset abscisa, pecorum ritu armati et imbelles sine sexus discrimine truncabantur.

[5] Itaque vespera tenebrante, cum adhuc licet iniqua reluctantem fortuna, multitudo nostrorum manu conserta dstringeretur, in abstrusa quadam parte oppidi cum duobus aliis latens, obscurae praesidio noctis postica per quam nihil servabatur evado, et squalentem peritia locorum, comitumque adiutus celeritate, ad decimum lapidem tandem perveni. [6] In qua statione lenius recreati, cum ire protinus pergeremus, et incedendi nimietate iam superarer, ut insuetus ingenuus, offendi durum aspectum, sed fatigato mihi lassitudine gravi levamen impendio tempestivum. [7] Fugaci equo nudo et infreni calorum

quidam sedens (ne labi possit) ex more habenam qua ductabatur sinistra manu artius illigavit, moxque decussus, vinculi nodum abrumpere nequiens, per avia saltusque membratim discerptus, iumentum exhaustum cursu pondere cadaveris detinebat, cuius dorsuali comprensi servitio usus in tempore, cum eisdem sociis ad fontes sulphureos aquarum, suapte natura calentium, aegre perveni. [8] Et quia per aestum arida siti reptantes, aquam diu quaeritando, profundum bene vidimus puteum, et neque descendendi prae altitudine, nec restium aderat copia, necessitate docente postrema, indumenta lintea, quibus tegebamur, in oblongos discidimus pannulos, unde explicato fune ingenti, centonem quem sub galea unus ferebat e nostris, ultimae aptavimus summitati, qui per funem coniectus, aquasque hauriens ad peniculi modum, facile sitim qua urgebamur exstinxit. [9] Unde citi ferebamur ad flumen Euphratem, ulteriorem ripam petituri per navem, quam transfretandi causa iumenta et homines, in eo tractu diuturna consuetudo locarat. [10] Ecce autem Romanum agmen cum equestribus signis disiectum, eminus cernimus, quod persequabatur multitudo Persarum, incertum unde impetu tam repentino terga viantum aggressa. [11] Quo exemplo terrigenas illos, non sinibus terrae emersos, sed exuberanti pernecitate credimus natos, qui quoniam inopini per varia visebantur, *σπαρτοί* vocitati, humo exsiluisse, vetustate rem fabulosius extollente, sunt aestimati. [12] Hoc malo conciti, cum omne iam esset in celeritate salutis praesidium, per dumeta et silvas montes petimus celsiores, exindeque Melitinam minoris Armeniae oppidum venimus, mox repertum ducem comitatuque iam profecturum, Antiochiam revisimus insperati.

Amidae ex ducibus Rom. alii supplicio affecti, alii vincti. Craugasius Nisibenus desiderio uxoris captivae transfugit ad Persas.

At Persae quia tendere iam introrsus autumnopraecipiti haedorumque iniquo sidere exorto prohibebantur, captives agentes et praedas, remeare cogitabant ad sua. [2] Inter haec tamen funera direptionesque civitatis excisae, Aeliano comite et tribunis, quorum efficacia diu defensa sunt moenia, stragesque multiplicatae Persarum, patibulis scelestis suffixis, Iacobus et Caesius, numerarii apparitionis magistri equitum alique protectores, post terga vinctis manibus ducebantur, Transtigritanis qui sollicita quaerebantur industria, nullo infimi summique discrimine, ad unum omnibus contruncatis.

[3] Uxor vero Craugasii, quae retinens pudorem inviolatum, ut matrona nobilis colebatur, maerebat velut orbem alium sine marito visura, quamquam sperabat documentis praesentibus altiora. [4] In rem itaque consulens suam, et accidentia longe ante prospiciens, anxietate bifaria stringebatur, viduitatem detestans et nuptias. Ideo familiarem suum perquam fidum, regionumque Mesopotamiae gnarum, per Izalam montem, inter castella praesidiaria duo Maride et Lorne introiturum, Nisibin occulte dimisit, mandatis arcanisque vitae secretioris, maritum exorans, ut auditis quae contigerint, veniret secum beate victurus. [5] Quibus conventis, expeditus viator per saltuosos tramites et frutecta, Nisibin passibus citis ingressus, causatusque se domina nusquam visa, et forsitan interempta, data evadendi copia castris hostilibus abscessisse,

et ideo ut vilis neglectus, docet Craugasium gesta; moxque accepta fide quod si tuto licuerit, sequetur coniugem libens, evasit, exoptatum mulieri nuntium ferens, quae hoc cognito per Tamsaporem ducem supplicaverat regi, ut si daretur facultas, antequam Romanis excederet finibus, in potestatem suam iuberet propitius maritum adscisci.

[6] Praeter spem itaque omnium digresso advena repentino, qui postliminio reversus, statim sine ullius evanuit conscientia, percussus suspicione dux Cassianus, praesidentesque ibi proceres alii, minitantes ultima Craugasium incessebant, non sine eius voluntate vel venisse vel abisse hominem clamitantes. [7] Qui proditoris metuens crimen, impendioque sollicitus, ne transitione perfugae uxor eius superesse doceretur et tractari piissime, per simulationem matrimonium alterius splendidae virginis affectavit. Et velut paraturus necessaria convivio nuptiali, egressus ad villa octavo lapide ab urbe distantem, concito equo ad Persarum vastatorium globum, quem didicerat adventare, confugit, susceptusque averter, qui esset ex his cognitus quae loquebatur, Tamsapori post diem traditur quintum, perque eum regi oblatus, opibus et necessitudine omni recuperata cum coniuge, quam paucos post menses amiserat, erat secundi loci post Antoninum, ut ait poeta praeclarus ‘longo proximus intervallo.’ [8] Ille enim ingenio et usu rerum diuturno firmatus, consiliis validis sufficebat in cuncta quae conabatur, hic natura simplicior, nominis tamen itidem pervulgati. Et haec quidem haut diu postea contigerunt.

[9] Rex vero licet securitatem praeferens vultu, exultansque specie tenus urbis excidio videbatur, profundo tamen animi graviter aestuabat, reputans in obsidionalibus malis saepe luctuosas se pertulisse iacturas multoque ampliores se ipsum populos perdidisse, quam e nostris ceperat vivos, vel certe per diversas fuderat pugnas, ut apud Nisibin aliquotiens evenit, et Singaram, parique modo cum septuaginta tresque dies Amidam multitudine circumdisisset armorum, triginta milia perdidit bellatorum, quae paulo postea per Discenen tribunum et notarium numerata sunt, hac discretione facilius, quod nostrorum cadavera mox caesorum fatiscunt ac diffluunt, adeo ut nullius mortui facies post quatrimum agnoscatur, interfectorum vero Persarum inarescunt in modum stipitum corpora, ut nec liquentibus membris, nec sanie perfusa, madescant, quod vita parcius facit, et ubi nascuntur exustae caloribus terrae.

Plebs Romana inopiam frumenti metuens, seditiones movet.

Dum haec per varies turbines in Orientis extimo festinantur, difficultatem adventantis inopiae frumentorum urbs verebatur aeterna, vique minacissimae plebis, famem ultimum malorum omnium exspectantis, subinde Tertullus vexabatur, ea tempestate praefectus, irrationabiliter plane; nec enim per eum steterat quo minus tempore congruo alimenta navibus veherentur, quas maris casus asperiores solitis ventorumque procellae reflantium, delatas in proximos sinus, introire portum Augusti discriminum magnitudine perterrebant. [2] Quocirca idem saepe praefectus seditionibus agitatus, ac plebe iam saeviente

immanius, quoniam verebatur impendens exitum, ab omni spe tuendae salutis exclusus, ut aestimabat, tumultuanti acriter populo, sed accidentia considerare sueto prudenter, obiecit parvulos filios, et lacrimans ^[3] 'En' inquit 'cives vestri (procul omen dii caelestes avertant!) eadem perlaturi vobiscum, ni fortuna affulserit laetior. Si itaque his abolitis nil triste accidere posse existimatis, praesto in potestate sunt vestra.' Qua miseratione vulgus ad clementiam suapte natura proclive, lenitum conticuit, aequanimiter venturam operiens sortem. ^[4] Moxque divini arbitrio numinis, quod auxit ab incunabulis Romam, perpetuamque fore spopondit, dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificat Castorum, tranquillitas mare mollivit, mutatoque in austrum placidum vento, velificatione plena portum naves ingressae, frumentis horrea referserunt.

Limigantes Sarmatae, dum simulata petitione pacis deceptum imperatorem invadunt, maxima suorum strage reprimuntur.

Inter haec ita ambigua, Constantium Sirmi etiam tum hiberna quiete curantem, permovebant nuntii metuendi et graves, indicantes id quod tune magnopere formidabat, Limigantes Sarmatas, quos expulisse paternis avitisque sedibus dominos suos ante monstravimus, paulatim posthabitis locis quae eis anno praeterito utiliter sunt destinata, ne (ut sunt versabiles) aliquid molirentur inicum, regiones confines limitibus occupasse, vagarique licentius genuine more (ni pellerentur,) omnia turbaturos.

^[2] Quae superbius incitanda prope diem imperator dilato negotio credens, coacta undique multitudine militis ad bella promptissimi, nec dum adulto vere ad procinctum egressus est gemina consideratione alacrior, quod expletus praedarum opimitate exercitus, aestate nuper emensa, similium spe fidenter in effectus animabitur prosperos, quodque Anatolio regente tune per Illyricum praefecturam, necessaria cuncta, vel ante tempus coacta, sine ullius dispendiis affluebant. ^[3] Nec enim dispositionibus umquam alterius praefecturae (ut inter omnes constat) ad praesens Arctoe provinciae bonis omnibus floruerunt, correctione titubantium benevola et sollerti, vehiculariae rei iacturis ingentibus, quae clausere domos innumeras, et censuali professione speciosa fiducia relevatae; indemnesque deinde et innoxii earum incolae partium, querellarum sopitis materiis viverent, ni postea exquisitorum detestanda nomina titulorum, per offerentes suscipientesque criminose in maius exaggerata, his propugnare sibi nitentibus potestates, illis attenuatis omnium opibus, se fore sperantibus tutos, ad usque proscriptiones miserorumque suspendia pervenerunt.

^[4] Rem igitur emendaturus urgentem, profectus cum instrumentis ambitiosis, imperator (ut dictum est) Valeriam venit, partem quondam Pannoniae, sed ad honorem Valeriae Diocletiani filiae et institutam et ita cognominatam, sub pellibusque exercitu diffuso per Histri fluminis margines, barbaros observabat ante adventum suum amicitiae velamento, Pannonias furtim vastandas, invadere hiemis durissimo cogitantes, cum nec dum solutae vernis caloribus nives amnem undique pervium faciunt, nostrique pruinis subdivales moras difficile tolerabunt.

[5] Confestim itaque missis ad Limigantes duobus tribunis cum interpretibus singulis, explorabat modestius percunctando, quam ob rem relictis laribus post pacem et foedera petentibus attributa, ita palarentur per varia, limitesque contra interdicta pulsarent. [6] Qui vana quaedam causantes et irrita, pavore adigente mentiri, principem exorabant in veniam, obsecrantes ut similitate abolita, transmisso flumine ad eum venire permetterentur, docturi quae sustinerent incommoda, paratique intra spatia orbis Romani (si id placuerit) terras suscipere longe discretas, ut diuturno otio involuti, et Quietem colentes (tamquam salutarem deam) tributariorum onera subirent et nomen.

[7] His post reditum tribunorum compertis, imperator exsultans, ut negotio quod rebatur inexplicabile sine ullo pulvere consummando, cunctos admisit, aviditate plus habendi incensus, quam adulatorum cohors augebat, id sine modo strepentium, quod externis sopitis, et ubique pace composita, proletarios lucrabitur plures, et tirocinia cogere poterit validissima: aurum quippe gratanter provinciales pro corporibus dabunt, quae spes rem Romanam aliquotiens aggravavit. [8] Proinde vallo prope Acimincum locato, celsoque aggere in speciem tribunalis erecto, naves vehentes quosdam legionarios expedites alveum fluminis proximum ripis observare sunt iussae, cum Innocentio quodam agrimensore, huius auctore consilii, ut si barbaros tumultuare sensissent, aliorum intentos post terga pervaderent improvisi. [9] Quae Limigantes licet properari sentirent, nihil tamen praeter preces fingentes, stabant incurvi, longe alia quam quae gestu praeferebant et verbis altis mentibus perpensantes.

[10] Visoque imperatore ex alto suggestu, iam sermonem parante lenissimum, meditanteque alloqui velut morigeros iam futuros, quidam ex illis, furore percitus truci, calceo suo in tribunal contorto, 'Marha marha' (quod est apud eos signum bellicum) exclamavit, eumque secuta incondita multitudo, vexillo elato repente barbarico, ululans ferum, in ipsum principem ferebatur. [11] Qui cum ex alto despiciens, plena omnia discurrentis turbae cum missilibus vidisset, reiectisque gladiis et verrutis iam propinquante pernicie, externis mixtus et suis, ignotusque dux esset an miles, quia neque cunctandi aderat tempus, neque cessandi, equo veloci impositus, cursu effuso evasit. [12] Stipatores tamen pauci dum ignis more inundantes conabantur arcere, aut vulnerati interierunt, aut ponderibus superruentium solis afflicti, sellaeque regalis cum aureo pulvinari, nullo vetante, direpta est.

[13] Mox autem audito, quod ad ultimum paene tractus exitium, in abrupto staret adhuc imperator, antiquissimum omnium exercitus ratus eum iuvare (nondum enim exemptum periculis aestimavit salutis) fastu fidentior, licet ob procursionem subitam semitectus, sonorum et Martium frendens, barbarorum mori obstinatorum catervis semet immersit. [14] Et quia virtute dedecus purgatura, ardens copia nostrorum erupit, iras in hostem perfidum parans, obvia quaeque obtruncabat, sine parsimonia vivos conculcans et semineces et peremptos; et antequam exsatiaret caedibus barbaricis manus, acervi

constipati sunt mortuorum. [15] Urgebantur enim rebelles, aliis trucidatis, aliis terrore disiectis, quorum pars spem vitae cassis precibus usurpando multiplicatis ictibus caedebantur, postque deletos omnes in receptum canentibus lituis, nostri quoque licet rari videbantur exanimes, quos impetus conculcaverat vehemens, aut furori resistentes hostili, lateraque nudantes intacta, ordo fatalis absumpsit. [16] Mors tamen eminuit inter alios Cellae Scutariorum tribuni, qui inter conflagrandi exordia, primus omnium in medios semet Sarmatarum globos immisit.

[17] Post quae tam saeva, digestis pro securitate limitum quae rationes monebant urgentes, Constantius Sirmium redit, ferens de hoste fallaci vindictam, et maturatis quae necessitates temporis poscebant instantes, egressus exinde Constantinopolim petit, ut Orienti iam proximus, cladibus apud Amidam mederetur acceptis, et redintegrato supplementis exercitu, impetus regis Persarum pari virium robore cohiberet, quem constabat (ni caelestis ratio impensiorque repelleret cura multorum) Mesopotamia relicta post terga, per extenta spatia signa moturum.

Laesae maiestatis multi arcessiti atque damnati.

Inter has tamen sollicitudines, velut ex recepto quodam antiquitus more, ad vicem bellorum civilium, inflabant litui quaedam colorata laesae crimina maiestatis, quorum exsecutor et administer, saepe dictus Tartareus ille notarius missus est Paulus, qui peritus artium cruentarum, ut lanista ex commerciis libitinae vel ludi, ipse quoque ex eculeo vel carnifice quaestum fructumque captabat. [2] Ut enim erat obstinatum fixumque eius propositum ad laedendum, ita nec furtis abstinuit, innocentibus exitialis causas affingens, dum in calamitosis stipendiis versaretur.

[3] Materiam autem in infinitum quaestionibus extendendis dedit occasio vilis et parva. Oppidum est Abydum in Thebaidis partis situm extremo. Hic Besae dei localiter appellati, oraculum quondam futura pandebat, priscis circumiacentium regionum caerimoniis solitum coli. [4] Et quoniam quidam praesentes, pars per alios desideriorum indice missa scriptura, supplicationibus expresse conceptis, consulta numinum scitabantur, chartulae sive membranae, continentes quae petebantur, post data quoque responsa, interdum remanebant in fano. [5] Ex his aliqua ad imperatorem maligne sunt missa, qui (ut erat angusti pectoris) obsurdens in aliis etiam nimium seriis, in hoc titulo ima (quod aiunt) auricula mollior, et suspicax et minutus, acri felle concaluit; statimque ad Orientem ocius ire monuit Paulum, potestate delata, ut instar ducis rerum experientia clari, ad arbitrium suum audiri efficeret causas. [6] Datumque est negotium Modesto (etiam tum per Orientem comiti) apto ad haec et similia. Hermogenes enim Ponticus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ut lenioris ingenii, spernebatur.

[7] Perrexit (ut praeceptum est) Paulus funesti furoris et anhelitus plenus, dataque calumniae indulgentia plurimis, ducebantur ab orbe prope terrarum, iuxta nobiles et obscuri, quorum aliquos vinculorum affligerant nexus, alios claustra poenalia consumpserunt. [8] Et electa est speetrix suppliciorum

feralium civitas in Palaestina Scythopolis, gemina ratione visa magis omnibus opportuna, quod secretior est et inter Antiochiam Alexandriamque media, unde multi plerumque ad crimina trahebantur.

[9] Ductus est itaque inter primos Simplicius, Philippi filius, ex praefecto et consule, reus hac gratia postulatus, quod super adipiscendo interrogasse dicebatur imperio, perque elogium principis torqueri praeceptus, qui in his casibus nec peccatum aliquando pietati dederat nec erratum, fato quodam arcente, corpore immaculato lata fuga damnatus est. [10] Dein Parnasius (ex praefecto Aegypti) homo simplicium morum, eo adductus periculi, ut pronuntiaretur capitis reus, itidem pulsus est in exilium, saepe auditus multo antehac rettulisse, quod cum Patras Achaicum oppidum, ubi genitus habuit larem, impetrandae causa cuiusdam relinqueret potestatis, per quietem deducenda se habitus tragici figmenta viderat multa. [11] Andronicus postea, studiis liberalibus et claritudine carminum notus, in iudicium introductus cum secura mente nullis suspicionibus urgeretur, purgando semet fidentius, absolutus est. [12] Demetrius itidem Cythras cognomento philosophus, grandaevus quidem sed corpore durus et animo, sacrificasse aliquoties confutatus, infitiri non potuit, asserens propitiandi causa numinis haec a prima adulescentia factitasse, non temptandi sublimiora scrutatis; nec enim quemquam id noverat affectare. Diu itaque adhaerens eculeo, cum fiducia gravi fundatus, nequaquam varians eadem oraret intrepidus, Alexandriam (unde oriebatur) innoxius abire permissus est.

[13] Et hos quidem aliosque paucos aequa sors, veritatis adiutrix, periculis eximit abruptis. Criminibus vero serpentibus latius, per implicates nexus sine fine distentos, quidam corporibus laniatis exstinguebantur, alii poenis ulterioribus damnati sunt bonis ereptis, Paulo succentore fabularum crudelium, quasi e promptuaria cella, fallaciarum et nocendi species suggerente complures, cuius ex nutu (prope dixerim) pendebat incedentium omnium salus. [14] Nam siqui remedia quartanae vel doloris alterius collo gestaret, sive per monumentum transisse vesperi, malivolorum argueretur indiciis, ut veneficus, sepulchrorumque horrores, et errantium ibidem animarum ludibria colligens vana, pronuntiatus reus capitis interibat. [15] Et prorsus ita res agebatur, quasi Clarum, Dodonaeas arbores, et effata Delphorum olim sollemnia, in imperatoris exitium sollicitaverint multi. [16] Unde blanditiarum taetra commenta, palatina cohors exquisite confingens, immunem eum fore malorum communium asserebat, fatum eius vicens semper et praesens in abolendis adversa conantibus eluxisse, vocibus magnis exclamans.

[17] Et inquisitum in haec negotia fortius, nemo qui quidem recte sapiat reprehendet. Nec enim abnuimus salutem legitimi principis, propugnatoris bonorum et defensoris, unde salus quaeritur aliis, consociato studio muniri debere cunctorum; cuius retinendae causa validius, ubi maiestas pulsata defenditur, a quaestionibus vel cruentis, nullam Corneliae leges exemere fortunam. [18] Sed exsultare maestis casibus effrenate non decet, ne videantur

licentia regi subiecti, non potestate. Imitandus sit Tullius, cum parcere vel laedere potuisset, ut ipse affirmat, ignoscendi quaerens causas, non puniendi occasiones, quod iudicis lenti et considerati est proprium.

[19] Tunc apud Daphnen, amoenum illud et ambitiosum Antioohiae suburbanum, visu relatuque horrendum natum est monstrum, infans ore gemino cum dentibus binis et barba, quattuorque oculis, et brevissimis duabus auriculis, qui partus ita distortus praemonebat rem publicam in statum verti deformem. [20] Nascuntur huius modi saepe portenta, indicantia rerum variarum eventus, quae quoniam non expiantur, ut apud veteres publice, inaudita praetereunt et incognita.

Lauricius comes Isaurorum lactrocinia compescit.

His temporibus Isauri diu quieti post gesta quae superior continet textus, temptatumque Seleucia civitatis obsidium, paulatim reviviscentes, ut solent verno tempore foveis exsilire serpentes, saltibus degressi scrupulosis et inviis, confertique in cuneos densos per furta et latrocinia finitimos afflictabant, praetenturas militum (ut montani) fallentes, perque rupis et dumeta ex usu facile discurrentes. [2] Ad quos vi vel ratione sedandos Lauricius, adiecta comitis dignitate, missus est rector, homo civilis prudentiae, qui minis potius quam acerbitate pleraque correxit, adeo ut eo diu provinciam obtinente, nihil accideret, quod animadversione dignum aestimaretur.

LIBER XX.

[1] Lupicinus, magister armorum, adversus Scotorum et Pictorum incursiones in Britannias cum exercitu mittitur.

Haec per Illyricum perque Orientem rerum series fuit. Consulatu vero Constantii deciens, terque Iuliani, in Britannii cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, rupta quiete conducta, loca limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido provincias, praeteritarum cladum congerie fessas, hiemem agens apud Parisios Caesar distractusque in sollicitudines varias, verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ut rettulimus ante fecisse Constantem, ne rectore vacuas relinqueret Gallias, Alamannis ad saevitiam etiam tum incitatis et bella. [2] Ire igitur ad haec ratione vel vi componenda, Lupicinum placuit, ea tempestate magistrum armorum, bellicosum sane et castrensis rei peritum, sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua, et de tragico (quod aiunt) cothurno strepentem, super quo diu ambigebatur, avarus esset potius an crudelis. [3] Moto igitur velitari auxilio, Aerulis scilicet et Batavis, numerisque Moesiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux ante dictus Bononiam venit, quaesitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium, ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocius ad procinctum.

Ursicinus, magister peditum praesentalis, calumniis appetitus discingitur.

Quae cum ita geruntur, post Amidae oppugnationem Ursicinum ad commilitium principis ut peditum magistrum reversum, (successisse enim eum Barbationi praediximus), obtrectatores excipiunt, primo disseminantes mordaces susurros, dein propalam ficta crimina subnectentes. [2] Quibus imperator assensus, ex opinione pleraque aestimans, et insidiantibus patens, Arbitrionem et Florentium officiorum magistrum quaesitores dederat spectaturos, quas ob res oppidum sit excisum. [3] Quibus apertas probabilesque refutantibus causas, veritisque ne offenderetur Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, si documenta suscepissent perspicue demonstrantia, Sabiniani pertinaci ignavia haec accidisce, quae contigerunt, a veritate detorti, inania quaedam, longeque a negotio distantia, scrutabantur.

[4] Qua iniquitate percitus qui audiebatur, 'Etsi me 'inquit' despicit imperator, negotii tamen ea est magnitudo, ut non nisi iudicio principis nosci possit et vindicari; sciat tamen velut quodam praesagio, quod dum maeret super his quae apud Amidam gesta emendata didicit fide, dumque ad spadonum arbitrium trahitur, defrustandae Mesopotamiae proximo vere ne ipse quidem cum exercitus robore omni, opitulari poterit praesens.'

[5] Relatis adiectisque cum interpretatione maligna compluribus, iratus ultra modum Constantius, nec discusso negotio, nec patefieri quae scientiam eius latebant, permissis, appetitum calumniis, deposita militia digredi iussit ad otium, Agilone ad eius locum immodico saltu promoti, ex Gentilium et Scutariorum tribuno.

Defectus Solis: et de duobus Solibus; ac de causis defectuum Solis et Lunae; deque variis Lunae mutationibus et figuris.

Eodem tempore per Eos tractus caelum subtextum caligine cernebatur obscura, et a primo aurorae exortu ad usque meridiem, intermicabant iugiter stellae; hisque terroribus accedebat, quod cum lux caelestis operiretur, e mundi conspectu penitus lance abrepta, defecisse diutius solem pavidae mentes hominum aestimabant; primo attenuatum in lunae corniculantis effigiem, deinde in speciem auctum semenstrem, posteaque in integrum restitutum. [2] Quod alias non evenit ita perspicue, nisi cum post inaequales cursus iter menstruum lunae ad idem revocatur initium, certis temporum intervallis, id est cum in domicilio eiusdem signi tota reperitur luna sub sole, liniamenti obiecta rectissimis, atque in his paulisper consistit minutis, quae geometrica ratio partium partes appellat. [3] Ac licet utriusque sideris conversiones et motus, ut scrutatores causarum intellegibilium adverterant, in unum eundemque finem, lunari cursu impleto, perenni distinctione conveniunt, tamen sol non semper his diebus obducitur, sed cum luna e regione (velut libramento quodam igneo) orbi et aspectui nostro opponitur media. [4] Ad summam tum sol occultatur, splendore suppresso, cum ipse et lunaris globus astrorum omnium infimus, paril comitatu obtinentes circulos proprios, salvaque ratione altitudinis interiectae, iunctim locati, ut scienter et decore Ptolemaeus exponit, ad dimensiones venerint, quas ἀναβιβάζοντες et καταβιβάζοντες ἐκλειπτικοὺς συνδέσμους (coagmenta videlicet defectiva.) Graeco dictitamus sermone. Et si contigua eisdem iuncturis praestrinxerint spatia, dilutior erit defectus. [5] Si vero articulis ipsis inhaeserint, qui coactius ascensus vinciunt et descensus, offunditur densioribus tenebris caelum, ut crassato aere ne proxima quidem et apposita cernere queamus.

[6] Sol autem geminus ita videri existimatur, si erecta solito celsius nubes, aeternorumque ignium propinquitate collucens, orbis alterius claritudinem tamquam e speculo puriore formaverit.

[7] Nunc veniamus ad lunam. Apertum et evidentem ita demum sustinet luna defectum, cum pleno lumine rotundata, solique contraria, ab eius orbe centum octoginta partibus (id est signo septimo) disparatur. Et quamquam hoc per omne plenilunium semper eveniat, non semper deficit tamen. [8] Sed quoniam circa terrenam mobilitatem locata, et a caelo totius pulchritudinis extima, non numquam ferienti se subserit lanci, obiectu metae noctis in conum desinentis angustum, latet parumper umbrata, tumque nigrantibus involvitur globis, si sol ut sphaerae inferioris curvamine circumfusus, mole obsistente terrena, radiis eam suis illustrare non possit, quam numquam habere proprium lumen, opiniones variae collegerunt.

[9] Et cum ad idem signum aequis partibus soli concurrent, obscuratur (ut dictum est) penitus hebetato candore, Graece σὺνοδος dicitur. [10] Nasci autem putatur et tunc lunae cum parva declinatione velut e perpendiculo, superiectum gerit solem. Exortus vero eius adhuc gracilescens, primitus mortalitati videtur, cum ad secundum relicto sole migraverit signum.

Progressa itaque porrectius, iamque abunde nitens cornutae habitu μηνοειδής est appellata. Cum autem sole longo coeperit interstitio summo veri, et ad quartum pervenerit signum, radiis eius ad se conversis, maius concipit lumen, et fit Graeco sermone διχόμηνις, quae forma seniores ostendit. [11] Procedens deinde iam disiunctissime, quintoque signo arrepto, figuram monstrat amphicyrti, utrumque prominentibus gibbis. E regione vero cum normaliter steterit contra, lumine pleno fulgebit, domicilium septimi retinens signi, et in eodem tum etiam agens, paululumque progressa, minuitur, quem habitum vocamus ἀρόκρουσιν, et usque easdem formas repetit senescendo, traditurque doctrina multiplici congruente, non nisi tempore intermenstrui deficere visam usquam lunam.

[12] Quod autem solem nunc in aethere, nunc in mundo inferiore, versari praediximus, sciendum est siderea corpora quantum ad universitatem pertinet) nec occidere nec oriri, sed ita videri nostris obtutibus, constitutis in terra, spiritus cuiusdam interni motu suspensa: rerumque magnitudini instar exigui subditum puncti, nunc caelo infixas suspicere stellas, quarum ordo est sempiternus, aliquoties humana visione languente, discedere suis sedibus arbitrari. Verum ad instituta iam revertamur.

Iulianus Caesar a militibus Gallicanis, quos Constantius ipsi detrahi et in Orientem adversas Persas transferri iusserat, Lutetiae Parisiorum, ubi hiemabat, per vim Augustus appellatur.

Properantem Constantium Orienti ferre suppetias, turbando prope diem excursibus Persicis, ut perfugae concinentes exploratoribus indicabant, urebant Iuliani virtutes, quas per ora gentium diversarum fama celebrior effundebat, magnorum eius laborum factorumque vehens adoras celsas, post Alamanniae quaedam regna prostrata, receptaque oppida Gallicana, ante direpta a barbaris et excisa, quos tributarios ipse fecit et vectigales. [2] Ob haec et similia percitus, metuensque ne augerentur in maius, stimulante (ut ferebatur) praefecto Florentio, Decentium tribunum et notarium misit, auxiliares milites exinde protinus abstracturum, Aerulos et Batavos, cumque Petulantibus Celtas, et lectos ex numeris aliis trecentenos, hac specie iussos accelerare, ut adesse possint armis primo vere movendis in Parthos.

[3] Et super auxiliariis quidem et trecentenis, cogendis ocus proficisci, Lupicinus conventus est solus, transisse ad Britannias nondum compertus, de Scutariis autem et Gentilibus excerpere quemque promptissimum, et ipse perducere Sintula iubetur, Caesaris stabuli tunc tribunus.

[4] Conticuit hisque acquieverat Iulianus, potioris arbitrio cuncta concedens. Illud tamen nec dissimulare potuit nec silere: ut illi nullas paterentur molestias, qui relictis laribus transrhenanis, sub hoc venerant pacto, ne ducerentur ad partes umquam transalpinas, verendum esse affirmans, ne voluntarii barbari militares, saepe sub eius modi legibus assueti transire ad nostra, hoc cognito deinceps arcerentur. Sed loquebatur in cassum. [5] Tribunus enim parvi querellas Caesaris ducens, Augusti iussis obtemperabat, et lecta

expeditiore manu vigore, corporumque levitate praestanti, cum eisdem profectus est, spe potiorum erectis.

[6] Et quia sollicitus Caesar, quid de residuis mitti praeceptis agi deberet, perque varias curas animum versans, attente negotium tractari oportere censebat, cum hinc barbara feritas, inde iussorum urgeret auctoritas, maximeque absentia magistri equitum augente dubietatem, redire ad se praefectum hortatus est, olim Viennam specie annonae parandae digressum, ut se militari eximeret turba. [7] Perpendebat enim ad relationem suam, quam olim putabatur misisse, abstrahendos e Galliarum defensione pugnaces numeros barbarisque iam formidatos. [8] Qui cum suscepisset Caesaris litteras, monentis petentisque ut venire acceleraret, rem publicam consiliis iuvaturus, obstinatissime detrectabat, hac ratione pavore mente confusa, quod aperte scripta significabant, ab imperatore nusquam diiungi debere praefectum, in ardore terribilium rerum. Adiectumque est quod si procurare dissimulasset, ipse propria sponte proiceret insignia principatus, gloriosum esse existimans iussa morte oppetere, quam ei provinciarum interitum assignari. Sed vicit praefecti propositum pertinax, his quae rationabiliter poscebantur, parere, contentione maxima reluctantis.

[9] Inter has tamen moras absentis Lupicini, motusque militares timentis praefecti, Iulianus consiliorum adminiculo destitutus, ancipitique sententia fluctuans, id optimum factu existimavit: et sollemniter cunctos e stationibus egressos, in quibus hiemabant, maturare disposuit. [10] Hocque comperto, apud Petulantium signa famosum quidam libellum humi proiecit occulte, inter alia multa etiam id continentem: 'Nos quidem ad orbis terrarum extrema ut noxii pellimur et damnati, caritates vero nostrae Alamannis denuo servient, quas captivitate prima post internecivas liberavimus pugnās.' [11] Quo textu ad comitatum perlato lectoque, Iulianus contemplans rationabiles querellas, cum familiis eos ad orientem proficisci praecepit, clabularis cursus facultate permissa, et cum ambigeretur diutius qua pergerent via, placuit notario suggerente Decentio, per Parisios omnes transire, ubi morabatur adhuc Caesar nusquam motus. Et ita est factum. [12] Eisdemque adventantibus, in suburbanis princeps occurrit, et ex more laudans quos agnoscebat, factorumque fortium singulos monens, animabat lenibus verbis, ut ad Augustum alacri gradu pergerent ire, ubi potestas est ample patens et larga, praemia laborum adepturi dignissima. [13] Utque honoratius procul abituros tractaret, ad convivium proceribus corrogatis, petere (siquid in promptu esset) edixit. Qui liberaliter ita suscepti, dolore duplici suspensi discesserunt et maesti, quod eos fortuna quaedam inclemens et moderato rectore et terris genitalibus dispararet. Hocque angore impliciti, ut in stativis solati cessarunt. [14] Nocte vero coeptante, in apertum erupere discidium, incitatisque animis, ut quemque insperata res afflictabat, ad tela convertuntur et manus, fremituque ingenti omnes petiverunt palatium, et spatiis eius ambitis, ne ad evadendi copiam quisquam perveniret, Augustum Iulianum horrendis clamoribus concrepabant, eum ad se prodire destinatius adigentes, exspectareque coacti, dum lux

promicaret, tandem progredi compulerunt. Quo viso iterata magnitudine sonus, Augustum appellavere consensione firmissima.

[15] Et ille mente fundata, universis resistebat et singulis, nunc indignari semet ostendens, nunc manus tendens oransque et obsecrans, ne post multas felicissimasque victorias, agatur aliquid indecorum, neve intempestiva temeritas et prolapsio, discordiarum materias excitaret. Haecque adiciebat, tandem sedatos leniter allocutus:

[16] ‘Cesset ira — quaeso — paulisper: absque dissensione, vel rerum appetitu novarum, impetrabitur facile quod postulatis. Quoniam dulcedo vos patriae retinet, et insueta peregrinaque metuitis loca, redite iam nunc ad sedes nihil visuri (quia displicet) transalpinum. Hocque apud Augustum, capacem rationis et prudentissimum, ego competenti satisfactione purgabo.’

[17] Conclamabatur post haec ex omni parte nihilo minus, uno parique ardore nitentibus universis, maximoque contentionis fragore, probrosis conviciis mixto, Caesar assentire coactus est. Impositusque scuto pedestri, et sublatus eminens, nullo silente, Augustus renuntiatus, iubebatur diadema proferre, negansque umquam habuisse, uxoris colli decus vel capitis poscebatur. [18] Eoque affirmante, primis auspiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo, equi phalera quaerebatur, uti coronatus speciem saltem obscuram, superioris praetenderet potestatis. Sed cum id quoque turpe esse asseveraret, Maurus nomine quidam, postea comes, qui rem male gessit apud Succorum angustias, Petulantium tune hastatus, abstractum sibi torquem, quo ut draconarius utebatur, capiti Iuliani imposuit confidenter, qui trusus ad necessitatem extremam, iamque periculum praesens vitare non posse advertens, si reniti perseverasset, quinos omnibus aureos, argentique singula pondo promisit.

[19] Hisque gestis, haut minore quam antea cura constrictus, futuraque celeri providens corde, nec diadema gestavit, nec procedere ausus est usquam, nec agere seria quae nimis urgebant. [20] Sed cum ad latebras secessisset occultas, accidentium varietate perterritus Iulianus, aliqui palatii decurio, qui ordo est dignitatis, pleniore gradu signa Petulantium ingressus atque Celtarum, facinus indignum turbulente exclamat, pridie Augustum eorum arbitrio declaratum, clam interemptum. [21] Hocque comperto, milites quos ignota pari sollicitudine movebant et nota, pars crispantes missilia, alii minitantes nudatis gladiis, diverso vagoque (ut in repentino solet) excursu, occupavere volucriter regiam, strepituque immani excubitores perculsi, et tribuni et domesticorum comes Excubitor nomine, veritique versabilis perfidiam militis, evanueri metu mortis subitae dispalati. [22] Viso tamen otio summo, quieti stetere paulisper armati, et interrogati, quae causa esset inconsulti motus et repentini, diu tacendo haesitantes super salute principis novi, non antea discesserunt, quam adsciti in consistorium, fulgentem eum augusto habitu conspexissent.

Iulianus Aug. contionem habet ad milites.

His tamen auditis, etiam illi quos antegressos rettulimus, ducente Sintula, cum eo iam securi Parisios revertuntur: edictoque ut futura luce cuncti convenirent in campo, progressus princeps ambiciosius solito, tribunal ascendit, signis aquilisque circumdatus et vexillis, saeptusque tutius armatarum cohortium globis. [2] Cumque interquievisset paulisper, dum alte contemplatur praesentium vultus, alacres omnes visos et laetos, quasi lituis verbis (ut intellegi possit) simplicibus incendebat:

[3] ‘Res ardua poscit et flagitat, propugnatores mei reique publicae fortes et fidi, qui mecum pro statu provinciarum vitam saepius obiecistis, quoniam Caesarem vestrum firmo iudicio ad potestatum omnium columnen sustulistis, perstringere pauca summatim, ut remedia permutatae rei iusta colligantur et cauta. [4] Vixdum adulescens specie tenuis purpuratus (ut nostis), vestrae tutelae nutu caelesti commissus, numquam a proposito recte vivendi deiectus sum, vobiscum in omni labore perspicuus, cum dispersa gentium confidentia, post civitatum excidia, peremptaque innumera hominum milia, pauca quae semiintegra sunt relictis cladis immensitas persultaret. Et retexere superfluum puto, quotiens hieme cruda rigentique caelo, quo tempore terrae ac maria opere Martio vacant, indomitos antea, cum iactura virium suarum reppulimus Alamannos. [5] Id sane nec praetermitti est aequum nec taceri, quod cum prope Argentoratum illuxisset ille beatissimus dies, vehens quodam modo Galliis perpetuam libertatem, inter confertissima tela me discurrente, vos vigore ususque diuturnitate fundati, velut incitados torrentes, hostes abruptius inundantes, superastis ferro prostratos, vel fluminis profundo submersos, paucis relictis nostrorum, quorum exequias honestavimus, celebri potius laude quam luctu. [6] Post quae opinor tanta et talia, nec posteritatem taciturnam de vestris in rem publicam meritis, quae gentibus cunctis plene iam cognita sunt, si eum quem altiore fastigio maiestatis ornastis, virtute gravitateque, siquid adversum ingruerit, defendatis. [7] Ut autem rerum integer ordo servetur, praemiaque virorum fortium maneant incorrupta, nec honores ambitio praeripiat clandestina, id sub reverenda consilii vestri facie statuo, ut neque civilis quisquam iudex, nec militiae rector, alio quodam praeter merita suffragante, ad potioem veniat gradum, non sine detrimento pudoris, eo qui pro quolibet petere temptaverit discessuro.’

[8] Hac fiducia spei maioris animatus inferior miles, dignitatum iam diu expers et praemiorum, hastis feriendo clipeos sonitu assurgens ingenti, uno prope modum ore dictis favebat et coeptis. [9] Statimque ne turbandae dispositioni consultae, tempus saltem breve concederetur, pro actuariis obsecraveret Petulantes et Celtae, recturi quas placuisset provincias, mitterentur; quo non impetrato, abiere nec offensi nec tristes.

[10] Nocte tamen, quae declarationis Augustae praecesserat diem, iunctoribus proximis rettulerat imperator, per quietem aliquem visum, ut formari Genius publicus solet, haec obiurgando dixisse: ‘Olim Iuliane vestibulum aedium tuarum observo latenter, augere tuam gestiens dignitatem, et aliquotiens tamquam repudiatus abscessi : si ne nunc quidem recipior,

sententia concordante multorum, ibo demissus et maestus. Id tamen retineto imo corde quod tecum non diutius habitabo.’

Singara a Sapore oppugnata, et capta: oppidani cum equitibus auxiliariis et duobus legionibus praesidiariis in Persidem abducti; oppidum excisum.

Haec dum per Gallias agerentur intente, truculentus rex ille Persarum, incentivo Antonini adventu Craugasii duplicato, ardore obtinendae Mesopotamiae flagrans, dum ageret cum exercitu procul Constantius, armis multiplicatis et viribus, transmisso sollemniter Tigride, oppugnandam adoritur Singaram, milite usuique congruis omnibus, ut existimavere qui regionibus praeerant, abunde munitam. [2] Cuius propugnatores viso hoste longissime, clausis ocius portis, ingentibus animis per turres discurrebant et minas, saxa tormentaue bellica congerentes, cunctisque praestructis, stabant omnes armati, multitudinem parati propellere, si moenia subire temptasset.

[3] Adventans itaque rex cum per optimates suos propius admissos, pacatiore colloquio flectere defensores ad suum non potuisset arbitrium, quieti diem integrum dedit, et matutinae lucis exordio, signo per flammeum erecto vexillum, circumvaditur civitas a quibusdam vehentibus scalas, aliis componentibus machinas, plerisque obiectu vinearum pluteorumque tectis, iter ad fundamenta parietum quaerentibus subvertenda. [4] Contra haec oppidani superstantes propugnaculis celsis, lapidibus eminus telorumque genere omni ad interiora ferocius se proripientes arcebant.

[5] Et pugnabatur eventu ancipiti diebus aliquot, hinc inde multis amissis et vulneratis: postremo fervente certaminum mole, et propinquante iam vespera, inter machinas plures admotus aries robustissimus, orbiculatam turrim feriebat ictibus densis, unde reseratam urbem obsidio superiore docuimus. [6] Ad quam conversa plebe dimicabatur artissime, facesque cum taedis ardentibus et malleolis, ad exurendum imminens malum undique convolabant, nec sagittarum crebritate nec glandis hinc inde cessante. Vicit tamen omne prohibendi commentum acumen arietis, coagmenta fodiens lapidum recens structorum, madoreque etiam tum infirmium. [7] Dumque adhuc ferro certatur et ignibus, turri collapsa, cum patuisset iter in urbem, nudato propugnatoribus loco, quos periculi disiecerat magnitudo, Persarum agmina undique ululabili clamore sublato, nullo cohibente cuncta oppidi membra complebant, caesisque promiscue paucissimis, residui omnes mandatu Saporis vivi comprehensi, ad regiones Persidis ultimas sunt asportati.

[8] Tuebantur autem hanc civitatem legiones duae (prima Flavia primaque Parthica), et indigenae plures cum auxilio equitum, illic ob repentinum malum clausorum, qui omnes (ut dixi) vinctis manibus ducebantur, nullo iuvante nostrorum. [9] Nisibin enim sub pellibus agens pars maior exercitus custodibat, intervallo perquam longo discretam, alioqui numquam labenti Singarae vel temporibus priscis, quisquam ferre auxilium potuit, aquarum penuria cunctis circum arentibus locis. Et licet ad praesciscendos adversos subitosque motus, id munimentum opportune locavit antiquitas, dispendio tamen fuit rei Romanae, cum defensorum iactura aliquotiens interceptum.

Bezabden oppidum, a tribus legionibus defensum, Sapor expugnat; ac reparatum praesidio commeatuque instruit: idem Virtam munimentum frustra adoritur.

Exciso itaque oppido, rex Nisibin prudenti consilio vitans, memor nimirum quae saepius ibi pertulerat, dextrum latus itineribus petit obliquis, Bezabden, quam Phaenicham quoque institutores veteres appellarunt, vi vel promissorum dulcedine illectis defensoribus retenturus, munimentum impendio validum in colle mediocriter edito positum, vergensque in margines Tigridis, atque ubi loca suspecta sunt et humilia, duplici muro vallatum. Ad cuius tutelam tres legiones sunt deputatae, secunda Flavia secundaque Armeniaca, et Parthica itidem secunda cum sagittariis pluribus Zabdicenis, in quorum solo tunc nobis obtemperantium hoc est municipium positum.

[2] Primo igitur impetu, cum agmine cataphractorum fulgentium, rex ipse sublimior ceteris castrorum ambitum circumcursans, prope labra ipsa fossarum venit audentius, petitusque ballistarum ictibus crebris et sagittarum, densitate opertus armorum in modum testudinis contextorum, abscessit innoxius. [3] Ira tamen tum sequestrata, caduceatoribus missis ex more, clausos blandius hortabatur, ut vitae speique consulturi, obsidium deditione solverent opportuna, reseratisque portis egressi, supplices victori gentium semet offerrent. [4] Quibus adire propius ausis, defensores moenium ideo pepercerunt, quod cohaerenter sibi iunctos duxerant eisdem notos ingenuos Singarae captos: eorum enim miseratione, telum nemo contorsit, nec super pace respondit.

[5] Deinde datis indutiis diei totius et noctis, ante alterius lucis initium Persarum populus omnis adortus avide vallum, acriter minans ac fremens, ubi ad ipsa moenia confidenter accessit, dimicabat vi magna resistantibus oppidanis. [6] Eaque re sauciabantur plerique Parthorum, quod pars scalas vehentes, alii opposcentes vimineas crates, velut caeci pergebant introrsus, nec nostris innocui. Sagittarum enim nimbi crebrius volitantes, stantes confertius perforabant, partibusque post solis occasum aequa iactura digressis, appetente postridie luce, ardentius multo quam antea pugnabatur, hinc inde concinentibus tubis, nec minores strages utrobique visae sunt, ambobus obstinatissime colluctatis.

[7] Verum secuto die otio communi assensu post aerumnas multiplices attribute, cum magnus terror circumsterneret muros, Persaeque paria formidarent, Christianae legis antistes exire se velle gestibus ostendebat et nutu, acceptaque fide quod redire permetteretur incolumis, usque ad tentoria regis accessit. [8] Ubi data copia dicendi quae vellet, suadebat placido sermone discedere Persas ad sua, post communes partis utriusque luctus, formidari etiam maiores affirmans forsitan adventuros. Sed perstabat in cassum, haec multaque similia disserendo, efferata vesania regis obstante, non ante castrorum excidium digredi pertinaciter adiurantis. [9] Perstrinxit tamen suspicio vana quaedam episcopum (ut opinor), licet asseveratione vulgata multorum, quod clandestine colloquio Saporem docuerat, quae moenium

appeteret membra, ut fragilia intrinsecus et invalida. Hocque exinde veri simile visum est, quod postea intuta loca carieque nutantia, cum exultatione maligna, velut regentibus penetralium callidis, contemplabiliter machinae feriebant hostiles.

[10] Et quamquam angustae calles difficiliorem aditum dabant ad muros, aptatique arietes aegre promovebantur, manualium saxorum, sagittarumque metu arcente, nec ballistae tamen cessavere nec scorpiones, illae tela torquentes, hi lapides crebros, qualique simul ardentes pice et bitumine illiti, quorum assiduitate per proclive labentium, machinae haerebant velut altis radicibus fixae, easque malleoli et faces iactae destinatius exurebant.

[11] Sed cum haec ita essent, caderentque altrinsecus multi, ardebant magis oppugnatores, naturali situ et ingenti opere munitum oppidum ante brumale sidus excindere, rabiem regis non ante sedari posse credentes. Quocirca nec multa cruoris effusio, nec confixi mortiferis vulneribus plurimi, ceteros ab audacia parili revocabant. [12] Sed diu cum exitio decernentes, postremo periculis obiectavere semet abruptis, et agitantes arietes denso saxorum molarium pondere, fomentisque ignium variis ire protinus vetabantur. [13] Verum unus aries residuis celsior, umectis taurinis opertus exuviis, ideoque minus casus flammeos pertimescens aut tela, antegressus omnes erepsit nisibus magnis ad murum, vastoque acumine coagmenta lapidum fodiens, turrim laxatam evertit. Qua sonitu lapsa ingenti, superstantes quoque repentina ruina deiecti, diffractique vel obruti, mortibus interiire diversis et insperatis, inventoque tutiore ascensu, armata irruit multitudo.

[14] Trepididis deinde superatorum auribus ululantium undique Persarum intonante fragore, artius proelium intra muros exarsit, hostium nostrorumque catervis certantibus comminus, cum confertis inter se corporibus hinc indeque stricto mucrone, nulli occurrentium parceretur. [15] Magna denique mole, ancipiti diu exitio renitentes obsessi, postremo plebis immensae ponderibus effuse disiecti sunt. Et post haec iratorum hostium gladii quicquid inveniri poterat concidebant, abreptique sinibus matrum parvuli ipsaeque matres trucidabantur, nullo quid ageret respectante. Inter quae tam funesta gens rapiendi cupidior, onusta spoliis genere omni, captivorumque examen maximum ducens, tentoria repetivit exsultans.

[16] Rex tamen gaudio insolenti elatus, diuque desiderio capiendae Phaenichae flagrans, munimenti perquam tempestivi, non ante discessit quam labefactata murorum parte reparata firmissime, alimentisque affatim conditis, armatos ibi locaret, insignis origine, bellicae artibus claros. Verebatur enim quod accidit, ne amissionem castrorum ingentium ferentes aegre Romani, ad eadem obsidenda viribus magnis accingerentur.

[17] Latius se proinde iactans, additaeque spe quicquid aggredi posset adipiscendi, interceptis castellis aliis vilioribus, Virtam adoriri disposuit, munimentum valde vetustum, ut aedificatum a Macedone credatur Alexandro, in extreme quidem Mesopotamiae situm, sed muris velut sinuosus circumdatum et cornutis, instructioneque varia inaccessum. [18] Quod cum

omni arte temptaret, nunc promissis defensores alliciens, nunc poenas cruciabiles minitans, aliquotiens struere aggeres parans, obsidionalesque admovens machinas, multis acceptis vulneribus quam illatis, omisso vano incepto, tandem abscessit.

Julianus Aug. per litteras Constantium A. de re Lutetiae gesta certiolem facit.

Haec eo anno inter Tigrim gesta sunt et Euphraten. Quae cum frequentibus nuntiis didicisset Constantius, expeditiones metuens Parthicas, hiemem apud Constantinopolim agens, impensiore cura limitem instruebat eum omni apparatu bellorum, armaque et tirocinia cogens, legionesque augens iuventutis validae supplementis, quarum statariae pugnae per orientales saepius eminuere procinctus, auxilia super his Scytharum poscebat, mercede vel gratia, ut adulto vere profectus e Thraciis, loca suspecta protinus occuparet.

[2] Inter quae Julianus apud Parisios hibernis locatis, summa coeptorum quorsum evaderet pertimescens haeserat anxius, numquam assensurum Constantium factis multavolvendo considerans, apud quem sordebat ut infimus et contemptus. [3] Circumspectis itaque trepidis rerum novarum exordiis, legatos ad eum mittere statuit, gesta docturos, eisque concinentes litteras dedit, quid actum sit quidve fieri oporteat deinceps, monens apertius et demonstrans. [4] Quamquam eum haec dudum comperisse opinabatur, relatu Decentii olim reversi, et cubiculariorum recens de Galliis praegressorum, qui ad Caesarem aliqua portavere sollemnia. Et quamquam nova referret, non repugnanter tamen nec arrogantibus verbis quicquam scripsit, ne videretur subito redundasse tumore. Erat autem litterarum sensus huius modi:

[5] 'Ego quidem propositi mei fidem non minus moribus quam foederum pacto (quoad fuit) unum semper atque idem sentiens conservavi, ut effectum multiplici claruit evidenter. [6] Iamque inde uti me creatum Caesarem pugnarum horrendis fragoribus obiecisti, potestate delata contentus, currentium ex voto prosperitatum, nuntiis crebris (ut apparitor fidus), tuas aures implevi, nihil usquam periculis meis assignans, cum documentis assiduis constet, diffusis permixtisque passim Germanis, in laboribus me semper visum omnium primum, in laborum refectione postremum.

[7] Sed bona tua venia dixerim, siquid novatum est nunc (ut existimas): in multis bellis et asperis, aetatem sine fructu conterens miles, olim deliberatum implevit, fremens, secundique impatiens loci rectorem, cum nullas sibi vices a Caesare diuturni sudoris et victoriarum frequentium rependi posse contemplaretur. [8] Cuius iracundiae nec dignitatum augmenta, nec annum merentis stipendium, id quoque inopinum accessit, quod ad partis orbis eoi postremas venire iussi homines assueti glacialibus terris, separandique liberis et coniugibus, egentes trahebantur et nudi. Unde solito saevius efferati nocte in unum collecti, palatium obsidere, Augustum Iulianum vocibus magnis appellantes et crebris. [9] Cohorrui (fateor) et secessi, amendatusque dum potui, salutem occultatione quaeritabam et latebris. Cumque nullae darentur indutiae, libero pectoris muro (ut ita dixerim) saeptus, progressus ante

conspicuum omnium steti, molliori posse tumultum auctoritate ratus vel sermonibus blandis. [10] Sed exarsere mirum in modum, eo usque proVecti, ut quoniam precibus vincere pertinaciam conabar, instanter mortem contiguiss assultibus intentarent. Victus denique mecumque ipse contemplans, quod alter confosso me forsitan libens declarabitur princeps, assensus sum, vim lenire posse ratus armatam.

[11]

Gestorum hic textus est, quem mente quaeso accipito placida. Nec actum quicquam secus existimes, vel susurrantes perniciose malignos admittas, ad compendia sua excitare secessionem principum assuetos; sed adulatione vitiorum altrice depulsa, excellentissimam virtutum omnium adverte iustitiam, et condicionum aequitatem, quam propono, bona fide suscipito, cum animo disputans, haec statui Romano prodesse, nobiscum, qui caritate sanguinis et fortunae superioris culmine sociamur. [12] Ignosce enim: quae cum ratione poscuntur, non tam fieri cupio, quam a te utilia probari et recta, a vide tua praeepta deinde quoque suscepturus.

[13]

Quae necesse sit fieri in compendium redigam breue. Equos praeebebo currules Hispanos, et miscendos Gentilibus atque Scutariis adulescentes Laetos quosdam, cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progeniem, vel certe ex dediticiis, qui ad nostra desciscunt. Et haec ad usque exitum vitae me spondeo non modo grato animo, verum cupido quoque facturum. [14] Praefectos praetorio, aequitate et meritis notos, tua nobis dabit dementia, residuos ordinarios iudices, militiaeque moderatores, promovendos arbitrio meo concedi est consentaneum, itidemque stipatores. Stultum est enim cum ante caveri possit ne fiat, eos ad latus imperatoris adscisci, quorum mores ignorantur et voluntates.

[15] Hoc sane sine ulla dubitatione firmaverim: tirones ad peregrina et longinqua Galli transmittere, diuturna perturbatione, casibusque vexati gravissimis, nec sponte sua poterunt nec coacti, ne consumpta penitus iuventute, ut affliguntur praeterita recordantes, ita desperatione pereant impendentium. [16] Nec Parthis gentibus opponenda auxilia hinc acciri conveniet, cum adhuc nec barbarici sint impetus interclusi, et (si dici quod verum est pateris), haec provinciae malis iactatae continuiss, externis indigeant adiumentis et fortibus.

[17] Haec hortando (ut aestimo) salutariter scripsi, poscens et rogans. Scio enim scio nequid sublatius dicam, quam imperio congruens, quas rerum acerbitates, iam conclamatas et perditas, concordia vicissim sibi cedentium principum, meliorem revocavit in statum, cum appareat maiorum exemplo nostrorum, moderatores haec et similia cogitantes, fortunate beateque vivendi reperire quodam modo viam, et ultimo tempore posteritati iucundam sui memoriam commendare.

[18] His litteris iunctas secretiores alias Constantio offerendas clanculo misit, obiurgatorias et mordaces, quarum seriem nec scrutari licebat, nec (si licuisset), proferre decebat in publicum.

[19] Ad id munus implendum, electi viri sunt graves, Pentadius officiorum magister, et Eutherius cubiculi tunc praepositus, post oblatas litteras relaturi, nullo suppresso, quae viderunt, et super ordine futurorum fidenter acturi.

[20] Auxerat inter haec coeptorum invidiam, Florenti fuga praefecti, qui velut praesagiens concitandos motus ob militem (ut sermone tenus iactabatur), accitum, consulto discesserat Viennem, alimentariae rei gratia divelli causatus a Caesare, quem saepe tractatum asperius formidabat. [21] Dein cum comperisset eum ad Augustum culmen evectum, exigua ac prope nulla vivendi spe versus in metum, ut longe disiunctus, malis se quae suspicabatur, exemit, et necessitudine omni relictā, digressus venit ad Constantium itineribus lentis, utque se nulli obnoxium culpaē monstraret, Iulianum ut perduellem multis criminibus appetebat. [22] Cuius post abitum, bene Iulianus cogitans et prudenter, scirique volens quod praesenti quoque pepercisset, caritates eius cum re familiari intacta, publico cursu usu permissa, ad Orientem vehi tutius imperavit.

Constantius A. Iulianum Caesaris nomine contentus esse iubet, legionibus Gallicanis uno animo constanter repugnantibus.

Nec minore studio secuti legati, haec secum ferentes, quae praediximus, intentique ad viandum, cum venirent ad iudices celsiores, oblique tenebantur, morasque per Italiam et Illyricum perpessi diuturnas et graves, tandem transfretati per Bosporum, itineribusque lentis progressi, apud Caesaream Cappadociae etiam tum degentem invenere Constantium, Mazacam antehac nominatam, opportunam urbem et celebrem, sub Argaei montis pedibus sitam.

[2] Qui intromissi data potestate offerunt scripta, hisque recitatis, ultra modum solitae indignationis excanduit imperator, limibusque oculis eos ad usque metum contuens mortis, egredi iussit, nihil post haec percontatus, vel audire perpressus.

[3] Percussus tamen ardentem, cunctatione stringebatur ambigua, utrum in Persas an contra Iulianum moveri iuberet acies quibus fidebat, haesitansque diu perpensis consiliis, flexus est quorundam sententia utilium suorum, et iter orientem versus edixit. [4] Statim tamen et legatos absolvit, et Leonam quaestorem suum in Gallias cum litteris datis ad Iulianum pergere celeri statuit gradu, nihil aovorum se asserens suscepisse, sed eum si salutis suae proximorumque consulit, tumenti flatu deposito, intra Caesaris se potestatem continere praecipiens. [5] Utque id facile formido intentatorum efficeret, velut magnis viribus fretus, in locum Florentii praefectum praetorio, Nebridium tum quaestorem eiusdem Caesaris promoverat, et Felicem notarium, officiorum magistrum, et quosdam alios. gumoarium enim successorem Lupicini, antequam sciretur huius modi quicquam, magistrum provexit armorum.

[6] Ingressus itaque Parisios, Leonas susceptus ut honoratus et prudens, postridie principi progressa in campum, cum multitudine armata pariter et plebeia, quam de industria convocarat, e tribunali (ut eminere altius) superstanti, scripta iubetur offerre. Replicatoque volumine edicti quod missum est, et legi ab exordio coepto, cum ventum fuisset ad locum id continentem,

quod gesta omnia Constantius improbans Caesaris potestatem sufficere Iuliano censebat, exclamabatur undique vocum terribilium sonu: [7] ‘Auguste Iuliane,’ ut provincialis et miles, et rei publicae decrevit auctoritas recreatae quidem, sed adhuc metuentis redivivos barbarorum excursus.

[8] Quibus auditis, Leonas cum Iuliani litteris haec eadem indicantibus, revertit incolumis, solusque admissus est ad praefecturam Nebridius; id enim Caesar quoque scribens, ex sententia sua fore aperte praedixit. Magistrum enim officiorum iam pridem ipse Anatolium ordinavit, libellis antea respondentem, et quosdam alios ut sibi utile videbatur et tutum.

[9] Et quoniam cum haec ita procederent, timebatur Lupicinus, licet absens agensque etiam tum apud Britannos, homo superbae mentis et turgidae, eratque suspicio quod (si haec trans mare didicisset) novarum rerum materias excitaret, notarius Bononiam mittitur, observaturus sollicite, ne quisquam fretum oceani transire permetteretur. Quo vetito, reversus Lupicinus, antequam horum quicquam sciret, nullas ciere potuit turbas.

Iulianus Aug. Francos cognomine Attuarios trans Rhenum inopinantes aggressus, post plurimos partim captos, partim occisos, ceteris pacem petentibus dedit.

Iulianus tamen iam celsiore fortuna, militisque fiducia laetior, ne intepesceret, neve ut remissus argueretur et deses, legatis ad Constantium missis, in limitem Germaniae secundae egressus est, omnique apparatu, quem flagitavit instans negotium, communitus, Tricensimae oppido propinquabat. [2] Rheno exinde transmisso, regionem subito pervasit Francorum, quos Atthuarios vocant, inquietorum hominum licentius etiam tum percursantium extima Galliarum. Quos adortus subito nihil metuentes hostile, nimiumque securos, quod scruposa viarum difficultate arcente, nullum adhuc suos pagos introisse meminerant principem, superavit negotio levi: captisque plurimis et occisis, orantibus aliis qui superfuere, pacem ex arbitrio dedit, hoc prodesse possessoribus finitimis arbitratus. [3] Unde reversus pari celeritate per flumen, praesidiaque limitis explorans diligenter et corrigens, ad usque Rauracos venit, locisque recuperatis, quae olim barbari intercepta retinebant ut propria, eisdemque pleniore cura firmatis, per Besantionem Viennam hiematurus abscessit.

Constantius A. Bezabden omnibus copiis oppugnat, ac re infecta discedit; et de arcu caelesti.

Hic per Gallias erat ordo gestorum. Quae dum ita prospere succedunt et caute, Constantius accitum Arsacen Armeniae regem, summaque liberalitate susceptum, praemonebat et hortabatur, ut nobis amicus esse perseveraret et fidus. [2] Audiebat enim saepius eum temptatum a rege Persarum fallaciis et minis et dolis, ut Romanorum societate posthabita, suis rationibus stringeretur. [3] Qui crebro adiurans, animam prius posse amittere quam sententiam, muneratus cum comitibus quos duxerat redit ad regnum, nihil ausus temerare postea promissorum, obligatus gratiarum multiplici nexu Constantio, inter

quas illud potius excellerat, quod Olympiada (Ablabi filiam), praefecti quondam praetorio, ei copulaverat coniugem sponsam fratris sui Constantis.

[4] Quo dimisso a Cappadocia ipse per Melitenam (minoris Armeniae oppidum), et Lacotena et Samosata, transito Euphrate Edessam venit, ibique dum agmina undique convenientium militum, et rei cibariae abundantes copias operitur, diu moratus, post aequinoctium egreditur autumnale Amidam petens.

[5] Cuius cum prope venisset moenia favillis oppleta, collustrans, flebat cum gemitu, reputans qualis miseranda civitas pertulerat clades. Ibi tunc forte Ursulus praesens, qui aerarium tuebatur, dolore percitus exclamavit: 'En quibus animis urbes a milite defenduntur, cui ut abundare stipendium possit, imperii opes iam fatiscunt!' Quod dictum ita amarum militaris multitudo postea apud Chalcedona recordata, ad eius exitium consurrexit.

[6] Exinde cuneis confertis incedens, cum Bezabden adventaret, fixis tentoriis, vallo fossarumque altitudine circumsaeptis, obequitans castrorum ambitum longius, docebatur relatione multorum, instaurata esse firmitus loca, quae antehac incuria corruerat vetustatis. [7] Et nequid omitteret, quod ante fervorem certaminum erat necessario praestruendum, viris prudentibus missis, condicione posita dupla, urgebat moenium defensores redire ad suos, alienis sine cruore concessis, aut in dicionem venire Romanam, dignitatibus augendos et praemiis. Atque cum illi destinatione nativa reniterentur, ut dare nati periculisque et laboribus indurati obsidioni congrua parabantur.

[8] Densis itaque ordinibus, cum tubarum incitamentis, latera oppidi cuncta adortus alacrius miles, legionibus in testudines varias conglobatis paulatim tuto progrediens, subruere moenia conabatur, et quia telorum omne genus in subeuntes effundebatur, nexu clypeorum soluto discessum est, in receptum canentibus signis. [9] Laxatis deinde ad diem unum indutiis, tertia luce milite curiosius tecto, elatis passim clamoribus, ascensus undique temptabatur. Et licet defensores sub obtentis ciliciis, ne conspicerentur ab hostibus, latebant intrinsecus, tamen quotiens flagitabat necessitas, lacertos fortiter exsertantes, lapidibus subiectos incessebant et telis. [10] Et vimineae crates cum procederent confidenter, essentque parietibus iam contiguae, dolia desuper cadebant et molae, et columnarum fragmenta, quorum ponderibus nimis obruebantur oppugnatores, hiatuque violento disiectis operimentis, cum periculis ultimis evadebant.

[11] Decimo itaque postquam pugnari coeptum est die, cum spes nostrorum inferior cuncta maerore compleret, transferri placuerat molem arietis magnam, quam Persae quondam, Antiochia pulsibus eius excisa, relata reliquerant apud Carras. Quae subito visa, aptataque faberrime, clausorum hebetaverat mentes, ad usque deditionis remedia paene prolapsas, ni resumptis viribus opponenda minaci machinae praeparassent. [12] Nec temeritas post haec cessaverat nec consilium; namque dum instrueretur aries vetustus et dissolutus, ut facile veheretur, omni arte omnique virium nisu, et oppugnantorum vineae firmitudine summa defensabatur, tormenta nihilo minus

et lapidum crebritas atque fundarum ex utraque parte plurimos consumeabant, et aggerum moles incrementis celeribus consurgebant, acriorque in dies adulescebat obsidio, multis nostrorum idcirco cadentibus, quod decernentes sub imperatoris conspectu, spe praemiorum, ut possint facile qui essent agnoscere, nudantes galeis capita, sagittariorum hostilium peritia fundebantur. [13] Proin dies et noctes intentae vigiliis cautiores stantes utrobique faciebant. Et Persae aggerum altitudine iam in sublime porrecta, machinaeque ingentis horrore perculsi, quam minores quoque sequebantur, omnes exurere vi maxima nitebantur, et assidue malleolos atque incendiaria tela torquentes, laborabant in cassum, ea re quod umectis coriis et centonibus erant opertae materiae plures, aliae unctae alumine diligenter, ut ignis in eas laberetur innoxius. [14] Verum has admoventes fortitudine magna, Romani licet difficile defensabant, tamen cupiditate potiundi oppidi ne prompta quidem pericula non contemnebant. [15] Et contra propugnatores cum iam discussurus turrim oppositam aries maximus adventaret, prominentem eius ferream frontem, quae re vera formam effingit arietis, arte subtili illaqueatam alitrinsecus, laciniis retinere longissimis, ne retrogradiens resumeret vires, neve ferire muros assultibus densis contemplabiliter posset, fundentes quoque ferventissimam picem. Et diu promotae machinae stabant, muralia saxa perferentes et tela.

[16] Iamque aggeribus cumulatis excitatis, defensores, ni vigilassent, exitum affore iam sperantes, in audaciam ruere praecipitem, et repentino decursu, portis effusi, primosque adorti nostrorum, faces sitellasque ferreas onustas ignibus in arietes magnis viribus iaciebant. [17] Verum post ambiguam proelii varietatem, plurimi nullo impetrato intra moenia repelluntur: moxque ex aggeribus quos erexerunt Romani, idem Persae propugnaculis insistentes, sagittis incescebantur, et fundis telisque igniferis, quae per tegumenta turrium volitantia, paratis qui restinguerent, plerumque irrita labebantur.

[18] Cumque pauciores utrobique fierent bellatores, et Persae truderentur ad ultima ni potior ratio succurrisset, impensiore opera procursus temptabatur ex castris, et eruptione subita multitudinis facta, inter armatos qui portabant ignes amplioribus ordinatis, iaciebantur corbes in materias ferreae, plenae flammaram, et sarmenta aliaque ad ignes concipiendos aptissima. [19] Et quia conspectum abstulerant fumi nigerrimae nubes, classico excitante in pugnam, legiones procinctae celeri gradu venerunt, et subcrescente paulatim ardore bellandi, cum ventum fuisset ad manus, repente machinae omnes effusis ignibus urebantur praeter maiorem, quam disruptis restibus quibus e muro iactis implicabatur, virorum fortium acrior nisus aegre semustam extraxit.

[20] At ubi nocturnae tenebrae finem proeliis attulerunt, non in longum militi quies data. Cibo enim exiguo refectus et somno, rectorum monitu excitus, munitiones a muro longe demovit, dimicare succinctius parans per sublimes aggestus, qui iam consummati muris altius imminebant. Utque facile defensuri moenia pellerentur, in ipsis aggerum summitatibus binae sunt locatae ballistae, quarum metu ne prospicere quidem posse hostium quisquam

crederetur. [21] His satis provisus, prope ipsum crepusculum triplex acies nostrorum instructa, conisque galearum minacius nutans, scalas vehentibus multis, impetum conabatur in muros. Iamque resultantibus armis et tubis, uno parique ardore hinc indeque pugnabatur audaci conflictu, latiusque sese pandente manu Romana, cum Persas occultari viderent, pavorē impositorum aggeribus tormentorum, pulsabant turrim ariete, et cum lignibus et dolabris et vectibus scalae quoque propinquabant utrimque convolante missilium crebritate. [22] Afflictabant tamen multo vehementius Persas ictus varii ballistarum, tamquam per transennam a clivis structilibus decurrentes. Unde fortunas suas sitas in extremo iam cogitantes, destinatam ruebant in mortem, et partiti munera dimicandi inter necessitatis articulos, relictis qui moenia tuerentur, reserata latenter postica, strictis gladiis valida manus erupit, pone sequentibus aliis, qui flammās occulte portabant. [23] Dumque Romani nunc instant cedentibus, nunc ultro incessentes excipiunt, qui vehebant foculos repentes incurvi, prunas unius aggesti inseruere iuncturis ramis arborum diversarum, et iunco et manipulis constructi cannarum: qui conceptis incendiorum aridis nutrimentis, iam cremabantur, militibus cum intactis tormentis exinde periculose digressis.

[24] Ut vero certaminibus finem vespera dedit incedens, partesque discesserunt ad otium breve, imperator in varia sese consilia diducens et versans, cum excidio Phaenichae diutius imminere, necessariae rationes urgerent, quod munimentum velut insolubile claustrum, hostium excursibus erat obiectum, et serum repelleret tempus: certaturus leviter ibi statuit immorari, alimentis destituendos forsitan cedere existimans Persas. Quod secus atque rebatur evenit. [25] Cum enim remissius pugnaretur, umente caelo undantes nubes cum tenebris advenere minacibus, assiduisque imbribus ita immaduerat solum, ut luti glutinosa mollities, per eas regiones pinguissimi caespitis, omnia perturbaret. Et super his iugi fragore, tonitrua fulguraque mentes hominum pavidas perterrebant.

[26] Accedebant arcus caelestis conspectus assidui. Quae species unde ita figurari est solita, expositio brevis ostendet. Halitus terrae calidiores et umoris spiramina conglobata in nubes, exindeque disiecta in aspergines parvas, ac radorum fusione splendida facta, supinantur volubiliter contra ipsum igneum orbem, irimque conformant, ideo spatioso curvamine sinuosam, quod in nostro panditur mundo, quem sphaerae dimidiaē parti rationes physicae superponunt. [27] Cuius species quantum mortalis oculus contuetur, prima lutea visitur, secunda flavescens vel fulva, punicea tertia, quarta purpurea, postrema caerulo concreta et viridi. [28] Hac autem mixta pulchritudine temperatur, ideo ut terrenae existimant mentes, quod prima eius pars dilutior cernitur, aeri concolor circumfuso, sequens fulva, id est paulo excitatior quam lutea, punicea tertia, quod solis obnoxia claritudini, pro reciprocatione spiritus fulgores eius purissime e regione deflorat, quarta ideo purpurat, quod intermicante asperginum densitate, per quas oritur, radorum splendor concipiens ostendit aspectum flammeo propiorem, qui color quanto magis

diffunditur, concedit in caerulum et virentem.

[29] Arbitrantur alii tune iridis formam rebus apparere mundanis, cum altius delatae nubi crassae radii solis infusi, lucem iniecerint liquidam, quae non reperiens exitum, in se conglobata nimio splendescit attritu, et proximos quidem albo colores a sole sublimiore decerpit, subvirides vero a nubis similitudine superiectae, ut in mari solet usu venire, ubi candidae sunt undae quae litoribus illiduntur, interiores sine ulla concretionem caerulae.

[30] Et quoniam indicium est permutationis aurae (ut diximus), a sudo aere nubium concitans globos, aut contra ex concreto mutans in serenam laetitiam caelum, ideo apud poetas legimus saepe, Irim de caelo tunc mitti, cum praesentium rerum verti necesse sit status. Suppetunt aliae multae opiniones et variae, quas dinumerare nunc est supervacuum, narratione redire unde digressa est festinante.

[31] His ac talibus imperator inter spem metumque iactabatur, ingravescente hiemis magnitudine, suspectisque per avios tractus insidiis, inter quae etiam tumultum exasperati militis verebatur. Super his urebat eius anxiam mentem, quod velut patefacta ianua divitis domus, irritus propositi reverteretur.

[32] Quas ob res omisso vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiae redit in Syriam, aerumnosa perpessus et gravia; nec enim levia erant damna quae Persae intulerant, sed atrociora diuque deflenda. Evenerat enim hoc, quasi fatali constellatione ita regente diversos eventus, ut ipsum Constantium dimicantem cum Persis, fortuna semper sequeretur afflictior, unde vincere saltim per duces optabat, quod aliquoties meminimus contigisse.

LIBER XXI.

[1] Iulianus Aug. Viennae quinquennalia celebrat: quo modo Constantium A. brevi moriturum praenoverit: et de variis artibus futura praenoscendi.

Intercluso hac bellorum difficili sorte Constantio trans flumen Euphratem, Iulianus agens apud Viennam, firmandis in futura consiliis, dies impendebat et noctes, quantum opes patiebantur angustae, altius semet attollens, semperque ambigens, utrum Constantium modis omnibus alliceret in concordiam, an terroris incutiendi gratia lacesseret prior. [2] Quae sollicitè reputans, utrumque formidabat, et amicum cruentum et in aerumnis civilibus saepe victorem, maximeque Galli fratris exemplum, mentem eius anxiam suspendebat, quem inertia mixtaeque periuriis fraudes prodidere quorundam. [3] Erigebat tamen aliquoties animum ad multa et urgencia, tutissimum ratus inimicum se ex confesso monstrare, ei cuius ex praeteritis motus coniectabat ut prudens, ne per amicitias fictas insidiis falleretur occultis. [4] Parvi igitur habitis, quae per Leonam Constantius scripserat, nulloque arbitrio eius promotorum suscepto, praeter Nebridium, quinquennalia Augustus iam edidit: et ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus, assumpta vili corona circumdatus erat xystarchae similis purpurato. [5] Inter quae Helenae coniugis defunctae suprema miserat Romam, in suburbano viae Nomentanae condenda, ubi uxor quoque Galli quondam (soror eius) sepulta est Constantina.

[6] Acuebat autem incendebatque eius cupiditatem, pacatis iam Galliis, incessere ultro Constantium, animus coniciens eum per vaticinandi praesagia multa (quae callebat) et somnia, e vita protinus excessurum.

[7] Et quoniam erudito et studioso cognitionum omnium principi, malivoli praenoscendi futura pravas artes assignant, advertendum est breviter, unde sapienti viro hoc quoque accedere poterit, doctrinae genus haud leve.

[8] Elementorum omnium spiritus, utpote perennium corporum praesentiendi motu semper et ubique vicens, ex his, quae per disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera divinandi: et substantiales potestates ritu diverso placatae, velut ex perpetuis fontium venis, vaticina mortalitati suppeditant verba, quibus numen praeesse dicitur Themidis, quam ex eo quod fixa fatali lege decreta, praescire facit in posterum, quae *θεοιμένα* sermo Graecus appellat, ita cognominatam, in cubili solioque Iovis, vigoris vivifici, theologi veteres collocarunt.

[9] Auguria et auspicia non volucrum arbitrio futura nescientium colliguntur (nec enim hoc vel insipiens quisquam dicet) sed volatus avium dirigit deus, ut rostrum sonans aut praetervolans pinna, turbido meatu vel leni, futura praemonstret. Amat enim benignitas numinis, seu quod merentur homines, seu quod tangitur eorum affectione, his quoque artibus prodere quae impendent.

[10] Extis itidem pecudum attenti fatidicis, in species converti assuetis innumeras, accidentia sciunt. Cuius disciplinae Tages nomine quidam

monstrator est, ut fabulantur, in Etruriae partibus emersisse subito visus e terra.

[11] Aperiunt tunc quoque ventura, cum aestuant hominum corda, sed locuntur divina. Sol enim (ut aiunt physici) mens mundi nostras mentes ex sese velut scintillas diffunditans cum eas incenderit vehementius, futuri conscias reddit. Unde Sibyllae crebro se dicunt ardere, torrente vi magna flammaram. Multa significant super his crepitus vocum, et occurrentia signa, tonitrua quin etiam et fulgura, et fulmina itidemque siderum sulci.

[12] Somniorum autem rata fides et indubitabilis foret, ni ratiocinantes coniectura fallerentur interdum. Quae (ut Aristoteles affirmat) tum fixa sunt et stabilia, cum animantis altius quiescentis, ocularis pupula neutrobi inclinata, rectissime cernit. [13] Et quia vanities aliquotiens plebeia strepit, haec imperite mussando, si esset praesentiendi notitia quaedam, cur ille se casurum in bello, vel alius hoc se passurum ignoravit aut illud, sufficiet dici, quod et grammaticus locutus interdum est barbare, et absurde cecinit musicus, et ignoravit remedium medicus: sed non ideo nec grammatica nec musica nec medicina subsistit. [14] Unde praeclare hoc quoque (ut alia) Tullius: ‘Signa ostenduntur’ ait ‘a dis rerum futurarum. In his siqui erraverit, non deorum natura sed hominum coniectura peccavit.’ Ne igitur extra calcem (quod dicitur) sermo decurrens, lecturo fastidium ferat, ad explicanda prospecta revertamur.

Julianus A. Viennae Christianum se simulat illiciendae multitudinis causa: et die festo in Ecclesia inter Christianos Deum precatur.

Cum apud Parisios adhuc Caesar Iulianus quatiens scutum variis motibus exerceretur in campo, axiculis, quibus orbis erat compaginatus, in vanum excussis, ampla remanserat sola, quam retinens valida manu stringebat. [2] Territisque ut omine diro praesentibus cunctis, ‘Nemo’ inquit ‘vereatur: habeo firmiter quod tenebam.’ Item cum apud Viennam postea quiesceret sobrius, horrore medio noctis, imago quaedam visa splendidior, hos ei versus heroes modo non vigilantem aperte edixit, eadem saepius replicando, quibus fretus nihil asperum sibi superesse existimabat

ζεὺς ὅταν εἰς πλατὺ τέρμα μόλῃ κλυτοῦ ὕδροχόοιο,
παρθενικῆς δὲ κρόνος μοίρῃ βαίνῃ ἐπὶ πέμπτῃ
εἰκοστῇ, βασιλεὺς κωνσταντίος ᾿ασίδος αἴης
τέρμα φίλου βιοτοῦ στυγερόν καὶ ἐπώδυνον ἔξει.

[3] Agebat itaque nihil interim de statu rerum praesentium mutans, sed animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta disponens, paulatimque sese corroborans, ut dignitatis augmento, virium quoque congruerent incrementa. [4] Utque omnes nullo impediante, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingeat, a quo iam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinae auguriisque intentus, et ceteris quae deorum semper fecere cultores. [5] Et ut haec interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Ianuario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollemniter numine orato discessit.

Vadomarius, rex Alamannorum, rupto foedere, per emissarios limites vastat, et Libinonem comitem cum paucis interficit.

Dum haec ita aguntur, propinquante iam vere, nuntio percitus inopino, ad tristitiam versus est et maerorem. Didicit enim Alamannos a pago Vadomarii exorsos, unde nihil post ictum foedus sperabatur incommodum, vastare confinis Raetiis tractus, nihilque sinere intemptatum, manus praedatorias fusius discurrentes. [2] Quod ne dissimulatum redivivas bellorum materias excitaret, Libinonem quendam comitem cum Celtis et Petulantibus misit, hiemantibus secum, negotium (ut poscebat ratio) correcturum. [3] Qui cum mature prope oppidum Sanctionem venisset, longe visus a barbaris, qui iam certamina meditantes, sese per valles abdiderant, hortatusque milites licet numero impares, cupidine tamen pugnandi vehementius irritatos, aggreditur inconsulte Germanos, interque dimicandi exordia, ipse concidit omnium primus, cuius interitu erecta barbarorum fiducia, Romanisque ad ducis vindictam accensis, certamen committitur obstinatum, et urgente magnitudinis mole, disiecti sunt nostri occisis paucis et vulneratis.

[4] Cum hoc Vadomario et Gundomado eius fratre itidem rege, Constantius (ut iam relatum est) firmaverat pacem. Post quae mortuo Gundomado, hunc sibi fore existimans fidum, secretorumque taciturnum exsecutorem et efficacem mandabat, si famae solius admittenda est fides, scribebatque, ut tamquam rupto concordiae pacto, subinde collimitia sibi vicina vexaret, quo Iulianus id metuens nusquam a tutela discederet Galliarum. [5] Quibus (si dignum est credere) obtemperans Vadomarius haec et similia perpetrabat, ad perstringendum fallendumque miris modis ab aetatis primitiis callens, ut postea quoque ducatum per Phoenicen regens ostendit. Sed re ipsa convictus abstinuit. Capto enim a stationariis militibus notario, quem miserat ad Constantium, scrutatoque siquid portaret, epistula eius reperta est, in qua praeter alia multa, id quoque scripserat: 'Caesar tuus disciplinam non habet.' Iulianum autem assidue per litteras dominum et Augustum appellabat et deum.

Iulianus A., interceptis Vadomarii litteris ad Constantium A., eum in convivio comprehendendum curavit: et Alamannis aliis occisis, aliis in deditionem acceptis, ceteris pacem petentibus dedit.

Haec ut erant periculosa et dubia, Iulianus in exitiale malum eruptura considerans, in unum omni cogitatione intenta, eum vi incautum rapere festinabat, ut securitatem suam provinciarumque locaret in tuto, et iniit consilium tale. [2] Philagrius notarius, Orientis postea comitem, ad eas miserat partes, cuius prudentiae fidebat, olim sibi compertae, eique inter multa, quae pro captu instantium rerum erat acturus, signatam quoque chartulam tradidit, mandavitque, ne aperiret vel recitaret nisi Vadomario viso cis Rhenum. [3] Perrexit Philagrius ut praeceptum est, eoque praesente et negotiis adstricto diversis, transgressus Vadomarius flumen, ut nihil in profunda metuens pace nihilque secus gestorum simulans scire, viso praeposito militum ibi degentium, pauca locutus ex more, ultro semet, ut

suspicionis nihil relinqueret abiturus, ad convivium eius venire promisit, ad quod erat etiam Philagrius invitatus. [4] Qui statim ingressus, rege conspecto imperatoris recordatus est verba, causatusque rem seriam et urgentem, ad diversorium rediit, scriptisque lectis, doctus quid agi conveniet, confestim reversus discubuit inter ceteros. [5] Finitisque epulis Vadomarium fortiter apprehensum, rectori militum arte custodiendum apud signa commisit, textu lecto iussorum, comitibus eius ad sua redire compulsis, super quibus nihil fuerat imperatum. [6] Exhibitus tamen idem rex ad principis castra, iamque spe veniae omni praeclusa, cum interceptum notarium et quae scripserat ad Constantium, comperisset iam publicata, ne convicio quidem tenus compellatus, missus est ad Hispanias. Id enim studio curabatur ingenti, ne Iuliano discedente a Galliis, immanissimus homo provinciarum statum aegre compositum, licentius conturbaret.

[7] Hoc casu elatior Iulianus, regis opinione citius intercepti, quem profecturus ad longinqua formidabat nihil remittentibus curis, barbaros adoriri disposuit, quos peremisse Libinonem comitem in congressu cum militibus docuimus paucis. [8] Et ne rumor adventus sui eos ad remotiora traduceret, superato Rheno noctis alto silentio, cum auxiliorum expeditissimis globis, nihil metuentes huius modi circumvenit, excitatosque hostilium fragore armorum, dum gladios circumspectant et tela, celeriter involavit et quosdam occidit, orantes alios praedamque offerentes, dediticios cepit, reliquis, qui remansere, pacem precantibus dedit, quietem pollicitis firmam.

Iulianus A. milites suos alloquitur, et in verba sua universes adigit, Constantio A. bellum illaturus.

Quae dum mentibus aguntur erectis, coniectans quantas intestinae cladis excitaverat moles, nihilque tam convenire conatibus subitis, quam celeritatem sagaci praevidens mente, professa palam defectione, se tutiorem fore existimavit, incertusque de militum fide, placata ritu secretiore Bellona, classico ad contionem exercitu convocato, saxeo suggestu insistens, iamque (ut apparebat) fidentior haec clarius solito disserebat:

[2] 'Tam dudum tacita deliberatione vos aestimo (magni commilitones) gestorum excitos amplitudine, hoc operiri consilium, ut eventus, qui sperantur, perpendi possint et praecaveri. Plus enim audire quam loqui militem decet actibus coalitum magnis et gloriosis, nec alia spectatae aequitatis sentire rectorem, quam ea, quae laudari digne potuerunt et probari. Ut igitur quae proposui ambagibus abiectis absolvam, advertite oro benivole, quae sermone brevi percurram.

[3] Arbitrio dei caelestis, vobis inter ipsa iuventae rudimenta permixtus, irruptiones Alamannorum assiduas et Francorum, populandique iugem licentiam fregi, et vigore communi, Romanis agminibus quotiens libet Rhenum pervium feci, contra rumorum fremitus gentiumque validarum violentos excursus, stando immobilis, virtutis vestrae nimirum firmamento confisus. [4] Et haec laborum, quos exhausimus, Galliae spectatrices post funera multa, iacturasque recreatae diuturnas et graves, posteritati per aetatum

examina commendabunt. [5] At nunc cum auctoritate vestri iudicii, rerumque necessitate compulsus, ad Augustum elatus sum culmen, deo vobisque fautoribus, si fortuna coeptis adfuerit, altius affecto maiora, id prae me ferens quod exercitui cuius aequitas armorumque inclaruit magnitudo, domi moderatus visus sum et tranquillus, et in crebritate bellorum, contra conspiratas gentium copias, consideratus et cautus. [6] Ut igitur adversa praeveniamus mentium societate iunctissima, sequimini viam consilii mei salutarem (ut puto), cum integritas rerum intentioni nostrae voluntatique respondeat, et dum maioribus vacant praesidiis regiones Illyricae, impraepedito cursu tendentes, Daciarum interim fines extimos occupemus, exinde quid agi oporteat bonis successibus instruendi. [7] Ad quae vos ex more fidentium ducum, iuramento quaeso concordiam spondete mansuram et fidem, operam mi navaturo sedulam et sollicitam, nequid agatur inconsultum et segne, et producturo, siquis exegerit, incorruptam conscientiam meam, quod nihil voluntate praeter ea, quae in commune conducunt, aggrediar aut temptabo. [8] Illud sane obtestor et rogo: observate, ne impetu gliscentis ardoris, in privatorum damna quisquam vestrum exsiliat, id cogitans quod ita nos illustrarunt hostium innumerae strages, ut indemnitas provinciarum et salus exemplis virtutum pervulgatae.

[9] Hoc sermone imperatoris vice alicuius oraculi comprobato, mota est incitatus contio, et rerum cupida novandarum, unanimanti consensu, voces horrendas immani scutorum fragore miscebat, magnum elatumque ducem, et (ut experta est) fortunatum domitorem gentium appellans et regem. [10] Iussique universi in eius nomen iurare, sollemniter, gladiis cervicibus suis admotis, sub execrationibus diris, verbis iuravere conceptis, omnes pro eo casus, quoad vitam profuderint (si necessitas adegerit) perluros; quae secuti rectores, omnesque principis proximi, fidem simili religione firmarunt. [11] Solus omnium licet proposito stabili, audacter tamen praefectus repugnavit Nebridius, iuris iurandi nexu contra Constantium nequaquam se stringi posse commemorans, cuius beneficiis obligatus erat crebris et multis. [12] Quibus auditis, cum stantes propius milites acriter inflammati, eum appeterent trucidandum, ad genua sua prolapsus, imperator paludamento protexit, indeque reversus in regiam cum antegressum eum vidisset supplicemque iacentem orare, ut levandi causa timoris, ei porrigeret dexteram, 'Ecquid' ait 'praecipuum amicis servabitur, si tu manum tetigeris meam? Sed tu quo libet abi securus.' Hocque audito, ille innoxius ad larem suum recessit in Tusciam. [13] His Iulianus, ut poscebat negotii magnitudo, praestructis, expertus quid in rebus tumultuosis anteverso valeat et praegressus, per tesseram edicto itinere in Pannonias, castris promotis et signis, temere se fortunae commisit ambiguae.

Constantius A. Faustinam ducit uxorem; augeat supplementis exercitum; Armeniae et Hiberiae regis donis sibi conciliat.

Replicare nunc convenit tempora, et narrare summatim, quae dum aguntur in Galliis ante dicta, Constantius hiemans Antiochiae, domi militiaeque

perfecti. [2] Inter complures alios honore conspicuos, adoraturi imperatorem peregre venientem, ordinantur etiam ex tribunis insignibus. Cum igitur a Mesopotamia reversus, Constantius hoc exciperetur officio, Amphilocheius quidam ex tribuno Paphlago, quem dudum sub Constante militanter discordiarum sevisse causas inter priores, fratres, suspiciones contiguae veritati pulsabant, ausus paulo petulantius stare, ut ipse quoque ad parile obsequium admittendus, agnitus est et prohibitus, strepentibusque multis, et intueri lucem ulterius non debere clamantibus, ut perduellem, et obstinatum, Constantius circa haec lenior solito, ‘Desinite’ ait ‘urgere hominem ut existimo sonem, sed nondum aperte convictum, et mementote quod, siquid admisit huius modi, sub obtutibus meis conscientiae ipsius sententia punietur, quam latere non poterit,’ et ita discessum est. [3] Postridie ludis Circensibus idem ex adverse imperatoris (ubi consueverat) spectans, repentino clamore sublato, cum certamen opinatum emitteretur, diffractis cancellis, quibus una cum pluribus incumbibat, cunctis cum eo in vanum excussis laesisque leviter paucis, interna compage disrupta, efflasset spiritum repertus est solus, unde Constantius ut futurorum quoque praescius exsultabat.

[4] Eodem tempore Faustinam nomine sortitus est coniugem, amissa iam pridem Eusebia, cuius fratres erant Eusebius et Hypatius consulares, corporis morumque pulchritudine pluribus antistante, et in culmine tam celso humana, cuius favore iustissimo exemptum periculis, declaratumque Caesarem rettulimus Iulianum.

[5] Habita est eisdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio, e Galliis novitatis metu digressi, et Anatolio recens mortuo praefecto praetorio per Illyricum, ad eius mittitur locum, cumque Tauro itidem praefecto praetorio per Italiam, amplissimi suscepit insignia magistratus.

[6] Parabantur nihilo minus externorum atque civilium instrumenta bellorum, et augebatur turmarum equestrium numerus, parique studio supplementa legionibus scripta sunt, indictis per provincias tirociniis, omnisque ordo et professio vexabatur, vestem armaque exhibens et tormenta, aurum quin etiam et argentum, multiplicisque rei cibariae copias, et diversa genera iumentorum. [7] Et quia a Persarum rege ad sua ob difficultatem hiberni temporis aegre contruso, reserata caeli temperie validior impetus timebatur, ad Transtigritanos reges et satrapas legati cum muneribus missi sunt amplius, monituri cunctos et hortaturi, nostra sentire, et nihil fallax temptare vel fraudulentum. [8] Ante omnia tamen Arsaces et Meribanes, Armeniae et Hiberiae reges, cultu ambizioso indumentorum emercabantur, et multiformibus donis, damna Romanis negotiis illaturi, si rebus tum etiam dubiis descivissent ad Persas. [9] Inter tot urgentia, Hermogene defuncto, ad praefecturam promovetur Helpidius, ortus in Paphlagonia, aspectu vilis et lingua, sed simplicioris ingenii, incruentus et mitis, adeo ut cum ei coram innocentem quendam torquere Constantius praecepisset, aequo animo abrogari sibi potestatem oraret, haecque potioribus aliis ex sententia principis agenda permitti.

Constantius A. Antiochiae tum agens, per Gaudentium notarium Africam in sua potestate retinet, ac Euphrate transito Edessam se exercitumque onfert.

Rigore itaque instantium negotiorum anceps Constantius, quid capesseret ambigebat, diu multumque anxius, utrum Iulianum peteret et longinqua, an Parthos repelleret, iam transituros (ut minabantur) Euphratem, haerensque tandem cum ducibus communicato saepe consilio, in id flexus est, ut finito propiore bello vel certe mollito, nullo post terga relicto quem formidaret, Illyriis percursis et Italia (ut rebatur), Iulianum inter exordia ipsa coeptorum tamquam praedam venaticiam caperet. Hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde praedicabat. [2] Tamen ne intepesceret, aut omisisse belli videretur aliud latus, adventus sui terrorem ubique dispergens, veritusque ne Africa absente eo perireretur, ad omnes casus principibus opportuna, velut finibus Orientis egressurus, per mare notarium misit Gaudentium, quem exploratorem actuum Iuliani per Gallias aliquamdiu fuisse praestrinximus. [3] Hunc enim obsequio celeri cuncta consideratione gemina efficere posse sperabat, quod adversam partem metueret offensam et properaret, nactus hanc opportunitatem commendari Constantio, quem credebat procul dubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepabat. [4] Qui cum eo venisset, mandatorum principis memor, per litteras Cretione comite quid ageretur edocto, reliquisque rectoribus, lecto undique milite fortiore, translatisque ab utraque Mauritania discursatoribus expeditis, Aquitaniae et Italiae obiecta litora tuebatur artissime. [5] Neque id consilium fefellit Constantium. Eo enim superstite nullus adversorum illas tetigit terras, licet oram Siciliensem a Lilybaeo protentam ad Pachynum multitudo servabat armata, si patuisset facultas, ocus transitura.

[6] His pro rerum ratione, ut sibi prodesse existimabat Constantius, aliisque minutis et levioribus ordinatis, ducum nuntiis docebatur et litteris, Persarum copias in unum coactas, rege turgido praeunte, iam prope margines tendere Tigridis, incertum quonam erumpere cogitantes. [7] Quibus percitus, ut propius agens, futuros possit antevenire conatus, quam primum hibernis egressus, accito undique equitatu, peditumque robore, quo fidebat, per Capersanam Euphrate navali ponte transcurso Edessam petit, uberem comitatibus et munitam, ibi parumper operiens, dum exploratores aut perfugae motum castrorum hostilium indicarent.

Iulianus Augustus post ordinatas res Galliarum ripam Danubii petit, et partem militum per Italiam perque Raetias praemittit.

Discedens inter haec Iulianus a Rauracis, peractis quae docuimus dudum, Sallustium praefectum promotum remisit in Gallias, Germaniano iusso vicem tueri Nebridii, itidemque Nevittae magisterium commisit armorum, Gumoarium proditorem antiquum timens, quem cum Scutarios ageret, latenter prodidisse Veteranionem suum principem audiebat; et Iovio quaesturam, cuius in actibus Magnenti meminimus, et Mamertino largitiones curandas, et Dagalaifum praefecit domesticis, aliosque plures ex arbitrio suo militibus

regendis apposuit, quorum merita norat et fidem. [2] Profecturus itaque per Marcianas silvas viasque iunctas Histri fluminis ripis, inter subita vehementer incertus, id verebatur, ne contemptus ut comitantibus paucis, multitudinem offenderet repugnantem. [3] Quod ne fieret consilio sollerti praevidit, et agminibus distributis, per itinera Italiae nota quosdam properaturos cum Iovino misit et Iovio, alios per mediterranea Raetiarum magistro equitum Nevittae commissos, quo diffusi per varia, opinionem numeri praeberent immensi, formidineque cuncta complerent. Id enim et Alexander Magnus, et deinde alii plures, negotio ita poscente, periti fecere ductores. [4] Mandabat tamen egressis, ut tamquam hoste protinus occursuro, tutius graderentur, stationesque nocturnas agerent et vigiliis, ne improvise hostium invaderentur excursu.

Taurus et Florentius, consules ac praefectipraetorio hic per Illyricum, ille per Italiam, fugiunt appropinquante Iuliano A. Lucillianus, magister equitum, qui resistere Iuliano parabat, oppri. mitur.

Quibus ita (ut videbatur) apte dispositis, more quo tractus perruperat saepe barbaricos, contextis successibus fidens, porrectius ire pergebat. [2] Cumque ad locum venisset, unde navigari posse didicit flumen, lembis escensis, quos opportune fors dederat plurimos, per alveum, quantum fieri potuit, ferebatur occulte, ideo latens, quod toleranter et fortiter, nullius cibi indigens mundioris, sed paucis contentus et vilibus, oppida forinsecus transibat et castra, imitatus egregium illud Cyri veteris dictum, qui cum delatus ad hospitem interrogaretur ab eo, quid ad convivium parari deberet, panem responderat solum: sperare enim aiebat, prope rivum se cenaturum. [3] Fama vero, quae mille, ut aiunt, linguis rerum mire exaggerat fidem, per Illyrios omnes celebrior fundebatur, Iulianum strata per Gallias multitudine regum et gentium numeroso exercitu, et successibus tumidum variis, adventare. [4] Quo rumore percussus, praefectus praetorio Taurus, ut hostem vitans externum, mature discessit, vectusque mutatione celeri publici cursus, transitis Alpibus Iuliis, eodem ictu Florentium itidem praefectum secum abduxit. [5] Levibus tamen indiciis super Iuliani motu Lucillianus percitus comes, qui per illas regiones rem curabat ea tempestate castrensem, agensque apud Sirmium milites congregans, quos ex stationibus propinquis acciri celeritatis ratio permittebat, venture resistere cogitabat. [6] Sed ille ut fax vel incensus malleolus, volucriter ad destinata festinans, cum venisset Bononeam, a Sirmio miliario nono disparatam et decimo, senescente luna ideoque obscurante noctis maximam partem, e navi exsiluit improvisus, statimque Dagalaifum misit cum expeditis ad Lucillianum vocandum, trahendumque si resistere niteretur. [7] Qui tum etiam quiescens, cum strepitu excitatus turbulento vidisset ignotorum hominum se circulo circumsaepum, concepto negotio, et imperatorii nominis metu praestriatus, praeceptis paruit invitissimus, secutusque alienum arbitrium, magister equitum paulo ante superbus et ferox, iumentoque impositus repentino, principi ut captivus offertur ignobilis, oppressam terrore vix colligens mentem. [8] Verum cum primitus visus, adorandae purpurae

datam sibi copiam advertisset, recreatus tandem suique securus, ‘Incaute’ inquit ‘imperator et temere cum paucis alienis partibus te commisisti.’ Cui amarum Iulianus subridens, ‘Haec verba prudentia serva’ inquit ‘Constantio. Maiestatis enim insigne non ut consiliario tibi, sed ut desinas pavere porrexisti.’

Iulianus A. Sirmium, caput Illyrici Occidui, una cum praesidio in fidem recepit; Succos occupat et ad Senatum scribit contra Constantium.

Nihil deinde amoto Lucilliano, differendum nec agendum segnius ratus, ut erat in rebus trepidis audax et confidentior, civitatem (ut praesumebat) dediticiam petens, citis passibus incedebat, eumque suburbanis propinquantem amplis nimiumque protentis, militaris et omnis generis turba, cum lumine multo et floribus, votisque faustis, Augustum appellans et dominum, duxit in regiam. [2] Ubi eventu laetus et omine, firmata spe venturorum, quod ad exemplum urbium matris populosae et celebris, per alias quoque civitates ut sidus salutare susciperetur, edito postridie curuli certamine, cum gaudio plebis, ubi lux excanduit tertia, morarum impatiens, percursis aggeribus publicis, Succos nemine auso resistere, praesidiis occupavit, eisdemque tuendis Nevittam praefecit ut fidum. Cuius loci situm excessu brevi conveniet ostendi.

[3] Consertae celsorum montium summitates Haemi et Rhodopae, quorum alter ab ipsis Histri marginibus, alter ab Axii fluminis citeriore parte consurgit, in angustias tumulosis collibus desinentes, Illyrios interscindunt et Thracas, hinc vicinae mediterraneis Dacis et Serdicae, inde Thracias despectantes et Philippopolim, civitates amplas et nobiles, et tamquam natura in dicionem Romanam redigendas nationes circumsitas praenoscente, ita figuratae consuete, inter artos colles quondam hiantes obscurius, ad magnitudinem splendoremque postea rebus elatis, patefactae sunt et carpentis, aditibusque aliquotiens clausis, magnorum ducum populorumque reppulere conatus. [4] Et pars, quae Illyricum spectat, mollius edita, velut incauta, subinde superatur. Latus vero e regione oppositum Thraciis, prona humilitate deruptum, hincque et inde fragosis tramitibus impeditum difficile scanditur, etiam nullo vetante. Sub hac altitudine aggerum, utrobique spatiosa camporum planities iacet, superior ad usque Iulias Alpes extenta, inferior ita resupina et panda ut nullis habitetur obstaculis ad usque fretum et Propontidem.

[5] His ut in re tali tamque urgenti compositis, magistro equitum illic relicto, imperator revertitur Naessum (copiosum oppidum), de quo impraepecte cuncta diserneret, suis utilitatibus profutura. [6] Ubi Victorem apud Sirmium visum, scriptorem historicum, exinde venire praeceptum, Pannoniae secundae consularem praefecit, et honoravit aenea statua, virum sobrietatis gratia aemulandum, multo post urbi praefectum. [7] Iamque altius semet extollens, et numquam credens ad concordiam provocari posse Constantium, orationem acrem et invectivam, probra quaedam in eum explanantem et vitia, scripserat ad senatum. Quae cum Tertullo administrante adhuc praefecturam, recitarentur in curia, eminuisti nobilitatis cum speciosa fiducia, benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim in unum, cunctorum sententia congruente, ‘auctori tuo

reverentiam rogamus.’

[8] tunc et memoriam Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus ad usque fascas auxerat et trabeas consulares, insulse nimirum et leviter, qui cum vitare deberet id quod infestius obiurgavit, brevi postea Mamertino in consulatu iunxit Nevittam, nec splendore nec usu nec gloria horum similem, quibus magistratum amplissimum detulerat Constantinus: contra inconsummatum et subagrestem et (quod minus erat ferendum) celsa in potestate crudelem.

Duae legiones Constantianae, quae apud Sirmium ad Iulianum A. transierant, ab eo missae in Gallias, Aquileiam occupant consentientibus oppidanis, ac Iuliani militi portas claudunt.

Haec et talia cogitanti, sollicitoque super maximis rebus et seriis, nuntius metuendus intimatur et insperatus, ausa indicans quorundam immania, impeditura cursus eius ardentes, ni vigilanter haec quoque antequam adolescerent hebetasset. Quae breviter exponuntur.

[2] Duae legiones Constantiacas addita una sagittariorum cohorte, quas invenerat apud Sirmium, ut suspectae adhuc fidei, per speciem necessitatum urgentium misit in Gallias. Quae pigrius motae, spatiaque itinerum longa, et Germanos hostes truces et assiduos formidantes, novare quaedam moliebantur, auctore et incitatore Nigrino, equitum turmae tribuno, in Mesopotamia genito: reque digesta per secreta colloquia, et alto roborata silentio, cum Aquileiam pervenissent, uberem situ et opibus, murisque circumdatam validis, eam hostiliter repente clausere, iuvante indigena plebe tumultum horrore, cui Constanti nomen erat tum etiam iunctum. [3] Et obseratis aditibus, turribusque armatis ac propugnaculis, futurae concertationi praeparabant utilia, interim soluti et liberi, hocque facinore ita audaci, ad favendum Constanti partibus ut superstitis Italicos incolas excitabant.

Aquileia, favens Constantii A. partibus, oppugnatur; quae postea comperto eius obitu Iuliano se dedit.

Quibus Iulianus acceptis, agens tunc apud Naessum, nihil a tergo timens adversum, legensque et audiens hanc civitatem circumsessam quidem aliquotiens, numquam tamen excisam aut deditam, impensiore studio sibi sociare vel fraude, vel diversis adulationum generibus, antequam maius oriretur aliquid, properabat. [2] Ideoque Iovinum magistrum equitum venientem per Alpes, Noricosque ingressum, ad id quod exarserat, quoquo modo corrigendum, redire citius imperavit. Et nequid deesset, milites omnes, qui comitatum sequebantur aut signa, retineri iussit per idem oppidum transeuntes, pro viribus laturos auxilium.

[3] Hisque dispositis, ipse haut diu postea cognita morte Constanti, discursis Thraciis Constantinopolim introiit: ac saepe doctus lentius fore id obsidium quam verendum, Immo cum comitibus aliis ad hoc destinato, ire monuit exinde Iovinum, alia quae potiores flagitabant necessitates, acturum.

[4] Ordine itaque scutorum gemino Aquileia circumsaepa, concinentibus

sententiis ducum, conveniens visum est ad deditionem allicere defensores, minacium blandorumque varietate sermonum: et multis ultro citroque dictitatis, in immensum obstinatione gliscente, ex colloquio re infecta disceditur. [5] Et quia nihil praeter pugnam exspectabatur, curatis utrobique cibo somnoque corporibus, aurora iam surgente, concrepante sonitu bucinarum, partes accensae in clades mutuas, ferocientes magis quam consultius, elatis clamoribus ferebantur. [6] Pluteos igitur prae se ferentes oppugnatores, cratesque densius textas, sensim incedentes et caute, murorum ima suffodere ferramentorum multitudine conabantur, aptas plerique vehentes ad mensuram moenium scalas, iamque parietibus paene contigui pars lapidibus volutis in primum collisi, pars confixi stridentibus iaculis, retroque gradientes, averterunt secum omnes alios metu similium a proposito pugnandi detortos. [7] Hoc primo congressu erecti in audaciam clausi, assumpta fiducia meliorum, parvi ducebant restantia, mentibusque fundatis et compositis per opportuna tormentis, indefesso labore, vigilias et cetera subsidia securitatis implebant. [8] Contra munitores licet pavore discriminum anxii, pudore tamen ne secordes viderentur et segnes, ubi parum vis procedebat, Marte aperto temptata, ad instrumenta obsidionalium artium transtulerunt. Et quia nec arietibus admovendis, nec ad intemptandas machinas vel ut possint forari cuniculi, inveniebatur locus usquam habilis, disparatione brevi civitatem Natisone amni praeterlabente, commentum excogitatum est cum veteribus admirandum. [9] Constructas veloci studio ligneas turres, propugnaculis hostium celsiores, imposuere trigeminis navibus, valide sibi conexis, quibus insistentes armati, uno parique ardore prohibitores dispellere, collatis ex propinquo viribus, nitebantur: subterque expediti velites a turrium cavernis egressi, iniectis ponticulis, quos ante compaginarant, transgredi festinarunt indiviso negotio ut, dum vicissim missilibus se petunt et saxis utrimquesecus alte locati, hi qui transiere per pontes, nullo interpellante, aedificii parte convulsa, aditus in penetralia oppidi reserarent. [10] Verum summa coepti prudentis aliorum evasit. Cum enim adventarent iam turres, contortis malleolis madentibus pice, harundine quin etiam, sarmentis ac vario fomite flammarum incescebantur. Quae quoniam, incendio celeri, ponderibusque trepide superstantium inclinatae, prociderunt in flumen, armatorum aliqui per earum fastigia interibant, eminus confixi tormentis. [11] Inter quae destituti pedites post navalium sociorum occasum, obtriti sunt saxis immanibus, praeter paucos quos morte scilicet per impedita suffugia, velocitas exemerat pedum. Ad ultimum certamine protracto in vesperam, datoque signo in receptum ex more, ambo digressi, diei residuum animis egere disparibus. [12] Munitorum enim maiores, funera lugentium propria, prohibitores spe iam superandi firmabant, licet ipsi quoque paucos gemebant amissos. Properabatur tamen nihilo minus, et quantum recreandis viribus quiete et cibo satis fuit tribute, per noctis integrae spatium, reparatur lucis exordio proelium, incitamento tubarum. [13] Et quidam elatis super capita scutis (ut pugnaturi levius), alii vehentes umeris ut antea scalas, ferventique impetu procurrentes,

pectora multiformium telorum ictibus exponebant. Alii ferratas portarum obices effringendas adorti, ultro ignibus petebantur, vel elisi saxis muralibus oppetebant. Quidam fossam fidentius transire conati, repentinis eorum assultibus, qui erumpebant clanculo per posticas, ruebant incaute, aut saucii discedebant. Recursus enim ad moenia tutior, vallumque antemuranum caespitibus fultum, insidiantes ab omni discrimine defendebant. [14] Et quamquam prohibitores duritia bellorumque artibus antistarent, quibus nihil praeter moenium supererat adiumentum, collectus tamen ex potioribus numeris miles, diuturnas ferre nequiens moras, suburbana omnia circumibat, diligenter inquirens, qua vi vel machinis posset patefactam irrumpere civitatem. [15] Quod ubi patrare non poterat, magnitudine vetante difficultatum, obsideri remissius coepta est, et excubiis stationibusque relictis, praesidarii milites vastantes agros propinquos, omnibus congruentibus abundabant, raptorum pleraque concorporalibus suis impertientes. Unde largiore admodum potu, saginisque distenti marcebant.

[16] His relatione Immonis consortiumque cognitis, Iulianus Constantinopoli etiam tum hibernans, sollerti remedio turbatis consuluit rebus, moxque Agilonem magistrum peditum ea tempestate probe cognitum miserat, ut viso honoratissimo viro, compertaque per eum morte Constanti, solveretur obsidium.

[17] Inter quae ne cessaret Aquileiae oppugnatio cum in reliquis opera consumeretur in cassum, placuit resistentes acriter ad deditionem siti compelli, et ubi aquarum ductibus intersectis, nihilo minus celsiore fiducia repugnarent, flumen laboribus avertitur magnis. Quod itidem frustra est factum. Attenuatis enim avidioribus bibendi subsidiis, hic quos temeritas clauserat, contenti putealibus aquis, parce vixerunt.

[18] Quae dum agitantur casibus ante dictis, supervenit (ut praeceptum est) Agilo, scutorumque densitate contactus, prope fidenter accessit, multaque locutus et vera, quibus Constanti obitum, firmatumque Iuliani docebat imperium, sine fine conviciis confutabatur ut fallax. Nec ei quisquam credidit gesta narranti, antequam pacta salute, susceptus ad pugnaculum solus, fide religiosius reddita, ea quae docuerat, replicaret. [19] His auditis ex diuturno angore portis reclusis omnes effusi, suscepere laeti pacificum ducem, seque purgantes, Nigrinum totius furoris auctorem, paucosque alios obtulerunt, eorum supplicio laesae crimina maiestatis et urbis aerumnas expiari poscentes.

[20] Paucis denique post diebus, exploratius spectato negotio, Mamertino tum iudicante, praefecto praetorio, Nigrinus ut acerrimus belli instinator, exustus est vivus. Romulus vero post eum et Sabostius curiales, convicti, sine respectu periculi studia sevisse discordiarum, poenali consumpti sunt ferro. Residui omnes abierunt innoxii, quos ad certaminum rabiem necessitas egerat, non voluntas. Id enim aequitate pensata, statuerat placibilis imperator et clemens.

[21] Et haec quidem postea gesta sunt. Iulianus vero agens etiam tum apud Naessum, curis altioribus stringebatur, multa utrimque pertimescens. Formidabat enim ne clausorum militum apud Aquileiam repentino assultu,

obseratis angustiis Alpium Iuliarum, provincias et adminicula perderet, quae exinde sperabat in dies. [22] Itidemque opes Orientis magnopere verebatur audiens dispersum per Thracias militem, contra vim subitam cito coactum, adventare Succorum confinia, comite Martiano ducente. Sed tamen congrua instantium sollicitudinum moli, ipse quoque agitans efficaciter, Illyricum contrahebat exercitum, pulvere coalitum Martio, promptumque in certaminibus bellicoso iungi rectori. [23] Nec privatorum utilitates in tempore ita flagranti despiciens, litesque audiens controversas maxime municipalium ordinum, ad quorum favorem propensior, iniuste plures muneribus publicis annectebat. [24] Ibi Symmachum repertum et Maximum, senatores conspicuos, a nobilitate legatos ad Constantium missos, exinde reversos honorifice vidit, et potiore posthabito, in locum Tertulli Maximum urbi praefecit aeternae, ad Rufini Vulcatii gratiam, cuius sororis eum filium norat. Hoc administrante alimentaria res abundavit et querellae plebis excitari crebro solitae cessaverunt. [25] tunc ut et securitatem trepidis rebus afferret, et obedientium nutriret fiduciam, Mamertinum promotum praefectum praetorio per Illyricum designavit consulem et Nevittam, qui nuper ut primum augendae barbaricae vilitatis auctorem, immoderate notaverat Constantinum.

Sapor domum reducit copias, inhibentibus bellum auspiciis; Constantius A. in Iulianum arma moturus, Hierapoli milites alloquitur.

His ac talibus eo inter spem metumque nova negotia commovente, Constantius apud Edessam exploratorum relationibus variis anxius, in rationes diducebatur ancipites, nunc ad concursatorias pugnas militem struens, nunc si copia patuisset, obsidione gemina Bezabden aggressurus, consultans prudenter, ne mox partes petiturus arctoas, improtectum Mesopotamiae relinqueret latus. [2] Verum consiliorum ambiguum retinebant multiplices morae, tardante trans Tigridem rege, dum moveri permetterent sacra. Nam si permeate flumine nullum qui resisteret invenisset, absque difficultate penetrarat Euphratem; alioqui ad civilia bella custodiens militem, timebat eum periculis obiectare circummuranis, firmitatem moenium munimenti, defensorumque alacritatem expertus.

[3] Ne quiesceret tamen, neve condemnaretur inertiae, Arbitionem et Agilonem, equestris pedestrisque militiae magistros, cum agminibus maximis properare coegit, non ut lacerarent Persas in proelia, sed praetenturis iuncturos citeriores Tigridis ripas, et speculatuos quonam rex erumperet violentus. Addebatque monendo saepius et scribendo, ut si multitudo transire coepisset hostilis, referrent citius pedem. [4] Dumque collimitia iussa custodiunt duces, et occulta fallacissimae gentis observantur, agens ipse cum parte validiori exercitus, curabat urgentia (velut pugnaturus) oppidaque tuebatur excursu. Speculatores vero et transfugae subinde venientes, repugnantia prodebant, ideo futurorum incerti, quod apud Persas nemo consiliorum est conscius, praeter optimates taciturnos et fidos, apud quos Silentii quoque colitur numen. [5] Accersebatur autem a memoratis ducibus

imperator assidue, orantibus ferri sibi suppetias. Testabantur enim se non nisi coactis in unum viribus cunctis, posse impetum regis ardentissimi sustinere.

[6] Quae dum aguntur ita sollicite, nuntii percrebuere certissimi, quorum clara fide compertum est, Iulianum Italiam et Illyricum cursu celeri praetergressum, claustra interim occupasse Succorum, accita undique praestolantem auxilia, ut multitudine stipatus armorum pervaderet Thracias. [7] Quo cognito, maerore offusus Constantius, solacio uno sustentabatur, quod intestinos semper superaverit motus; re tamen magnam ei difficultatem ad capessendum consilium afferente, id elegit potissimum, ut vehiculis publicis impositum paulatim praemitteret militem, imminenti casus atrocitati velocius occurrurum. [8] Omniumque consensu hac probata sententia, pergebant (ut praeceptum est), expediti. Eique haec disponenti, luce postera nuntiatur, regem cum omni manu quam duxerat, ad propria revertisse, auspiciis dirimentibus, lenitoque metu, revocatis omnibus praeter eos quos consuetudo praesidio Mesopotamiae destinarat, confestim reversus est Nicopolim urbem.

[9] Summa itaque coeptorum quorsum evaderet ambigens, cum in unum exercitus convenisset, omnes centurias et manipulos et cohortes in contionem vocavit, concinentibus tubis, oppletoque multitudinis campo, ut eam ad firmanda promptius adigeret imperanda, tribunali celso insistens, stipatusque solito densius, haec prosecutus est, ad serenitatis speciem et fiducia vultu formato:

[10] ‘Sollicitus semper nequid re levi vel verbo committam, inculpatae parum congruens honestati, utque cautus navigandi magister, clavos pro fluctuum motibus erigens vel inclinans, compellor nunc apud vos, amantissimi viri, confiteri meos errores, quin potius (si dici liceat verum) humanitatem, quam credidi negotiis communibus profuturam. Proinde ut sciri facilius possit, quae sit huius concilii convocandi materia, accipite quaeso aequis aurbus et secundis.

[11] Gallum patrualem meum tempore quo confundendis rebus pertinaciter Magnentius inhaerebat, quem obruere vestrae virtutes, potestate Caesaris sublimatum, ad Orientis praesidium misi. Qui cum a iustitia per multa visu relatuque nefaria defecisset, arbitrio punitus est legum. [12] Atque utinam hoc contenta fuisset Invidia, turbarum acerrima concitatrix, ut angat nos una sed secunda doloris praeteriti recordatio. At nunc aliud accidit, ausim dicere praeteritis maestius, quod per fortitudinem vobis ingenitam, adiumenta caelestia coercebunt. [13] Iulianus, quem dum circumfremantes Illyricum nationes externas oppugnatis, tuendis praefecimus Galliis, levium confidentia proeliorum, quae cum Germanis gessit semermibus, ut vecors elatus, adscitis in societatem superbam auxiliariis paucis, feritate speque postrema, ad perniciosam audaciam promptis, in noxam publicam conspiravit, aequitate calcata, parente nutriceque orbis Romani, quam tumentes spiritus tamquam favillas reflatorem vindicaturamque, deinde ut scelesti factorum ulticem, et ipse expertus, et docente antiquitate facile credo.

[14] Quid igitur superest, nisi ut turbinibus excitis occurramus, subcrepantis

rabiem belli, antequam pubescat validius, celeritatis remediis oppressuri? Nec enim dubium, favore numinis summi praesente, cuius perenni suffragio damnantur ingrati, ferrum impie praeparatum ad eorum interitum esse vertendum, qui non lacesciti, sed aucti beneficiis pluribus, ad insontium pericula surrexerunt. [15] Ut enim mea mens augurat Iustitiaque rectis consiliis adfutura promittit, spondeo quod, si ventum fuerit comminus, ita pavore torpescent, ut nec oculorum vestrorum vibratae lucis ardorem, nec barritus sonum perferant primum.

[16] Omnes post haec dicta in sententiam ducti suam hastasque vibrantes irati, post multa quae benivole responderant, petebant duci se protinus in rebellem. Qua gratia in laetitiam imperator versus ex metu, contione mox absoluta, Arbitrationem ante alios faustum ad intestina bella sedanda, ex ante actis iam sciens, iter suum praeire cum Lanceariis et Mattiariis, et catervis expeditorum praecepit, et cum Laetis itidem Gomoarium, venturis in Succorum angustiis opponendum, ea re aliis antelatum, quod ut contemptus in Galliis erat Iuliano infestus.

Praesagia mortis Constantii A.

In hoc rerum adversarum tumultu, haerens eius fortuna iam et subsistens, adventare casum vitae difficilem, modo non loquentibus signis aperte monstrabat. Namque et nocturnis imaginibus terrebarur, et nondum penitus mersus in somnum, umbram viderat patris obtulisse pulchrum infantem, eumque susceptum et locatum in gremio suo, excussam sibi proiecissem longius sphaeram, quam ipse dextera manu gestabat. Id autem permutationem temporum indicabat, licet interpretantes placentia responderent. [2] Post haec confessus est iunctioribus proximis, quod tamquam desolatus, secretum aliquid videre desierit, quod interdum adfuisse sibi squalidius aestimabat, et putabatur genius esse quidam, tutelae salutis appositus, eum reliquisse mundo citius digressurum. [3] Ferunt enim theologi in lucem editis hominibus cunctis, salva firmitate fatali, huius modi quaedam velut actus rectura numina sociari, admodum tamen paucissimis visa, quos multiplices auxere virtutes. [4] Idque et oracula et auctores docuere praeclari. Inter quos est etiam Menander comicus, apud quem hi senarii duo leguntur:

ἅπαντι δαίμων ἄνδρϊ συμπαρίσταται

εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου.

[5] Itidem ex sempiternis Homeri carminibus intellegi datur, non deos caelestes cum viris fortibus collocutos, nec adfuisse pugnantibus vel iuvisse, sed familiaris genios cum eisdem versatos, quorum adminiculis freti praecipuis, Pythagoras enituisse dicitur et Socrates, Numaque Pompilius, et superior Scipio et (ut quidam existimant) Marius et Octavianus, cui Augusti vocabulum delatum est primo, Hermesque Termaximus, et Tyaneus Apollonius atque Plotinus, ausus quaedam super hac re disserere mystica, alteque monstrare, quibus primordiis hi genii animis conexi mortalium eas tamquam gremiis suis susceptas tuentur (quoad licitum est) docentique

maiora, si senserint puras et a colluvione peccandi, immaculata corporis societate discretas.

Moritur Constantius A. apud Mopsucrenas Ciliciae.

Ingressus itaque Antiochiam festinando Constantius, ad motum certaminum civilium (ut solebat), avide surrecturus, paratis omnibus exire properabat immodice, renitentibus plurimis murmure tenus. Nec enim dissuadere palam audebat quisquam vel vetare. [2] Autumno iam senescente profectus, cum ad suburbanum venisset, disiunctum exinde tertio lapide, Hippocephalum nomine, lucente iam die, cadaver hominis interfecti, dextra iacens capite avulso conspexit, contra occiduum latus extensum: territusque omine, finem parantibus fatis, destinatus ipse tendebat, venitque Tarsum, ubi leviori febris contactus, ratusque itinerario motu imminutae valetudinis excuti posse discrimen, petit per vias difficiles Mopsucrenas, Ciliciae ultimam hinc pergentibus stationem, sub Tauri montis radicibus positam, egredique secuto die conatus, illabente morbi gravitate detentus est: paulatimque urente calore nimio venas, ut ne tangi quidem corpus eius posset, in modum foculi fervens, cum usus deficeret medelarum, ultimum spirans, deflebat exitium, mentisque sensu tum etiam integro, successorem suae potestatis statuuisse dicitur Iulianum. [3] Deinde anhelitu iam pulsante letali, conticuit, diuque cum anima colluctatus iam discessura, abiit e vita tertium nonarum Octobrium, imperii tricesimo octavo vitaeque anno quadragesimo quarto et mensibus paucis.

[4] Post quae, supremis cum gemitu conclamatis, excitisque lamentis et luctu, deliberabant locum obtinentes in aula regia primum, quid agerent quidve moliri deberent: paucisque occulte super eligendo imperatore temptatis, incitante (ut ferebatur) Eusebio, quem noxarum conscientia stimulabat, cum novandis rebus imminens obsisteret Iulianus, mittuntur ad eum Theolaifus et Aligildus tunc comites, mortem indicantes propinqui, et oraturi, ut mora omni depulsa, ad obtinendum obtemperare sibi paratum, tenderet Orientem. [5] Fama tamen rumorque loquebatur incertus, Constantium voluntatem ordinasse postremam, in qua Iulianum (ut praediximus) scripsit heredem, et his quos diligebat, fidei commissa detulit et legata. [6] Uxorem autem praegnantem reliquit, unde edita postuma eiusque nomine appellata, cum adolevisset, matrimonii iure copulata est Gratiano.

Constantii A. virtutes, et vitia.

Bonorum igitur vitiorumque eius differentia vere servata, praecipua prima conveniet expediri. Imperatoriae auctoritatis cothurnum ubique custodiens, popularitatem elato animo contemnebat et magno, erga tribuendas celsiores dignitates impendio parcus, nihil circa administrationum augmenta praeter pauca novari perpessus, numquam erigens cornua militarium. [2] Nec sub eo dux quisquam cum clarissimatu provectus est. Erant enim (ut nos quoque meminimus), perfectissimi: nec occurrebat magistro equitum provinciae rector nec contingi ab eo civile negotium permittebat. Sed cunctae castrenses et ordinariae potestates, ut honorum omnium apicem, priscae reverentiae more, praefectos semper suspexere praetorio. [3] In conservando milite nimum

cautus, examiner meritorum non numquam subscuposus, palatinas dignitates velut ex quodam tribuens perpendiculo, et sub eo nemo celsum aliquid acturus, in regia repentinus adhibitus est vel incognitus, sed qui post decennium officiorum magisterium vel largitiones vel simile quicquam esset recturus, apertissime noscebatur. Valdeque raro contigerat, ut militarium aliquis ad civilia regenda transiret, contraque non nisi pulvere bellico indurati, praeficiebantur armatis. [4] Doctrinarum diligens affectator, sed cum a rhetorice per ingenium desereretur obtunsum, ad versificandum transgressus, nihil operae pretium fecit. [5] In vita parca et sobria, edendi potandique moderatione, valetudinem ita retinuit firmam, ut raros colligeret morbos, sed eos non procul a vitae periculis: id enim evenire corporibus a lascivia dimotis et luxu, diuturna experimenta et professiones medendi monstrarunt. [6] Somno contentus exiguo, cum id posceret tempus et ratio, perque spatia vitae longissima impendio castus, ut nec malivolo citerioris vitae ministro saltem suspicione tenus posset redargui, quod crimen etiam si non invenit, malignitas fingit, in summarum licentia potestatum. [7] Equitandi et iaculandi, maximeque perite dirigendi sagittas, artiumque armaturae pedestris perquam scientissimus. Quod autem nec os tersisse umquam vel nares in publico, nec spuisse, nec transtulisse in partem alterutram vultum aliquando est visus, nec pomorum quoad vixerat gustaverit (ut dicta saepius) praetermitto.

[8] Dinumeratis carptim bonis, quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explananda eius vitia veniamus. Cum esset in negotiis aliis principibus mediis comparandus, si affectatae dominationis amplam quandam falsam repperisset aut levem, hanc sine fine scrutando, fasque eodem loco ducens et nefas, Caligulae et Domitiani et Commodi immanitatem facile superabat, quorum aemulatus saevitiam inter imperandi exordia, cunctos sanguine et genere se contingentes, stirpitus interemit. [9] Addebatur miserorum aerumnis, qui rei maiestatis imminutae vel laesae deferebantur, acerbitas eius et iracundia suspicionesque in huius modi cuncta distentae. Et siquid tale increpuisset, in quaestiones acrius exsurgens quam civiliter, spectatores apponebat his litibus truces, mortemque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi, in eius modi controversiarum partibus etiam Gallieno ferocior. [10] Ille enim perduellionum crebris verisque appetitus insidiis, Aureoli et Postumi et Ingenui et Valentis, cognomento Thessalonici, aliorumque plurium, mortem factura crimina aliquotiens lenius vindicabat: hic etiam ficta vel dubia, adigebat videri certissima, vi nimia tormentorum. [11] iustumque in eius modi titulis capitali odio oderat, cum maxime id ageret ut iustus aestimaretur et clemens. Et tamquam ex arida silva volantes scintillae, flatu leni ventorum, ad usque discrimina vicorum agrestium incohibili cursu perveniunt, ita ille quoque ex minimis causis, malorum congeries excitabat, Marci illius dissimilis principis verecundi, qui cum ad imperiale culmen in Syria Cassius surrexisset, epistularum fascem ab eo ad conscios missum, perlatore capto sibi oblatum, ilico signatum exuri praecepit, agens adhuc in Illyrico, ne insidiatoribus cognitis, invitus quosdam habere posset offensos. [12]

Utque recte sentientes quidam arbitrabantur, virtutis erat potius indicium magnum, imperio eundem Constantium sine cruore cessisse, quam vindicasse tam inclementer. [13] Ut Tullius quoque docet, crudelitatis increpans Caesarem, in quadam ad Nepotem epistula: 'Neque enim quicquam aliud est felicitas' inquit 'nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas. Vel ut alio modo definiam: felicitas est fortuna adiutrix consiliorum bonorum, quibus qui non utitur, felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus est, nulla potuit esse felicitas. Feliciorque meo iudicio Camillus exsulans quam temporibus eisdem Manlius, etiam si (id quod cupierat) regnare potuisset.' [14] Id Ephesius quoque Heraclitus asserens monet, ab inertibus et ignavis, eventus variante fortuna, superatos aliquotiens viros fuisse praestantes; illud vero eminere inter praecipuas laudes, cum potestas, in gradu, velut sub iugum missa nocendi saeviendi cupiditate et irascendi, in arce victoris animi tropaeum erexerit gloriosum.

[15] Ut autem in externis bellis hic princeps fuit saucius et afflictus, ita prospere succedentibus pugnis civilibus tumidus, et intestinis ulceribus rei publicae sanie perfusus horrenda: quo pravo proposito magis quam recto vel usitato, triumphalis arcus ex clade provinciarum sumptibus magnis erexit in Galliis et Pannoniis, titulis gestorum affixis, se (quoad stare poterunt monumenta) lecturis. [16] Uxoribus et spadonum gracilentis vocibus et palatinis quibusdam nimium quantum addictus, ad singula eius verba plaudentibus, et quid ille aiat aut neget (ut assentiri possint) observantibus.

[17] Augebat etiam amaritudinem temporum, flagitatorum rapacitas inexpleta, plus odiorum ei quam pecuniae conferentium. Hocque multis intolerantius videbatur, quod nec causam aliquando audivit, nec provinciarum indemnitati prospexit, cum multiplicatis tributis et vectigalibus vexarentur. Eratque super his adimere facilis quae donabat.

[18] Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gravius excitavit discidia plurima, quae progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum iumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos (quas appellant), dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariae succideret nervos.

[19] Figura tali situque membrorum: subniger, luce oculorum edita, cernensque acutum, molli capillo, rasis assidue genis lucentibus ad decorem, usque ad pubem ab ipsis colli confinis longior, brevissimis cruribus et incurvis, unde saltu valebat et cursu.

[20] Pollinctum igitur corpus defuncti, conditumque in loculis, Iovianus etiam tum protector domesticus, cum regia prosequi pompa, Constantinopolim usque iussus est, prope necessitudines eius humanum. [21] Eique vehiculo insidenti, quod portabat reliquias, ut principibus solet, annonae militaris offerebantur indicia (ut ipsi nominant 'probae') et animalia publica monstrabantur, et ex usu crebrescebant occursus, quae et alia horum similia eidem Ioviano imperium quidem sed et cassum et umbratile (ut ministro

rerum funebrium) portendebant.

LIBER XXII.

[1] Iulianus A. metu Constantii A. subsistit in Dacia, et clam haruspices et augures consulit.

Dum haec in diversa parte terrarum, Fortunae struunt volubiles casus, Iulianus inter multa, quae per Illyricum agitabat, exta rimabatur assidue, avesque suspiciens, praescire festinabat accidentium finem, sed responsis ambiguis et obscuris haerebat, futurorum incertus. [2] Eique tandem aruspinae peritus, Aprunculis Gallus orator, promotus rector postea Narbonensis, nuntiavit eventus, inspectu iecoris (ut aiebat ipse) praedoctus, quod operimento duplici viderat tectum. Cumque ille timeret, ne cupiditati suae congruentia fingerentur, eratque ideo maestus, omen multo praesentius ipse conspexit, quod excessum Constantii dare monstrabat. Eodem enim puncto quo idem obierat in Cilicia, lapso milite qui se insessurum equo dextra manu erexit, humique prostrate, exclamavit ilico audientibus multis, cecidisse qui eum ad culmen extulerat celsum. [3] Et quamquam haec laetifica sciret, velut fixa tamen firmitate consistens, intra terminos Daciae se continebat, sic quoque plurima pertimescens. Nec enim cautum ducebat, coniecturis credere forsitan in contrarium erupturis.

Iulianus cognita morte Constantii transcurrit Thracias, et Constantinopolim pacatam intrat, totumque imperium Rom. citra pugnam recipit.

Inter quae tam suspensa advenere subito missi ad eum legati Theolaihus atque Aligildus, defunctum Constantium nuntiantes, addentesque quod eum voce suprema successorem suae fecerit potestatis. [2] Qua re cognita post exemptos periculorum aestus et bellicarum sollicitudinum turbas, in immensum elatus, iamque vaticiniis credens, et celeritatem negotiis suis aliquotiens profuisse expertus, edixit iter in Thracias, motisque propere signis, emensa declivitate Succorum Philippopolim petit, Eumolpiada veterem, alacri gradu sequentibus quos duxerat cunctis. [3] Advertabant enim imperium, quod ereptum ibant cum ultimorum metu discriminum, praeter spem ordinario iure concessum. Utque solet fama novitates augere, properabat exinde sublimior, uti quodam Triptolemi curru, quem ob rapidos circumgressus, aeriis serpentibus et pinnigeris fabulosa vetustas imponit: perque terras et maria formidatus, nullis obstantibus moris, Heracleam ingressus est Perinthum. [4] Quo apud Constantinopolim mox comperto, effundebatur aetas omnis et sexus, tamquam demissum aliquem visura de caelo. Exceptus igitur tertium Iduum Decembrium verecundis senatus officiis, et popularium consonis plausibus, stipatusque armatorum et togatorum agminibus, velut acie ducebatur instructa, omnium oculis in eum non modo contuitu destinato, sed cum admiratione magna defixis. [5] Somnio enim propius videbatur adultum adhuc iuvenem, exiguo corpore, factis praestantem ingentibus, post cruentos exitus regum et gentium, ab urbe in urbem inopina velocitate transgressum, quaqua incederet accessione opum et virium, famae instar cuncta facilius

occupasse, principatum denique deferente nutu caelesti, absque ulla publicae rei suscepisse iactura.

Constantiani quidem, pars iure, pars iniuria damnantur.

Brevi deinde Secundo Salutio, promoti praefecto praetorio, summam quaestionum agitandarum ut fido commisit: Mamertino et Arbitione et Agilone atque Nevitta adiunctis, itidemque Iovino magistro equitum per Illyricum recens provecto. [2] Qui omnes transgressi Chalcedona, praesentibus Iovianorum Herculianorumque principiis et tribunis, causas vehementius aequo bonoque spectaverunt, praeter paucas ubi veritas reos nocentissimos offerebat. [3] Et Palladium primum ex magistro officiorum in Brittannos exterminarunt, suspicione tenus insimulatum, quaedam in Gallum composuisse apud Constantium, dum sub eodem Caesare officiorum esset magister. [4] Dein Taurum ex praefecto praetorio in exilium egere Vercellum, cuius factum apud iudices iustorum iniustorumque distinctores, videri potuit veniae dignum. Quid enim deliquit, si ortum turbinem veritus, ad tutelam principis sui confugit? Et acta super eo gesta non sine magno legebantur horrore, cum id voluminis publici contineret exordium: 'Consulatu Tauri et Florenti, inducto sub praeconibus Tauro.' [5] Ad exitium itidem tale Pentadius trahebatur, cui id obiectum est, quod a Constantio missus, notis excepit, quae propinquante pernicie, super multis interrogatus, responderat Gallus. Sed cum se iuste defenderet, tandem abiit innoxius. [6] Iniquitate simili Florentius tunc magister officiorum (Nigriniani filius) contrusus est in insulam Delmatiam Boas. Alter enim Florentius, ex praefecto praetorio consul etiamtum, rerum mutatione subita territus, cum coniuge periculis exemptus, diu delituit, nec redire ante mortem potuit Iuliani, capitis crimine tamen damnatus est absens. [7] Pari sorte Euagrius comes rei privatae, et Saturninus ex cura palatii, et Cyrinus ex notario, portati sunt in exilium. Ursuli vero necem largitionum comitis ipsa mihi videtur flesse Iustitia, imperatorem arguens ut ingratum. Cum enim Caesar in partes mitteretur occiduas, omni tenacitate stringendus, nullaue potestate militi quicquam donandi delata, ut pateret ad motus asperiores exercitus, hic idem Ursulus datis litteris ad eum qui Gallicanos tuebatur thesauros, quicquid posceret Caesar, procul dubio iusserat dari. [8] Quo exstincto cum maledictis execrationibusque multorum se Iulianus sentiret expositum, impurgabile crimen excusari posse existimans, absque conscientia sua hominem affirmabat occisum, praetendens quod eum militaris ira delevit, memor quae dixerat (ut ante rettulimus), cum Amidam vidisset excisam.

[9] Ideoque timidus videbatur, vel parum intellegens quid conveniret, cum Arbitionem semper ambiguum et praetumidum his quaestionibus praefecisset, aliis specie tenus cum principiis legionum praesentibus, quem primum omnium salutis suae norat obiectum, ut decuit victoriarum civilium participem fortem.

[10] Et quamquam haec quae retulimus, eius displicuere fautoribus, sequentia tamen severitatis recto vigore sunt gesta. [11] Apodemium enim ex agente in rebus, quem in Silvani necem et Galli, effrenatius arsisse docuimus,

Paulumque notarium cognomento Catenam, cum multorum gemitu nominandum, vivos exustos, qui sperari debuit oppressit eventus. [12] Eusebium super his, cui erat Constantiani thalami cura commissa, alte spirantem et dirum, addixere iudices poenae letali, quem ab ima sorte ad usque iubendum imperatoria paene elatum, ideoque intolerabilem, humanorum spectatrix Adrastia aurem (quod dicitur) vellens, monensque ut castigatius viveret, reluctantem, praecipitem tamquam e rupe quadam egit excelsa.

Eunuchos omnes, et tonsores ac coquos palatio expellit Iulianus Aug. Et de palatinorum spadorum vitiis et de corrupta disciplina militum.

Conversus post haec princeps ad palatinos, omnes omnino qui sunt quique esse possunt removit non ut philosophus veritatis indagandae professor. [2] Laudari enim poterat, si saltem moderatos quosdam licet paucos retinisset, morumque probitate compertos. Namque fatendum est, plerumque eorum partem vitiorum omnium seminarium effusius aluisse, ita ut rem publicam infecerint cupiditatibus pravis, plusque exemplis, quam peccandi licentia, laederent multos. [3] Pasti enim ex his quidam templorum spoliis et lucra ex omni odorantes occasione, ab egestate infima ad saltum sublatis divitiarum ingentium nec largiendi nec rapiendi nec absumendi tenere aliquem modum, aliena invadere semper assuefacti. [4] Unde fluxioris vitae initia pullularunt, et periuria, et nullus existimationis respectus, demensque superbia fidem suam probrosis quaestibus polluebat. [5] Inter quae ingluvies et gurgites crevere praerupti conviviorum, et pro victorialibus epulares triumphi, ususque abundantes serici et textiles auctae sunt artes, et culinarum sollicitior cura, et ambitiosa ornatarum domorum exquisita sunt spatia, quorum mensuram si in agris consul Quinctius possedisset, amiserat etiam post dictaturam gloriam paupertatis.

[6] Quibus tam maculosis accessere flagitia disciplinae castrensium, cum miles cantilenas meditaretur, pro iubilo molliores: et non saxa (ut erant antehac) armato cubile, sed pluma et flexiles lectuli, et graviora gladiis pocula (testa enim bibere iam pudebat), quaerebantur et aedes marmoreae, cum scriptum sit antiquitatibus, Spartanum militem coercitum acriter, quod procinctus tempore ausus sit videri sub tecto. [7] Adeo autem ferox erat in suos illis temporibus miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus, ut per ambitiones otiumque opibus partis, auri et lapillorum varietates discerneret scientissime, contra quam recens memoria tradidit. [8] Notum est enim sub Maximiano Caesare vallo regis Persarum direpto, gregarium quendam post sacculum Parthicum (in quo erant margaritae) repertum, proiectis imperitia gemmis, abisse, pellis nitore solo contentum.

[9] Evenerat eisdem diebus, ut ad demendum imperatoris capillum, tonsor venire praeceptus, introiret quidam ambitiose vestitus. Quo viso Iulianus obstipuit, et 'Ego' inquit 'non rationalem iussi, sed tonsorem acciri.' Interrogatus tamen ille quid haberet ex arte compendii, vicens diurnas respondit annonas, totidemque pabula iumentorum, quae vulgo dictitant

capita, et annum stipendium grave, absque fructuosis petitionibus multis. [10] Unde motus omnes huius modi, cum cocis similibusque allis, eadem paene accipere consuetos (ut parum sibi necessarios) data quo velint eundi potestate, proiecit.

Julianus A. cultum deorum, antea dissimulatum, palam et libere profitetur, et Christianorum episcopos inter se committit.

Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiae primis, inclinatio erat erga numinum cultum, paulatimque adulescens, desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quaedam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat, occultissime. [2] Ubi vero abolitis quae verebatur, adesse sibi liberum tempus faciendi quae vellet advertit, pectoris patefecit arcana, et planis absolutisque decretis, aperire templa arisque hostias admove, et restituere deorum statuit cultum. [3] Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos, monebat civilius, ut discordiis consopitis, quisque nullo vetante, religioni suae serviret intrepidus. [4] Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem, nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertus. Saepeque dictitabat: ‘Audite me quem Alamanni audierunt et Franci,’ imitari putans Marci principis veteris dictum. Sed parum advertit, hoc ab eo nimium discrepare. [5] Ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret, Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum faetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus, dolenter dicitur exclamasse: ‘O Marcomanni, o Quadi, o Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni.’

Qua arte complures litigatores Aegyptios, a quibus moleste interpellabatur, domum redire coegit.

Per hoc idem tempus, rumoribus exciti variis, Aegyptii venere complures, genus hominum controversum et assuetudine perplexius litigandi semper laetissimum, maximeque avidum multiplicatum reposcere, si compulsori quicquam dederit, ut levare debito possit, vel certe commodius per dilationem inferre quae flagitantur, aut criminis vitandi formidine, divites pecuniarum repetundarum interrogare. [2] Hi omnes densati in unum, principem ipsum, et praefectos praetorio, graculorum more strepentes, interpellabant incondite, modo non ante septuagensimum annum extorquentes, quae dedisse se iure vel secus plurimis affirmabant. [3] Cumque nihil aliud agi permetterent, edicto proposito, universos iussit transire Chalcedona, pollicitus quod ipse quoque protinus veniet, cuncta eorum negotia finiturus. [4] Quibus transgressis, mandatum est navigiorum magistris, ultro citroque discurrentium, nequis transfretare auderet Aegyptum, hocque observato cura perpensiore, evanuit pertinax calumniandi propositum, et omnes spe praesumpta frustrati, redierunt ad lares. [5] Unde velut aequitate ipsa dictante lex est promulgata, qua cavetur nullum interpellari suffragatorem, super his quae eum recte constiterit accepisse.

Julianus Constantinopoli saepe ius dicit in curia, et dum ibi Thraciarum res ordinat, variis exterarum gentium legationibus aditur.

Allapso itaque Calendarum Ianuariarum die cum Mamertini et Nevittae nomina suscepissent paginae consulares, humilior princeps visus est, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis, quod laudabant alii quidam ut affectatum et vile carpebant. [2] Dein Mamertino ludos edente circenses, manu mittendis ex more inductis per admissionum proximum, ipse lege agi ocus dixerat, ut solebat, statimque admonitus iuris dictionem eo die ad alterum pertinere, ut errato obnoxium, decem libris auri semet ipse multavit.

[3] Frequentabat inter haec curiam agendo diversa, quae divisiones multiplices ingerebant. Et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti, venisse nuntiatum esset ex Asia philosophus Maximus, exsiluit indecore: et qui esset oblitus, effuso cursu a vestibulo longe progressus, exosculatum susceptumque reverenter, secum induxit per ostentationem intempestivam, nimius captator inanis gloriae visus, praeclarique illius dicti immemor Tulliani, quo tales notando ita relatum: [4] ‘Ipsi illi philosophi etiam in his libris, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt, ut in eo ipso, quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac se nominari velint.’

[5] Haud multo deinceps, duo agentes in rebus, ex his qui proiecti sunt, eum adire fidentius, promittentes latebras monstrare Florentii, si eis gradus militiae redderetur, quos incessans delatoresque appellans addebat non esse imperatorium, obliquis flecti indiciis ad retrahendum hominem mortis metu absconditum, qui forte non diu latitare citra spem veniae permitteretur.

[6] Aderat his omnibus Praetextatus, praeclarae indolis gravitatisque priscae senator, ex negotio proprio forte repertus apud Constantinopolim, quem arbitrio suo Achaiae proconsulari praefecerat potestate.

[7] Nec tamen, cum corrigendis civilibus ita diligenter instaret, omisit castrensia, rectores militibus diu exploratos apponens, urbes quin etiam per Thracias omnes, cum munimentis reparans extimis, curansque sollicito, ne arma vel indumenta, aut stipendium vel alimenta deessent his quos per supercilia Histri dispersos, excursibusque barbarorum oppositos agere vigilanter audiebat et fortiter. [8] Quae cum ita divideret, nihil segnius agi permittens, suadentibus proximis, ut aggredere propinquos Gothos, saepe fallaces et perfidos, hostes quaerere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas, per quos ubique sine condicionis discrimine venundantur.

[9] Haec eum curantem et talia, commendabat externis nationibus fama, ut fortitudine, sobrietate, militaris rei scientia, virtutumque omnium incrementis excelsum, paulatimque progrediens, ambitum oppleverat mundi. [10] Proinde timore eius adventus per finitimos longeque distantes latius explicato, legationes undique solito ocus concurrebant: hinc Transtigritanis pacem obsecrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus ab usque Divis et Serendivis, ab australi plaga ad famulandum rei Romanae semet offerentibus Mauris, ab aquilone et regionibus solis, per quas in mare Phasis accipitur, Bosporanis aliisque antehac ignotis legationes vehentibus supplices, ut annua complentes

sollemnia, intra terrarum genitalium terminos otiose vivere sinerentur.

Descriptio Thraciarum, et sinus Pontici, regionumque ac nationum Ponto adiacentium.

Appositum est (ut existimo) tempus, ad has partes nos occasione magni principis devolutos, super Thraciarum extimis situque Pontici sinus, visa vel lecta quaedam perspicua fide monstrare.

[2] Athos in Macedonia mons ille praecelsus navibus quondam Medicis pervius, et Caphereus Euboicus scopulus, ubi Nauplius Palamedis pater classem collisit Argivam, licet longo spatio controversi a Thessalo mari distinguunt Aegaeum, quod paulatim fusius adulescens, dextra (qua late protenditur) per Sporadas est insulosum atque Cycladas, ideo sic appellatas quod omnes ambiunt Delon partu deorum insignem, laeva Imbrum et Tenedum circumluens et Lemnum et Thasum, quando perflatur, Lesbo illiditur violentius. [3] Unde gurgitibus refluis Apollinis Sminthii templum et Troada perstringit et Ilium heroicis casibus claram, efficitque Melana sinum oppositum Zephyro, cuius apud principium Abdera visitur Protagorae domicilium et Democriti, cruentaeque Diomedis Thracii sedes et convalles, per quas Hebrus sibi miscetur, et Maronea et Aenus, qua diris auspiciis coepta moxque relictas ad Ausoniam veterem ductu numinum properavit Aeneas.

[4] Hinc gracilescens paulatim et velut naturali quodam commercio ruens in Pontum eiusque partem ad se iungens, in speciem ϕ litterae Graecae formatur, exin Hellespontum a Rhodopa scindens, Cynossema (ubi sepulta creditur Hecuba) et Coelan praeterlabitur et Seston et Callipolin. Contra per Achillis Aiakisque sepulchra, Dardanum contingit et Abydon, unde iunctis pontibus Xerxes maria pedibus peragravit, dein Lampsacum Themistocli dono datam a rege Persarum, et Parion quam condidit Iasionis filius Paris. [5] Unde semiorbe curvescens altrinsecus, lataque aperiens terrarum divortia, circumfluis spatiis Propontidos respergit ex eoo latere Cyzicum, et Dindyma (religiosa Matris Magnae delubra), et Apamiam Ciumque, ubi Hylam et Astacum secuto tempore Nicomediam a rege cognominatam, qua in occasum procedit Cherronesum pulsat et Aegospotamus, in quo loco lapides casuros ex caelo praedixit Anaxagoras, et Lysimachiam et civitatem, quam Hercules conditam Perinthis comitis sui memoriae dedicavit. [6] Et ut effecte pleneque ϕ litterae figura servetur, in meditullio ipso rotunditatis Proconesus insula est oblonga et Besbicus.

[7] Post cuius summitatem in angustias rursus extenuatum Europam et Bithyniam intercurrentes, per Chalcedona et Chrysopolim et stationes transit obscuras. [8] Nam supercilia eius sinistra Athyras portus despectat et Selymbria et Constantinopolis, vetus Byzantium, Atticorum colonia, et promuntorium Ceras praelucentem navibus vehens constructam celsius turrim, quapropter Ceratas appellatur ventus inde suetus oriri praegelidus.

[9] Hoc modo fractum et participatione maris utriusque finitum, iamque mitescens in aequoream panditur faciem, quantum potest cadere sub aspectum, late diffusum et longe. [10] Omnis autem eius velut insularis

circuitus litorea navigatio viginti tribus dimensa milibus stadiorum, ut Eratosthenes affirmat et Hecataeus et Ptolomaeus aliique huius modi cognitionum minutissimi scitatores, in speciem Scythici arcus nervo coagmentati geographiae totius assensione formatur. [11] Et qua sol oceano exsurgit eoo, paludibus clauditur Maeotidos: qua declinat in vesperum, Romanis provinciis terminatur: unde suspicit sidus arctoum, homines alit linguis et moribus dispares: latus eius austrinum molli devexitate subductum. [12] Per haec amplissima spatia oppida sunt dispersa Graecorum, quae cuncta aetatibus variis praeter pauca Atheniensium coloni condidere Milesii, inter Ionas alios in Asia per Nileum multo ante locati, Codri illius filium, qui se pro patria bello fertur Dorico devovisse. [13] Extremitatis autem arcus utrumque tenus duo exprimunt Bospori, e regione sibi oppositi, Thracius et Cimmericus: hac causa Bospori vocitati, quod per eos quondam Inachi filia, mutata (ut poetae loquuntur) in bovem, ad mare Ionium permeavit.

[14] Dextram igitur inflexionem Bospori Thracii excipit Bithyniae litus, quam veteres dixere Mygdoniam, in qua Thynia et Mariandena sunt regiones et Amyci saevitia Bebryces exempti virtute Pollucis, remotaque statio, in qua volitantes minaciter harpyias Phineus vates horrebat; per quae litora in sinus oblongos curvatus Sangarius et Phyllis et Lycus et Rhebas fluvii funduntur in maria, quibus controversae cyaneae sunt Symplegades, gemini scopuli in vertices undique porrecti deruptos, assueti priscis saeculis obviam sibi cum horrendo fragore collis molibus ferri, cedentesque retrorsus acri assultu, ad ea reverti quae pulsant. Per has saxorum dehiscentium concursantiumque crebritates si etiam ales intervallasset, nulla celeritate pinnarum eripi poterat quin interiret oppressa. [15] Hi scopuli cum eos Argo prima omnium navis Colchos ad direptionem aurei properans velleris praeterisset innoxia, immobiles turbine circumfracto stetero concorporati, ut eos aliquando fuisse diremptos nulli nunc conspiciantium credant, nisi super hoc congruerent omnes priscorum carminum cantus.

[16] Post Bithyniae partem provinciae Pontus et Paphlagonia protenduntur, in quibus Heraclea et Sinope et Polemonion, et Amisos amplae sunt civitates, et Tios et Amastris, omnes ab auspicio diligentia fundatae Graecorum, et Cerasus, unde advexit huius nominis poma Lucullus, insulaeque duae, et Trapezunta et Pityunta continentis oppida non obscura. [17] Ultra haec loca Acherusium specus est, quod accolae *μυχοπόντιον* appellant, et portus Acone, fluviique Acheron, idemque Arcadius, et Iris et Tibris et iuxta Parthenius, omnes in mare ictu rapido decurrentes. Thermodon his amnis est proximus ab Armonio defluens monte, et Themiscyraeos interlabens lucos ad quos Amazonas quondam migrare necessitas subegerat talis.

[18] Attritis damnorum assiduitate finitimis, Amazones veteres, quae eos cruentis populabantur incursibus, altiora spirabant, viresque suas circumspectantes his, quae propinqua saepius appetebant, validiores, raptae praecipiti cupiditatis ardore, perruptis nationibus plurimis, manus Atheniensibus intulerunt, acrique concertatione effuse disiectae, omnes

nudatis equitatus sui lateribus, corruere. [19] Harum interitu cognito, residuae ut imbelles domi relictæ, extrema perpessæ, et vicinitatis repensantis similia, funestos impetus declinantes, ad pacatiorem sedem transiere Thermodontis, quarum progenies longe deinde propagata, per numerosam subolem manu firmissima ad loca reverterat genitalia, secuto tempore populis diversarum originum formidabilis.

[20] Haut procul inde attollitur Carambis, placide collis contra septentrionem Helicen exsurgens, cuius e regione est Criumetopon, Tauricae promuntorium, duobus milibus et quingentis stadiis disparatum. Hocque ex loco omnis ora maritima, cuius initium Halys est amnis, velut longitudine lineali directa nervi efficit speciem, duabus arcus summitatibus complicati. [21] His regionibus Dahæ confines sunt, acerrimi omnium bellatores, et Chalybes, per quos erutum et domitum est primitus ferrum. Post quos terras patentes Byzares obtinent et Sapires et Tibareni et Mossynoeci et Macrones et Philyres, populi nulla nobis assuetudine cogniti. [22] A quibus brevi spatio distant virorum monumenta nobilium, in quibus Sthenelus est humatus et Idmon et Tiphys, primus Herculis socius, Amazonico bello letaliter vulneratus, alter augur Argonautarum, tertius eiusdem navis cautissimus rector. [23] Praetercursis partibus memoratis, Aulion antron est, et fluenta Callichori, ex facto cognominati, quod superatis post triennium Indicis nationibus, ad eos tractus Liber reversus, circa huius ripas viridis et opacas orgia pristina reparavit et choros: trieterica huius modi sacra quidam existimant appellari. [24] Post hæc confinia, Camaritarum pagi sunt celebres, et Phasis fremebundis cursibus Colchos attingit, Aegyptiorum antiquam subolem, ubi inter civitates alias Phasis est nomine fluvii dictitata, et Dioscurias nunc usque nota, cuius auctores Amphitus et Cercius Spartani traduntur, aurigæ Castoris et Pollucis, quibus Heniochorum natio est instituta. [25] Paulum ab his secernuntur Achæi, qui bello anteriore quodam apud Troiam consummate, non cum super Helena certaretur (ut auctores prodidere non nulli), usque in Pontum reflantibus ventis errore delati, cunctisque hostilibus, stabilem domicilii sedem nusquam reperientes, verticibus montium insedere semper nivalium, et horrore caeli districti, victum sibi cum periculis raptu parare assuefacti sunt, atque eo ultra omnem deinde ferociam saevierunt. Super Cercetis, qui eisdem annexi sunt, nihil memoratu traditur dignum.

[26] Quorum post terga Cimmerici agitant incolæ Bospori, ubi Milesiæ sunt civitates, harumque velut mater omnium Panticapæum, quam perstringit Hypanis fluvius, genuinis intumescens aquis et externis. [27] Itineribus hinc extensis, Amazones ad usque Caspium mare porrectæ, circumcolunt Tanain, qui inter Caucasias oriens rupes per sinuosos labitur circumflexus, Asiamque disterrinans ab Europa, in stagnis Maeoticis delitescit. [28] Huic Ra vicinus est amnis, in cuius superciliis quaedam vegetabilis eiusdem nominis gignitur radix, proficiens ad usus multiplices medelarum.

[29] Ultra Tanain panduntur in latitudinem Sauromatae, per quos amnes fluunt perpetui Marabius et Rombitus et Theophanes et Totordanes. Licet alia

quoque distans immanibus intervallis, Sauromatarum praetenditur natio, litori iuncta, quod Coracem suscipiens fluvium in aequor eiecat Euxinum.

[30] Prope palus est Maeotis amplissimi circumgressus, ex cuius uberrimis venis per Panticapes angustias undarum magnitudo prorumpit in Pontum, cuius in dextro latere insulae sunt Phanagorus et Hermonassa studio constructae Graecorum. [31] Circa haec stagna ultima extimaque plures habitant gentes, sermonum institutorumque varietate dispariles, Iaxamatae et Maeotae et Iazyges, Roxolanique et Halani et Melanchlaenae et cum Gelonis Agathyrsi, apud quos adamantis est copia lapidis: aliique ultra latentes, quod sunt omnium penitissimi. [32] Sed Maeotidos lateri laevo Cherronesus est propinqua, coloniarum plena Graecarum. Unde quieti sunt homines et sedati, adhibentes vomeri curam, et proventibus fructuariis victitantes.

[33] A quibus per varia regna diducti itineribus modicis Tauri dissociantur, inter quos immani diritate terribiles Arichi et Sinchi et Napaei, intendente saevitiam licentia diuturna, indidere mari nomen inhospitali, et a contrario per cavillationem Pontus εὐξεινος appellatur, ut εὐήθη Graeci dicimus stultum et noctem εὐφρόνην, et furias εὐμενίδας. [34] Deos enim hostiis litantes humanis et immolantes advenas Dianae, quae apud eos dicitur Orsiloche, caesorum capita fani parietibus praefigebant, velut fortium perpetua monumenta facinorum.

[35] In hac Taurica insula Leuce sine habitatoribus ullis Achilli est dedicata. In quam si fuerint quidam forte delati, visis antiquitatis vestigiis temploque et donariis eidem heroi consecratis, vesperi repetunt naves: aiunt enim non sine discrimine vitae illic quemquam pernoctare. Ibi et aquae sunt, et candidae aves nascuntur, halcyonibus similes, super quarum origine et Hellespontiacis proeliis tempore disseremus. [36] Sunt autem quaedam per Tauricam civitates, inter quas eminet Eupatoria et Dandace, et Theodosia et minores aliae nullis humanis hostiis impiatae.

[37] Hactenus arcus apex protendi existimatur. Eius nunc residua leniter sinuata, subiectaque ursae caelesti, ad usque laevum Bospori Thracii latus (ut ordo postulat) exsequemur, id admonentes, quod, cum arcus omnium gentium flexis curventur hastilibus, Scythici soli vel Parthici, circumductis utrimque introrsus pandis et patulis cornibus, effigiem lunae decrescentis ostendunt, medietatem recta et rotunda regula dividente.

[38] Ergo in ipso huius compagis exordio, ubi Rhiphaei deficiunt montes, habitant Arimphaei, iusti homines placiditateque cogniti, quos amnes Chronius et Visula praeterfluunt; iuxtaque Massagetae, Halani et Sargetae, aliique plures obscuri, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores. [39] Interiectu deinde non mediocri Carcinites panditur sinus eiusdemque nominis fluvius, et religiosus per eas terras Triviae lucus. [40] Dein Borysthenes a montibus oriens Nerviorum, primigeniis fontibus copiosus concursuque multorum amnium adulescens, mari praeruptis undarum verticibus intimatur, cuius in marginibus nemorosis Borysthenes est civitas et Cephalonesus, et arae Alexandro Magno Caesarique Augusto sacratae. [41] Longo exinde

intervallo paene est insula, quam incolunt Sindi ignobiles, post eriles in Asia casus, coniugiis potiti dominorum et rebus, quibus subiectum gracile litus ἄχιλλέως vocant indigenae δρόμον, exercitiis ducis quondam Thessali memorabilem. Eique proxima est civitas Tyros, colonia Phoenicum, quam praestringit fluvius Tyras.

[42] In medio autem spatio arcus, quod prolixae rotunditatis esse praediximus, quodque expedite viatori diebus conficitur quindecim, Europaei sunt Halani et Costobocae, gentesque Scytharum innumerae, quae porriguntur ad usque terras sine cognito fine distentas. Quarum pars exigua frugibus alitur, residuae omnes palantes per solitudines vastas, nec stivam aliquando nec sementem expertas, sed squalentes et pruinosas, ferarum taetro ritu vescuntur, eisque caritates et habitacula, vilesque suppellectiles plaustis impositae sunt corticibus tectis, et cum placuerit, sine obstaculo migrant, eodem carpenta quo libuerit convolventes.

[43] Cum autem ad alium portuosum ambitum fuerit ventum, qui arcus figuram determinat ultimam, Peuce prominet insula, quam circumcolunt Trogodytae et Peucini, minoresque aliae gentes, et Histros quondam potentissima civitas, et Tomi et Apollonia et Anchialos et Odessos, aliae praeterea multae, quas litora continent Thraciarum. [44] Amnis vero Danubius, oriens prope Rauracos montesque confines limitibus Raeticis, per latior orbem praetentus, ac sexaginta navigabilis paene omnes recipiens fluvios, septem ostiis per hoc Scythicum litus erumpit in mare. [45] Quorum primum est Peuce insula supra dicta, ut interpretata sunt vocabula Graeco sermone, secundum Naracustoma, tertium Calonstoma, quartum Pseudostoma; nam Borionstoma ac deinde Stenostoma longe minora sunt ceteris; septimum caenosum et palustri specie nigrum.

[46] Omnis autem circumfluo ambitu Pontus et nebulosus est, et dulcior aequorum ceteris et vadosus, quod et concrescit aer ex umorum spiramine saepe densatus, et irruentium undarum magnitudine temperatur, et consurgit in brevibus dorsuosa, limum glebasque aggerente multitudine circumvenientium fluentorum. [47] Et constat ab ultimis nostri finibus maris, agminatim ad hunc secessum pariendi gratia petere pisces, ut aquarum suavitate salubrius fetus educant in receptaculis cavis (qualia sunt ibi densissima), securi voracium beluarum: nihil enim in Ponto huius modi aliquando est visum, praeter innoxios delphinas et parvos. [48] Quicquid autem eiusdem Pontici sinus aquilone caeditur et pruinis, ita perstringitur gelu, ut nec amnium cursus subtervolvi credantur, nec per infidum et labile solum, gressus hominis possit vel iumentum firmari, quod vitium numquam mare sincerum, sed permixtum aquis amnicis temptat. Prolati aliquanto sumus longius quam sperabamus, pergamus ad reliqua.

[49] Accesserat aliud ad gaudiorum praesentium cumulum, diu quidem speratum, sed dilationum ambage multiplici tractum. Nuntiatum est enim per Agilonem et Iovium, postea quaestorem, Aquileiae defensores longioris obsidii taedio, cognitoque Constanti excessu, patefactis portis egressos,

auctores prodidisse turbarum, eisdemque vivis exustis (ut supra relatum est), omnes concessionem impetrasse delictorum et veniam.

Iulianus A., aucta ornataque Constantinopoli, Antiochiam petit, ac in itinere Nicomediensibus ad reparandas urbis ruinas pecunias tribuit, Ancyrae iuris dictionibus vacat.

At prosperis Iulianus elatior, ultra homines iam spirabat, periclis expertus assiduus, quod ei orbem Romanum placide iam regenti, velut mundanam cornucopiam Fortuna gestans propitia, cuncta gloriosa deferebat et prospera, antegressis victoriarum titulis haec quoque adiciens, quod, dum teneret imperium solus, nec motibus internis est concitus, nec barbarorum quisquam ultra suos exsiluit fines: et populi omnes, aviditate semper insectari praeterita, ut damnosa et noxia, in laudes eius studiis miris accendebantur.

[2] Omnibus igitur, quae res diversae poscebant et tempora, perpensa deliberatione dispositis, et militibus orationibus crebris, stipendioque competenti, ad expedienda incidentia promptius animatis, cunctorum favore sublimis, Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis maximis fultam: natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam et colebat. [3] Transgressus itaque fretum, praetercursa Chalcedone et Libyssa, ubi sepultus est Hannibal Poenus, Nicomediam venit, urbem antehac inclytam, ita magnis retro principum amplificatam impensis, ut aedium multitudine privatarum et publicarum, recte noscentibus regio quaedam urbis aestimaretur aeternae. [4] Cuius moenia cum vidisset in favillas miserabiles consedis, angorem animi tacitis fletibus indicans, pigriore gradu pergebat ad regiam, hoc maxime aerumnis eius illacrimans, quod ordo squalens occurrit et populus nimium quantum antehac florentissimus; et agnoscebat quosdam, ibidem ab Eusebio educatus episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. [5] Hic quoque pari modo ad reparanda, quae terrae subverterat tremor, abunde praestitis plurimis, per Nicaeam venit ad Gallograeciae fines, unde dextrorsus itinere declinato, Pessinunta convertit, visurus vetusta Matris magnae delubra, a quo oppido bello Punico secundo, carmine Cumano monente, per Scipionem Nasicam simulacrum translatum est Romam. [6] Cuius super adventu in Italiam pauca cum aliis huic materiae congruentibus, in actibus Commodi principis digessimus per excessum. Quam autem ob rem hoc nomine oppidum sit appellatum, variant rerum scriptores: [7] quidam enim figmento deae caelitus lapso ἄπὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν (quod cadere nos dicimus) urbem asseruere cognominatam. Alii memorant Ilum, Trois filium Dardaniae regem, locum sic appellasse. At Theopompus non Ilum id egisse, sed Midam affirmat, Phrygiae quondam potentissimum regem.

[8] Venerato igitur numine, hostiisque litato et votis, Ancyram rediit: eumque exinde progredientem ulterius, multitudo inquietabat, pars violenter erepta reddi sibi poscentium, alii querentes consortiis se curialium addictos iniuste, non nulli sine respectu periculi agentes ad usque rabiem, ut adversarios suos laesae maiestatis criminibus illigarent. [9] Verum ille

iudiciibus Cassiis tristior et Lycurgis, causarum momenta aequo iure perpendens, suum cuique tribuebat, nusquam a vero abductus, acrius in calumniatores exurgens, quos oderat, multorum huius modi petulantem saepe dementia, ad usque discrimen expertus, dum esset adhuc humilis et privatus. [10] Exemplumque patientiae eius in tali negotio, licet sint alia plurima, id unum sufficiet poni. Inimicum quidam suum, cum quo discordabat asperrime, commisisse in maiestatem turbulentius deferebat, imperatoreque dissimulante, eadem diebus continuis replicans, interrogatus ad ultimum, qui esset quem argueret, respondit municipem locupletem Quo audito princeps renidens ‘Quibus indiciis’ ait ‘ad hoc pervenisti?’ [11] Et ille ‘Purpureum sibi’ inquit ‘indumentum ex serico pallio parat,’ iussusque post haec ut vilis arduae rei vilem incusans, abire tacitus et innoxius, nihilo minus instabat. Quo taedio Iulianus defetigatus ad largitionum comitem visum propius ‘Iube’ inquit ‘periculoso garrulo pedum tegmina dari purpurea, ad adversarium perferenda, quem (ut datur intellegi), chlamydem huius coloris memorat sibi consarcinasse, ut sciri possit sine viribus maximis quid pannuli proficiant leves.’

[12] Sed ut haec laudanda et bonis moderatoribus aemulanda, ita illud amarum et notabile fuit, quod aegre sub eo a curialibus quisquam appetitus, licet privilegiis et stipendiorum numero et originis penitus alienae firmitudine communitus, ius obtinebat aequissimum, adeo ut plerique territi emercarentur molestias pretiis clandestinis et magnis.

[13] Itineribus itaque emensis cum ad Pylas venisset, qui locus Cappadocas discernit et Cilicas, osculo susceptum rectorem provinciae, nomine Celsum, iam inde a studiis cognitum Atticis, asscitumque in consessum vehiculi, Tarsum secum induxit. [14] At hinc videre properans Antiochiam, orientis apicem pulcrum, usus itineribus solitis venit, urbique propinquans, in speciem alicuius numinis votis excipitur publicis, miratus voces multitudinis magnae, salutare sidus illuxisse eois partibus acclamantis. [15] Evenerat autem eisdem diebus, annuo cursu completo, Adonea ritu veteri celebrari, amato Veneris (ut fabulae fingunt), apri dente ferali deleta, quod in adulto flore sectarum est indicium frugum. Et visum est triste, quod amplam urbem principumque domicilium introeunte imperatore tunc primum, ululabiles undique planctus et lugubres sonus audiebantur. [16] Hic patientiae eius et lenitudinis documentum leve quidem apparuit, sed mirandum. Thalassium quendam ex proximo libellorum, insidiatorem fratris oderat Galli, quo adorare adessequae officio inter honoratos prohibito, adversarii, cum quibus litigabat in foro, postridie turba congregata superflua, adito imperatore ‘Thalassius’ clamitabant, ‘inimicus pietatis tuae nostra violenter eripuit.’ [17] Et ille hac occasione hominem opprimi posse coniciens, ‘Agnosco’ respondit, ‘quem dicitis offendisse me iusta de causa, sed silere vos interim consentaneum est, dum mihi inimico potiori faciat satis.’ Mandavitque assidenti praefecto, ne audiretur eorum negotium, antequam ipse cum Thalassio rediret in gratiam, quod brevi evenit.

Antiochiae hiemans Iulianus iura reddit, nec quemquam propter religionem gravat.

Ibi hiemans ex sententia, nullis interim voluptatum rapiebatur illecebris, quibus abundant Syriae omnes, verum per speciem quietis, iudicialibus causis intentus, non minus quam arduis bellicisque, distrahebatur multiformibus curis, exquisita docilitate deliberans, quibus modis suum cuique tribueret, iustisque sententiis, et improbi modicis coercerentur suppliciis, et innocentes fortunis defenderentur intactis. [2] Et quamquam in disceptando aliquotiens erat intempestivus, quid quisque iurgantium coleret, tempore alieno interrogans, tamen nulla eius definitio litis a vero dissonans reperitur, nec argui umquam potuit, ob religionem vel quodcumque aliud ab aequitatis recto tramite deviasse. [3] Iudicium enim hoc est optandum et rectum, ubi per varia negotiorum examina, iustum distinguitur et iniustum; a quo ille ne aberraret, tamquam scopulos cavebat abruptos. Hoc autem ideo assequi potuit, quod levitatem agnoscens commotioris ingenii sui, praefectis proximisque permittebat, ut fidenter impetus sues aliorum tendentes atque decebat, monitu opportune frenarent; monstrabatque subinde se dolere delictis et gaudere correctione. [4] Cumque eum defensores causarum, ut conscium rationis perfectae, plausibus maximis celebrarent, fertur id dixisse permotus: 'Gaudebam plane praeque me ferebam, si ab his laudarer, quos et vituperare posse adverterem, siquid factum sit secus aut dictum.' [5] Sufficiet autem pro multis, quae clementer egit in litibus cognoscendis, hoc unum ponere nec abhorrens a proposito, nec absurdum. Inducta in iudicium femina quaedam, cum palatinum adversarium suum e numero proiectorum cinctum praeter spem conspexisset, hoc factum insolens tumultuando querebatur, et imperator 'Prosequere' ait 'mulier, siquid te laesam existimas; hic enim sic cinctus est, ut expeditius per lutum incedat: parum nocere tuis partibus potest.'

[6] Et aestimabatur per haec et similia, ut ipse dicebat assidue, vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, imperante eo reversa ad terras, ni quaedam suo ageret, non legum arbitrio, erransque aliquotiens, obnubilaret gloriarum multiplices cursus. [7] Post multa enim etiam iura quaedam correxit in melius, ambagibus circumcisis, indicantia liquide, quid iuberent fieri vel vetarent. Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores.

Georgius, Alexandriae episcopus ab ethnicis Alexandrinis cum duobus aliis per vicos trahitur, discerpiturque ac crematur impune.

Eisdem diebus notarius ille Gaudentius, quem opponendum per Africam missum supra diximus a Constantio, Iulianus quin etiam ex vicario, earundem partium nimis fautor, retracti sub vinculis, morte periire poenali. [2] tunc et Artemius, ex duce Aegypti, Alexandrinis urgentibus atrocium criminum mole, supplicio capitali multatus est. Post quem Marcelli ex magistro equitum et peditum filius, ut iniectans imperio manus publica deletus est morte. Romanus quin etiam et Vincentius, scutariorum scholae primae secundaeque tribuni,

agitasse convicti quaedam suis viribus altiora, acti sunt in exilium.

[3] Cumque tempus interstetisset exiguum, Alexandrini, Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur, ne cum potestate reversus (id enim minatus est), multos laederet ut offensus, iram in Georgium verterunt episcopum, vipereis (ut ita dixerim), morsibus ab eo saepius appetiti. [4] Is in fullonio natus (ut ferebatur), apud Epiphaniam Ciliciae oppidum, auctusque in damna complurium, contra utilitatem suam reique communis, episcopus Alexandriae est ordinatus, in civitate quae suapte motu et ubi causae non suppetunt, seditioibus crebris agitur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides. [5] His efferatis hominum mentibus, Georgius quoque ipse grave accesserat incentivum, apud patulas aures Constantii multos exinde incusans ut eius recalcitrantes imperiis, professionisque suae oblitus, quae nihil nisi iustum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebat. [6] Et inter cetera dicebatur id quoque maligne docuisse Constantium, quod in urbe praedicta aedificia cuncta solo cohaerentia, a conditore Alexandro magnitudine impensarum publicarum exstructa, emolumentis aerarii proficere debent ex iure. [7] Ad haec mala id quoque addiderat, unde paulo post actus est in exitium praeceps. Reversus ex comitatu principis cum transiret per speciosum Genii templum, multitudine stipatus ex more, flexis ad aedem ipsam luminibus ‘Quam diu’ inquit ‘sepulcrum hoc stabit?’ Quo audito, velut fulmine multi percussi, metuentesque ne illud quoque temptaret evertere, quicquid poterant in eius perniciem clandestinis insidiis concitabant. [8] Ecce autem repente perlato laetabili nuntio, indicante exstinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato, vocibus horrendis infrendens, Georgium petit, raptumque diversis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans, divaricatis pedibus, interfecit.

[9] Cumque eo Dracontius monetae praepositus et Diodorus quidam, veluti comes, iniectis per crura funibus simul exanimati sunt; ille quod aram in moneta quam regebat, recens locatam evertit; alter quod dum aedificandae praesset ecclesiae, cirros puerorum licentius detondebat, id quoque ad deorum cultum existimans pertinere. [10] Quo non contenta multitudo immanis, dilaniata cadavera peremptorum camelis imposita, vexit ad litus, eisdemque subdito igne crematis, cineres proiecit in mare, id metuens (ut clamabat), ne collectis supremis, aedes illis exstruerentur, ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles poenas, ad usque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc martyres appellantur.

Poterantque miserandi homines ad crudele supplicium ducti, Christianorum adiumento defendi, ni Georgii odio omnes indiscrete flagrabant. [11] Hoc comperto imperator ad vindicandum facinus nefandum erectus, iamque expetiturus poenas a noxiis ultimas, mitigatus est lenientibus proximis, missoque edicto, acri oratione scelus detestabatur admissum, minatus extrema, si deinde temptatum fuerit aliquid quod iustitia vetet et leges.

Expeditionem Iulianus parat in Persas, et ad praenoscendum belli eventum oracula consulit, victimasque innumerabiles caedit, totus haruspicinae et

auguriis addictus.

Inter haec expeditionem parans in Persas, quam dudum animi robore conceperat celso, ad ultionem praeteritorum vehementer elatus est, sciens et audiens, gentem asperrimam per sexaginta ferme annos inussisse Orienti caedum et direptionum monumenta saevissima, ad internecionem exercitibus nostris saepe deletis. [2] Urebatur autem bellandi gemino desiderio, primo quod impatiens otii, lituos somniabat et proelia, dein quod in aetatis flore primaevio, obiectus efferatarum gentium armis, recalentibus etiam tum regum precibus et regalium, qui vinci magis posse quam supplices manus tendere credebantur, ornamentis illustrium gloriarum inserere Parthici cognomentum ardebat.

[3] Quae maximis molibus festinari cernentes, obtrectatores desides et maligni, unius corporis permutationem tot ciere turbas intempestivas, indignum et perniciosum esse strepebant, studium omne in differendo procinctu ponentes. Et dictitabant, his praesentibus quos audita referre ad imperatorem posse rebantur, eum ni sedatius ageret in immodica rerum secundarum prosperitate, velut luxuriantes ubertate nimia fruges, bonis suis protinus occasurum. [4] Et haec diu multumque agitantes, frustra virum circumlatrabant immobilem occultis iniuriis, ut Pygmaei vel Thiodamas agrestis homo Lindius Herculem. [5] Ille tamen ut maioris praeter ceteros spiritus, nihilo lentius magnitudinem expeditionis secum commentans, in praeparandis congruis operam navabat enixam.

[6] Hostiarum tamen sanguine plurimo aras crebritate nimia perfundebat, tauros aliquotiens immolando centenos, et innumeros varii pecoris greges, avesque candidas terra quaesitas et mari, adeo ut in dies paene singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina, victitantes incultius, potusque aviditate corrupti, umeris impositi transeuntium, per plateas ex publicis aedibus, ubi vindicandis potius quam cedendis conviviis indulgebant, ad sua diversoria portarentur, Petulantes ante omnes et Celtae, quorum ea tempestate confidentia creverat ultra modum. [7] Augebantur autem cerimoniarum ritus immodice, cum impensarum amplitudine antehac inusitata et gravi: et quisque cum impraepedite liceret, scientiam vaticinandi professus, iuxta imperitus et docilis, sine fine vel praestitutis ordinibus, oraculorum permittebantur scitari responsa, et extispicia non numquam futura pandentia, oscinumque et auguriorum et ominum fides, si reperiri usquam posset, affectata varietate quaerebatur. [8] Haecque dum more pacis ita procedunt, multorum curiosior Iulianus, novam consilii viam ingressus est, venas fatidicas Castalii recludere cogitans fontis, quem obstruxisse Caesar dicitur Hadrianus mole saxorum ingenti, veritus ne (ut ipse praecincentibus aquis capessendam rem publicam comperit), etiam alii similia docerentur: deumque adfatus circumhumata corpora statuit exinde transferri, eo ritu quo Athenienses insulam purgaverant Delon.

Templi Apollinis Daphnaei incendium Iulianus A. immerito imputat Christianis, et maiorem Antiochiae ecclesiam claudi iubet.

Eodem tempore diem undecimum kalendarum Novembrium amplissimum

Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamentum, eiusque aequiperans magnitudinem, subita vi flammaram exustum est. [2] Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatorem ira provexit, ut quaestiones agitari iuberet, solito acriores, et maiorem ecclesiam Antiochiae claudi. Suspiciabatur enim id Christianos egisse, stimulos invidia, quod idem templum inviti videbant ambitioso circumdari peristylis. [3] Ferebatur autem licet rumore levissimo, hac ex causa conflagrasse delubrum, quod Asclepiades philosophus, cuius in actibus Magnenti meminimus, cum visendi gratia Iuliani peregre ad id suburbanum venisset, deae caelestis argenteum breve figmentum, quocumque ibat secum solitus ferre, ante pedes statuit simulacri sublimes, accensisque cereis ex usu cessit, unde medietate noctis emensa, cum nec adesse quisquam potuit nec iuvare, volitantes scintillae adhaesere materiis vetustissimis, ignisque aridis nutrimentis, omne quicquid contingi potuit (licet erecta discretum celsitudine) concremarunt. [4] Eo anno sidere etiam tum instante brumali, aquarum incessit inopia metuenda, ut et rivi cassescerent quidam, et fontes antehac aquarum copiosis pulsibus abundantes, sed in integrum postea restituti sunt. [5] Et quartum nonas Decembres, vergente in vesperam die, reliqua Nicomedia collapsa est terrae motu, itidemque Nicaeae portio non mediocris.

Iulianus A. in monte Casio Iovi sacra facit; cur Antiochensibus iratus Misopogonem scripserit.

Quae tametsi maestitiam sollicito incuterent principi, residua tamen non contemnebat urgentia, dum pugnandi tempus ei veniret optatum. Inter praecipua tamen et seria illud agere superfluum videbatur, quod, nulla probabili ratione suscepta, popularitatis amore, vilitati studebat venalium rerum, quae non numquam secus quam convenit ordinata, inopiam gignere solet et famem. [2] Et Antiochensi ordine id tunc fieri, cum ille iuberet, non posse, aperte monstrante, nusquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris licet incruentus. Quocirca in eos deinceps saeviens ut obtrectatores et contumaces volumen composuit invectivum, quod Antiochense vel Misopogonem appellavit, probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans, addensque veritati complura: post quae multa in se facete dicta comperiens, coactus dissimulare pro tempore, ira sufflabatur interna. [3] Ridebatur enim ut Cercops, homo brevis humeros extentans angustos et barbam prae se ferens hircinam, grandiaque incedens tamquam Oti frater et Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum extollit, itidemque victimarius pro sacricola dicebatur ad crebritatem hostiarum alludentibus multis, et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratia, vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis laetabatur. Et quamquam his paribusque de causis indignaretur, tacens tamen motumque in animi retinens potestate, sollempnia celebrabat.

[4] Denique praestituto feriarum die Casium montem ascendit, nemorosum

et tereti ambitu in sublime porrectum, unde secundis galliciniis videtur primo solis exortus. Cumque Iovi faceret rem divinam, repente conspexit quendam humi prostratum, supplici voce vitam precantem et veniam. Interrogantique ei, qui esset, responsum est praesidalem esse Theodotum Hierapolitanum, qui profectum a civitate sua Constantium inter honoratos deducens, adulando deformiter, tamquam futurum sine dubietate victorem, orabat, lacrimas fingens et gemitum, ut Iuliani ad eos mitteret caput, perduellis ingrati, specie illa, qua Magnenti circumlatum meminerat membrum. [5] Quibus auditis, ‘Accepi’ inquit, ‘olim hoc dictum’ imperator ‘relatione multorum, sed abi securus ad lares exutus omni metu dementia principis, qui (ut prudens definivit) inimicorum minuere numerum augereque amicorum sponte sua contendit ac libens.’

[6] Exinde sacrorum perfecto ritu digresso, offeruntur rectoris Aegypti scripta, Apim bovem operosa quaesitum industria, tandem post tempus inveniri potuisse firmantis, quod (ut earum regionum existimant incolae) faustum, et ubertatem frugum diversaue indicans bona.

[7] Super qua re pauca conveniet expediri. Inter animalia antiquis observationibus consecrata, Mnevis et Apis sunt notiora: Mnevis Soli sacratur, super quo nihil dicitur memorabile; sequens Lunae. Est enim Apis bos diversis genitalium notarum figuris expressus, maximeque omnium corniculantis lunae specie latere dextro insignis, qui cum post vivendi spatium praestitutum, sacro fonte immersus e vita abierit (nec enim ultra eum trahere licet aetatem, quam secreta librorum praescribit auctoritas mysticorum), necatur choragio pari, bos femina, quae ei inventa cum notis certis offertur, quo perempto alter cum publico quaeritur luctu, et si omnibus signis consummatus reperiri potuerit, ducitur Memphim, urbem praesentia frequenti numinis Aesculapii claram. [8] Cumque initiante antistitem numero centum, inductus in thalamum esse coeperit sacer, coniecturis apertis, signa rerum futurarum dicitur demonstrare, et adeuntes quosdam indiciis averti videtur obliquis, ut offerentem cibum aliquando Germanicum Caesarem (sicut lectum est) aversatus portenderat paulo post eventura.

Descriptio rerum Aegyptiarum; et de Nilo, de crocodilo, de ibi, ac de pyramidibus.

Strictim itaque, quoniam tempus videtur hoc flagitare, res Aegyptiacae tangantur, quarum notitiam in actibus Hadriani et Severi principum digessimus late, visa pleraque narrantes. [2] Aegyptum gentem omnium vetustissimam, nisi quod super antiquitate certat cum Scythiis, a meridiali latere Syrtes maiores et Phycus promuntorium et Borion et Garamantes nationesque varia claudunt; qua orientem e regione prospectat, Elephantinen et Meroen urbes Aethiopum, et Catadupos rubrumque pelagus, et Scenitas praetenditur Arabas, quos Sarracenos nunc appellamus; septentrioni supposita, terrarum situ cohaeret immenso, unde exordium Asia Syriarumque provinciae sumunt; a vespera Issiaco disiungitur mari, quod quidam nominavere Parthenium.

[3] Pauca itaque super benivolo omnium flumine Nilo (quem Aegyptum Homerus appellat), praestringi conveniet, mox ostendendis aliis, quae sunt in his regionibus admiranda. [4] Origines fontium Nili, ut mihi quidem videri solet, sicut adhuc factum est, posteræ quoque ignorabunt aetates. Verum quoniam fabulantes poetae variantesque geographi, in diversa latentem notitiam scindunt, opiniones eorum veritati confines, ut arbitror, expediam paucis. [5] Affirmant aliqui physicorum, in subiectis septentrioni spatiis cum hiemes frigidae cuncta constringunt, magnitudines nivium congelare, easque postea vi flagrantis sideris resolutas, fluxis umoribus nubes efficere gravidas, quae in meridianam plagam Etesiis flantibus pulsae, expressaeque tepore nimio incrementa ubertim suggerere Nilo creduntur. [6] Ex Aethiopicis imbribus, qui abundanter in tractibus illis per aestus torridos cadere memorantur, exundationes eius erigi anni temporibus asserunt alii praestitutis: quod utrumque dissonare videtur a veritate. Imbres enim apud Aethiopas aut numquam aut per intervalla temporum longa cadere memorantur. [7] Opinio est celebrior alia, quod spirantibus Prodrumis, perque dies quadraginta et quinque, Etesiarum continuis flatibus repellentibus eius meatum, velocitate cohibita, superfusis fluctibus intumescit; et reluctantæ spiritu controverso adulescens in maius, hinc vi reverberante ventorum, inde urgente cursu venarum perennium, progrediens in sublime, contegit omnia, et humo suppressa, per supina camporum speciem exhibet maris. [8] Rex autem Iuba, Punicorum confisus textu librorum, a monte quodam oriri eum exponit, qui situs in Mauritania despectat oceanum, hisque indiciis hoc proditum ait, quod pisces et herbae et beluae similes per eas paludes gignuntur. [9] Aethiopiae autem partes praetermeans Nilus nominum diversitate decussa, quae ei orbem peragranti nationes indidere complures, aestuans inundatione ditissima, ad cataractas (id est praeruptos scopulos) venit, e quibus praecipitans, ruit potius quam fluit: unde Atos olim accolas usu aurium fragore assiduo deminuto, necessitas vertere solum ad quietiora coegit. [10] Exinde lenius means, per ostia septem, quorum singula perpetuorum amnium usum et faciem praebent, nullis per Aegyptum aquis externis adiutus eiectatur. Et praeter amnis plurimos ex alveo derivatos auctore, cadentesque in suppres eis, septem navigabiles sunt et undosi, quibus subiecta vocabula veteres indiderunt: Heracleoticus, Sebennyiticus, Bolbiticus, Pathmiticus, Mendesius, Taniticus et Pelusiacus. [11] Oriens autem inde (ut dictum est) propellitur e paludibus ad usque cataractas, insulasque efficit plures, quarum aliquae ita porrectis spatiis dicuntur extentae, ut singulas aegre tertio die relinquat. [12] Inter quas duae sunt clarae, Meroe et Delta, a triquetrae litterae forma hoc vocabulo signatius appellata. Cum autem sol per Cancræ sidus coeperit vehi, augescens ad usque transitum eius in Libram, diebusque centum sublatius fluens, minuitur postea, et mitigatis ponderibus aquarum, navibus antea pervios equitabiles campos ostendit. [13] Abunde itaque luxurians ita est noxius, ut infructuosus, si venerit parcius: gurgitum enim nimietate umectans diutius terras culturas moratur agrorum, parvitate autem minatur steriles segetes. Eumque nemo aliquando extolli

cubitis altius sedecim possessor optavit. Et si inciderit moderatius, aliquotiens iactae sementes in loco prae- pinguis cespitis cum augmento fere septuagesimo renascuntur: solusque fluminum auras nullas exspirat.

[14] Exuberat Aegyptus etiam pecudibus multis, inter quas terrestres sunt et aquatiles, aliaeque humi et in humoribus vivunt, unde ἀμφίβιοι nominantur. Et in aridis quidem capreoli vescuntur et bubali et spinturnicia omni deformitate ridicula, aliaeque monstra quae enumerare non refert.

[15] Inter aquatiles autem bestias, crocodilus ubique per eos tractus abundat, exitiale quadrupes malum, assuetum elementis ambobus, lingua carens, maxillam superiorem commovens solum, ordine dentium pectinato, perniciosis morsibus quicquid contigerit pertinaciter petens, per ova edens fetus anserinis similia. [16] Utque armatus est unguibus, si haberet etiam pollices, ad evertendas quoque naves sufficeret viribus magnis: ad cubitorum enim longitudinem octodecim interdum extentus, noctibus quiescens per undas, diebus humi vaporatur confidentia cutis, quam ita validam gerit, ut eius terga cataphracta vix tormentorum ictibus perforentur. [17] Et saevientes semper eadem ferae (quasi pacto foedere quodam castrensi), per septem caerimoniosos dies mitescunt, ab omni saevitia desciscentes, quibus sacerdotes Memphi natales celebrant Nili. [18] Praeter eos autem, qui fortuita pereunt morte, alii dirumpuntur suffossis alvis mollibus serratis ferarum dorsualibus cristis, quas delphinis similes nutrit fluvius ante dictus, alii exitio intereunt tali. [19] Trochilus avicula brevis, dum escarum minutias captat, circa cubantem feram volitans blande, genasque eius irritatius titillando pervenit ad usque ipsam viciniam gutturis. Quod factum contuens enhydrus, ichneumonis genus, oris aditum penetrat alite praevia patefactum, et populato ventre, vitalibus dilancinatis erumpit. [20] Audax tamen crocodilus monstrum fugacibus; ubi audacem senserit, timidissimum; et in terra acutius cernens, per quattuor menses hibernos, nullo vesci dicitur cibo.

[21] Hippopotami quoque generantur in illis partibus, ultra animalia cuncta ratione carentia sagacissimi, ad speciem equorum bifidos unquis habentes, caudasque breves, quorum sollertiae duo interim ostendere documenta sufficiet. [22] Inter arundines celsas, ut squalentes nimia densitate, haec belua cubilibus positis, otium pervigili studio circumspectat, laxataque copia, ad segetes depascendas egreditur. Cumque iam coeperit redire distenta, aversis vestigiis distinguit tramites multos, ne unius plani itineris lineas insidiatores secuti, repertum sine difficultate confodiant. [23] Item cum aviditate nimia extuberato ventre pigrescit, super calamos recens exsectos femora convolvit et crura, ut pedibus vulneratis cruor egestus sagina distentum faciat levem: et partes saucias caeno oblinit quam diu in cicatrices convenient plagae. [24] Has monstruosas antehac raritates in beluis, in aedilitate Scauri vidit Romanus populus primitus, patris illius Scauri, quem defendens Tullius imperat Sardis, ut de familia nobili ipsi quoque cum orbis terrarum auctoritate sentirent, et per aetates exinde plures saepe huc ducti, nunc inveniri nusquam possunt, ut coniectantes regionum incolae dicunt, insectantis multitudinis taedio ad

Blemmyas migrasse compulsi.

[25] Inter Aegyptias alites, quarum varietas nullo comprehendi numero potest, ibis sacra est et amabilis, et innocua ideo, quod nidulis suis ad cibum suggerens ova serpentum, efficit ut rarecant mortiferae pestes absumptae. [26] Occurrunt eadem volucres pinnatis agminibus anguium, qui ex Arabicis emergunt paludibus, venena maligna gignentes, mosque antequam finibus suis excedunt, proeliis superatos aeriis vorant, quas aves per rostra edere fetus accepimus. [27] Serpentes quoque Aegyptus alit innumeras, ultra omnem perniciem saevientes: basiliscos et amphisbaenas et scytalas, et acontias et dipsadas et viperas, aliasque complures, quas omnes magnitudine et decore aspis facile supereminens, numquam sponte sua fluenta egreditur Nili.

[28] Multa in illis tractibus pretium est operae ac maxima cernere; e quibus pauca conveniet explicari. Templata ubique molibus magnis exstructa. Pyramides ad miracula septem provectae, quarum diuturnas surgendi difficultates scriptor Herodotus docet, ultra omnem altitudinem, quae humana manu confici potest, erectae sunt turres, ab imo latissimae in summitates acutissimas desinentes. [29] Quae figura apud geometras ideo sic appellatur, quod ad ignis speciem (τοῦ πυρὸς, ut nos dicimus) extenuatur in conum. Quarum magnitudo quoniam in celsitudinem nimiam scandens, gracilescit paulatim, umbras quoque mechanica ratione consumit.

[30] Sunt et syringes subterranei quidam, et flexuosi secessus, quos (ut fertur) periti rituum vetustorum adventare diluvium praescii, metuentesque ne cerimoniarum oblitteraretur memoria, penitus operosis digestos fodinis per loca diversa struxerunt, et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpservnt, et animalium species innumeras illas, quas hierographicas litteras appellant.

[31] Dein Syene, in qua solstitii tempore, quo sol aestivum cursum extendit, recta omnia ambientes radii excedere ipsis corporibus umbras non sinunt. Inde si stipitem quisquam fixerit rectum, vel hominem aut arborem viderit stantem, circa lineamentorum ipsas extremitates contemplabitur umbras absumi, sicut apud Meroen, Aethiopiae partem aequinoctiali circulo proximam, dicitur evenire, ubi per nonaginta dies umbrae nostris in contrarium cadunt, unde Antiscios eius incolas vocant. [32] Quae quoniam miracula multa sunt, opusculi nostri propositum excedentia, ad ingenia celsa reiciamus, pauca super provinciis narraturi.

De quinque Aegypti provinciis, deque claris eorum urbibus.

Tres provincias Aegyptus fertur habuisse temporibus priscis, Aegyptum ipsam et Thebaida et Libyam, quibus duas adiecit posteritas, ab Aegypto Augustamnica et Pentapolim a Libya sicciore dispartatam.

[2] Igitur Thebais multas inter urbes clariores aliis Hermopolim habet, et Copton et Antinou, quam Hadrianus in honorem Antinoi ephebi condidit sui: hecatompylos enim Thebas nemo ignorat.

[3] In Augustamnica Pelusium est oppidum nobile, quod Peleus Achillis pater dicitur condidisse, lustrari deorum monitu iussus in lacu, qui eiusdem

civitatis alluit moenia, cum post interfectum fratrem nomine Phocum, horrendis furiarum imaginibus raptaretur, et Cassium, ubi Pompei sepulcrum est Magni, et Ostracine et Rhinocorura.

[4] In Pentapoli Libya Cyrene est posita, urbs antiqua sed deserta, quam Spartanus condidit Battus, et Ptolemais et Arsinoe (eadem quae Teuchira) et Darnis et Berenice, quas Hesperidas appellant. [5] In sicciore vero Libye Paraetion et Chaerecla et Neapolis inter municipia pauca et brevia.

[6] Aegyptus ipsa, quae iam inde uti Romano imperio iuncta est, regio iure regitur a praefectis, exceptis minoribus multis, Athribi et Oxyryncho et Thmui et Memphi maximis urbibus nitet.

[7] Alexandria enim vertex omnium est civitatum, quam multa nobilitant et magnifica, conditoris altissimi, et architecti sollertia Dinocratis, qui cum ampla moenia fundaret et pulchra, paenuria calcis ad momentum parum repertae, omnes ambitus lineales farina respersit, quod civitatem post haec alimentorum uberi copia circumfluere fortuito monstravit. [8] Inibi aurae salubriter spirant, et aer est tranquillus et clemens atque, ut periculum docuit, per varias collectum aetates, nullo paene die incolentes hanc civitatem solem serenum non vident. [9] Hoc litus cum fallacibus et insidiosis accessibus affligeret antehac navigantes discriminibus plurimis, excogitavit in portu Cleopatra turrim excelsam, quae Pharos a loco ipso cognominatur, praelucendi navibus nocturna suggerens ministeria, cum quondam ex Parthenio pelago venientes vel Libyco, per pandas oras et patulas, montium nullas speculas vel collium signa cernentes, harenarum illis glutinosae mollitiae frangerentur. [10] Haec eadem regina heptastadium sicut vix credenda celeritate, ita magnitudine mira construxit, ob causam notam et necessariam. Insula Pharos, ubi Protea cum phocarum gregibus diversatum Homerus fabulatur inflatus, a civitatis litore mille passibus disparata, Rhodiorum erat obnoxia vectigali. [11] Quod cum hi die quodam nimium quantum petitori venissent, femina callida semper in fraudes, sollemnium specie feriarum eisdem publicanis secum ad suburbana perductis, opus iusserat inrequietis laboribus consummari, et septem diebus totidem stadia molibus iactis in mari solo propinquante, terrae sunt vindicata; equorumque cum vehiculo ingressa riserat Rhodios, insularum non continentis portorium flagitantes.

[12] His accedunt altis sufflata fastigiis templa, inter quae eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columnatis amplissimus, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in aeternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat. [13] In quo bybliothecae fuerunt inaeestimabiles: et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, septingenta voluminum milia, Ptolomaeis regibus vigiliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino, dum diripitur civitas, sub dictatore Caesare conflagrasset.

[14] Canopus inde duodecimo disiungitur lapide, quem (ut priscae memoriae tradunt), Menelai gubernator sepultus ibi cognominavit. Amoenus impendio locus, et diversoriis laetis exstructus, auris et salutari temperamento

perflabilis, ita ut extra mundum nostrum morari se quisquam arbitretur, in illis tractibus agens, cum saepe aprico spiritu immurmurantes audierit ventos.

[15] Sed Alexandria ipsa non sensim (ut aliae urbes), sed inter initia prima aucta per spatiosos ambitus internisque seditionibus diu aspere fatigata, ad ultimum multis post annis, Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus iurgiis ad certamina interneciva prolapsis, dirutisque moenibus, amisit regionum maximam partem, quae Bruchion appellabatur, diuturnum praestantium hominum domicilium. [16] Unde Aristarchus grammaticae rei dumis excellens, et Herodianus artium minutissimus sciscitator, et Saccas Ammonius Plotini magister, alique plurimi scriptores multorum in litteris nobilium studiorum, inter quos Chalcenterus eminuit Didymus, multiplicis scientiae copia memorabilis, qui in illis sex libris, ubi non numquam imperfecte Tullium reprehendit, sillographos imitatus, scriptores maledicos, iudicio doctarum aurium incusatur, ut immania frementem leonem trepidulis vocibus canis catulus longius circumlatrans. [17] Et quamquam veteres cum his quorum memini florere complures, tamen ne nunc quidem in eadem urbe doctrinae variae silent; nam et disciplinarum magistri quodam modo spirant, et nudatur ibi geometrico radio quicquid reconditum latet, nondumque apud eos penitus exaruit musica, nec harmonia conticuit, et recalet apud quosdam adhuc (licet raros), consideratio mundani motus et siderum, doctique sunt alii numeros; pauci super his scientiam callent, quae fatorum vias ostendit. [18] Medicinae autem — cuius in hac vita nostra nec parca nec sobria, desiderantur adminicula crebra — ita studia augentur in dies ut (licet opus ipsum redoleat) pro omni tamen experimento sufficiat medico ad commendandam artis auctoritatem, Alexandriae si se dixerit eruditum. [19] Et haec quidem hactenus. Sed si intellegendi divini editionem multiplicem, et praesensionum originem mente vegeta quisquam voverit replicare, per mundum omnem inveniet mathemata huius modi ab Aegypto circumlata, [20] Ibi primum homines longe ante alios ad varia religionum incunabula (ut dicitur) pervenerunt et initia prima sacrorum caute tuentur condita scriptis arcanis. [21] Hac institutus prudentia Pythagoras colens secretius deos, quicquid dixit aut voluit auctoritatem esse instituit ratam, et femur suum aureum apud Olympiam saepe monstrabat, et cum aquila colloquens subinde visebatur. [22] Hinc Anaxagoras lapides e caelo lapsuros et putealem limum contrectans, tremores futuros praedixerat terrae. Et Solon sentiis adiutus Aegypti sacerdotum, latis iusto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque iuri maximum addidit firmamentum. Ex his fontibus per sublimia gradiens, sermonum amplitudine Iouis aemulus Platon, visa Aegypto militavit sapientia gloriosa.

[23] Homines autem Aegyptii plerique subfusculi sunt et atrati, magisque maestiores, gracilenti et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescentes, controversi et reposcones acerrimi. Erubescit apud eos siqui non infigendo tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat. Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quae obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.

[24] Id autem notum est (ut annales veteres monstrant), quod Aegyptus omnis sub avitis erat antea regibus, sed superatis apud Actium bello navali Antonio et Cleopatra, provinciae nomen accepit, ab Octaviano Augusto possessa. Aridiorem Libyam supremo Apionos regis consecuti sumus arbitrio, Cyrenas cum residuis civitatibus Libyae Pentapoleos, Ptolomaei liberalitate suscepimus. Evectus longius ad ordinem remeabo coeptorum.

LIBER XXIII.

[1] Iulianus A. templum apud Hierosolyma pridem dirutum, frustra instaurare conatur.

Haec eo anno (ut praetereamus negotiorum minutias) agebantur. Iulianus vero iam tertio consul, adscito in collegium trabeae Sallustio praefecto per Gallias, quater ipse amplissimum inierat magistratum et videbatur novum adiunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum et Aristobulum, nullus meminerat gestum. [2] Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicita mente praecipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret, diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam, magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolimam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano, posteaque Tito, aegre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi qui olim Britannias curaverat pro praefectis. [3] Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, iuaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammaram prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquotiens operantibus inaccessum, hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum.

[4] Eisdem diebus, legatos ad se missos ab urbe aeterna, dare natos meritisque probabilis vitae compertos, imperator honoribus diversis affecit. Et Apronianum Romae decrevit esse praefectum, Octavianum proconsulem Africae, Venusto vicariam commisit Hispaniae, Rufinum Aradium comitem Orientis, in locum avunculi sui Iuliani, recens defuncti, provexit. [5] Quibus ut convenerat ordinatis, terrebatur omine quodam, ut docuit exitus, praesentissimo. Felice enim largitionum comite profluvio sanguinis repente extincto, eumque comite Iuliano secuto, vulgus publicos contuens titulos, Felicem Iulianum Augustumque pronuntiabat. [6] Praecesserat aliud scaevum ; namque kalendis ipsis Ianuariis ascendente eo gradile Genii templum, e sacerdotum consortio quidam ceteris diuturnior, nullo pulsante, repente concidit animamque insperato casu efflavit, quod adstantes (incertum per imperitiam an adulandi cupiditate), memorabant consulum seniori portendi, nimirum Sallustio, sed (ut apparuit) non aetati sed potestati maiori, interitum propinquare monstrabat. [7] Super his alia quoque minora signa subinde quod acciderat ostendebant. Inter ipsa enim exordia procinctus Parthici disponendi, nuntiatum est Constantinopolim terrae pulsu vibratam: quod horum periti minus laetum esse pronuntiabant aliena pervadere molienti rectori. Ideoque intempestivo conatu desistere suadebant, ita demum haec et similia contemni oportere firmantes, cum irruentibus armis externis, lex una sit et perpetua, salutem omni ratione defendere, nihil remittentem vigoris. Eisdem diebus nuntiatum est ei per litteras, Romae super hoc bello libros Sibyllae consultos, ut iusserat, imperatorem eo anno discedere a limitibus suis, aperto prohibuisse

responso.

Arsacem idem Armeniae regem ad bellum Persicum parari iubet, et cum exercitu ac Scytharum auxiliis transit Euphratem.

Inter haec tamen legationes gentium plurimarum auxilia pollicentium, liberaliter susceptae remittebantur, speciosa fiducia principe respondente, nequaquam decere adventiciis adiumentis rem vindicari Romanam, cuius opibus foveri conveniret amicos et socios, si auxilium eos adegerit necessitas implorare. [2] Solum Arsacem monuerat Armeniae regem, ut collectis copiis validis, iubenda operiretur, quo tenderet, quid deberet urgere, propere cogniturus. Proinde cum primam consultae rationes copiam praebuissent, rumore praecurso, hostiles occupare properans terras, nondum adulto vere, missa per militares numeros expeditionali tessera cunctos transire iussit Euphraten. [3] Quo comperto omnes evolant ex hibernis, transmissique (ut textus docebat scriptorum), dispersi per stationes varias adventum principis exspectabant. Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum, Syriacae iuris dictioni praefecit, turbulentum et saevum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis huius modi iudicem convenire. [4] Cumque eum profecturum deduceret multitudo promiscua, itum felicem reditumque gloriosum exoptans, oransque ut deinde placabilis esset et lenior, nondum ira, quam ex compellationibus et probris conceperat, emollita, loquebatur asperius, se esse eos asserens postea non visurum. [5] Disposuisse enim aiebat, hiemandi gratia per compendiarium viam, consummate procinctu, Tarsum Ciliciae reversurum, scripsisseque ad Memorium praesidem, ut in eadem urbe cuncta usui congrua pararentur. Et hoc haud diu postea contigit. Corpus namque eius illuc relatum exsequiarum humili pompa, in suburbano sepultum est, ut ipse mandarat.

[6] Iamque apricante caelo tertium nonas Martias profectus, Hierapolim solitis itineribus venit. Ubi cum introierit civitatis capacissimae portas, sinistra porticus subito lapsa, subter tendentes quinquaginta milites exceptis plurimis vulneratis, tignorum tegularumque pondere magno collisit. [7] Unde contractis copiis omnibus, Mesopotamiam propere signa commovit, ut fama de se nulla praeversa — id enim curatius observarat, — improvisus Assyrios occuparet. Denique cum exercitu et Scytharum auxiliis, Euphrate navali ponte transmisso, venit ad Batnas, municipium Osdroenae, ibique illaetabile portentum offendit. [8] Cum enim calorum frequens multitudo ad suscipiendum consuete pabulum prope acervum palarum stetisset, impendio celsum — hoc enim modo per regiones illas tales species construuntur, — rapientibus multis, quassata congeries inclinata est, parique exitio quinquaginta obruit homines, mole maxima ruinarum.

Juliano A. per Mesopotamiam iter facienti Saracenarum gentium reguli coronam auream et auxilia ultro offerunt; classis Romana milli et centum navium adveniens consternit Euphratem.

Maestus exinde digressus, venit cursu proprio Carras, antiquum oppidum, Crassorum et Romani exercitus aerumnis insigne. Unde duae ducentes

Persidem viae regiae distinguuntur, laeva per Adiabenam et Tigridem, dextra per Assyrios et Euphraten. [2] Ibi moratus aliquot dies, dum necessaria parat, et Lunae (quae religiose per eos colitur tractus), ritu locorum fert sacra, dicitur ante aras, nullo arbitrorum admissio occulte paludamentum purpureum propinquo suo tradidisse Procopio, mandasseque arripere fidentius principatum, si se interisse didicerit apud Parthos. [3] Hic Iuliani quiescentis animus agitatus insomniis, eventurum triste aliquid praesagibat. Quocirca et ipse et visorum interpretes, praesentia contemplantes, diem secutum, qui erat quartum decimum kalendas Aprilis, observari debere pronuntiabant. Verum ut compertum est postea, hac eadem nocte Palatini Apollinis templum, praefecturam regente Aproniano, in urbe conflagravit aeterna, ubi ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammaram.

[4] Post quae ita digesta, agmina et commeatus omnis generis disponenti imperatori, procursatorum adventu anhelantium etiam tum indicatur, equestres hostium turmas vicino limite quodam perrupto, avertisse subito praedas. [5] Cuius atrocitate mali percussus, ilico (ut ante cogitaverat) triginta milia lectorum militum eidem commisit Procopio, iuncto ad parilem potestatem Sebastiano comite ex duce Aegypti, eisdemque praecepit, ut intra Tigridem interim agerent, vigilanter omnia servaturi, nequid inopinum ex incauto latere oreretur, qualia multa saepe didicerat evenisse, mandabatque eis ut (si fieri potius posset), regi sociarentur Arsaci, cumque eo per Corduenam et Moxoenam, Chiliocomo uberi Mediae tractu, partibusque aliis praestricto cursu vastatis, apud Assyrios adhuc agenti sibi concurrerent, necessitatum articulis adfuturi.

[6] His ita ordinatis, ipse exitu simulato per Tigrim, quod iter etiam re cibaria de industria iusserat instrui, flexit dextrorsus, et quieta nocte emensa, mane iumentum quo veheretur ex usu poposcit, oblatusque ei equus Babylonius nomine, ictu torminum consternatus, dum dolorum impatiens volvitur, auro lapillisque ornamenta distincta conspersit. Quo ostento laetior exclamavit, plaudentibus proximis, Babylona humi procidisse ornamentis omnibus spoliata. [7] Et paulisper detentus, ut omen per hostias litando firmaret, Davanam venit castra praesidiaria, unde ortus Belias fluvius funditur in Euphraten. Hic corporibus cibo curatis et quiete, postridie ventum est ad Callinicum, munimentum robustum et commercandi opimitate gratissimum, ubi diem sextum kalendas Apriles, quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebrantur annuales, et carpentum, quo vehitur simulacrum, Almonis undis ablui perhibetur, sacrorum sollemnitate prisco more completa, somno per otium capto, exsultans pernoctavit et laetus. [8] Luce vero secuta, profectus exinde per supercilia riparum fluvialium, aquis adulescentibus undique convenis, cum armigera gradiens manu, in statione quadam sub pellibus mansit, ubi Saracenarum reguli gentium, genibus supplices nixi, oblata ex auro corona, tamquam mundi nationumque suarum dominum adorarunt, suscepti gratanter, ut ad furta bellorum appositi. [9] Dumque hos alloquitur,

Xerxis illius potentissimi regis instar, classis advenit, tribuno Constantiano cum comite Luciliano ductante, quae latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat, in qua mille erant onerariae naves, ex diversa trabe confectae, commeatus abunde ferentes, et tela, et obsidionales etiam machinas, quinquaginta aliae bellatrices, totidemque ad compaginandos necessariae pontes.

Descriptiones muralium machinarum, ballistae, scorpionis vel onagri, arietis, helepoleos, ac malleoli.

Re ipsa admoneor, breviter quantum mediocre potest ingenium, haec instrumentorum genera ignorantibus circumscripse monstrare; et ballistae figura docebitur prima. [2] Ferrum inter axiculos duos firmum compaginatur et vastum in modum regulae maioris extentum, cuius ex volumine tereti, quod in medio pars polita componit, quadratus eminet stilus extentius, recto canalis angusti meatu cavatus, et hac multiplici chorda nervorum tortilium illigatus: eique cochleae duae lignae coniunguntur artissime, quarum prope unam assistit artifex contemplabilis, et subtiliter apponit in temonis cavamine, sagittam ligneam spiculo maiore conglutinatam, hocque facto, hinc inde validi iuvenes versant agiliter rotabilem flexum. [3] Cum ad extremitatem nervorum acumen venerit summum, percita interno pulsu a ballista ex oculis avolat, interdum nimio ardore scintillans, et evenit saepius ut antequam telum cernatur, dolor letale vulnus agnoscat.

[4] Scorpionis autem (quem appellant nunc Onagrum) huius modi forma est. Dolantur axes duo quernei vel ilicei, curvanturque mediocriter, ut prominere videantur in gibbas, hique in modum serratoriae machinae conectuntur ex utroque latere patentius perforati, quos inter per cavernas funes colligantur robusti, compagem (ne dissiliat) continentes. [5] Ab hac medietate restium ligneus stilus exsurgens obliquius, et in modum iugalis temonis erectus, ita nervorum nodulis implicatur, ut altius tolli possit et inclinari, summitatique eius unci ferrei copulantur, e quibus pendet stuppea vel ferrea funda, cui ligno fulmentum prosternitur ingens, cilicium paleis confertum minutis, validis nexibus illigatum, et locatum super congestos caespites vel latericios aggeres. Nam muro saxeo huius modi moles imposita disiectat quidquid invenerit subter concussione violenta, non pondere. [6] Cum igitur ad concertationem fuerit ventum, lapide rotundo fundae imposito, quaterni altrinsecus iuvenes repagula quibus incorporati sunt funes, explicantes retrorsus, stilum paene supinum inclinant: itaque demum sublimis adstans magister, claustrum quod totius operis continet vincula, reserat malleo forti perculsum, unde absolutus ictu volucris stilus, et mollitudine offensus cilicii, saxum contorquet, quicquid incurrerit collisurum. [7] Et tormentum quidem appellatur ex eo quod omnis explicatio torquetur, scorpio autem quoniam aculeum desuper habet erectum, cui etiam onagri vocabulum indidit aetas novella ea re, quod asini feri cum venatibus agitantur, ita minus lapides post terga calcitrando emittunt, ut perforant pectora sequentium aut perfractis ossibus capita ipsa displodant.

[8] Hinc ad arietem veniemus. Eligitur abies vel ornus excelsa, cuius summitas duro ferro concluditur et prolixo, arietis efficiens prominulam

speciem, quae forma huic machinamento vocabulum indidit, et sic suspensa utrimque, transversis asseribus et ferratis, quasi ex lance vinculis trabis alterius continetur, eamque quantum mensurae ratio patitur, multitudo retro repellens, rursus ad obvia quaeque rumpenda protrudit, ictibus validissimis, instar adsurgentis et cedentis arietis Qua crebritate velut reciproci fulminis impetu aedificiis scissis in rimas, concidunt structurae laxatae murorum. [9] Hoc genere operis si fuerit exserto vigore discussum, nudatis defensoribus muris, ideoque solutis obsidiis, civitates munitissimae recluduntur.

[10] Pro his arietum meditamentis iam crebritate despectis, conditur machina scriptoribus historicis nota, quam ἑλέπολιν Graeci cognominamus. Cuius opera diuturna Demetrius, Antigoni filius regis, Rhodo aliisque urbibus oppugnatis, Poliorcetes est appellatus. [11] Aedificatur autem hoc modo: testudo compaginatur immanis, axibus roborata longissimis, ferreisque clavis aptata, et contegitur coriis bubulis, virgarumque recenti textura, atque limo asperguntur eius suprema, ut flammeos detrectet et missiles casus. [12] Conseruntur autem eius frontalibus trisulcae cuspides praeacutae, ponderibus ferreis graves, qualia nobis pictores ostendunt fulmina vel fictores, ut quicquid petierit, aculeis exsertis abruptat. [13] Hanc ita validam molem rotis et funibus regens, numerosus intrinsecus miles, languidiori murorum parti viribus admovet concitis, et nisi desuper propugnantium valuerint vires, collis parietibus aditus patefacit ingentes.

[14] Malleoli autem, teli genus, figurantur hac specie: sagitta est cannea, inter spiculum et harundinem multifido ferro coagmentata, quae in muliebris coli formam (quo nentur lintea stamina), concavatur ventre subtiliter, et plurifariam patens, atque in alveo ipso ignem cum aliquo suscipit alimento. [15] Et si emissa lentius arcu invalido, — ictu enim rapidiore exstinguitur, — haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat, aquisque conspersa aciores excitat aestus incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam superiacto pulvere consopitur. Hactenus de instrumentis muralibus, e quibus pauca sunt dicta. Nunc ad rerum ordinem revertamur.

Julianus A. apud Cercusium Aboram flumen cum omnibus copiis ponte navali transgreditur, et milites alloquitur.

Adscitis Saracenorum auxiliis, quae animis obtulere promptissimis, tendens imperator agili gradu Cercusium, principio mensis Aprilis ingressus est, munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum, cuius moenia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. [2] Quod Diocletianus exiguum antehac et suspectum, muris turribusque circumdedit celsis, cum in ipsis barbarorum confiniis interiores limites ordinaret, documento recenti perterritus, ne vagarentur per Syriam Persae, ita ut paucis ante annis cum magnis provinciarum contigerat damnis. [3] Namque, cum Antiochiae in alto silentio, scaenicis ludis mimus cum uxore immissus, e medio sumpta quaedam imitaretur, populo venustate attonito, coniunx 'Nisi somnus est' inquit 'en Persae,' et retortis plebs universa cervicibus, ex arce volantia in se tela declinans, spargitur passim. Ita civitate incensa, et

obtruncatis pluribus, qui pacis more palabantur effusius, incensisque locis finitimis et vastatis, onusti praeda hostes ad sua remearunt innoxii, Mareade vivo exusto, qui eos ad suorum interitum civium duxerat inconsulte. Et haec quidem Gallieni temporibus evenerunt.

[4] Iulianus vero dum moratur apud Cercusium, ut per navalem Aborae pontem exercitus et omnes sequelae transirent, litteras tristes Sallusti, Galliarum praefecti, suscepit, orantis suspendi expeditionem in Parthos, obtestantisque, ne ita intempestive, nondum pace numinum exorata, irrevocabile subiret exitium. [5] Posthabito tamen suasore cautissimo, fidentius ultra tendebat, quoniam nulla vis humana vel virtus meruisse umquam potuit, ut quod praescripsit fatalis ordo non fiat. Statimque transgressus, pontem avelli praecepit, necui militum ab agminibus propriis revertendi fiducia remaneret. [6] Pari sorte hic quoque omen inlaetabile visum est, apparitoris cuiusdam cadaver extentum, carnificis manu deleti, quem praefectus Sallustius praesens, ea re supplicio capitali damnarat, quod intra praestitutum diem alimentorum augmentum exhibere pollicitus, casu impediante frustratus est. Sed miserando homine trucidato, postridie advenit, ut ille promiserat, alia classis, abunde vehens annonam.

[7] Profecti exinde Zaitham venimus locum, qui olea arbor interpretatur. Hic Gordiani imperatoris longe conspicuum vidimus tumulum, cuius actus a pueritia prima, exercituumque felicissimos ductus, et insidiosum interitum, digessimus tempore competentis. [8] Ubi cum pro ingenita pietate consecrato principi parentasset, pergeretque ad Duram (desertum oppidum) procul militarem cuneum conspicatus, stetit immobilis, eique dubitanti quid ferrent, offertur ab eis immanissimi corporis leo, cum aciem peteret, multiplici telorum iactu confossus. Quo omine velut certiore iam spe status prosperioris elatus, exsultantius incedebat, sed incerto flatu fortunae, aliorum prorupit eventus. Obitus enim regis portendebatur, sed cuius, erat incertum. [9] Nam et oracula dubia legimus, quae non nisi casus discrevere postremi, ut fidem vaticinii Delphici, quae post Halyn flumen transmissum, maximum regnum deiecturum praedixerat Croesum, et aliam quae Atheniensibus ad certandum contra Medos oblique destinaverat mare, sortemque his posteriorem, veram quidem, sed non minus ambiguum: aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.

[10] Etrusci tamen haruspices qui comitabantur gnaros prodigialium rerum, cum illis procinctum hunc saepe arcentibus, non crederetur, prolatis libris exercitibus, ostendebant signum hoc esse prohibitorium, principique aliena licet iuste invadenti, contrarium. [11] Sed calcabantur philosophis refragantibus, quorum reverenda tunc erat auctoritas, errantium subinde, et in parum cognitis perseverantium diu. Et enim ut probabile argumentum ad fidem implendam scientiae suae, id praetendebant, quod et Maximiano antehac Caesari, cum Narseo Persarum rege iam congressuro, itidem leo et aper ingens trucidati simul oblatis sunt, et superata gente discessit incolumis, illo minime contemplato, quod aliena petenti portendebatur exitium, et Narseus primus Armeniam Romano iuri obnoxiam occuparat. [12] Secuto itidem die, qui erat

septimum idus Aprilis, sole vergente iam in occasum, ex parva nubecula subito aere crassato, usus adimitur lucis, et post minacem tonitruum crebritatem et fulgurum, Iovianus nomine miles ex caelo tactus cum duobus equis concidit, quos potu satiatos a flumine reducebat. [13] Eoque viso, harum rerum interpretes arcessiti, interrogatique etiam id vetare procinctum fidentius affirmabant, fulmen consiliarium esse monstrantes: ita enim appellantur quae dissuadent aliquid fieri vel suadent. Ideoque hoc nimis cavendum, quod militem celsi nominis cum bellatoriis iumentis exstinxit, et hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri. [14] Contra philosophi, candorem ignis sacri repente conspecti, nihil significare aiebant, sed esse acrioris spiritus cursum, ex aethere aliqua vi ad inferiora detrusum, aut si exinde praenoscitur aliquid, incrementa claritudinis imperatori portendi, gloriosa coeptanti, cum constet flammam suapte natura nullo obstante ad sublimia convolare.

[15] Fracto igitur (ut ante dictum est) ponte, cunctisque transgressis, imperator antiquissimum omnium ratus est militem alloqui, sui rectorisque fiducia properantem intrepide. Signo itaque per lituos dato, cum centuriae omnes et cohortes et manipuli convenissent, ipse aggeri glebali assistens, coronaque celsarum circumdatus potestatum, talia ore sereno disseruit favorabilis studio concordi cunctorum:

[16] 'Contemplans maximis viribus et alacritate vos vigere, fortissimi milites, contionari disposui, docturus ratione multiplici, non nunc primitus (ut maledici mussitant) Romanos penetrasse regna Persidis. Namque ut Lucillum transeam vel Pompeium, qui per Albanos et Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac quoque natione perrupta, adivit Caspium lacum, Ventidium novimus Antoni legatum, strages per hos tractus innumeras edidisse. [17] Sed ut a vetustate discedam, haec quae tradidit recens memoria replicabo. Traianus et Verus et Severus hinc sunt digressi, victores et tropaeati, redissetque pari splendore iunior Gordianus, cuius monumentum nunc vidimus honorate, apud Resainan superato fugatoque rege Persarum, ni factione Philippi, praefecti praetorio, scelesti iuvantibus paucis, in hoc ubi sepultus est loco, vulnere impio cecidisset. Nec errare diu manes eius inulti, quod velut facta librante Iustitia, omnes qui in eius conspirare perniciem, cruciabilibus interiere suppliciis. [18] Et illos quidem voluntas, ad altiora propensiores, subire impulit facinora memoranda, sors vero miseranda recens captarum urbium et inultae caesorum exercituum umbrae, et damnorum magnitudines castrorumque amissiones, ad haec quae proposuimus agenda hortantur, votis omnium sociis ut medeamur praeteritis, et roborata huius lateris securitate re publica, quae de nobis magnifice loquatur posteritas relinquamus. [19] Adero ubique vobis, adiumento numinis sempiterni, imperator et antesignanus et conturmalis ominibus secundis (ut reor). At si fortuna versabilis in pugna me usquam fuderit, mihi vero pro Romano orbe memet vovisse sufficiet, ut Curtii Muciique veteres, et clara prosapia Deciorum. Abolenda nobis natio molestissima, cuius in gladiis nondum nostrae propinquitatis exaruit cruor. [20]

Plures absumptae sunt maioribus nostris aetates, ut interirent radicitus quae vexabant. Devicta est perplexo et diuturno Marte Carthago, sed eam dux inclytus timuit superesse victoriae. Evertit funditus Numantiam Scipio, post multiplices casus obsidionis emensos. Fidenas ne imperio subcrescerent aemulae Roma subvertit, et Faliscos ita oppressit et Veios, et suadere nobis laborat monumentorum veterum fides, ut has civitates aliquando valuisse credamus. [21] Haec ut antiquitatum peritus exposui; superest ut aviditate rapiendi posthabita, quae insidiatrix saepe Romani militis fuit, quisque agmini cohaerens incedat, cum ad necessitatem congregiendi fuerit ventum, signa propria secuturus, sciens quod si remanserit usquam, exsectis cruribus relinquetur. Nihil enim praeter dolos et insidias hostium vereor, nimium callidorum. [22] Ad summam polliceor universis, rebus post haec prospere mitigatis, absque omni praerogativa principum, qui quod dixerint vel censuerint, pro potestate auctoritatis iustum esse existimant, rationem me recte consultorum vel secus, siquis exegerit, redditurum. [23] Quocirca erigite iam nunc, quaeso, erigite animos vestros, multa praesumentes et bona, aequata sorte nobiscum quicquid occurrerit difficile subituri, et coniectantes aequitati semper solere iungi victoriam.'

[24] Conclusa oratione ad hunc gratissimum finem, ductoris gloria proeliorum miles exsultans, speque prosperorum elatior, sublatis altius scutis, nihil periculosum fore vel arduum clamitabat, sub imperatore plus sibi laboris quam gregariis indicente. [25] Maxime omnium id numeri Gallicani fremitu laetiore monstrabant, memores aliquotiens eo ductante, perque ordines discurrente, cadentes vidisse gentes aliquas alias supplicantes.

Describuntur maiores provinciae xviii regni Persarum, una cum suis quaeque viribus, moresque nationum.

Res adigit huc prolapsa ut in excessu celeri situm monstrare Persidis, descriptionibus gentium curiose digestis, in quibus aegre vera dixere paucissimi. Quod autem erit paulo proluxior textus, ad scientiam proficiet plenam. Quisquis enim affectat nimiam brevitate ubi narrantur incognita non quid signatius explicet, sed quid debeat praeteriri, scrutatur.

[2] Hoc regnum quondam exiguum, multisque antea nominibus appellatum, ob causas quas saepe rettulimus, cum apud Babylona Magnum fata rapuissent Alexandrum, in vocabulum Parthi concessit Arsacis, obscuro geniti loco, latronum inter adulescentiae rudimenta ductoris, verum paulatim in melius mutato proposito, clarorum contextu factorum aucti sublimius. [3] Qui post multa gloriose et fortiter gesta, superato Nicator Seleuco, eiusdem Alexandri successore, cui victoriarum crebritas hoc indiderat cognomentum, praesidiisque Macedonum pulsus, ipse tranquillius agens temperator oboedientium fuit et arbiter lenis. [4] Denique post finitima cuncta vi vel aequitatis consideratione vel metu subacta, civitatum et castrorum castellorumque munimentis oppleta Perside, assuefactaque timori esse accolis omnibus, quos antea formidabat, medium ipse agens cursum aetatis placida morte decessit. Certatimque summatum et vulgi sententiis concinentibus,

astris, ut ipsi existimant, ritus sui consecratione permixtus est omnium primus. [5] Unde ad id tempus reges eiusdem gentis praetumidi, appellari se patiuntur Solis fratres et Lunae, utque imperatoribus nostris Augusta nuncupatio amabilis est et optata, ita regibus Parthicis abiectis et ignobilibus antea, incrementa dignitatum felicibus Arsacis auspiciis accessere vel maxima. [6] Quam ob rem numinis eum vice venerantur et colunt, eo usque propagatis honoribus, ut ad nostri memoriam temporis, non nisi Arsacides (si sit usquam) in suscipiendo regno cunctis anteponatur, et in qualibet civili concertatione, quae assidue apud eos eveniunt, velut sacrilegium quisque caveat, ne dextra sua Arsaciden arma gestantem feriat vel privatum.

[7] Satisque constat, hanc gentem regna populis vi superatis compluribus dilatasse ad usque Propontidem et Thracias, sed alte spirantium ducum superbia, licenter grassantium per longinqua, aerumnis maximis imminutam, primo per Cyrum, quem Bospori fretum cum multitudine fabulosa transgressum, ad internecionem delevit Tomyris, regina Scytharum, ultrix acerrima filiorum. [8] Deinde cum Dareus posteaque Xerxes, Graeciam elementorum usu mutato aggressi, cunctis paene copiis terra marique consumptis, vix ipsi tutum invenere discessum, ut bella praetereamus Alexandri, ac testamento nationem omnem in successoris unius iura translatam.

[9] Quibus peractis, transcursisque temporibus longis sub consulibus et deinceps in potestatem Caesarum redacta re publica, nobiscum hae nationes subinde dimicarunt paribusque momentis interdum, aliquotiens superatae, non numquam abihere victrices.

[10] Nunc locorum situm (quantum ratio sinit), carptim breviterque absolvam. Hae regiones in amplitudines diffusae longas et latas, ex omni latere insulosum et celebre, Persicum ambiunt mare, cuius ostia adeo esse perhibentur angusta, ut ex Harmozonte, Carmaniae promuntorio, contra oppositum aliud promuntorium, quod appellant incolae Maces, sine impedimento cernatur. [11] Quibus angustiis permeatis, cum latitudo patuerit nimis extensa, aequa navigatio ad usque urbem Teredona porrigitur, ubi post iacturas multiplices pelago miscetur Euphrates, omnisque sinus dimensione litorea in numerum viginti milium stadiorum velut spatio detornato, finitur, cuius per oras omnes oppidorum est densitas et vicorum, naviumque crebri discursus. [12] Ergo permeatis angustiis ante dictis venit ad Carmaniae sinum orienti obiectum. Inde longo intervallo cantichus nomine panditur sinus australis, haut procul inde alius, quem vocant Chaliten occiduo obnoxius sideri. Hinc praestricis pluribus insulis, e quibus paucae sunt notae, Indorum mari iunguntur oceano, qui ferventem solis exortum suscipit omnium primus, ipse quoque nimium calens. [13] Utque geographici stili formarunt, hac specie distinguitur omnis circuitus ante dictus. Ab arctoo cardine usque ad Caspiae portas, Cadusiis conterminat et Scytharum gentibus multis et Arimaspiis hominibus luscis et feris. Ab occidua plaga contingit Armenios et Niphaten et in Asia sitos Albanos, Mare Rubrum et Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos

posteritas appellavit: Mesopotamiam sub axe meridiali despectat: orienti a fronte contrarius ad Gangem extenditur flumen, quod Indorum intersecans terras, in pelagus eiectatur australe.

[14] Sunt autem in omni Perside, hae regiones maximae, quas vitaxae (id est magistri equitum) curant, et reges et satrapae — nam minores plurimas recensere difficile est et superfluum — Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Carmania maior, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriani, Sogdiani, Sacae, Scythia infra Imaum et ultra eundem montem, Serica, Aria, Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia et Gedrosia.

[15] Citra omnes propinqua est nobis Assyria, celebritate et magnitudine et multiformi feracitate ditissima. Quae per populos pagosque amplos diffusa quondam et copiosos, ad unum concessit vocabulum et nunc omnis appellatur Assyria, ubi inter bacarum vulgariumque abundantiam frugum, bitumen nascitur prope lacum nomine Sosingiten, cuius alveo Tigris voratus, fluensque subterraneus, percursis spatiis longis emergit. [16] hic et naphtha gignitur picea specie glutinosa, similis ipsa quoque bitumini, cui etiam si avicula insederit brevis, praepedito volatu submersa penitus evanescit. Et cum hoc liquoris ardere coeperit genus, nullum inveniet humana mens praeter pulverem exstinguendi commentum.

[17] In his pagis hiatus quoque conspicitur terrae, unde halitus letalis exsurgens, quodcumque animal proxime steterit, odore gravi consumit. Quae lues oriens a profundo quodam puteo, cum os eius excesserit, si in latum ante quam sublimius vagaretur, terras circumscitas inhabitabiles acerbitate fecisset.

[18] Cuius simile foramen apud Hierapolim Phrygiae antehac (ut asserunt aliqui), videbatur. Unde emergens itidem noxius spiritus, perseveranti odore quidquid prope venerat corrumpebat, absque spadonibus solis, quod qua causa eveniat, rationibus physicis permittatur. [19] Apud Asbamaei quoque Iovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus prope oppidum Tyana, stagno effluens fons cernitur, qui magnitudine aquarum inflatus, seseque resorbens, numquam extra margines intumescit.

[20] Intra hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaque assuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum, ea re quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita, navigeros fluvios, adiri vado numquam potuit: transire enim διαβαίνειν dicimus Graeci. Et veteres quidem hoc arbitrantur. [21] Nos autem dicimus quod in his terris amnes sunt duo perpetui, quos ipsi transivimus, Diabas et Adiabab, iunctis navalibus pontibus, ideoque intellegi Adiabenam cognominatam ut a fluminibus maximis Aegyptos, Homero auctore, et India et Euphratensis ante hoc Commagena, itidemque Hiberia ex Hiberno (nunc Hispania) et a Baeti amne insigni provincia Baetica.

[22] In hac Adiabena, Ninus est civitas, quae olim Persidis regna possederat, nomen Nini potentissimi quondam regis, Samiramidis mariti, declarans, et Ecbatana et Arbela et Gaugamela, ubi Dareum Alexander post discrimina varia proeliorum, incitato Marte prostravit.

[23] In omni autem Assyria, multae sunt urbes. Inter quas Apamia eminet,

Mesene cognominata, et Teredon et Apollonia et Vologessia, hisque similes multae. Splendidissimae vero et pervulgatae hae solae sunt tres: Babylon cuius moenia bitumine Samiramis struxit — arcem enim antiquissimus rex condidit Belus — et Ctesiphon, quam Vardanes temporibus priscis instituit, posteaque rex Pacorus, incolarum viribus amplificatam et moenibus, Graeco indito nomine, Persidis effecit specimen summum. Post hanc Seleucia ambitiosum opus Nicatoris Seleuci. [24] Qua per duces Veri Caesaris (ut ante rettulimus), expugnata, avulsum sedibus simulacrum Comei Apollinis, perlatumque Romam, in aede Apollinis Palatini deorum antistites collocarunt. Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum, incensa civitate, milites fanum scrutantes invenere foramen angustum, quo reserato, ut pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis, labes primordialis exsiluit, quae insanabilium vi concepta morborum, eiusdem Veri Marcique Antonini temporibus, ab ipsis Persarum finibus ad usque Rhenum et Gallias, cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.

[25] His prope Chaldaeorum est regio, altrix philosophiae veteris, ut memorant ipsi, apud quos veridica vaticinandi fides eluxit. Perfluunt autem has easdem terras potiores ante alios amnes, hi quos praediximus, et Marses et Flumen Regium et Euphrates, cunctis excellens. Qui tripertitus navigabilis per omnes est rivos, insulasque circumfluens, et arva cultorum industria diligentius rigans, vomeri et gignendis arbustis habilia facit.

[26] His tractibus Susiani iunguntur, apud quos non multa sunt oppida. Inter alia tamen eminet Susa, saepe domicilium regum, et Arsiana et Sele et Aracha. Cetera brevina sunt et obscura. Fluvii vero multi per haec loca discurrunt, quibus praestant Oroates et Harax et Mosaeus, per harenosas angustias, quae a Rubro prohibent Caspium mare, aequoream multitudinem inundantes.

[27] At in laeva Media confinis Hyrcano panditur mari: quam ante regnum Cyri superioris, et incrementa Persidis, legimus Asiae reginam totius, Assyriis domitis, quorum plurimos pagos in Atropatenae vocabulum permutatos, belli iure possedit. [28] Pugnatrix natio et formidanda post Parthos, quibus vincitur solis, regiones inhabitans ad speciem quadratae figurae formatas. Harum terrarum incolae omnes ad latitudinem nimiam extenduntur, eisque maximae celsitudines imminent montium, quos Zagrum et Orontem et Iasionium vocant.

[29] Coroni quoque montis altissimi partem habitantes occiduam, frumentariis agris affluunt et vinariis, pingui fecunditate laetissimi, et fluminibus fontiumque venis liquidis locupletes. [30] Edunt apud eos prata virentia fetus equorum nobilium, quibus (ut scriptores antiqui docent, nosque vidimus), ineuntes proelia viri summates vehi exsultantes solent, quos Nesaeos appellant. [31] Abundat itaque civitatibus ditibus Media, et vicis in modum oppidorum exstructis, et multitudine incolarum. Utque absolute dicatur, uberrimum est habitaculum regum.

[32] In his tractibus Magorum agri sunt fertiles, super quorum secta studiisque, quoniam huc incidimus, pauca conveniet expediri. Magiam

opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, hagistiam esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darei pater. [33] Qui cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem, cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur, eorumque monitu, rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus (quantum colligere potuit) eruditus, ex his, quae didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit, quae illi cum disciplinis praesentiendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem, posteris aetatibus tradunt. [34] Ex eo per saecula multa ad praesens, una eademque prosapia, multitudo creata deorum cultibus dedicatur. Feruntque (si iustum est credi), etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri, cuius portionem exigua (ut faustam) praeissem quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt. [35] Huius originis apud veteres numerus erat exilis, eiusque ministeriis Persicae potestates in faciendis rebus divinis sollemniter utebantur. Eratque piaculum aras adire, vel hostiam contrectare, antequam magus, conceptis precationibus, libamenta diffunderet praecursoria. Verum aucti paulatim, in amplitudinem gentis solidae concesserunt et nomen, villasque inhabitantes, nulla murorum firmitudine communitas, et legibus suis uti permissi, religionis respectu sunt honorati. [36] Ex hoc magorum semine septem post mortem Cambysis, regnum inisse Persidos antiqui memorant libri, docentes eos Darei factione oppresses, imperitandi initium equino hinnitu sortiti.

[37] In hac regione oleum conficitur Medicum, quo illitum telum, si emissum lentius laxiore arcu (nam ictu exstinguitur rapido) haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat, et si aqua voluerit obruere quisquam, aestus excitat acriores incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam iactu pulveris consopitur. [38] Paratur autem hoc modo. Oleum usus communis herba quadam infectum, condiunt harum rerum periti, ad diuturnitatem servantes et coalescens, dum ex materia venenatur. Alia similis oleo crassiori species gignitur apud Persas, quam (ut diximus) naphtham vocabulo appellavere gentili.

[39] Per haec loca civitates dispersae sunt plures, quis omnibus praestant Zombis et Patigran et Gazaca. Inter quas opibus et magnitudine moenium conspicuae sunt Heraclia et Arsacia et Europos et Cyropolis et Ecbatana, sub Iasonio monte in terris sitae Syromedorum. [40] Amnes has regiones praetereunt multi quorum maximi sunt Choaspes et Gyndes et Amardus et Charinda et Cambyses et Cyrus, cui magno et specioso, Cyrus ille superior rex amabilis, abolito vetere, id vocabulum dedit, cum ereptum ire regna Scythica festinaret, quod et fortis est (ut ipse etiam ferebatur), et vias sibi ut ille impetu ingenti molitus in Caspium delabatur mare.

[41] Per tractus meridianos expansa post haec confinia litoribus proxima Persis habitatur antiqua, minutis frugibus dives et palmite, aquarumque copia iucundissima. Amnes quippe multi per eam ante dictum influunt sinum, quorum maximi sunt Batradites et Rogomanus et Brisoana atque Bagrada. [42]

Oppida vero mediterranea sunt ampliora — incertum enim qua ratione per oras maritimas nihil condiderunt insigne — inter quae Persepolis est clara et Ardea et Obroatis atque Tragonice. Insulae vero visuntur ibi tres tantum, Tabiana et Fara et Alexandria.

[43] His propinquant Parthyaei, siti sub aquilone, colentes nivales terras et pruinosas, quorum regiones Choatres fluvius interscindit ceteris abundantior: et haec potiora residuis sunt oppida: Oenunia, Moesia, Charax, Apamia, Artacana et Hecatompylos a cuius finibus per Caspia litora ad usque portarum angustias stadia quadraginta numerantur et mille. [44] Feri sunt illic habitatores pagorum omnium atque pugnaces, eosque ita certamina iuvant et bella, ut iudicetur inter alios omnes beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam. Excedentes enim e vita morte fortuita conviciis insectantur ut degeneres et ignavos.

[45] Quibus ab orientali australique plaga Arabes beati conterminant, ideo sic appellati quod frugibus iuxta et fetibus et palmite odorumque suavitate multiplici sunt locupletes, magnaеque eorum partes mare rubrum a latere dextro contingunt, laeva Persico mari collimitant, elementi utriusque potiri bonis omnibus assueti. [46] Ubi et stationes et portus tranquilli sunt plures, et emporia densa, et diversoria regum ambitiosa nimium et decora, aquarumque suapte natura calentium saluberrimi fontes et rivorum fluminumque multitudine perspicua, sospitalisque temperies caeli, ut recte spectantibus nihil eis videatur ad felicitatem deesse supremam. [47] Ac licet abundet urbibus mediterraneis atque maritimis, campisque copiosis et vallibus, has tamen civitates habet eximias: Geapolim et Nascon et Baraba, itidemque Nagara et Maepham et Tapphara et Dioscurida. Insulas autem complures habet per utrumque proximas mare, quas dinumerare non refert. Insignior tamen aliis Turgana est, in qua Serapidis maximum esse dicitur templum.

[48] Post huius terminos gentis, Carmania maior verticibus celsis erigitur, ad usque Indicum pertinens mare, fructuariis arboreisque fetibus culta, sed obscurior Arabum terris multo et minor. Fluminibus tamen ipsa quoque non minus abundans, caespiteque ubere iuxta fecunda. [49] Amnes autem sunt hic ceteris notiores, Sagareus et Saganis et Hydriacus. Sunt etiam civitates, licet numero paucae, victu tamen et cultu perquam copiosae, inter quas nitet Carmana omnium mater et Portospana et Alexandria et Hermupolis.

[50] Interius vero pergenti occurrunt Hyrcani, quos eiusdem nominis alluit mare. Apud quos glebae macie internecante sementes, ruris colendi cura est levior, sed vescuntur venatibus, quorum varietate immane quantum exuberant. Ubi etiam tigridum milia multa cernuntur, feraeque bestiae plures, quae cuiusmodi solent capi commentis, dudum nos meminimus rettulisse. [51] Nec ideo tamen stivam ignorant, sed seminibus teguntur aliquae partes, ubi solum est pinguius, nec arbusta desunt in locis habilibus ad plantandum, et marinis mercibus plerique sustentantur. [52] Hic amnes duo pervulgat sunt nominis, Oxus et Maxera, quos urgente inedia, superantes natatu, aliquotiens tigres improvisae finitima populantur. Habent etiam civitates inter minora municipia

validas, duas quidem maritimas, Socanda et Saramanna, mediterraneas alias Asmurnam et Salen et his nobiliorem Hyrcanam.

[53] Contra hanc gentem sub aquilone dicuntur Abii versari, genus piissimum, calcare cuncta mortalia consuetum, quos (ut Homerus fabulosius canit) Iuppiter ab Idaeis montibus contuetur.

[54] Sedes vicinas post Hyrcanos sortiti sunt Margiani, omnes paene collibus altis undique circumsaepti, ideo a mari discreti. Et quamquam pleraque sunt ibi deserta soli aquarum penuria, quaedam tamen habent oppida; sed Iasonion et Antiochia et Nigaea sunt aliis notiora.

[55] Proximos his limites possident Bactriani, natio antehac bellatrix et potentissima, Persisque semper infesta, antequam circumsitos populos omnes ad dicionem gentilitatemque traheret nominis sui, quam rexere veteribus saeculis etiam Arsaci formidabiles reges. [56] Eius pleraeque partes ita ut Margiana, procul a litoribus sunt disparatae, sed humi gignentium fertiles, et pecus quod illic per campestria loca vescitur et montana, membris est magnis compactum et validis, ut indicio sunt cameli, a Mithridate exinde perducti, et primitus in obsidione Cyzicena visi Romanis. [57] Gentes eisdem Bactrianis oboediunt plures, quas exsuperant Tochari, et ad Italiae speciem crebris fluminibus inundantur, E quibus Artamis et Zariaspes ante sibi consociati, itidemque Ochus et Dargomanes, iuncti convenis aquis augent immania Oxi fluentia. [58] Sunt et hic civitates, quas amnes diversi perstringunt, his cedentes ut melioribus, Chatracharta et Alicodra et Astacana et Menapilae et Bactris ipsis, unde regnum et vocabulum nationis est institutum.

[59] Hinc Sogdiani agunt sub imis montium pedibus, quos appellant Sogdios, inter quos amnes duo fluunt navium capacissimi, Araxates et Dymas, qui per iuga vallesque praecipites, in campestrum planitiem fluvii decurrentes, Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt, late longeque diffusam. Hie inter alia oppida celebrantur Alexandria et Cyreschata et Drepsa metropolis.

[60] His contigui sunt Sacae natio fera, squalentia incolens loca, solum pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta. Cui Ascanimia mons imminet et Comedus. Praeter quorum radices et vicum, quem Lithinon pyrgon appellant, iter longissimum patet, mercatoribus pervium, ad Seras subinde commeantibus.

[61] Circa defectus et crepidines montium, quos Imavos et Apurios vocant, Scythae sunt varii, intra Persicos fines Asianis contermini Sarmatis, Halanorumque latus tangentes extremum. Qui velut agentes quodam secessu, coalitique solitudine, per intervalla dispersi sunt longa, assueti victu vili et paupertino. [62] Et gentes quidem variae hos incolunt tractus, quas nunc recensere, alio properans, superfluum puto. Illud tamen sciendum est, inter has nationes paene ob asperitatem nimiam inaccessas homines esse quosdam mites et pios, ut Iaxartae sunt et Galactophagi, quorum meminit vates Homerus in hoc versu

glaktofa/gwn)Abi/wn te dikaiota/twn

[63] Inter flumina vero multa, quae per has terras vel potioribus iungit

natura, vel lapsu ipso trahit in mare, Rhyminus celebris est et Iaxartes, et Daicus. Civitates autem non nisi tres solas habere noscuntur, Aspabota et Chauriana et Saga.

[64] Ultra haec utriusque Scythiae loca, contra orientalem plagam in orbis speciem consertae, celsorum aggerum summitates ambiunt Seras, ubertate regionum et amplitudine circumspectos, ab occidentali latere Scythia adnexos, a septentrione et orientali nivosa solitudini cohaerentes: qua meridiem spectant ad usque Indiam porrectos et Gangem. Appelluntur autem ibidem montes Anniba et Auzacium et Asmira et Emodon et Oporocorra. [65] Hanc itaque planitiem undique prona declivitate praeruptam, terrasque lato situ distentas, duo famosi nominis flumina Oechardes et Bautis lentiore meatu percurrunt. Et dispar est tractuum diversorum ingenium: hic patulum alibi molli delevitate subductum, ideoque satietate frugum et pecoribus et arbustis exuberat. [66] Incolunt autem fecundissimam glebam variae gentes, e quibus Anthropophagi et Annibi et Sisyges et Chardi aquilonibus obiecti sunt et pruinis. Exortum vero solis suspiciunt Rabannae et Asmirae, et Essedones omnium splendidissimi, quibus Athagurae ab occidentali parte cohaerent et Aspacarae. Baetae vero australi celsitudine montium inclinati, urbibus licet non multis, magnis tamen celebrantur et opulentis, inter quas maximae Asmira et Essedon et Aspacara et Sera nitidae sunt et notissimae. [67] Agunt autem ipsi quietius Seres, armorum semper et proeliorum expertes, utque hominibus sedatis et placidis otium est voluptabile, nulli finitimorum molesti. Caeli apud eos iucunda salubrisque temperies, aeris facies munda, leniumque ventorum commodissimus flatus, et abunde silvae sublucidae, a quibus arborum fetus aquarum asperginibus crebris, velut quaedam vellera molientes, ex lanugine et liquore mixtam subtilitatem tenerrimam pectunt, nentesque subtegmina conficiunt sericum, ad usus nobilium antehac, nunc etiam infimorum sine ulla discretione proficiens. [68] Ipsi praeter alios frugalissimi pacatoris vitae cultores, vitantes reliquorum mortalium coetus. Cumque ad coemenda fila vel quaedam alia fluvium transierint advenae, nulla sermonum vice propositarum rerum pretia solis oculis aestimantur, et ita sunt abstinentes, ut apud se tradentes gignentia, nihil ipsi comparent adventicium.

[69] Ariani vivunt post Seras, Boreae obnoxii flatibus, quorum terras amnis vehendis sufficiens navibus, Arias perfluit nomine, faciens lacum ingentem, eodem vocabulo dictitatum. Abundat autem haec eadem Aria oppidis, inter quae sunt celebria Vitaxa Sarmatina et Sotira et Nisibis et Alexandria, unde naviganti ad Caspium mare quingenta stadia numerantur et mille.

[70] His locis Paropanisadae sunt proximi, Indos ab oriente, Caucasumque ab occidentali latere prospectantes, ipsi quoque montium defectibus inclinati, quos residuis omnibus maior, Gordomaris interluit fluvius a Bactrianis exurgens. Habent autem etiam civitates aliquas, quibus clariores sunt Agazaca et Naulibus et Ortospana, unde litorea navigatio ad usque Mediae fines, portis proximos Caspiis stadiorum sunt duo milia et ducenta.

[71] Ante dictis continui sunt Drangiani collibus cohaerentes, quos flumen

alluit Arabium nomine ideo appellatum, quod inde exoritur, interque alia duobus municipiis exultantes, Prophthasia et Ariaspe, ut opulentis et claris.

[72] Post quos exadversum Arachosia visitur, dextrum vergens in latus, Indis obiecta, quam ab Indo fluviorum maximo (unde regiones cognominatae sunt) amnis multo minor exoriens, aquarum alluit amplitudine, efficitque paludem quam Arachotoscrenen appellant. Hic quoque civitates sunt inter alias viles, Alexandria et Arbaca et Choaspa.

[73] At in penitissima parte Persidos, Gedrosia est dextra terminos contingens Indorum, inter minores alios Arabio uberius flumine, ubi montes deficiunt Arbitani, quorum ex pedibus imis emergentes alii fluvii Indo miscentur, amittentes nomina magnitudine potioris. Civitates autem etiam hic sunt inclyta epraeter insulas, sed Ratira et Gynaekon limen meliores residuis aestimantur.

[74] Ne igitur orae maritimae spatia alluentia Persidos extremitates per minutias demonstrantes, a proposito longius aberremus, id sufficiet dici, quod mare praetentum a Caspiis montibus per borium latus ad usque memoratas angustias, novem milium stadiorum, australe vero ab ostiis Nili fluminis ad usque principia Carmanorum, quattuordecim milium stadiorum numero definitur.

[75] Per has nationes dissonas et multiplices, hominum quoque diversitates sunt ut locorum. Sed ut generaliter corpora describamus, et mores, graciles paene sunt omnes, subnigri vel livido colore pallentes, caprinis oculis torvi, et superciliis in semiorbium speciem curvatis iunctisque, non indecoribus barbis, capillisque promissis hirsuti, omnes tamen promiscue vel inter epulas festosque dies gladiis cincti cernuntur. Quem Graecorum veterum morem abiecissemus primos Athenienses, Thucydides est auctor amplissimus. [76] Effusius plerique soluti in venerem, aegreque contenti multitudine pelicum, puerilium stuprorum expertes, pro opibus quisque adsciscens matrimonia plura vel pauca. Unde apud eos per libidines varias caritas dispersa torpescit, munditias convivorum et luxum maximeque potandi aviditatem vitante ut luem. [77] Nec apud eos extra regales mensas hora est praestituta prandendi, sed venter uni cuique velut solarium est, eoque monente quod incident editur, nec quisquam post satietatem superfluos sibi ingerit cibos. [78] Inmane quantum restricti et cauti, ut inter hostiles hortos gradientes non numquam et vineta, nec cupiant aliquid nec contingant, venenorum et secretarum artium metu. [79] Super his nec stando mingens nec ad requisita naturae secedens, facile visitur Persa: ita observantius haec aliaque pudenda declinant. [80] Adeo autem dissoluti sunt et artuum laxitate, vagoque incessu se iactitantes, ut effeminatos existimes, cum sint acerrimi bellatores, sed magis artifices quam fortes, minusque terribiles, abundantes inanibus verbis, insanumque loquentes et ferum, magnidici et graves ac taetri, minaces iuxta in adversis rebus et prosperis, callidi superbi crudeles, vitae necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros: cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt, particulatim vel solidas, nec ministranti apud eos famulo mensaeque adstanti, hiscere vel loqui licet vel spuere: ita

praestratis pellibus labra omnium vinciuntur. [81] Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, inter quas diritate exsuperant latae contra ingratos et desertores, et abominandae aliae per quas ob noxam unius, omnis propinquitas perit. [82] Ad iudicandum autem usu rerum spectati destinantur et integri, parum alienis consiliis indigentes, unde nostram consuetudinem rident, quae interdum facundos, iurisque publici peritissimos, post indoctorum collocat terga. Nam quod supersidere corio damnati ob iniquitatem iudicis, iudex alius cogebatur, aut finxit vetustas, aut olim recepta consuetudo cessavit. [83] Militari cultu ac disciplina proludiisque continuis rei castrensis et armaturae, quam saepe formavimus, metuendi vel exercitibus maximis, equitatus virtute confisi, ubi desudat nobilitas omnis et splendor. Pedites enim in speciem mirmillonum contecti, iussa faciunt ut calones. Sequiturque semper haec turba, tamquam addicta perenni servitio, nec stipendiis aliquando fulta nec donis. Et gentes plurimas praeter eas quas abunde perdomuit, sub iugum haec natio miserat, ita audax et ad pulveres Martios erudita, ni bellis civilibus externisque assidue vexarentur. [84] Indumentis plerique eorum ita operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus vario, ut (licet sinus lateraque dissuta relinquant flatibus agitari ventorum) inter calceos tamen et verticem nihil videatur intectum. Armillis uti monilibusque aureis, et gemmis, praecipue margaritis, quibus abundant, assuefacti post Lydiam victam et Croesum.

[85] Restat ut super ortu lapidis huius, pauca succinctius explicentur. Apud Indos et Persas, margaritae reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis et candidis, permixtione roris anni tempore praestituto conceptae. Cupientes enim velut coitum quendam, humores ex lunari aspergine capiunt, densius oscitando. Exindeque gravidulae, edunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel uniones, ideo sic appellatas quod evisceratae conchulae singulas aliquotiens pariunt, sed maiores. [86] Idque indicium est aetheria potius derivatione, quam saginis pelagi hos oriri fetus et vesci, quod guttae matutini roris eisdem infusae, claros efficiunt lapillos et teretes, vespertini vero flexuosos contra et rutilos et maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel magna pro qualitate haustuum figurantur, casibus variatis. Conclusae vero saepissime metu fulgurum inanescunt, aut debilia pariunt, aut certe vitiis diffliunt abortivis. [87] Capturas autem difficiles et periculosas, et amplitudines pretiorum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, ut quidam coniciunt, circa devios scopulos et marinorum canum receptacula delitescunt. [88] Quod genus gemmae etiam in Britannici secessibus maris gigni legique (licet dignitate dispari) non ignoramus.

LIBER XXIV.

[1] Iulianus cum exercitu Assyriam ingreditur, et Anathan castellum ad Euphratem in fidem recipit, et incendit.

Post exploratam alacritatem exercitus, uno parique ardore impetrabilem principem superari non posse, deum usitato clamore testati, Iulianus summae rei finem imponendum maturius credens, restricta quiete nocturna, itinerarium sonare lituos iubet et praestructis omnibus quae difficultates arduae belli poscebant, candente iam luce, Assyrios fines ingressus, celso praeter alios spiritu obequitans ordinibus, aemulatione sui cunctos ad officia fortitudinis incendebat. [2] Utque ductor usu et docilitate firmatus, metuens ne per locorum insolentiam insidiis caperetur occultis, agminibus incedere quadratis exorsus est. Excursatores quidem quingentos et mille sensim praeire disposuit, qui cautius gradientes ex utroque latere, itidemque a fronte, nequis repentinus irrueret, prospectabant. Ipse vero medios pedites regens, quod erat totius roboris firmamentum, dextra legiones aliquas cum Nevitta, supercilia fluminis praestringere iussit Euphratis. Cornu vero laevum cum equitum copiis Arintheo tradidit et Ormizdae, ducendum confertius, per plana camporum et mollia. Agmina vero postrema Dagalaifus cogebat et Victor, ultimusque omnium Osdruenae dux Secundinus.

[3] Deinde ut hostibus (si erupissent usquam) vel conspicantibus procul timorem multitudinis maioris incuteret, laxatis cuneis iumenta dilatavit et homines, ut decimo paene lapide postremi dispararentur a signiferis primis, quod arte mira saepe fecisse, Pyrrhus ille rex dicitur Epirotes, opportunis in locis castra metandi, armorumque speciem diffundendi ex industria vel attenuandi perquam scientissimus, ut ubi convenisset plures aestimarentur aut pauci.

[4] Sarcinas vero et calones et apparationem imbellem, impedimentorumque genus omne inter utrumque latus instituit procedentium ordinatim, nequa vi subita raperentur (ut saepe contigit) improtecta. Classis autem licet per flumen ferebatur assiduis flexibus tortuosum, nec residere nec praecurrere sinebatur.

[5] Emenso itaque itinere bidui, prope civitatem venimus Duram desertam, marginibus amnis impositam. In quo loco greges cervorum plures inventi sunt, quorum alii confixi missilibus, alii ponderibus inlisi remorum, ad satietatem omnes paverunt; pars maxima natatu assueta veloci, alveo penetrate, incohibili cursu evasit ad solitudines notas.

[6] Exin dierum quattuor itinere levi peracto vespera incedente, cum expeditis mille impositis navibus, Lucillianus comes imperatu principis mittitur Anathan munimentum expugnaturus, quod (ut pleraque alia) circumluitur fluentis Euphratis. Et navibus (ut praeceptum est) per opportuna dispersis, insula obsidebatur nebulosa nocte obumbrante impetum clandestinum. [7] Sed postquam advenit lux certa, aqutum quidam egressus, visis subito hostibus, ululabili clamore sublato, excitos tumultuosis vocibus

propugnatores armavit. Et mox a specula quadam altissima explorato situ castrorum, quam ocissime cum duarum praesidio navium, amnem supermeat imperator, pone sequentibus navigiis multis, quae obsidionales machinas advehebant. [8] Iamque muris propinquans, cum non absque discriminibus multis consideraret esse certandum, sermone cum leni tum aspero et minaci, hortabatur ad deditionem defensores, qui ad colloquium petito Ormizda, promissis eius et iuramentis illecti, multa sibi de lenitudine Romana spondebant. [9] Denique prae se bovem coronatum agentes, quod est apud eos susceptae pacis indicium, descendere suppliciter, et statim munimento omni incenso, Pusaesus eius praefectus, dux Aegypti postea, honore tribunatus affectus est. Reliqui vero cum caritatibus suis et supellectili, humaniore cultu ad Syriacam civitatem Chalcida transmissi sunt. [10] Inter hos miles quidam, cum Maximianus perripisset quondam Persicos fines, in his locis aeger relictus, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, ut aiebat, uxores sortitus gentis ritu complures cum numerosa subole tunc senex incurvus, exultans, proditionisque auctor, ducebatur ad nostra, testibus affirmans et praescisse se olim et praedixisse, quod centenarius iam contiguus, sepelietur in solo Romano. Post quae Saraceni procuratores partis cuiusdam hostium obtulere laetissimo principi, et munerati ad agenda similia sunt remissi.

[11] Acciderat aliud postridie dirum. Ventorum enim turbo exortus, pluresque vertigines concitans, ita confuderat omnia, ut tabernacula multa conscinderentur, et supini plerique milites sternerentur vel proni, venti spiritu stabilitatem vestigii subvertente. Nec minus eodem die aliud periculosum evenit. Amne enim repente extra margines evagato, mersae sunt quaedam frumentariae naves, cataractis avulsis, ad defundendas reprimendasque aquas rigare suetas opere saxeo structis: quod utrum per insidias an magnitudine acciderit fluentorum, sciri non potuit.

[12] Post perruptam incensamque urbem omnium primam, et captivos transmissos, certiore iam spe propectus exercitus ad fiduciam, elatis vocibus in favores principis consurgebat, adfore sibi etiam deinde dei caelestis existimans curam.

[13] Et cui per regiones ignotas de obscuris erat suspectior cura, astus gentis et ludificandi varietas timebatur. Ideoque imperator nunc antesignanus nunc agminibus cogendis insistens, cum expeditis velitibus, nequid lateret abstrusum, frutecta squalida vallesque scrutabatur, licentiores militum per longinqua discursus affabilitate nativa prohibendo vel minis. [14] Hostiles tamen agros omni frugum genere divites, cum segetibus et tuguriis inflammari permisit, ita demum cum usui necessaria abunde sibi quisque collegisset, et hoc modo sauciabatur salus hostium nesciorum. [15] Bellatores enim libenter quaesitis dextris propriis utebantur, alia virtutis suae horrea repperisse existimantes, et laeti quod vitae subsidiis affluentes, alimenta servabant, quae navigiis vehebantur. [16] Hic vino gravis quidam temerarius miles ad ulteriorem ripam nullo urgente transgressus, in conspectu nostro ab hostilibus captus, occisus est.

Imperator, castellis et oppidis aliis intentatis, aliis quae deserta erant incensis, Pirisaboram in deditionem accipit succenditque.

Quibus tali casu patrat, ad castra pervenimus nomine Thilutha, in medio fluminis sita, locum immenso quodam vertice tumescentem, et potestate naturae, velut manu circumsaepum humana, cuius ad deditionem incolae temptati mollius (ut decebat), quoniam asperitas edita vim superabat armorum, intempestivam tunc defectionem esse firmabant. Sed hactenus responderunt, quod cum interiora occupaverint protinus gradientes Romani, se quoque utpote regnorum sequellas, victoribus accessuros. [2] Et post haec praetermeantes moenia ipsa, naves nostras verecunda quiete spectabant immobiles. Quo transito cum ad munimentum aliud Achaiachalam nomine venissemus, fluminis circumitione vallatum, arduumque transcensu, refutati pari responso discessimus. Alia postridie castra ob muros invalidos derelicta, praetereuntur incensa. [3] Postera igitur et insequenti die stadiis ducentis emensis, ventum est ad locum Baraxmalcha. Unde amne transito miliario septimo disparata, Diacira invaditur civitas, habitatoribus vacua, frumento et salibus nitidis plena, in qua templum alti culminis arci vidimus superpositum, qua incensa caesisque mulieribus paucis, quae repertae sunt, traiecto fonte scatenti bitumine, Ozogardana occupavimus oppidum, quod formidine advenientis exercitus itidem deseruere cultores. In quo principis Traiani tribunal ostendebatur. [4] Hac quoque exusta, biduo ad refectionem corporum dato, prope extremum noctis quae secundum diem secuta est, Surena post regem apud Persas promeritae dignitatis, et Malechus Podosacis nomine, phylarchus Saracenorum Assanitarum, famosi nominis latro, omni saevitia per nostros limites diu grassatus, structis Ormizdae insidiis, quem ad speculandum exiturum (incertum unde) praesenserant, ideo sunt temptamento frustrati, quod angusta fluminis interluvies et praealta transiri vado non potuit. [5] Et primo lucis exordio, cum essent hostes iam in contuitu, visi tunc primitus corusci galeis et horrentes indutibus rigidis, milites in procinctum impetu veloci tendentes, eos involavere fortissime. Et quamvis arcus validis viribus flecterentur, et splendor ferri intermicans, Romanorum metum augeret, ira tamen acuite virtutem, clipeorum densitate contacti, ne possint emittere, coegerunt. [6] Animatus his vincendi primitiis, miles ad vicum Macepracta pervenit, in quo semiruta murorum vestigia videbantur, qui priscis temporibus in spatia longa protenti, tueri ab externis incursibus Assyriam dicebantur. [7] Hinc pars fluminis scinditur, largis aquarum agminibus ducens ad tractus Babylonios interiores, usui agris futura et civitatibus circumiectis, alia Naarmalcha nomine, quod fluvius regum interpretatur, Ctesiphonta praetermeat, cuius in exordio turris in modum Phari celsior surgit. Hanc peditatus omnis pontibus caute digestis, transivit. [8] Equites vero cum iumentis armati, clementiores gurgites fluminis obliquati transarunt, pars flumine absumpta interierunt, alia multitudine subita petiti telorum hostilium. Quos egressi auxiliares ad cursum levissimi, fugientiumque cervicibus insistentes. laniatu avium prostraverunt.

[9] Quo negotio itidem gloriose perfecto, ad civitatem Pirisaboram ventum est, amplam et populosam, ambitu insulari circumvallatam. Cuius obequitans moenia imperator et situm, obsidium omni cautela coeptabat, quasi sola formidine oppidanos a propugnandi studio summoturus. Quibus per colloquia saepe temptatis, cum nec promissis quisquam flecteretur nec minis, suscipitur oppugnandi exordium, et armatorum triplici corona circumdatis muris, a die primo ad usque noctis initium, missilibus certabatur. [10] Tum defensores animo praestantes et viribus, per propugnacula cilicii undique laxius pansis, quae telorum impetus cohiberent, obtecti scutis vimine firmissimo textis et crudorum tergorum densitate vestitis, validissime resistebant, ferrea nimirum facie omni: quia laminae singulis membrorum lineamentis cohaerenter aptatae, fido operimento, totam hominis speciem contegebant. [11] Et aliquoties Ormizdae ut indigenae et regalis colloquia petentes obnixae, propinquantem probris atque conviciis ut male fidum incessebant et desertorem. Hac lenta cavillatione diei maxima parte exempta, tenebrarum silentio primo, multiformes admotae sunt machinae, coeptaque altitudo complanari fossarum. [12] Quae vixdum ambigua luce, defensores intentius contemplati, eo accedente quod angularem turrin ictus foravit arietis violentior, relictis civitatis duplicibus muris, continentem occupant arcem, asperi montis interrupta planitie superpositam, cuius medietas in sublime consurgens, tereti ambitu Argolici scuti speciem ostendebat, nisi quod e septemtrione, id quod rotunditati defuerat, in Euphratis fluentia proiectae cautes eminentius tuebantur, in qua excellebant minae murorum, bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatae, quo aedificii genere nihil esse tutius constat. [13] Iamque ferocior miles, pervasa urbe quam viderat vacuum, adversus oppidanos ab arce multimoda tela fundentes, acri contentione pugnabat. Cum enim idem prohibitores catapultis nostrorum urgerentur atque ballistis, ipsi quoque ex edito arcus erigebant fortiter tensos, quibus panda utrimque surgentia cornua ita lentius flectebantur, ut nervi digitorum acti pulsibus violentis, harundines ferratas emitterent, quae corporibus illisae contrariis, letaliter figebantur. [14] Dimicabatur nihilo minus utrobique saxorum manualium nimbis, et neutrubi inclinato momento, proelium atrox a lucis ortu ad initium noctis destinatione magna protractum, pari sorte diremptum est. Proinde die secuto, cum certaretur asperrime, multique funderentur altrinsecus, et aequi vigores gesta libarent, imperator omnes aleae casus inter mutuas clades experiri festinans, cuneatim stipatus, densetisque clipeis ab ictu sagittarum defensus, veloci saltu comitantibus promptis, prope portam venit hostilem, crasso ferro crustatam. [15] Et licet saxis et glande, ceterisque telis, cum periculi sociis premeretur, fodicare tamen paratos valvarum latera ut aditum patefacerent, vocibus increpans crebris, non ante discessit, quam telorum congerie, quae superiaciebantur, se iam cerneret obruendum. [16] Evasit cum omnibus tamen, paucis levius vulneratis, ipse innoxius, verecundo rubore suffusus. Legerat enim Aemilianum Scipionem, cum historiarum conditore Polybio, Megalopolitano Arcade, et triginta militibus, portam

Carthaginis impetu simili subfodisse. Sed fides recepta scriptorum veterum recens factum defendit. [17] Aemilianus enim testudine lapidea tectam successerat portam, sub qua tutus et latens, dum moles saxeas detegunt hostes, urbem nudatam irrupit, Iulianus vero locum patentem aggressus, obumbrata caeli facie fragmentis montium et missilibus aegre repulsus, abscessit.

[18] His raptim ac tumultuarie agitis, cum operositas vinearum et aggerum impeditissima ceteris urgentibus cerneretur, machinam quae cognominatur helepolis, iussit expeditius fabricari, qua (ut supra docuimus) rex usus Demetrius, superatis oppidis pluribus, Poliorcetes appellatus est. [19] Ad hanc molem ingentem, superaturam celsarum turrium minas, prohibitores oculorum aciem intentius conferentes, itidemque instantiam obsidentium perpensantes, subito vertuntur ad preces, circumfusique per turres ac moenium minas, et fidem Romanam pansis manibus protestantes, vitam cum venia postulabant. [20] Cumque cessasse opera et munitores nihil temptare viderent ulterius, quod quietis erat indicium certum, copiam sibi dari conferendi sermonis cum Ormizda poscebant. [21] Hocque impetrato, Mamersidis praesidorum praefectus, demissus per funem, ductusque ad imperatorem (ut obsecravit), vita cum impunitate sibi consortibusque suis firmiter pacta, redire permissus est. Gestisque nuntiatis, plebs omnis utriusque sexus ad sententiam suam cunctis acceptis, pace foederata cum religionum consecrationibus fidis, patefactis egreditur portis, salutarem genium affulsisse sibi clamitans Caesarem, magnum et lenem. [22] Numerata sunt autem dediticiorum duo milia et quingenti; nam cetera multitudo obsidium ante suspectans, navigiis parvis permeato amne discessit. In hac arce armorum alimentorumque copia reperta est maxima, unde necessariis sumptis, reliqua cum loco ipso exussere victores.

Iulianus Augustus ob rem bene gestam centenos viritim militibus promittit, et exiguum donativum dedignantibus modesta oratione ad sanitatem revocat.

Postera die quam haec acta erant, perfertur ad imperatorem, cibos per otium capientem, nuntius gravis, Surenam Persicum ducem, procursatorum partis nostrae tres turmas inopinum aggressum paucissimos trucidasse, inter quos strato tribuno, unum rapuisse vexillum. [2] Statimque concitus ira immani, cum armigera manu, festinatione ipsa tutissimus pervolavit, et grassatoribus foeda consternatione depulsis, residuos duos tribunos sacramento solvit (ut desides et ignavos): decem vero milites ex his qui fugerant, exauctoratos, capitali addixit supplicio, secutus veteres leges.

[3] Incensa denique urbe (ut memoratum est), constructo tribunali insistens, actis gratiis exercitui convocato, cunctos ad paria facienda deinceps hortabatur, et argenteos nummos centenos viritim pollicitus, cum eos parvitate promissi percitos tumultuare sensisset, ad indignationem plenam gravitatis erectus:

[4] ‘En’ inquit ‘Persae, circumfluentes rerum omnium copiis: ditare vos poterit opimitas gentis, si unum spirantibus animis fortiter fecerimus. Ex immensis opibus egentissima est — tandem credite Romana res publica, per

eos qui (ut augerent divitias) docuerunt principes auro quietem a barbaris redemptare. [5] Direptum aerarium est, urbes exinanitae, populatae provinciae: mihi nec facultates nec propinquitas generis suppetit, quamvis ortus sim nobilis, praeter pectus omni liberum metu: nec pudebit imperatorem, cuncta bona in animi cultu ponentem, profiteri paupertatem honestam. Nam et Fabricii familiari re pauperes, rexere bella gravissima, gloria locupletes. [6] Haec vobis cuncta poterunt abundare, si imperterriti deo meque (quantum humana ratio patitur), caute ductante, mitius egeritis: sin resistitis ad seditionum revoluti dedecora pristinarum, iam pergite. [7] Ut imperatorem decet, ego solus confecto tantorum munerum cursu, moriar stando, contempturus animam quam mihi febricula eripiet una, aut certe discedam; nec enim ita vixi, ut non possim aliquando esse privatus. Praeque me fero et laetor, ductores spectatissimos esse nobiscum, perfectos bellicarum omni genere doctrinarum.'

[8] Hac modesta imperatoris oratione, inter secunda et aspera medii, miles pro tempore delentus, assumpta cum meliorum expectatione fiducia, regibilem se fore pollicitus et morigerum, cunctorum adspirante consensu, auctoritatem eius sublimitatemque cordis extollebat in caelum, quod cum vere atque ex animo dicitur, solet armorum crepitu leni monstrari. [9] Repetitis post haec tentoriis, pro copia rei praesentis victu se recreavit et quiete nocturna. Animabat autem Iulianus exercitum, cum non per caritates, sed per inchoatas negotiorum magnitudines deieraret assidue: 'Sic sub iugum mitteret Persas, ita quassatum recrearet orbem Romanum.' Ut Traianus fertur aliquotiens iurando dicta consuesse firmare 'Sic in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam; sic pontibus Histrum et Euphratem, superem,' et similia plurima.

[10] Post haec decursis milibus passuum quattuordecim, ad locum quendam est ventum arva aquis abundantibus fecundantem, quo itinere nos ituros Persae praedocti, sublatis cataractis undas evagari fusius permiserunt. [11] Itaque humo late stagnante, altero die militi requie data, imperator ipse praegressus, constratis periculis multis ex utribus pro copia pontibus, itidemque navibus confectis e palmarum trabibus exercitum non sine difficultate traduxit.

[12] In his regionibus agri sunt plures, consiti vineis varioque pomorum genere, ubi oriri arbores assuetae palmarum, per spatia ampla ad usque Mesenen et mare pertinent magnum, instar ingentium nemorum. Et quaqua incesserit quisquam, termites et spadica cernit assidua, quorum ex fructu mellis et vini conficitur abundantia, et maritari palmae ipsae dicuntur facileque sexus posse discerni. [13] Additur etiam generare feminas seminibus illitas marium, feruntque eas amore mutuo delectari, hocque inde clarere, quod contra se vicissim nutantes, ne turgidis quidem flatibus avertuntur. Et si ex more femina maris non illita fuerit semine, abortus vitio fetus amittit intempestivos. Et siqua femina cuius arboris amore perculsa sit ignoretur, unguento ipsius inficitur truncus, et arbor alia naturaliter odoris dulcedinem concipit, hisque indiciis velut coeundi quaedam proditur fides.

[14] Qua cibi copia satur exercitus, plures praetergressus est insulas, et ubi formidabatur inopia, ibi timor saginae gravis incessit. Sagittariorum denique hostilium impetu latenti temptatus, neque inultus, prope locum venit ubi pars maior Euphratis in rivos dividitur multifidos.

Oppidum Maiozamalcha expugnatum a Romanis atque excisum.

In hoc tractu civitas ob muros humiles ab incolis Iudaeis deserta, iratorum manu militum conflagravit. Quibus actis pergebat ulterius imperator, placida ope numinis (ut arbitrabatur), erectior. [2] Cumque Maiozamalcham venisset, urbem magnam et validis circumdatam moenibus, tentoriis fixis providit sollicite, ne castra repentino equitatus Persici turbarentur accursu, cuius fortitudo in locis patentibus, immane quantum gentibus est formidata. [3] Et hoc disposito stipatus velitibus paucis, ipse quoque pedes civitatis situm diligenti inquisitione exploraturus, in perniciosas praecipitatus insidias, ex ipso vitae discrimine tandem emersit. [4] Namque per latentem oppidi portam, Persae decem armati degressi, imaque clivorum pervadentes, poplitibus subsidendo, repentino impetu nostros aggressi sunt. E quibus duo conspectiorem habitu principem gladiis petiere districtis, sed occurrit ictibus erectum altius scutum, quo contactus magna elataque fiducia unius lateri ferrum infixit, alterum stipatores multiplicatis ictibus occiderunt. Residuis e quibus vulnerati sunt aliqui, disiectis in fugam, spoliatisque ambobus, reducens incolumes socios, cum exuviis remeavit ad castra, omnium laetitia magna susceptus. [5] Sustulit in hoste prostrato aureum colli monile Torquatus, fudit confidentissimum Gallum alitis propugnatione Valerius, postea cognomento Corvinus, hacque gloria posteritati sunt commendati; non invidemus: accedat hoc quoque monumentis veteribus facinus pulchrum.

[6] Constratis postridie pontibus, exercituque travecto, et metatis alibi salubrius castris, vallo duplici circumductis, quoniam (ut diximus) timebantur solitudines planae, oppidi suscepit obsidium, periculosum fore existimans, si gradiens prorsus, a tergo relinqueret quos timeret.

[7] Haec dum magno molimine comparantur, Surena hostium dux iumenta adortus, quae in lucis palmaribus vescebantur, a cohortibus nostris repulsorii cum paucorum exitio habitus frustra discessit. [8] Et duarum incolae civitatum, quas amnes amplexi faciunt insulas, parva sui fiducia trepidi, ad Ctesiphontis moenia se contulerunt, pars per silvarum densa, alii per paludes vicinas, alveis arborum cavatarum invecti, ad unicum auxilium et potissimum itineris longi, quod supererat, dilabuntur, ulteriora petituri terrarum. [9] E quibus resistentes aliquos nostri milites trucidabant, ipsi quoque lintribus et cymbis per varia discurrentes, captivos alios subinde perducebant. Id enim erat librata ratione dispositum, ut, dum copiae pedestres muros oppugnant, equestres turmae divisae per globos, abigendis insisterent praedis: hocque proviso, nullo provincialium damno, miles visceribus hostium pascebatur.

[10] Iamque imperator munitum muris duplicibus oppidum, ordine circumdatum trino scutorum, spe patrandi incepti, maximis viribus oppugnabat. Sed ut erat necessarius appetitus, ita effectus res difficillima. Nam

accessus undique rupibus anfractu celsiore discissis, flexuosisque excessibus ob periculum anceps, adeundi copiam denegabat, maxime quoniam turres crebritate et altitudine formidandae, montem saxeum arcis naturaliter editum, aequabant, et proclivis planities flumini imminens, propugnaculorum firmitate muniebatur. [11] Accedebat his haut levius malum, quod lecta manus et copiosa (quae obsidebatur) nullis ad deditionem illecebris flectebatur, sed tamquam superatura, vel devota cineribus patriae, resistebat. Adversus eam aegre retentabatur, inferens se protervius miles, et pugnam vel aequo campo, iustoque proelio poscens, cumque receptui caneretur, assidue animosis hostem urgendi conatibus urebatur.

[12] Vicit tamen nostrorum consilium contentionem virium maximam, divisisque operibus, officia quisque distributa capessit ocissime. Hinc enim ardui suggestus erigebantur, inde fossarum altitudines alii complanabant, terrarum latibula concava oblongis tramitibus alibi struebantur, locabant etiam artifices tormenta muralia, in funestos sonitus proruptura, [13] Et cuniculos quidem cum vineis, Nevitta et Dagalaifus curabant, ineundis autem conflictibus, et defendendis ab incendio vel eruptionibus machinis, praeerat imperator.

Cumque apparatu omni excindendae urbis labore multiplici consummato, pugna flagitaretur, Victor nomine dux reversus est ad usque Ctesiphonta, itineribus exploratis, nulla obstacula nuntians offendisse. [14] Quo efferati gaudio milites omnes, elatique firmioribus animis, ad certandum signum operiebantur armati.

[15] Iamque clangore Martio sonantibus tubis, strepebant utrimque partes, et primi Romani hostem undique lamminis ferreis in modum tenuis plumae contextum, fidentemque, quod tela rigentis ferri lapsibus impacta resiliebant, crebris procursationibus et minaci murmure lacescebant: non numquam compage scutorum, qua velut testudine infigurabilium fornicum operiebantur aptissime, assiduis motibus laxius dehiscente. Contra Persae muris obstinatius adhaerentes, quantum facere nitique poterant, eludere et frustrari exitiales impetus conabantur. [16] Verum ubi vimineas crates prae se ferentes, oppugnatores iam moenia perurgerent, cum sagittariis funditores, alii quin etiam saxa volventes ingentia, cum facibus et malleolis eos longius propulsabant, tum aptatae ligneis sagittis ballistae, flexus stridore torquebantur, creberrima spicula funditantes, et scorpiones quocumque manus peritae duxissent, rotundos lapides evibrabant. [17] Iterum deinde ac saepe geminatis congressibus, aestus in meridiem crescens, effervescente vaporatus sole, apparatu operum et studio proeliandi intentos, cunctos revocaverat fatigatos et sudore perfusos.

[18] Eodem mentis proposito, secuto quoque die, per varia certaminum genera controversae partes dimicantes instanter, aequis manibus et pari fortuna discedunt. Verum in omne discrimen armatis proximus princeps civitatis urgebat excidium, ne circa muros diu excubans, omitteret maiora quae temptabat. [19] Sed in districtis necessitatibus, nihil tam leve est quod non

interdum etiam contra sperata, rerum adferat momenta magnarum. Cum enim (ut saepe) discessurae partes levius concertarent, abusive incusso ariete, qui paulo ante erat admotus, sternitur residuis omnibus altior turris, latere coctili firmissime structa, cuius ruina muri contiguum latus secum immani fragore protraxit. [20] Ibi tum varietate casuum obsidentium labor, obsessorumque industria vicissim facinoribus speciosis inclaruit. Nihil enim asperum ira et dolore succenso militi videbatur, nihil prohibitoribus erat pro salute concurrentibus, metuendum aut dirum. Nam cum anceps proelium diutius fervens, sanguine utrimque multis caedibus fuso, diei finisset occasus, tum fatigationi consulitur.

[21] Dumque haec luce agerentur ac palam, nuntiatur imperatori, pervigili cura distento, legionarios milites, quibus cuniculorum erant fodinae mandatae, cavatis tramitibus subterraneis, sublicibusque suspensis, ima penetrasse fundamentorum, iam (si ipse disposuerit) evasuros. [22] Cum itaque noctis plerumque processisset, aeneatorum accentu, signo dato progrediendi ad pugnam, ad arma concursus est: et consulto murorum invaduntur utrimque frontes, ut dum propulsaturi pericula, defensores ultro citroque discurrent, nec proxima fodientis audiretur ferri tinnitus, nec quoquam intrinsecus obsistente, cuniculariorum subito manus emergat. [23] Quibus ita (ut convenerat) ordinatis, et occupatis prohibitoribus, patefactisque latebris, evolat Exsuperius, de Victorum numero miles, post quem Magnus tribunus, et Iovianus notarius, quos audax multitudo secuta, his prius confossis, quos in aede per quam in lucem prodierant, invenerunt, suspensis gradibus procedentes obtruncarunt vigiles omnes, ex usu moris gentici iustitiam felicitatemque regis sui canoris vocibus extollentes. [24] Existimabatur Mars ipse (si misceri hominibus numina maiestatis iura permittunt), adfuisse castra Lucanorum invadenti Luscino. Hocque ideo creditum est quod in congressu flagranti, scalas vehens visus formidandae vastitatis armatus, postridie cum recenseretur exercitus, praecipuo studio quaesitus, reperiri non potuit, cum se ultro offerret, si miles fuisset, memorabilis conscius facti. Sed ut tunc qui esset pulchri facinoris auctor penitus est ignoratum, ita nunc enituerunt hi qui fecere fortissime, obsidionalibus coronis donati, et pro contione laudati, veterum more.

[25] Tandem nudata, reseratis aditibus multis, lapsura invaditur civitas, et sine sexus discrimine vel aetatis, quicquid impetus repperit, potestas iratorum absumpsit, alii exitii imminentis timore, cum hinc ignis inde mucrones urgerent, ultimum flentes, e muris acti sua sponte praecipites, membrisque omnibus infirmati, vitam morte funestiorum paulisper, dum caederentur egerunt. [26] Extractus est autem vivus cum satellitibus octoginta Nabdates, praesidiorum magister, quem oblatum sibi cum aliis servari iussit intactum, serenus imperator et clemens.

Divisa itaque perpensis meritis et laboribus praeda, ipse (ut erat parvo contentus), mutum puerum oblatum sibi suscepit gesticularium, multa quae callebat, nutibus venustissimis explicantem, e tribus aureis nummis, partae victoriae praemium iucundum (ut existimabat) et gratum. [27] Ex virginibus

autem, quae speciosae sunt captae ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre, Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui haec declinabant, ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique praestiterunt.

[28] Inter haec certamina nostrae partis architectus, cuius nomen non suppetit, post machinam scorpionis forte assistens, reverberate lapide quem artifex titubanter aptaverat fundae, obliso pectore supinatus, profudit animam disiecta compage membrorum, adeo ut ne signa quidem totius corporis noscerentur.

[29] Exin profecturo imperatori, index nuntiaverat certus, circa muros subversi oppidi fallaces foveas et obscuras, quales in tractibus illis sunt plurimae, subsedis manum insidiatricem latenter, ut inproviso inde exorta, agminis nostri terga feriret extrema. [30] Confestimque ad extrahendam eam missi sunt compertae fortitudinis pedites. Qui cum neque pervadere foraminum aditus, nec amendatos intus prolicere possent ad decernendum, collectam stipulam et sarmenta specuum faucibus aggesserunt. Unde fumus angustius penetrans, ideoque spissior, quosdam vitalibus obstructis necavit, alios ignium afflatu semustos, prodire in perniciem coegit abruptam, et ita omnibus ferro incendioque consumptis, ad signa repedavit ocus miles. Hoc modo civitas ampla et populosa virtute roboris excisa Romani, in pulverem concidit et ruinas.

[31] Post quae tam gloriosa, transitis pontibus multorum amnium concursu continuatis, ad munimenta gemina venimus, aedificiis cautis exstructa, ubi Victorem comitem exercitus praevium, a transitu fluminis regis filius progressus a Ctesiphonte, cum optimatibus et multitudine armata, prohibere conatus, catervis sequentium militum visis, abscessit.

Munitissimum situ et opere castellum expugnant Romani ac incendunt.

Pergentes itaque protinus, ad lucos venimus, agrosque pube variorum seminum laetos, ubi reperta regia Romano more aedificata, quoniam id placuerat, mansit intacta. [2] Erat etiam in hac eadem regione extantum spatium et rotundum, loricae ambitu circumclausum, destinatas regiis voluptatibus continens feras, cervicibus iubatis leones, armisque hispidos apros, et ursos (ut sunt Persici) ultra omnem rabiem saevientes, et alia lecta immania corpora bestiarum: quas omnes diffractis portarum obicibus, equites nostri venatoriis lanceis et missilium multitudine confoderunt. [3] Quae loca pingua satis et cultu, quibus Coche (quam Seleuciam nominant) haut longius disparatur, ubi vallatis opere tumultuario castris, et exercitu omni per aquarum et pabuli opportuna biduo recreato, antegressus cum procursatoribus princeps, et civitatem desertam collustrans, a Caro principe quondam excisam, in qua perpetuus fons stagnum ingens eiecat, in Tigridem defluens, corpora vidit suffixa patibulis multa necessitudinum eius, quem prodidisse civitatem Pirisaboram rettulimus supra. [4] Hic et Nabdates vivus exustus est, quem extractum cum octoginta e latebris expugnatae docui civitatis, eo quod inter exordia obsidii coepti, clam pollicitus prodere, dimicavit acerrime, adeptisque

veniam insperatam, ad id proruperat insolentiae, ut Ormizdam laceraret omnibus probris.

[5] Itaque aliquantum progressi, tristi percellimur facto. Dum enim tres procursatorum cohortes expeditae cum cuneo Persico decertarent, quem patefactis subito portis, profuderat civitas, proruptores alii ex contraria fluminis ripa, iumenta nos sequentia cum pabulatoribus paucis, licenter palantibus, intercipiunt et obtruncant. [6] Unde profectus imperator iratus et frendens, iamque regionibus Ctesiphontis propinquans, celsum castellum offendit et munitissimum, ad quod explorandum ausus accedere, obscurior (ut ipse rebatur) cum paucis obequitans muros, pauloque avidius intra ictum telorum repertus, latere non potuit: statimque diversorum missilium nube exagitatus oppetisset tormento murali, ni vulnerato armigero, qui lateri eius haerebat, ipse scutorum densitate contextus, evitato magno discrimine, discessisset.

[7] Qua causa concitus ira immani, munimentum disposuit obsidere, prohibitoribus acriter ad resistendum intentis, quod loco fidebant, propemodum inaccessso, quodque rex cum ambitiosis copiis passibus citis incedens, propediem affore credebatur. [8] Iamque vineis et residuis omnibus, quae poscebat obsidium, paratis, vigilia secunda praecipiti, cum nox casu tunc lunari nitens splendore, his qui propugnaculis insistebant, aperte cuncta monstraret, repente in unum pondus coacta, multitudo patefactis subito portis erupit, cohortemque nec opinantem adorta nostrorum, cecidit complures, inter quos etiam tribunus peremptus est, periculum propulsare conatus. [9] Quae dum ita aguntur, pari modo ut antea, Persae ex adversa fluminis ripa, partem adorti nostrorum, interfectis quibusdam vivos cepere non nullos. Et timore simul quia venisse in maiorem numerum copiae putabantur hostiles, egere nostri tune segnius, sed ubi animis in audaciam restitutis, armisque raptis inter tumultum, exercitus cantu concitus buccinarum, cum minaci murmure festinaret, eruptores perterriti reverterunt intacti. [10] Et imperator ira gravi permotus, reliquos ex ea cohorte, qui abiecte sustinuerant impetum grassatorum, ad pedestrem compegit militiam (quae onerosior est) dignitatibus imminutis. [11] Flagrans post haec ad eruendum castellum, ubi periclitatus est, operam convertit et curam, nusquam ab antesignanis ipse digrediens, ut inter primos dimicans militi ad fortiter faciendum esset exemplo, spectator probatorque gestorum. Quo inter discriminum vertex diu multumque versato, varietate munitionum atque telorum, et conspiratione oppugnantium, idem castellum incenditur captum. [12] Post quae consideratis asperitatibus ante gestarum rerum et impendentium, requievit exercitus, labore nimio quassatus, multis victui congruis adfatim distributis. Vallum tamen sudibus densis et fossarum altitudine cautius deinde struebatur, cum a vicina iam Ctesiphonte, repentini excursus et alia formidarentur occulta.

Persarum duobus millibus et quingentis interfectis, et vix LXX suorum amissis, Iulianus multos coronis pro contione donat.

Ventum est hinc ad fossile flumen, Naarmalcha nomine (quod amnis regum interpretatur), tunc aridum. Id antehac Traianus, posteaque Severus, egesto solo fodiri in modum canalis amplissimi, studio curaverat summo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfusis, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent. [2] Tutissimumque ad omnia visum est, eadem loca purgari, quae quondam similia Persae timentes, mole saxorum obruere multorum. Hacque valle purgata, avulsis cataractis undarum magnitudine classis secure, stadiis triginta decursis, in alveum eiecta est Tigridis, et contextis ilico pontibus transgressus exercitus iter Cochen versus promovit. [3] Utque lassitudini succederet quies opportuna, in agro consedimus opulento, arbustis et vitibus et cupressorum viriditate laetissimo, cuius in medio diversorium opacum est et amoenum, gentiles picturas per omnes aedium partes ostendens, regis bestias venatione multiplici trucidentis; nec enim apud eos pingitur vel fingitur aliud, praeter varias caedes et bella.

[4] Proinde cunctis ex sententia terminatis, Augustus altius iam contra difficultates omnes incedens, tantumque a fortuna sperans nondum afflicta, ut propius temeritatem multa crebro auderet, validiores naves ex his quae alimenta portabant et machinas, deoneratas octogenis implevit armatis, retentoque secum classis robore firmiore, quam in tres diviserat partes, unam cum Victore comite quiete prima noctis emitti disposuit, ut flumine raptim transmisso, ripae occuparentur hostiles. [5] Quod cum acri metu territi duces, concordii precatu fieri prohibere temptarent, neque destinationem flecterent principis, sublato vexillo, ut iussum est, evolant e conspectu quinque subito naves, et cum ripas iam adventarent, facibus et omni materia, qua aliter ignis, petitae assiduis iactibus, cum militibus iam conflagrassent, ni veloci vigore pectoris excitus imperator, signum sibi datum nostros quod margines iam tenerent (ut mandatum est), erexisse proclamans, classem omnem properare citis remigiis adegisset. [6] Quo facto et naves incolumes sunt receptae, et residuus miles, quamquam saxis et varietate telorum ex edito vexaretur, post concertationem acerrimam, praealtas ripas et arduas supergressus, stabat immobilis. [7] Et miratur historia, Rhodanum arma et loricam retinente Sertorio, transnatatum, cum eo momento turbati quidam milites, veritique ne remanerent, post signum erectum, scutis, quae patula sunt et incurva, proni firmitus adhaerentes, eaque licet imperite regendo, per voraginosum amnem velocitatem comitati sunt navium.

[8] Contra haec Persae obiecerunt instructas cataphractorum equitum turmas, ita confertas, ut lamminis cohaerenter aptati corporum flexus, splendore praestringerent occurrentes obtutus, operimentis scorteis equorum multitudine omni defensa, quorum in subsidiis manipuli locati sunt peditum, contecti scutis oblongis et curvis, quae texta vimine et coriis crudis gestantes densius se commovebant. Post hos elephanti gradientium collium specie, motuque immanium corporum, propinquantibus exitium intentabant, documentis praeteritis formidati.

[9] Hinc imperator catervis peditum infirmis medium inter acies spatium

secundum Homericam dispositionem praestituit, ne locati priores, cedentesque deformiter, cunctos averterent secum, aut postsignani pone omnes reiecti centurias, nullo retinente licentius verterent terga, ipse cum levis armaturae auxiliis, per prima postremaque discurrens.

[10] Ergo ubi vicissim contiguae se cernerent partes, cristatis galeis corusci Romani, vibrantesque clipeos, velut pedis anapaesti praecinentibus modulis, lenius procedebant, et praepilatis missilibus per procuratores principiiis pugnae temptatis, excita undique humus rapido turbine portabatur. [11] Et cum undique solito more conclamaretur, virorumque alacritatem sonans classicum iuaret, hastis et mucronibus strictis, hinc inde comminus pugnabatur: sagittarum periculo miles erat immunis, quantum interiora festinatius occupabat. Inter quae Iulianus pulsos fulcire subsidiis, incitareque tardantes, quasi conturmalis strenuus properabat et rector. [12] Laxata itaque acies prima Persarum, leni ante, dein concito gradu, calefactis armis retrorsus gradiens propinquam urbem petebat, quam sequebatur miles itidem fessus in campis torridis ad usque diei finem a lucis ortu decernens, eiusque occipitiis pertinacius haerens, omnem cum Pigrane et Surena et Narseo, potissimis ducibus, ad usque Ctesiphontis muros egit praecipitem, adversorum feriens suras et terga. [13] Perrupissetque civitatis aditus lapsorum agminibus mixtus, ni dux Victor nomine manibus erectis prohibuisset et vocibus, et ipse umerum sagitta praestricus, et timens ne intra moenium ambitus rapidus miles inconsulte repertus nullosque inveniens exitus, multitudinis pondere circumveniretur.

[14] Sonent Hectoreas poetae veteres pugnas, fortitudinem Thessali ducis extollant, longae loquantur aetates Sophanem et Aminiam et Callimachum et Cynaegirum, Medicorum egregia culmina illa bellorum: non minus illo die quorundam ex nostris inclaruisset virtutem, omnium confessione monstratur.

[15] Post timorem depositum, calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum, iusto sanguine miles etiam tum cruentus, ad imperatoris tentoria congregatus, laudes ei perhibebat et gratias, quod ignoratus ubique dux esset an miles, magis aliorum quam suum respiciens commodum, ita rem prospere gesserat ut caesis Persarum plus minusve duobus milibus et quingentis, septuaginta caderent soli nostrorum. [16] Qui appellans plerosque nominatim, quos stabili mente aliquid clarum fecisse, ipse arbiter perspexit, navalibus donavit coronis et civicis et castrensibus.

[17] Abunde ratus post haec prosperitates similis adventare, complures hostias Marti parabat ultori, et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti, voluntate sua novem procubuere tristissimi, decimus vero, qui diffractis vinculis lapsus aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis, exclamavit indignatus acriter Iulianus Iovemque testatus est, nulla Marti iam sacra facturum: nec resecravit, celeri morte praereptus.

Imperator a Ctesiphontis obsidione deterritus, cunctas naves suas temere iubet exuri, et a flumine recedit.

Digesto itaque consilio cum primatibus super Ctesiphontis obsidio, itum est in voluntatem quorundam, facinus audax et importunum esse noscentium id aggredi, quod et civitas situ ipso inexpugnabilis defendebatur, et cum metuenda multitudine protinus rex adfore credebatur. [2] Vicit sententia melior, cuius utilitate princeps sollertissimus approbata, Arintheum cum manu peditum expedita, ad populandas regiones circumsitas misit, armentis laetas et frugibus, hostes pari persecuturum industria, quos dispalatos nuper densi tramites et latebrae texere notissimae. [3] Sed ille avidae semper ad ulteriora cupiditatis, parvi habitis vetantium dictis, et increpitis optimatibus, quod ob inertiam otique desiderium, amitti suaderent prope iam parta regna Persidis, flumine laeva relicto, infaustis ductoribus praevis, mediterraneas vias arripere citato proposuit gradu. [4] Et tamquam funesta face Bellonae subiectis ignibus exuri cunctas iusserat naves, praeter minores duodecim, quas profuturas pangendis pontibus disposuit vehi carpentis, idque putabat utiliter ordinasse, ne relicta classis usui hostibus foret, aut certe (ut ab expeditionis primordio factum est), armatorum fere viginti milia in trahendis occuparentur eisdem navibus et regendis.

[5] Dein cum metuens sibi quisque mussaret, monstraretque perspicua veritas, quod repulsus forsitan ariditate vel altitudine montium, ad aquas redire non poterit miles, tortique perfugae aperte faterentur se fefellisse, concursu maximo exstingui iussae sunt flammae. Et quoniam ignis auctus immaniter plerasque consumpsit, duodecim tantum modo naves potuerunt intactae servari, quae ut possint custodiri discretae sunt. [6] Hoc casu classe cum non oporteret abolita, Iulianus consociato fretus exercitu, cum armatorum nulli per diversa distringerentur, numero potior ad interiora tendebat, alimenta adfatim opulentis suggerentibus locis.

[7] Quo cognito hostes, ut inedia nos cruciarent, herbas cum adultis segetibus incenderunt, et conflagratione procedere vetiti, stativis castris dum flammae senescerent tenebamur. Insultantesque nobis longius Persae, nunc de industria se diffundebant, aliquotiens confertius resistentes, ut procul conspicantibus viderentur advenisse iam regis auxilia, ideoque eos aestimaremus erupisse ad audaces excursus, et insolita temptamenta. [8] Maerebat tamen ob haec imperator et miles, quod nec contabulandi pontis erat facultas, amissis navibus temere, nec occurri poterat hostis adventicii motibus, quem adesse coruscus nitor indicabat armorum, arte pro singulis membris inflexus. Hisque accedebat aliud haud exiguum malum, quod nec adminicula quae praestolabamur cum Arsace et nostris ducibus apparebant, ob causas impedita praedictas.

Imperator cum iam nec pontes facere, nec parti copiarum suarum adiungi, per Corduenam reverti statuit.

Has ob res ut solaretur anxios milites princeps, captives graciles suapte natura, ut omnes paene sunt Persae, et macie iam confectos, iussit in medium duci, nostrosque respiciens, 'En' inquit 'quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, deformes illuvie capellas et taetras, utque crebri docuerunt

eventus, antequam manus conferant abiectis armis vertentes semet in fugam.’
[2] Quibus dictis remotisque captivis, super rerum summa consultabatur. Et multis ultro citroque dictitatis, cum reverti debere per loca qua venimus, plebs vociferaretur imprudens, resistebat intentius princeps, multis cum eo id nequaquam fieri posse monstrantibus, per effusam planitiem pabulo absumpto et frugibus, vicorumque reliquiis exustorum inopia squalentibus ultima: quodque liquentibus iam brumae pruinis, omne immaduerat solum, et ruptis riparum terminis aucti, inhorruere torrentes. [3] Eo etiam ad difficultatem accedente negotii, quod per eas terras vapore sideris calescentes, muscarum et culicum multitudine referta sunt omnia, earumque volatu dies et astrorum noctu micantium facies obumbratur. [4] Et cum nihil humani proficerent sensus, diu fluctuantes et dubii, exstructis aris caesisque hostiis, consulta numinum scitabamur, utrum nos per Assyriam reverti censerent, an praeter radices montium lenius gradientes, Chiliocomum prope Corduenam sitam ex improvise vastare: quorum neutrum extis inspectis, confore dicebatur. [5] Sedit tamen sententia, ut omni spe meliorum succisa, Corduenam arriperemus, et sextum decimum Kalendas Iulias promotis iam signis, progressu imperatore cum lucis exordio, fumus vel vis quaedam turbinata pulveris apparebat, ut opinari daretur asinorum esse greges agrestium, quorum multitudo in tractibus est illis innumera, ideo simul incedens, ut constipatione densa feroces leonum frustrentur assultus. [6] Quidam arbitrabantur, Arsacen ac duces adventare iam nostros, rumoribus percitos, quod imperator Ctesiphonta magnis viribus oppugnaret, non nulli Persas nobis viantibus incubuisse firmabant. [7] Ideo inter haec ita ambigua, nequid adversum accideret, revocantibus agmina classicis, in valle graminea prope rivum, multiplicato scutorum ordine in orbiculatam figuram metatis tutius quievimus castris. Nec enim ad usque vesperam, aere concreto, discerni potuit quidnam esset, quod squalidius videbatur.

LIBER XXV.

[1] Persae Romanos iter facientes adorti, fortiter reprimuntur.

Et hanc quidem noctem nullo siderum fulgore splendentem, ut solet in artis rebus et dubiis, exegimus, nec sedere quoquam auso, nec flectere in quietem lumina prae timore. Ubi vero primum dies inclaruit, radiantes loricae limbis circumdatae ferreis, et corusci thoraces, longe prospecti, adesse regis copias indicabant. [2] Hocque viso accensum, properantem congredi militem, dirimente fluvio brevi, prohibuit imperator, et non procul a vallo ipso inter excursatores nostros et Persicos, proelio acri conserto, Machameus cecidit, ductor unius agminis nostri. Cui propugnaturus Maurus frater (dux postea Phoenices) cum germani trucidasset interfectorem, obvium quemque perterrens, infirmatus et ipse umerum telo, pallescentem morte propinqua, Machameum extrahere pugna viribus valuit magnis.

[3] Et cum fatiscerent vix toleranda aestuum magnitudine, crebrisque congressibus partes, ad ultimum hostiles turmae gravi sunt repulsa discussae. Hinc recedentibus nobis, longius Saraceni secuti sunt et nostrorum metu peditum repedare compulsi, paulo post innexi Persarum multitudini tutius irruebant, Romana impedimenta rapturi, verum viso imperatore, ad alas subsidiarias reverterunt. [4] Qua ex regione profecti ad Hucumbra nomine villam pervenimus, ubi per biduum omnibus ad usum congruis et satietate quaesita frumenti, ultra spem recreati discessimus, et confestim absque his, quae tempus vehi permisit, reliqua flammis exusta sunt.

[5] Postridie exercitu sedatius procedente, extremos qui eo die forte cogendorum agminum officia sustinebant, necopinantes Persae adorti, negotio levi interfecissent, ni proximus equitatus noster hoc citius intellecto, per patulas valles late diffusus, tantam molem discriminis, vulneratis qui supervenerant, repulisset. [6] In hac cecidit pugna Adaces, nobilis satrapa, legatus quondam ad Constantium principem missus, ac benigne susceptus, cuius exuviis interfecto Iuliano oblatis, remuneratus est ut decebat. [7] Eodem die Tertiacorum equestris numerus a legionibus incusatus est, quod cum ipsae hostium adversas irrumperent acies, illi paulatim dilapsi, alacritatem paene totius minuissent exercitus. [8] Unde ad indignationem iustam imperator erectus, ademptis signis hastisque diffractis, omnes eos qui fugisse arguebantur, inter impedimenta et sarcinas et captivos agere iter imposuit, ductore eorum, qui solus fortiter decertarat, aliae turmae apposito, cuius tribunus turpiter proelium deservisse convincebatur. [9] Abiecti sunt autem sacramento etiam alii quattuor ob flagitium simile vexillationum tribuni: hoc enim correctionis moderamine leniori, impendentium consideratione difficultatum, contentus est imperator.

[10] Progressi itaque stadia septuaginta, attenuata rerum omnium copia, herbis frumentisque crematis, ex flammis ipsis raptas fruges et pabula, ut quisque vehere potuit, conservavit. [11] Hoc etiam loco relicto, cum ad tractum

Maranga appellatum, omnis venisset exercitus, prope lucis confinia immensa Persarum apparuit multitudo, cum Merene equestris magistro militiae, filiisque regis duobus, et optimatibus plurimis. [12] Erant autem omnes catervae ferratae, ita per singula membra densis lamminis tectae, ut iuncturae rigentes compagibus artuum convenirent, humanorumque vultuum simulacra, ita capitibus diligenter apta, ut inbracteatis corporibus solidis, ibi tantum incidentia tela possint haerere, qua per cavernas minutas, et orbibus oculorum affixas, parcius visitur, vel per supremitates narium angusti spiritus emittuntur. [13] Quorum pars contis dimicatura, stabat immobilis, ut retinaculis aereis fixam existimares, iuxtaque sagittarii, cuius artis fiducia ab incunabulis ipsis gens praevaluit maxima, tendebant divaricatis brachiis flexiles arcus, ut nervi mammas praestringere dexteris, spicula sinistris manibus cohaerent, summaque peritia digitorum pulsibus argutum sonantes, harundines evolabant, vulnera perniciose portantes. [14] Post hos elephantorum fulgentium formidandam speciem et truculentos hiatus, vix mentes pavidae perferebant, ad quorum stridorem odoremque et insuetum aspectum magis equi terrebantur. [15] Quibus insidentes magistri, manubriatos cultros dexteris manibus illigatos gestabant, acceptae apud Nisibin memores cladis, et si ferociens animal, vires exsuperasset regentis, ne reversum per suos (ut tunc acciderat) collisam sterneret plebem, venam quae caput a cervice disternat, ictu maximo terebrabant. Exploratum est enim aliquando ab Hasdrubale Hannibalis fratre, ita citius vitam huius modi adimi beluarum. [16] Quibus non sine magno terrore perspectis, stipatus armatarum cohortium globis, cum primatibus fidentissimus imperator, ut flagitabat maior vis et atrocior, lunari acie sinuatisque lateribus, occursuros hosti manipulos instruebat. [17] Et ne sagittariorum procursus nostrorum cuneos disiectaret, illatis concitatius signis, spiculorum impetum fregit, datoque ad decernendum sollemniter signo, denseti Romani pedites confertas hostium frontes, nisu protruserunt acerrimo. [18] Et fervente certaminum mole, clipeorum sonitus et virorum, armorumque lugubre sibilantium fragor, nihil perpetiens iam remissum, campos cruore et corporum strage contextit, effusius cadentibus Persis, quibus saepe languidis in conflictu, artius pes pede collatus, graviter obsistebat, pugnare fortiter eminus consuetis, et si inclinatas suorum copias senserint, cedendo in modum imbrium pone versus directis sagittis, hostes a persequendi fiducia detertere. Pulsis igitur pondere magnarum virium Parthis, miles solis cursu flammeo diu lassatus, signo in receptum dato ex more, in tentoria repedit ad audenda deinceps maiora sublatus.

[19] In hoc proelio Persarum maior, ut dictum est, apparuit strages, nostrorum admodum levis. Eminuit tamen inter varies certaminum casus Vetranionis mors viri pugnacis, qui legionem Ziannorum regebat.

Inopia frumenti et pabuli premitur exercitus. Iulianus terretur ostentis.

Post quae triduo indutiis destinato, dum suo quisque vulneri medetur vel proximi, com meatibus nos destitutos inedia cruciabat iam non ferenda: et quoniam frugibus exustis et pabulis, homines in discrimen ultimum venerant

et iumenta, ex eo cibo, quem animalia tribunorum vehebant et comitum, imae quoque militum plebi penitus indigenti, pars distributa est magna. [2] Et imperator, cui non cuppediae ciborum, ex regio more, sed sub columellis tabernaculi parvis cenaturo, pultis portio parabatur exigua, etiam munifici fastidienda gregario quicquid ad ministeria postulabatur, per contubernia paupertina sui securus egressit. [3] Ipse autem ad sollicitam suspensamque quietem paulisper protractus, cum somno ut solebat depulso, ad aemulationem Caesaris Iulii quaedam sub pellibus scribens, obscuro noctis altitudine sensus cuiusdam philosophi teneretur, vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen, conspexit in Galliis, velata cum capite Cornucopia per aulaea tristius discedentem. [4] Et quamquam ad momentum haesit stupore defixus, omni tamen superior metu, ventura decretis caelestibus commendabat, relictoque humi strato cubili, adulta iam excitus nocte, et numinibus per sacra depulsoria supplicans, flagrantissimam facem cadenti similem visam, aeris parte sulcata, evanuisse existimavit, horroreque perfusus est, ne ita aperte minax Martis apparuerit sidus.

[5] Erat autem nitor igneus iste, quem διαίσσωντα nos appellamus, nec cadens umquam nec terram contingens. Corpora enim qui credit caelitus posse labi, profanus merito iudicatur, et demens. Fit autem hic habitus modis compluribus, e quibus sufficiet pauca monstrare. [6] Scintillas quidam putant ab aetherio candentes vigore, parumque porrectius tendere sufficientes, extinguui, vel certe radorum flammas iniectas nubibus densis, acri scintillare contactu, aut cum lumen aliquod cohaeserit nubi. Id enim in stellae speciem figuratum, decurrit quidem, dum viribus ignium sustentatur: amplitudine vero spatiorum exinanitum in aerium solvitur corpus, ad substantiam migrans, cuius attritu incaluit nimio.

[7] Confestim itaque ante lucis primitias, Etrusci haruspices accersiti, consultiue quid astri species portenderet nova, vitandum esse cautissime responderunt nequid tunc temptaretur: ex Tarquitianis libris in titulo de rebus divinis, id relatum esse monstrantes, quod face in caelo visa committi proelium vel simile quicquam non oportebit. [8] Quo etiam id inter alia multa spernente, orabant haruspices, saltem aliquot horis profectionem differri, et ne hoc quidem sunt adepti, imperatore omni vaticinandi scientia reluctante, sed exorto iam die promota sunt castra.

Imperator, dum ad repellendos Persas, qui undique instabant, ommissa lorica, temere se proeliis inserit, hasta vulneratur, ac in tabernaculum refertur, ubi circumstantes alloquitur, ac post epotam frigidam moritur.

Hinc nos egressos, Persae cum saepe afflictis, peditum stabiles pugnas horrent, structis insidiis, occulte comitabantur, altrinsecus viantes catervas a celsis collibus explorando, ut id suspicans miles, ad usque perpetuum diem nec vallum erigeret nec sudibus se communiret. [2] Dumque teguntur firmiter latera, et exercitus pro locorum situ quadratis quidem sed laxis incedit

agminibus, invasa subito terga pone versus arma cogentium principi indicatur, etiam tum inermi ad speculanda anteriora progresso. [3] Qua concitus clade, oblitus loricae, scuto inter tumultum adrepto, properans ultimis ferre suppetias, revocatur alio metu, qui etiam antesignanos, unde discesserat, paria perpeti nuntiabat. [4] Quae dum sine respectu periculi sui, redintegrare festinat, ex alia parte cataphractorum Parthicus globus centurias adoritur medias, ac sinistro cornu inclinato acriter superfusus, factorem stridoremque elephantorum impatienter tolerantibus nostris, contis et multiplicatis missilibus decernebat. [5] Verum principe volitante inter prima discrimina proeliorum, exilivit nostra succinctior armatura, aversorumque Persarum et beluarum, suffragines concidebat et dorsa. [6] Quos cum Iulianus cavendi immemor, diffluxisse trepidos elatis vociferando manibus aperte demonstrans, irasque sequentium excitans, audenter effunderet semet in pugnam, clamabant hinc inde candidati (quos disiecerat terror) ut fugientium molem tamquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret, et (incertum unde) subita equestris hasta, cute brachii eius praestricta, costis perfossis, haesit in ima iecoris fibra. [7] Quam dum avellere dextra manu conatur, acuto utrimque ferro digitorum nervos sensit excisos, et provolutus iumento, praesentiumque veloci concursu, relatus in castra, medicinae ministeriis fovebatur. [8] Moxque ubi lenito paulisper dolore, timere desiit, magno spiritu contra exitium certans, arma poscebat et equum, ut reviso proelio suorum fiduciam repararet, ac videretur sui securus, alienae salutis sollicitudine vehementer adstringi: eo vigore, licet in negotio dispari, quo Epaminondas ille dux inclitus letaliter apud Mantiniam saucius et revectus ex acie cura quaerebat sollicita scutum. Quod cum vidisset propius laetior, vi vulneris interiit, et qui animam intrepidus amittebat, iacturam clipei formidavit. [9] Sed cum vires parum sufficerent voluntati, sanguinisque profluvio vexaretur, mansit immobilis, ideo spe deinceps vivendi absumpta, quod percunctando, Phrygiam appellari locum ubi ceciderat comperit. Hic enim obitum se praescripta audierat sorte. [10] Sed reducto ad tentoria principe, incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque ardore, miles ad vindictam ira et dolore ferventior involabat, hastis ad scuta concrepans, etiam mori (si tulisset fors) obstinatus. Et quamvis offundebatur oculis altitudo pulveris et aestus calescens officeret alacritati membrorum, tamen velut exactoratus, amisso ductore, sine parsimonia ruebat in ferrum. [11] Contra animosius Persae sagittarum volantium crebritate, conspectum sui rapiebant oppositis, quos elephanti tardius praecedentes, magnitudine corporum, cristarumque a horrore, pavorem iumentis incutiebant et viris. Concursus itaque armatorum, et cadentium gemitus, equorum flatus et tinnitus ferri procul audiebatur, quamdiu satietate vulnerum partibus fessis, nox diremit certamina iam tenebrosa. [13] Quinquaginta tum Persarum optimates et satrapae cum plebe maxima ceciderunt, inter has turbas Merena et Nohodare potissimis ducibus interfectis. Obstupescat magniloquentia vetustatis diversis in locis proelia viginti Marcelli: Sicinium Dentatum adiciat ornatum militarium multitudine coronarum: miretur super his Sergium, qui viciens et

ter vulneratus est in variis pugnis (ut fertur), cuius posteritatis ultimus Catilina claras gloriarum adoreas, sempiternis maculis obumbravit. Deformabat tamen tristitia laetiores eventus. [14] Dum haec enim post discessum ducis ubique aguntur, exercitus cornu dextro defatigato, et Anatolio interfecto, qui tunc erat officiorum magister, Sallustius praefectus, actus in exitium praeceps, et opera sui apparitoris ereptus, Phosphorio amisso consiliario, qui ei aderat casu, evasit; palatini quidam militesque per multa discrimina, occupato castelli vicini praesidio, post diem denique tertium, iungi exercitui potuerunt.

[15] Quae dum ita aguntur, Iulianus in tabernaculo iacens, circumstantes allocutus est demissos et tristes: ‘Advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus e vita impendio tempestivum, quam reposcenti naturae, ut debitor bonae fidei redditurus, exulto, non (ut quidam opinantur) afflictus et maerens, philosophorum sententia generali perdoctus, quantum corpore sit beator animus, et contemplans, quotiens condicio melior a deteriore secernitur, laetandum esse potius quam dolendum. Illud quoque advertens, quod etiam dii caelestes quibusdam piissimis mortem tamquam summum praemium persolverunt. [16] Munus autem id mihi delatum optime scio, ne difficultatibus subcumberem arduis, neve me proiciam umquam, aut prosternam, expertus quod dolores omnes ut insultant ignavis, ita persistentibus cedunt. [17] Nec me gestorum paenitet aut gravis flagitii recordatio stringit, vel cum in umbram et angustias amendarer, vel post principatum susceptum, animum tamquam a cognatione caelitum defluentem, immaculatum (ut existimo) conservavi et civilia moderatius regens, et examinatis rationibus, bella inferens et repellens, tametsi prosperitas simul utilitasque consultorum non ubique concordent, quoniam coeptorum eventus superae sibi vindicant potestates. [18] Reputans autem iusti esse finem imperii, oboedientium commodum et salutem, ad tranquilliora semper (ut nostis) propensior fui, licentiam omnem actibus meis exterminans, rerum corruptricem et morum, gaudensque abeo, sciens quod ubicumque me velut imperiosa parens consideratis periculis obiecit res publica, steti fundatus, turbines calcare fortuitorum assuefactus. [19] Nec fateri pudebit, interiturum me ferro, dudum didici fide fatidica praecinente. Ideoque sempiternum veneror numen, quod non clandestinis insidiis, nec longa morborum asperitate, vel damnatorum fine decedo, sed in medio cursu florentium gloriarum, hunc merui clarum ex mundo digressum. Aeque enim iudicio iuxta timidus est et ignavus, qui cum non oportet, mori desiderat, et qui refugiat cum sit opportunum. [20] Hactenus loqui, vigore virium labente sufficiet. Super imperatore vero creando, caute reticeo, ne per imprudentiam dignum praeteream, aut nominatum quem habilem reor, anteposito forsitan alio, ad discrimen ultimum trudem. Ut alumnus autem rei publicae frugi, opto bonum post me reperiri rectorem.’

[21] Post haec placide dicta, familiares opes iunctoribus velut supremo distribuens stilo, Anatolium quaesivit, officiorum magistrum, quem cum beatum fuisse Salustius respondisset praefectus, intellexit occisum, acriterque amici casum ingemuit, qui data mente contempserat suum. [22] Et flentes inter

haec omnes qui aderant, auctoritate integra etiam tum increpabat, humile esse, caelo sideribusque conciliatum lugeri principem dicens. [23] Quibus ideo iam silentibus, ipse cum Maximo et Prisco philosophis super animorum sublimitate perplexius disputans, hiante latius suffossi lateris vulnere, et spiritum tumore cohibente venarum, epota gelida aqua quam petiit, medio noctis horrore, vita facilius est absolutus, anno aetatis altero et tricensimo, natus apud Constantinopolim, a pueritia usque parentis obitu destitutus Constanti, quem post fratris Constantini excessum, inter complures alios turba consumpsit imperii successorum, et Basilina matre iam inde a maioribus nobili.

Virtutes eius et vitia, forma corporis et statura.

Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis, claritudine rerum et coalita maiestate conspicuus. Cum enim sint (ut sapientes definiunt), virtutes quattuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, eisque accedentes extrinsecus aliae, scientia rei militaris, auctoritas felicitas atque liberalitas, intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas.

[2] Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venereum attigisse eum constaret ; illud advertens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragoediarum scriptorem, aetate grandaevum, interrogatum ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem, id adiecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem ut rabiosum quendam effugisse dominum et crudelem. [3] Item ut hoc propositum validius confirmaret, recolebat saepe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat iucunde, id asserentis, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Quam labem in adulto robore iuventutis, ita caute vitavit, ut ne suspicione quidem tenus libidinis ullius, vel citerioris vitae ministris incusaretur, ut saepe contingit.

[4] Hoc autem temperantiae genus crescebat in maius, iuvante parsimonia ciborum et somni, quibus domi forisque tenacius utebatur. Namque in pace victus eius mensarumque tenuitas erat recte noscentibus admiranda, velut ad pallium mox reversuri, per varios autem procinctus, stans interdum more militiae, cibum brevem vilemque sumere visebatur. [5] Ubi vero exigua dormiendi quiete, recreasset corpus laboribus induratum, expergefactus, explorabat per semet ipsum vigiliarum vices et stationum, post haec seria ad artes confugiens doctrinarum. [6] Et si nocturna lumina, inter quae lucubrabat, potuissent voce ulla testari, profecto ostenderant, inter hunc et quosdam principes multum interesse, quem quidem norant voluptatibus ne ad necessitatem quidem indulsisse naturae.

[7] Dein prudentiae eius indicia fuere vel plurima, e quibus explicari sufficet pauca. Armatae rei scientissimus et togatae, civilitati admodum studens, tantum sibi arrogans quantum a contemptu et insolentia distare existimabat: virtute senior quam aetate: studiosus cognitionum omnium et indeclinabilis aliquotiens iudex: censor in moribus regendis acerrimus, placidus opum contemptor, mortalia cuncta despiciens, postremo id

praedicabat, turpe esse sapienti, cum habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore.

[8] Quibus autem iustitiae inclaruit bonis, multa significant, primo quod erat pro rerum et hominum distinctione, sine crudelitate terribilis, deinde quod paucorum discrimine vitia cohibebat, tum autem quod minabatur ferro potius quam utebatur. [9] Postremo ut multa praeteream, constat eum in apertos aliquos inimicos insidiatores suos ita consurrexisse mitissime, ut poenarum asperitatem genuina lenitudine castigaret.

[10] Fortitudinem certaminum crebritas ususque bellorum ostendit, et patientia frigorum immanium et fervoris. Cumque corporis munus a milite, ab imperatore vero animi poscitur, ipse trucem hostem ictu confecit, audacter congressus, ac nostros cedentes obiecto pectore suo, aliquotiens cohibuit solus: regnaque furentium Germanorum exscindens, et in pulvere vaporato Persidis, augebat fiduciam militis, dimicans inter primos. [11] Castrensium negotiorum scientiam, plura declarant et nota: civitatum oppugnationes et castellorum, inter ipsos discriminum vertices, acies figura multiformi compositae, salubriter et caute castra metata, praetenturae stationesque agrariae, tutis rationibus ordinatae. [12] Auctoritas adeo valuit, ut dilectus artissime, dum timetur, ac si periculorum socius et laborum, et inter concertationes acerrimas, animadverti iuberet in desides, et Caesar adhuc sine stipendio regeret militem, feris oppositum gentibus, ut dudum est dictum; allocutusque tumentes armatos, discessurum ad vitam minaretur privatam, ni tumultuare desisterent. [13] Denique id pro multis nosse sufficiet: exhortatum eum simplici contione militem Gallicanum, pruinis assuetum et Rheno, peragratis spatiis regionum extentis, per tepentem Assyriam ad usque confinia traxisse Medorum.

[14] Felicitas ita eminit, ut ipsis quodammodo cervicibus Fortunae aliquamdiu bonae gubernatricis evectus, victoriosis cursibus difficultates superstaret immensas. Et postquam ex occidua plaga digressus est, quoad fuit in terris, quievere nationes omnes immobiles, ac si quodam caduceo leniente mundano.

[15] Liberalitatis eius testimonia plurima sunt et verissima, inter quae indicta sunt tributorum admodum levia, coronarium indultum, remissa debita multa, diuturnitate congesta, aequata fisci iurgia cum privatis, vectigalia civitatibus restituta cum fundis, absque his quos velut iure vendidere praeteritae potestates, quodque numquam augendae pecuniae cupidus fuit, quam cautius apud dominos servari existimabat, id aliquotiens praedicans, Alexandrum Magnum, ubi haberet thesauros interrogatum, ‘apud amicos’ benivole respondisse.

[16] Digestis bonis quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explicanda eius vitia veniamus, licet dicta sint carptim. Levioris ingenii, verum hoc institute rectissimo temperabat, emendari se cum deviaret a fruge bona permittens. [17] Linguae fusioris, et admodum raro silentis, praesagiorum sciscitationi nimium deditus, ut aequiperare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum,

superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur (si revertisset de Parthis), boves iam defuturos, Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accipimus dictum:

οἱ βόες οἱ λευκοὶ μάρκῳ τῷ καίσαρι χαίρειν.

ἂν πάλι νικήσῃς, ἄμμες ἀπωλόμεθα.

[18] Vulgi plausibus laetus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans appetitor, popularitatis cupiditate, cum indignis loqui saepe affectans.

[19] Verum tamen cum haec ita essent, aestimari poterat (ut ipse aiebat), vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, eo imperante redisse rursus ad terras, ni quaedam ad arbitrium agens, interdum ostenderet se dissimilem sui. [20] Namque et iura condidit non molesta, absolute quaedam iubentia fieri vel arcentia, praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum. [21] Illud quoque itidem parum ferendum, quod municipalium ordinum coetibus, patiebatur iniuste quosdam annecti vel peregrinos, vel ab his consortiis privilegiis aut origine longe discretos.

[22] Figura tali situque membrorum. Mediocris erat staturae, capillis tamquam pexis et mollibus, hirsuta barba in acutum desinente vestitus, venustate oculorum micantium flagrans, qui mentis eius argutias indicabant, superciliis decoris, et naso rectissimo, ore paulo maiore, labro inferiore demisso, opima et incurva cervice, umeris vastis et latis, ab ipso capite usque unguium summitates, liniamentorum recta compage, unde viribus valebat et cursu.

[23] Et quoniam eum obtrectatores novos bellorum tumultus, ad perniciem rei communis, insimulant concitasse, sciant docente veritate perspicue, non Iulianum, sed Constantinum ardores Parthicos succendisse, cum Metrodori mendaciis avidius acquiescit, ut dudum rettulimus plene. [24] Unde caesi ad internecionem exercitus nostri, capti militares aliquotiens numeri, urbes excisae, rapta munimenta vel diruta, provinciae gravibus impensis exhaustae, et ad effectum tendentibus minis, cuncta petebantur a Persis, ad usque Bithynos et litora Propontidis. [25] At in Galliis barbarico tumore gliscente, diffusis per nostra Germanis, iamque Alpibus ad vastandam Italiam perrumpendis nihil (multa et nefanda perpessis hominibus), praeter lacrimas supererat et terrores, ubi et praeteritorum recordatio erat acerba, et expectatio tristior impendentium. Quae omnia iuvenis iste, ad occiduam plagam specie Caesaris missus, regesque pro mancipiis agitans ignobilibus, cuncta paene mira dictu celeritate correxit. [26] Itaque ut Orientem pari studio recrearet, adortus est Persas, triumphum exinde relaturus, et cognomentum, si consiliis eius et factis illustribus decreta caelestia congruissent. [27] Et cum sciamus adeo experimenta quosdam ridere improvidos, ut bella interdum victi, et naufragi repetant maria, et ad difficultates redeant quibus succubere saepissime, sunt qui reprehendant paria repetisse principem ubique victorem.

Iovianus, primicerius domesticorum protectorum, tumultuarie eligitur

imperator.

Nec fuit post haec lamentis aut fletibus locus. Corpore enim curato pro copia rerum et temporis, ut ubi ipse olim statuerat, conderetur, principio lucis secutae, quae erat quintum Kalendas Iulias, hostibus ex omni latere circumfusus, collecti duces exercitus, advocatisque legionum principiis et turmarum, super creando principe consultabant. [2] Discissique studiis turbulentis, Arintheus et Victor, et e palatio Constanti residui, de parte sua quendamabilem scrutabantur; contra Nevitta et Dagalaifus proceresque Gallorum virum talem ex commilitio suo quaeritabant. [3] Quae dum ambiguntur, nulla variante sententia, itum est voluntate omnium in Salutium, eoque causante morbos et senectutem, honoratior aliquis miles, advertens destinatius reluctantem, 'Et quid ageritis,' ait 'si id bellum vobis curandum, commisisset absens (ut saepe factum est) imperator? Nonne posthabitis ceteris, militem instantibus aerumnis eriperetis? Id nunc agite et si Mesopotamiam videre licuerit, utriusque exercitus consociata suffragia legitimum principem declarabunt.'

[4] Inter has exiguas ad tantam rem moras, nondum pensatis sentiis, tumultuantibus paucis (ut in rebus extremis saepe est factum), Iovianus eligitur imperator, domesticorum ordinis primus, paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis. Erat enim Varroniani, notissimi comitis, filius, haut dudum post depositum militiae munus ad tranquilliora vitae digressi. [5] Et confestim indumentis circumdatus principalibus, subitoque productus e tabernaculo, per agmina iam discurrebat, proficisci parantia. [6] Et quoniam acies ad usque lapidem quantum porrigebatur, antesignani clamare quosdam Iovianum audientes Augustum, eadem multo maius sonabant: gentilitate enim prope perciti nominis, quod una littera discernebat, Iulianum recreatum arbitrati sunt deduci magnis favoribus ut solebat. Verum cum incurvus ille visus et longior adventaret, suspicati quod acciderat, in lacrimas effusi sunt omnes, et luctum. [7] Quod si gravis quidam aequitatis spectator, in ultimo rerum spiritu factum criminatur improvide, nauticos idem iustius incusabit, si amisso perito navigandi magistro, saevientibus flabris et mari, clavos regendae navis cuilibet periculi socio commiserunt. [8] His ita caeco quodam iudicio fortunae peractis, Iovianorum signifer quos Varronianus rexerat dudum, cum novo dissidens principe, etiam tum privato, ut patris eius obtrectator molestus, periculum ex inimico metuens iam communia supergresso, discessit ad Persas, ac data dicendi copia quae sciret, docet Saporem iam propinquantem, extincto quem verebatur, turbine concitato calorum, ad umbram imperii Iovianum adhuc protectorem adscitum, inertem quendam et mollem. Hoc ille audito, quod semper trepidis votis optaverat et inopina prosperitate elatus, multitudine ex regio equitatu adiuncta his, qui dimicavere nobiscum, celeri disposuit gradu, agminis nostri invadi terga postremi.

Romanos ex Perside redire properantes, procedentesque, crebris proeliis lacescunt Persae et Saraceni, ac magno cum detrimento repelluntur.

Quae dum ultro citroque ordinantur, hostiis pro Ioviano caesis, extisque

inspectis, pronuntiatum est eum omnia perditurum, si intra vallum remansisset (ut cogitabat), superiorem vero fore profectum. [2] Proinde egredi iam coeptantes, adoriuntur nos elephantis praevis Persae, ad quorum fremitum inaccessum terribilemque, equis inter initia turbatis et viris, Ioviani et Herculiani, occisis beluis paucis, cataphractis equitibus acriter resistebant. [3] Dein legiones Ioviorum atque Victorum, laborantibus suis ferentes auxilium, elephantos duo straverunt cum hostium plebe non parva, et in laevo proelio viri periere fortissimi, Iulianus et Macrobius et Maximus, legionum tribuni, quae tunc primas exercitus obtinebant. [4] Hisque sepultis, ut rerum angustiae permiserunt, prope confinia noctis, cum ad castellum Sumere nomine, citis passibus tenderemus, iacens Anatolii corpus est agnitum quod tumultuaria opera terrae mandatum est. Hic et milites sexaginta cum palatinis recepimus, quos in munimentum vacuum confugisse rettulimus.

[5] Secuto deinde die, pro captu locorum, reperta est in valle lata planities, in qua castra ponuntur, velut murali ambitu circumclausa, praeter unum exitum eundemque patentem, undique in modum mucronum praeacutis sudibus fixis. [6] Hocque viso, e saltibus nos hostes diversitate telorum et verbis turpibus incessebant, ut perfidos, et lectissimi principis peremptores: audierant enim ipsi quoque referentibus transfugis, rumore iactato incerto, Iulianum telo cecidisse Romano. [7] Ausi denique inter haec equitum cunei, porta perrupta praetoria, prope ipsum tabernaculum principis advenire, occisis multis suorum et vulneratis, vi repulsi sunt magna.

[8] Egressi exinde proxima nocte, Charcham occupavimus locum, ideo tuti, quod riparum aggeribus humana manu instructis, ne Saraceni deinceps Assyriam persultarent, nostrorum agmina nullus ut ante vexabat. [9] Cumque hinc Kalendis Iuliis stadiis triginta confectis, civitatem nomine Duram adventaremus, fatigatis iumentis, vectores eorum novissimi pedibus incedentes, a Saracena multitudine circumsaepti, protinus interissent, ni expeditiores turmae nostrorum opem laborantibus attulissent. [10] Hos autem Saracenos ideo patiebamur infestos, quod salaria muneraque plurima a Iuliano, ad similitudinem praeteriti temporis, accipere vetiti, questique apud eum, solum audierant, imperatorem bellicosum et vigilantem ferrum habere, non aurum. [11] In hoc loco Persarum obstinatione tritum est quadriduum. Nam progredientes nos sequebantur, crebris lacesitionibus retrahentes; cum staremus ut pugnaturi, gradum sensim referentes moris diuturnis excruciabant. Iamque (ut solent extrema metuentibus etiam ficta placere), fama circumlata fines haud procul limitum esse nostrorum, exercitus vociferans immodeste, dari sibi copiam transeundi Tigridis flagitabat. [12] Quibus oppositus cum rectoribus imperator, tumentemque iam canis exortu sideris amnem ostendens, ne se periculis committerent gurgitibus exorabat, nandi imperitos asserens esse complures, simulque adiciens, hostiles manus hinc inde margines superfusi fluminis occupasse. [13] Sed cum haec saepe congeminando, refragaretur in cassum, milesque conclamans magno contentionis fragore, minaretur extrema, id impetratur aegerrime, ut mixti cum arctois Germanis,

Galli amnem primi omnium penetrarent, ut his magnitudine fluentorum abreptis residuorum pertinacia frangeretur, aut si id perfecissent innocui, transitus fidentior temptaretur. [14] Electique sunt ad id negotium habiles, qui maxima prae ceteris flumina transmeare in regionibus genuinis a prima pueritia sunt instituti, et cum latendi copiam nocturna quies daret, tamquam e transenna simul emissi, spe citius ripas occupavere contrarias, Persarumque conculcatis pluribus et truncatis, quos loca servare dispositos, securitas placido vinxerat somno, efficacis audaciae signum, elatis manibus contortisque sagulis, ostendebant. [15] Hoc longe conspecto, ardens ad transitum miles ea mora tantummodo tenebatur quod utribus e caesorum animalium coriis, coagmentare pontes architecti promittebant.

Fame et inopia suorum adductus Iovianus A. pacem cum Sapore necessariam sed turpissimam facit, traditis V regionibus cum Nisibi et Singara.

Quae dum vanis conatibus agitantur, rex Sapor et procul absens et cum prope venisset, exploratorum perfugarumque veris vocibus docebatur, fortia facta nostrorum, foedas suorum strages, et elephantos, quot numquam se regnante meminerat, interfectos, exercitumque Romanum continuis laboribus induratum post casum gloriosi rectoris non saluti suae (ut memorabat) consulere, sed vindictae, difficultatemque rerum instantium aut victoria summa aut morte memorabili finitum. [2] Ob quae reputabat multa et formidanda, diffusum abunde militem per provincias, levi tessera colligi posse expertus, et sciens populum suum, post amissam maximam plebem, ultimis terroribus deformatum, simul comperiens, in Mesopotamia relictum haut multo minorem exercitum. [3] Quae super omnia hebetarunt eius anxiam mentem, uno parique natatu quingenti viri transgressi tumidum flumen incolumes, custodibusque confossis, reliquos consortes suos ad similem fiduciam concitasse.

[4] Haec inter cum neque pontes compaginari, paterentur undae torrentes, et absumptis omnibus quae poterant mandi, sine utilibus ullis, acto miserabiliter biduo, furebat inedia iraque percitus miles, ferro properans quam fame, ignavissimo genere mortis, absumi.

[5] Erat tamen pro nobis numen dei caelestis aeternum, et Persae praeter sperata priores, super fundanda pace oratores Surenam et optimatem alium mittunt, animos ipsi quoque despondentes, quos omnibus paene proeliis pars Romana superior gravius quassabat in dies. [6] Condiciones autem ferebant difficiles et perplexas, fingentes humanorum respectu, reliquias exercitus redire sinere clementissimum regem, si quae iubet impleverit cum primatibus Caesar. [7] Contra hos cum Salutio praefecto mittitur Arintheus, et dum deliberatur examinatus, quid finiri deberet, dies quattuor sunt evoluti. inedia cruciabiles, et omni supplicio tristiores. [8] Quo temporis spatio, antequam hi mitterentur, si exabusus princeps paulatim terris hostilibus excessisset, profecto venisset ad praesidia Corduenae, uberis regionis et nostrae, ex eo loco in quo haec agebantur, centesimo lapide disparatae.

[9] Petebat autem rex obstinatius, ut ipse aiebat, sua dudum a Maximiano erepta, ut docebat autem negotium, pro redemptione nostra quinque regiones Transtigritanas: Arzanenam et Moxoenam et Zabdicenam, itidemque Rehimenam et Corduenam cum castellis quindecim, et Nisibin et Singaram et Castra Maurorum, munimentum perquam oportunum. [10] Et cum pugnari deciens expediret, ne horum quicquam dederetur, adulatorum globus instabat timido principi, Procopii metuendum subserens nomen, eumque affirmans, si redit cognito Iuliani interitu, cum intacto milite quem regebat, novas res nullo renitente facile moliturum. [11] Hac perniciosa verborum ille assiduitate nimia succensus, sine cunctatione tradidit omnia, quae petebantur, difficile hoc adeptus, ut Nisibis et Singara sine incolis transirent in iura Persarum, a munimentis vero alienandis, reverti ad nostra praesidia Romani permetterentur. [12] Quibus exitiale aliud accessit et impium, ne post haec ita composita, Arsaci poscenti, contra Persas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis semper et fido. Quod ratione gemina cogitatum est, ut puniretur homo qui Chiliocomum mandatu vastaverat principis, et remaneret occasio, per quam subinde licenter invaderetur Armenia. Unde postea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arsaces, et Armeniae maximum latus, Medis conterminans, et Artaxata, inter dissensiones et turbamenta raperent Parthi.

[13] Quo ignobili decreto firmato, nequid committeretur per indutias contrarium pactis, obsidatus specie viri celebres altrinsecus dantur Nemota et Victor ex parte nostrorum, et Bellovaedius, insignium numerorum tribuni, ex parte vero diversa, Bineses e numero nobilium optimatum, tresque alii satrapae non obscuri. [14] Foederata itaque pace annorum triginta, eaque iuris iurandi religionibus consecrata, reversi itineribus aliis, quoniam loca contigua flumini ut confragosa vitabantur et aspera, potus inopia premebamur et cibi.

Romani fluvio Tigri transito, post diuturnam et maximam cibariorum inopiam fortiter toleratam, tandem in Mesopotamiam perveniunt. Iovianus A. res Illyrici atque Galliarum utcumque ordinat.

Et pax specie humanitatis indulta, in perniciem est versa multorum, qui fame ad usque spiritum lacerati postremum, ideoque latenter progressi, aut imperitia nandi gurgite fluminis sorbebantur, aut si undarum vi superata venirent ad ripas, rapti a Saracenis vel Persis, quos (ut diximus paulo ante), exturbavere Germani, caedebantur ut pecora, vel longius amendati sunt venundandi. [2] Ubi vero transeundi amnis aperte signum dedere, bucinae concrepantes, immane quo quantoque ardore, temere rapiendo momenta periculorum, semet quisque reliquis omnibus anteponebat, vitare multa et terribilia festinabat, et pars ratibus temere textis, iumenta retinentes hinc inde natantia, alii supersidentes utribus, quidam diversa in necessitatis abrupto versantes, undarum occursantium fluctus obliquis meatibus penetrabant. [3] Imperator ipse brevibus lembis, quos post exustam classem docuimus remansisse, cum paucis transvectus, eadem navigia ultro citroque discurrere statuit, dum omnes conveheremur. Tandemque universi (praeter mersos) ad ultiores venimus margines, favore superi numinis, discrimine per difficiles

casus extracti.

[4] Dum nos impendentium aerumnarum opprimit timor, compertum est procursatorum indicio, Persas pontem iungere procul e nostro conspectu, ut post firmatam pacem et foedera, sopitis belli turbinibus, incuriosius gradientes aegros et animalia peterent, diu defatigata, verum cum se proditos advertissent, a conatu nefario destiterunt. [5] Hac etiam suspicione iam liberi, properantesque itineribus magnis, prope Hatram venimus, vetus oppidum in media solitudine positum, olimque desertum, quod eruendum adorti temporibus variis Traianus et Severus principes bellicosi, cum exercitibus paene deleti sunt, ut in eorum actibus has quoque digessimus partes. [6] Unde cognito per porrectam planitiem ad usque lapidem septuagensimum, in regionibus aridis nec aquam inveniri posse praeter salsam et faetidam, nec ad victum aliquid nisi abrotonum et absinthium et dracontium, aliaque herbarum genera ut tristissima, vasa quae portabantur, aquis impleta sunt dulcibus, et mactatis camelis, iumentisque aliis, alimenta quaesita sunt, licet noxia.

[7] Et via sex dierum emensa, cum ne gramina quidem invenirentur, solacia necessitatis extremae, dux Mesopotamiae Cassianus, et tribunus Mauricius (pridem ob hoc missus) ad Ur nomine Persicum venere castellum, cibos ferentes, ex his quos relictus cum Procopio et Sebastiano, exercitus parcius victitans, conservarat. [8] Hinc Procopius alter, notarius, et Memoridus, militaris tribunus, ad tractus Illyricos mittuntur et Galliarum, nuntiaturi Iuliani mortem et Iovianum post eius obitum ad culmen augustum evectum. [9] Quibus id mandaverat princeps, ut Lucillianum, socerum suum post depositum militiae munus, digressum ad otium, morantemque eo tempore apud Sirmium, oblati magisterii equitum et peditum codicillis, quos eisdem tradiderat, properare Mediolanum urgerent, res firmaturum ancipites, et (quod magis metuebatur), si casus novi quidam exsurgerent, opponendum. [10] Quibus imperator secretiores addiderat litteras, Lucillianum itidem monens, ut quosdam lectos exploratae industriae fideique, duceret secum, adminiculis eorum usurus, pro incidentium captu negotiorum. [11] Prudentique consilio Malarichum, ex familiaribus negotiis agentem etiam tum in Italia, missis insignibus, Iovino iussit succedere, armorum magistro per Gallias, gemina utilitate praespeculata, ut et dux meriti celsioris, ideoque suspectus, abiret e medio, et homo inferioris spei ad sublimiora provectus, auctoris sui nutantem adhuc statum studio fundaret ingenti. [12] Iussum est autem ad implenda haec perrecturis, extollere seriem gestorum in melius, et rumores quaqua irent, verbis diffundere concinentibus, procinctum Parthicum exitu prospero terminatum, additisque festinando itineri noctibus, provinciarum militiaeque rectoribus insinuare novi principis scripta, omniumque sententiis occultius sciscitatis, remeare velociter cum responsis, ut comperto quid in longinquis agatur, principatus corroborandi matura consilia quaerantur et cauta.

[13] Hos tabellarios fama praegrediens, index tristiorum casuum velocissima, per provincias volitabat et gentes, maximeque omnium Nisibenos acerbo dolore percussit, cum urbem Saporis deditam comperissent, cuius iram

metuebant et simultates, recolentes quae assidue pertulerit funera, eam saepius oppugnare conatus. [14] Constabat enim orbem eum in dicionem potuisse transire Persidis, ni illi haec civitas habili situ, et moenium magnitudine, restitisset. Miseri tamen, licet maiore venturi pavore constringerentur, spe tamen sustentari potuerunt exigua, hac scilicet velut suoapte motu vel exoratus eorum precibus, imperator eodem statu retinebit urbem, Orientis firmissimum claustrum.

[15] Dum gestorum seriem ubique rumores diffunditant varii, in exercitu absumptis commealibus paucis, quos advectos praediximus, in corpora sua necessitas erat humana vertenda, ni iumentorum caro caesorum aliquatenus perdurasset, unde effectum est ut et armorum pleraque proicerentur et sarcinarum. Adeo enim atroci tabuimus fame, ut si usquam modius unus farinae fuisset repertus, quod raro contigerat, aureis decem mutaretur ut minus.

[16] Profecti exinde Thilsaphata venimus, ubi Sebastianus atque Procopius, cum tribunis principiisque militum, sibi ad tuendam Mesopotamiam commissorum, ut poscebat sollemnitas, occurrerunt. Et sequebantur benigne suscepti. [17] Post quae itinere festinato, Nisibi cupide visa, extra urbem stativa castra posuit princeps, rogatusque enixe precante multiplici plebe, ut ingressus palatio more succederet principum, pertinaciter reluctatus est, erubescens agente se intra muros, urbem inexpugnabilem iratis hostibus tradi. [18] Ibi tunc vespera tenebrante, raptus a cena Iovianus, primus inter notarios omnes, quem in obsidione civitatis Maiozamalchae per cuniculum docuimus evasisse cum aliis, ductusque ad devium locum, et praeceps actus in puteum siccum, obrutus est saxorum multitudine superiacta, hanc profecto ob causam, quod Iuliano perempto, ipse quoque nominatus a paucis, ut imperio dignus, nec post creatum Iovianum egit modeste, sed susurrans super negotio quaedam audiebatur, invitabatque ad convivia subinde militares.

Bineses nobilis Persa Nisibin urbem inexpugnabilem a Joviano recipit oppidani inviti patria excedere et Amidam migrare compulsi. V. regiones cum urbe Singara et XVI. castillis ex pacto Persis optimatibus assignantur.

Postridie Bineses, unus ex Persis quem inter alios excellere diximus, mandata regis complere festinans, promissa flagitabat instanter, et principe permittente Romano, civitatem ingressus, gentis suae signum ab arce extulit summa, migrationem e patria civibus nuntians luctuosam. [2] Et vertere solum extemplo omnes praecepti, manusque tendentes flentesque, orabant ne imponeretur sibi necessitas abscedendi, ad defendendos penates se solos sufficere sine alimentis publicis affirmantes et milite, satis confisi adfuturam Iustitiam pro genitali sede dimicaturis, ut experti sunt saepe. Et haec quidem suppliciter ordo et populus precabatur, sed ventis loquebantur in cassum, imperatore (ut fingebat, alia metuens), periurii piacula declinante. [3] Tum Sabinus fortuna et genere inter municipes clarus, ore volubili replicabat, Constantium immani crudesciente bellorum materia, superatum a Persis interdum, deductumque postremo per fugam cum paucis ad Hibitam stationem

intutam, panis frusto vixisse precario, ab anu quadam agresti porrecto, nihil tamen ad diem perdidisse supremum, et Iovianum inter exordia principatus, provinciarum muro cessisse, cuius obices iam inde a vetustate innoxiae permanserunt. [4] Cumque nihil promoveretur, iuris iurandi religionem principe destinatus praetendente, cum oblatam ei coronam aliquamdiu recusans, coactus denique suscepisset, Silvanus quidam causarum defensor, confidentius exclamavit: 'Ita' inquit, 'imperator, a civitatibus residuis coroneris.' Quo verbo exasperatus, intra triduum omnes iussit excedere moenibus, detestantes rerum praesentium statum.

[5] Appositis itaque compulsoribus, mortem siqui distulerit egredi minitantibus, moenia permixta sunt lamentis et luctu, et per omnia civitatis membra una vox cunctorum erat gementium, cum laceraret crines matrona, exsul fuganda laribus in quibus nata erat et educata, orbataque mater liberis vel coniuge viduata, procul ab eorum manibus pelleretur, et turba flebilis postes penatium amplexa vel limina, lacrimabat. [6] Exin variae complentur viae, qua quisque poterat dilabentium. Properando enim multi furabantur opes proprias quas vehi posse credebant, contempta reliqua suppellectili, pretiosa et multa. Hanc enim reliquerunt penuria iumentorum.

[7] Tu hoc loco (Fortuna orbis Romani) merito incusaris, quae, diffiantibus procellis rem publicam, excussa regimenta perito rei gerendae ductori, consummando iuveni porrexisti, quem nullis ante actae vitae insignibus in huius modi negotiis cognitum, nec vituperari est aequum, nec laudari. [8] Illud tamen ad medullas usque bonorum pervenit, quod dum extimescit aemulum potestatis, dumque in animo per Gallias et Illyricum versat, quosdam saepe sublimiora coeptasse, famam adventus sui praevenire festinans, indignum imperio facinus amictu periurii fugiendi, commisit, Nisibi prodita, quae iam inde a Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens a Persis occuparetur, viribus restitit maximis. [9] Numquam enim ab urbis ortu inveniri potest annalibus replicatis (ut arbitror), terrarum pars ulla nostrarum ab imperatore vel consule hosti concessa, sed ne ob recepta quidem quae direpta sunt, verum ob amplificata regna triumphales glorias fuisse delatas. [10] Unde Publio Scipioni ob recuperatas Hispanias, Fulvio Capua post diuturna certamina superata, et Opimio post diversos exitus proeliorum, Fregellanis tunc internecivis hostibus ad deditionem compulsis, triumphus sunt denegati. [11] Id etiam memoriae nos veteres docent in extremis casibus icta cum dedecore foedera, postquam partes verbis iuravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum ilico dissoluta, ut temporibus priscis apud Furcas Caudinas sub iugum legionibus missis in Samnio, et per Albinum in Numidia scelestae pace excogitata, et auctore turpiter pactionis festinatae Mancino dedito Numantinis.

[12] Proinde extractis civibus et urbe tradita missoque tribuno Constantio, qui munimenta praesidiaria cum regionibus, Persicis optimatibus assignaret, cum Iuliani supremis Procopius mittitur, ea ut superstes ille mandarat, humaturus in suburbano Tarsensi. [13] Qui ad exsequendum profectus, confestim corpore sepulto discessit, nec inveniri usquam potuit, studio

quaesitus ingenti, nisi quod multo postea apud Constantinopolim visus est subito, purpuratus.

Iovianus metu rerum novarum per Syriam Ciliciam, Cappadociam, et Galatiam celeriter itinere facto, Ancyrae cum Varroniano filio infante consulatum init ac mox Dadastanae repentina morte fungitur.

His hoc modo peractis, discursisque itineribus, Antiochiam venimus, ubi per continuos dies, velut offenso numine multa visebantur et dira, quorum eventus fore luctificos, gnari rerum prodigialium praecinebant. [2] Nam et Maximiani statua Caesaris, quae locata est in vestibulo regiae, amisit repente sphaeram aeream formatam in speciem poli, quam gestabat, et cum horrendo stridore sonuerunt in consistorio trabes, et visa sunt interdiu sidera cometarum, super quorum natura ratiocinantes physici variant. [3] Quidam enim eos hoc nomine ideo existimant appellari, quod tortos ignes spargunt ut crines, in unum stellis multiplicibus congregatis. Alii eos arbitrantur ex halitu sicciore terrarum ignescere, paulatim in sublimiora surgentes. Quidam currentes radios solis, densiore nube obiecta, degredi ad inferiora prohibitos, splendore infuso, corpori crasso, lucem velut stellis distinctam mortali conspectu, monstrare. Sedit quorundam opinioni, hanc speciem tunc apparere, cum erecta solito celsius nubes, aeternorum ignium vicinitate colluceat, vel certe stellas esse quasdam, ceteris similes, quarum ortus obitusque, quibus sint temporibus praestituti, humanis mentibus ignorari. Plura alia de cometis apud peritos mundanae rationis sunt lecta, quae digerere nunc vetat aliorum oratio properans.

[4] Moratum paulisper Antiochiae principem, curarumque ponderibus diversis afflictum, exeundi mira cupiditas agitabat: proinde nec iumento parcens nec militi, flagrante hieme die profectus, signis (ut dictum est), vetantibus plurimis, Tarsum urbem Cilicum nobilem introiit, cuius originem docuimus supra. [5] Exindeque egredi nimium properans, exornari sepulchrum statuit Iuliani, in pomerio situm itineris, quod ad Tauri montis angustias ducit, cuius suprema et cineres, siqui tune iuste consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus, sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum praeterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem aeternam divorumque veterum monumenta praestringens.

[6] Deinde Tarso profectus, extentis itineribus venit oppidum Cappadociae Tyana, ubi ei reversi Procopius notarius et Memoridus tribunus occurrunt, gestorumque aperiunt textum, hinc (ut ordo poscebat) exorsi, quod Lucillianus Mediolanum ingressus, cum Seniaucho et Valentiniano tribunis, quos duxerat secum, cognito quod Malarichus recusavit suscipere magisterium, effuso cursu petierat Remos. [7] Et tamquam in alto gentis silentio, extra calcem (ut dicitur) procurrebat, et intempestive, parum etiam tum firmatis omnibus, ex actuario ratiociniis scrutandis incubuit, qui fraudum conscius et noxarum, ad militaria signa confugit, finxitque Iuliano superstite in res novas quendam medium surrexisse, cuius fallaciis turbo militaris acerrime concitus, Lucillianum et Seniauchum occidit. Valentinianum enim paulo postea

principem, trepidum, et quo confugeret ambigentem, Primitivus hospes tutius amendarat. [8] His ita tristibus laetum aliud addebatur, missos a Iovino milites adventare, quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat, nuntiantes aequo animo Ioviani imperium amplecti exercitum Gallicanum.

[9] Quibus compertis, Valentiniano qui cum eisdem redierat, regenda Scutariorum secunda committitur schola, et Vitalianus domesticorum consortio iungitur, Erulorum e numero miles, qui multo postea auctus comitis dignitate, male rem per Illyricum gessit, confestimque mittitur in Gallias Arintheus, ferens litteras ad Iovinum, ut constanter ageret suum obtinens locum, eique mandatum est ut animadverteretur in concitorem tumultus, auctoresque seditionis ad comitatum vincti transmitterentur. [10] Post quae (ut videbatur expedire) disposita, apud Aspuna Galatae municipium breve, Gallicani militis visa principia, ingressique consistorium, post audita gratanter quae pertulerant munerati, redire iubentur ad signa.

[11] Et cum introisset Ancyram imperator, paratis ad pompam pro tempore necessariis, consulatum iniit adhibito in societatem trabeae Varroniano, filio suo, admodum parvulo, cuius vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis ne in curuli sella veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit portendebat.

[12] Hinc quoque Iovianum, celeri gradu, praescriptus vitae finiendae dies exegit. Cum enim venisset Dadastanum, qui locus Bithyniam distinguit et Galatas, exanimatus inventus est nocte. Super cuius obitu dubietates emergere complures. [13] Fertur enim recenti calce cubiculi illiti ferre odorem noxium nequivisse, vel extuberato capite perisse succensione prunarum immensa, aut certe ex colluvione ciborum, avida cruditate distentus. Decessit autem anno tricensimo aetatis et tertio. Cumque huic et Aemiliano Scipioni vitae exitus similis evenisset, super neutrius morte quaestionem comperimus agitatam.

[14] Incedebat autem motu corporis gravi, vultu laetissimo, oculis caesiis, vasta proceritate et ardua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram eius aptum inveniretur. Et aemulari malebat Constantium, agens seria quaedam aliquotiens post meridiem, iocarique palam cum proximis assuetus. [15] Christianae legis itidem studiosus et non numquam honorificus, mediocriter eruditus, magisque benivulus, et perpensius, ut apparebat ex paucis, quos promoverat iudices, electurus; edax tamen et vino Venerique indulgens, quae vitia imperiali verecundia forsitan correxisset. [16] Dicebatur autem Varronianus pater eius monitu cuiusdam somnii dudum praescisse quod evenit, idque duobus amicis commisisse fidissimis, illo adiecto, quod ipsi quoque deferetur trabea consularis. Sed impetrato uno adipisci non potuit aliud. Audita enim filii celsiore fortuna, antequam eum videret, fatali praeventus est morte. [17] Et quia huic nomini amplissimum magistratum portendi per quietem praedictum est seni, Varronianus nepos eius infans etiam tum, cum Ioviano patre declaratus est (ut supra rettulimus) consul.

LIBER XXVI.

[1] Valentiniano, scholae secundae scutariorum tribunus, communi magistratuum civilium et militarium consensu, Nicaeae absenti defertur imperium; et de ratione bissexti.

Dictis impensiore cura rerum ordinibus ad usque memoriae confinia propioris, convenerat iam referre a notioribus pedem, ut et pericula declinentur veritati saepe contigua, et examinatores contexendi operis deinde non perferamus intempestivos, strepentes ut laesos, si praeteritum sit, quod locutus est imperator in cena, vel omissum quam ob causam gregarii milites coerciti sunt apud signa, et quod non decuerat in descriptione multiplici regionum super exiguis silere castellis, quodque cunctorum nomina, qui ad urbani praetoris officium convenere, non sunt expressa, et similia plurima, praeceptis historiae dissonantia, discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines assuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum, quas si scitari voluerit quispiam, individua illa corpuscula volitantia per inane, ἄτόμους, ut nos appellamus, numerari posse sperabit. [2] Haec quidam veterum formidantes, cognitiones actuum variorum, stilis uberibus explicatas, non edidere superstites, ut in quadam ad Cornelium Nepotem epistula Tullius quoque testis reverendus affirmat. Proinde inscitia vulgari contempta ad residua narranda pergamus.

[3] Hac volubili casuum diritate, exitu luctuoso finita, obituque intervallato trium brevi tempore principum, corpore curato defuncti, missoque Constantinopolim, ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur, progressu Nicaeam versus exercitu, quae in Bithynia mater est urbium, potestatum civilium, militiaeque rectores, magnitudine curarum adstricti communium, interque eos quidam spe vana sufflati, moderatorem quaeritabant diu exploratum et gravem.

[4] Et rumore tenus obscuris paucorum susurris, nomen praestringebatur Aequitii, scholae primae Scutariorum, etiam tum tribuni, qui cum potiorum auctoritate displicuisset ut asper et subagrestis, translata est suffragatio levis in Ianuarius Ioviani adfinem curantem summitatem necessitatum castrensium per Illyricum. [5] Quo itidem spreto, quia procul agebat, ut aptus ad id quod quaerebatur atque conveniens, Valentinianus, nulla discordante sententia, numinis adspiratione caelestis electus est, agens scholam Scutariorum secundam, relictusque apud Ancyram, postea secuturus, ut ordinatum est. Et quia nullo renitente hoc e re publica videbatur, missi sunt qui eum venire ocus admonerent, diebusque decem nullus imperii tenuit gubernacula, quod tunc evenisse, extis Romae inspectis, haruspex edixerat Marcus.

[6] Inter haec tamen, nequid novaretur contrarium placitis, neve armatorum mobilitas, saepe versabilis, ad praesentium quendam inclinaret arbitrium, attente providebat Aequitius, et cum eo Leo, adhuc sub Dagalaifo magistro equitum rationes numerorum militarium tractans, exitialis postea magister

officiorum, exercitus universi iudicium, quantum facere nitique poterant, ut Pannonii fautoresque principis designate firmantes.

[7] Qui cum venisset accitus, implendique negotii praescius praesagiis, ut opinari dabatur, vel somniorum assiduitate, nec videri die secundo nec prodire in medium voluit, bissextum vitans Februarii mensis, tunc illucescens, quod aliquotiens rei Romanae fuisse norat infaustum. Cuius notitiam certam designabo.

[8] Spatium anni vertentis id esse, periti mundani motus et siderum definiunt veteres, inter quos Meton et Euctemon et Hipparchus et Archimedes excellunt, cum sol perenni rerum sublimium lege, polo percurso signifero, quem ζῳδιακὸν sermo Graecus appellat, trecentis et sexaginta quinque diebus emensis et noctibus, ad eundem redierit cardinem, ut (verbo tenus) si a secunda particula elatus Arietis, ad eam dimensione redierit terminata. [9] Sed anni intervallum verissimum, memoratis diebus et horis sex usque ad meridiem concluditur plenam, annique sequentis erit post horam sextam initium, porrectum ad vesperam. Tertius a prima vigilia sumens exordium, ad horam noctis extenditur sextam. Quartus a medio noctis ad usque claram trahitur lucem. [10] Ne igitur haec computatio variantibus annorum principiis, ut quodam post horam sextam diei, alio post sextam excurse nocturnam, scientiam omnem squalida diversitate confundat, et autumnalis mensis inveniatur quandoque vernalis, placuit senas illas horas quae quadriennio viginti colliguntur atque quattuor, in unius diei noctisque adiectae transire mensuram. [11] Hocque alte considerate, eruditis concinentibus multis, effectum est, ut ad unum distinctumque exitum, circumversio cursus annui revoluta, nec vaga sit nec incerta, nulloque errore deinceps obumbrata, ratio caelestis appareat et menses tempora retineant praestituta. [12] Haec nondum extentis fusius regnis, diu ignoravere Romani, perque saecula multa, obscuris difficultatibus implicati, tunc magis errorum profunda caligine fluctuabant, cum in sacerdotes potestatem transtulissent interkalandi, qui licenter gratificantes publicanorum vel litigantium commodis, ad arbitrium suum subtrahebant tempora vel augebant. [13] Hocque ex coepto emerserunt alia plurima, quae fallebant, quorum meminisse nunc supervacuum puto. Quibus abolitis, Octavianus Augustus Graecos secutus, hanc inconstantiam correcta turbatione composuit, spatiis duodecim mensium et sex horarum magna deliberatione collectis, per quae duodecim siderum domicilia sol discurrens motibus sempiternis anni totius intervalla concludit. [14] Quam rationem bissexti probatam, etiam victura cum saeculis Roma, adiumento numinis divini fundavit. Proinde pergamus ad reliqua.

Valentinianus cum Ancyra evocatus Nicaeam celeriter venisset, una omnium voce iterum eligitur imperator, purpuraque et diademate ornatus, Augustusque appellatus, militem alloquitur.

Elapso die parum apto ad inchoandas rerum magnitudines (ut quidam existimant), propinquante iam vespera, monitu praefecti Sallustii, sub exitii denuntiatione statutum est prompta consensione cunctorum, ne potioris

quisquam auctoritatis, vel suspectus altiora conari, procederet postridie mane. [2] Cumque multorum taedio quos votorum inanitas cruciabat, tandem finita nocte lux advenisset, in unum quaesito milite omni, progressus Valentinianus in campum, permissusque tribunal ascendere celsius structum, comitiorum specie, voluntate praesentium secundissima, ut vir serius rector pronuntiatur imperii. [3] Mox principali habitu circumdatus et corona, Augustusque nuncupatus, cum laudibus amplis, quas novitatis potuit excitare dulcedo, praemeditata dicere iam parabat. Eoque (ut expeditius loqueretur), brachium exsertante, obmurmuratio gravis exoritur, concrepantibus centuriis et manipulis cohortiumque omnium plebe urgentium destinate, confestim imperatorem alterum declarari. [4] Quod licet non nulli existimarunt, paucis corruptis, ad gratiam fieri despectorum, ex eo tamen id frustra creditum videbatur, quod non emercati, sed consoni totius multitudinis paria volentis clamores audiebantur, documento recenti fragilitatem pertimescentis sublimium fortunarum. Dein ex susurris immaniter strepentis exercitus, cieri tumultus violentior apparebat, et confidentia militis, erumpentis interdum ad perniciosa facinora, timebatur. [5] Quod Valentinianus magis prae cunctis ne fieret extimescens, elata propere dextera, vi principis fiducia pleni, ausus increpare quosdam, ut seditiosos et pertinaces, cogitata nullis interpellantibus absolvebat: [6] 'Exulto — provinciarum fortissimi defensores, — et prae me fero semperque laturus sum, nec speranti nec appetenti moderamina orbis Romani, mihi ut potissimo omnium, vestras detulisse virtutes. [7] Quod erat igitur in manu positum vestra, nondum electo imperii formatore, utiliter et gloriose complestis, adscito in honorum verticem eo, quem ab ineunte adulescentia ad hanc usque aetatis maturitatem splendide integreque vixisse experiundo cognoscitis. Proinde pacatis auribus accipite (quaeso) simplicioribus verbis dicentem, quod conducere arbitror in commune. [8] Adhiberi oportere in omnes casus socia potestate collegam, contemplatione poscente multiplici, nec ambigo nec repugno, curarum acervos et mutationes varias accidentium, ipse quoque ut homo formidans, sed studendum est concordiae viribus totis, per quam res quoque minimae convalescunt, quod impetrabitur facile, si patientia vestra, cum aequitate consentiens, id mihi quod mearum est partium, concesserit libens. [9] Dabit enim, ut spero, Fortuna consiliorum adiutrix bonorum, quantum efficere et consequi possum, diligenter scrutanti moribus temperatum. Ut enim sapientes definiunt, non modo in imperio, ubi pericula maxima sunt et creberrima, verum etiam in privatis cottidianisque rationibus, alienum ad amicitiam, cum iudicaverit quisquam prudens, adiungere sibi debet, non cum adiunxerit, iudicare. [10] Haec cum spe laetiorum polliceor, vos firmitatem factorum retinentes et fidem, dum hiberna patitur quies, animorum reparate vigorem atque membrorum, ob nuncupationem augustam, debita protinus accepturi.'

[11] Finita oratione, quam auctoritas erexerat inopina, flexit imperator in suam sententiam universos, consiliiue eius viam secuti, qui paulo ante flagrantissimis vocibus aliud postulabant, circumsaepum aquilis et vexillis,

agminibusque diversorum ordinum ambitiose stipatum, iamque terribilem, duxerunt in regiam.

De Aproniani Praefectura urbana Romae.

Dum haec in Oriente volubiles fatorum explicant sortes, Apronianus regens urbem aeternam, iudex integer et severus, inter curarum praecipua, quibus haec praefectura saepe sollicitatur, id primum opera curabat enixa, ut veneficos (qui tunc rarescebant) captos postque agitas quaestiones nocuisse quibusdam apertissime confutatos, indicatis consciis morte multaret, atque ita paucorum discrimine reliquos (siqui laterent), formidine parium exturbaret. [2] Haec egisse ideo efficaciter fertur, quod Iuliani promotus arbitrio, agentis etiam tum per Syrias, in itinere unum amiserat oculum, suspicatusque artibus se nefariis appetitum, iusto quidem sed inusitato dolore, haec et alia magna quaeritabat industria. Unde quibusdam atrox visus est, in amphitheatrali curriculo undatim coeunte aliquotiens plebe, causas dispiciens criminum maximorum. [3] Denique post huius modi vindicata complura, Hilarinum aurigam convictum atque confessum, vixdum pubescentem filium suum venefico tradidisse, docendum secretiora quaedam legibus interdicta, ut nullo conscio adminiculis iuvaretur internis, capitali animadversione damnavit. Qui laxius retinente carnifice, subito lapsus, confugit ad ritus Christiani sacrarium, abstractusque exinde ilico, abscisa cervice consumptus est. [4] Verum haec similiaque tum etiam ut coercenda, mox cavebantur, et nulli vel admodum pauci, in his versati flagitiis, vigori publico insultarunt, sed tempore secuto longaeva impunitas nutrit immania, usque eo grassante licentia, ut imitatus Hilarinum quidam senator, servumque suum modo non per syngrapham arcanis piacularibus inducendum, commisisse doctori malarum artium confutatus, supplicium redimeret, opima mercede, ut crebrior fama vulgarat. [5] Isque ipse, hoc genere quo iactatum est, absolutus, cum vitae pudere deberet et culpa, non abolendae incubuit maculae, sed tamquam inter multos probrosos, solus vacuus ab omni delicto, equo phalerato insidens, discurrensque per silices, multa post se nunc usque trahit agmina servulorum, per novum quoddam insigne, curiosius spectari affectans, ut Duillium accepimus veterem, post gloriosa illa navalis rei certamina, id sibi sumpsisse ut tibicine lenius praecinente rediret ad sua post cenam.

[6] Sub hoc tamen Aproniano, ita iugiter copia necessariorum exuberavit, ut nulla saltim levia murmura super inopia victui congruentium, orentur, quod assidue Romae contingit.

Valentinianus Valentem fratrem suum Nicomediae tribunum stabuli, ac mox apud Constantinopolim in Hebdomo, consentiente exercitu, consortem imperii constituit.

At in Bithynia Valentinianus princeps (ut praediximus) declaratus, dato in perendinum diem signo proficiscendi, convocatis primoribus, quasi tuta consilia, quam sibi placentia, secuturus, percunctabatur, quemnam ad imperii consortium oporteret assumi, silentibusque cunctis, Dagalaifus tunc equestris militiae rector, respondit fidentius: 'Si tuos amas' inquit, 'imperator optime,

habes fratrem; si rem publicam, quaere quem vestias.’ [2] Quo dicto asperatus ille sed tacitus, et occultans quae cogitabat, Nicomediam itineribus citis ingressus, Kalendis Martiis Valentem fratrem stabulo suo cum tribunatus dignitate praefecit. [3] Indeque cum venisset Constantinopolim, multa secum ipse diu volvens, et magnitudine urgentium negotiorum iam se superari considerans, nihil morandum ratus, quintum Kalendas Aprilis, productum eundem Valentem in suburbanum, universorum sententiis concinentibus — nec enim audebat quisquam refragari, — Augustum pronuntiavit, decoreque imperatorii cultus ornatum, et tempora diademate redimitum, in eodem vehiculo secum reduxit, participem quidem legitimum potestatis, sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus.

[4] Quibus ita nullo interturbante perfectis, constricti rapidis febribus, imperatores ambo diu spe vivendi firmata, ut erant in inquirendis rebus graviores quam in componendis, suspectas morborum causas investigandas acerrime, Ursatio officiorum magistro, Delmatae crudo, et Viventio Sisciano, quaestori tunc commiserunt, ut loquebatur pertinax rumor, invidiam cientes Iuliani memoriae principis, amicisque eius, tamquam clandestinis praestigiis laesi. Sed hoc evanuit facile, ne verbo quidem tenus insidiarum indicio ullo reperto.

[5] Hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanum, bellicum canentibus bucinis, excitae gentes saevissimae, limites sibi proximos persultabant. Gallias Raetiasque simul Alamanni populabantur; Sarmatae Pannonias et Quadi; Picti Saxonesque et Scotti, et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis; Austoriani Mauricaeque aliae gentes, Africam solito acrius incursabant; Thracias et Pannonias diripiebant praedatorii globi Gothorum. [6] Persarum rex manus Armeniis iniectabat, eos in suam dicionem ex integro vocare vi nimia properans, sed iniuste causando, quod post Ioviani excessum, cum quo foedera firmarat et pacem, nihil ob stare debebit, quo minus ea recuperaret, quae antea ad maiores suos pertinuisse monstrabat.

Imperatores ambo comites et militares numeros inter se partiuntur; et paullo post alter Mediolani, alter Constantinopoli I. consulatum ineunt. Alamanni Gallias vastant; Procopius in Oriente res novas molitur.

Acta igitur tranquillius hieme, concordissimi principes, unus nuncupatione praelatus, alter honori specie tenus adiunctus, percursis Thraciis Naessum advenerunt, ubi in suburbano, quod appellatum Mediana, a civitate tertio lapide disparatur, quasi mox separandi, partiti sunt comites. [2] Et Valentiniano quidem, cuius arbitrio res gerebatur, Iovinus evenit dudum promotus a Iuliano, per Gallias magister armorum, et Dagalaifus, quem militiae rectorem provexerat Iovianus: in Orientem vero secuturus Valentem, ordinatus est Victor, ipse quoque iudicio principis ante dicti proventus, cui iunctus est Arintheus. Lupicinus enim pridem a Ioviano pari modo promotus, magister equitum partes tuebatur eoas. [3] Tunc et Aequitius Illyriciano praeponitur exercitui, nondum magister, sed comes, et Serenianus, olim sacramento digressus, recinctus est, ut Pannonius, sociatusque Valenti, domesticorum

praefuit scholae. Quibus ita digestis et militares partiti sunt numeri.

[4] Et post haec cum ambo fratres Sirmium introissent, diviso palatio, ut potiori placuerat, Valentinianus Mediolanum, Constantinopolim Valens discessit. [5] Et Orientem quidem regebat potestate praefecti Sallustius, Italiam vero, cum Africa et Illyrico, Mamertinus, et Gallicas provincias Germanianus. [6] Agentes igitur in memoratis urbibus principes, sumpsere primitus trabeas consulares, omnisque hic annus dispendiis gravibus rem Romanam afflixit. [7] Alamanni enim perrupere Germaniae limites, hac ex causa solito infestius moti. Cum legatis eorum, missis ad comitatum, certa et praestituta ex more munera praeberi deberent, minora et vilia sunt attributa, quae illi suscepta, furenter agentes ut indignissima proiecere. Tractatique asperius ab Ursatio, tunc magistro officiorum, iracundo quodam et saevo, regressi factumque exaggerantes, ut contumeliose despectas gentes immanissimas concitarunt.

[8] Et circa id tempus, aut non multo posterius, in Oriente Procopius in res surrexerat novas, quae prope Kalendas Novembris, venturo Valentiniano Parisios uno eodemque nuntiata sunt die.

[9] Et Alamannis quidem occurrurum Dagalaifum pergere mature praecepit, qui vastitatis propinquioribus locis, longius discesserant incruenti. Super appetitu vero Procopi, antequam adulesceret, reprimendo, curis diducebatur ambiguis, ea potissimum ratione sollicitus, quod ignorabat utrum Valente superstite, an extincto, memoratus imperium affectarat. [10] Aequitius enim relatione Antoni tribuni accepta, agentis in Dacia mediterranea militem, qui nihil praeter negotium ipsum auditum obscure significabat, ipse quoque nondum liquida fide comperta, simplicibus verbis principem gestorum conscium fecit. [11] His cognitis Valentinianus eodem Aequitio aucto magisterii dignitate, repedare ad Illyricum destinabat, ne persultatis Thraciis perduellis iam formidatus, invaderet hostili excursu Pannonias. Documento enim recenti impendio terrebatur, reputans paulo antea Iulianum, contempto imperatore, bellorum civilium ubique victore, nec speratum ante nec exspectatum, ab urbe in urbem incredibili velocitate transisse. [12] Verum ardens ad redeundum, eius impetus molliebatur consiliis proximorum, suadentium et orantium, ne interneciva minantibus barbaris exponeret Gallias, neve hac causatione provincias desereret, egentes adminiculis magnis, eisque legationes urbium accessere nobilium, precantes ne in rebus duris et dubiis, inpropugnatas eas relinqueret, quas praesens eripere poterit discriminibus maximis, metu ambitiosi nominis sui Germanis incusso. [13] Tandem denique utilitate rei perpensius excogitata, in multorum sententias flexus, replicabat aliquotiens, hostem suum fratrisque solius esse Procopium, Alamannos vero totius orbis Romani; statuitque nusquam interim extra confinia moveri Gallorum. [14] Et ad usque Remos progressus, sollicitusque super Africa, ne repente perrumperetur, Neoterium, postea consulem, tunc notarium, ad eandem tuendam ire disposuit, et Masaucionem domesticum protectorem, ea consideratione, quod ibi sub patre Cretione quondam comite educatus, suspecta noverat loca, hisque scutarium adiunxit Gaudentium, olim sibi

cognitum et fidelem.

[15] Quia igitur uno eodemque tempore, utrobique turbines exarsere maestissimi, competenti loco singula digeremus, nunc partem in Oriente gestorum, deinde bella barbarica narraturi, quoniam pleraque et in occidentali et in eoo orbe eisdem mensibus sunt actitata, ne dum ex loco subinde saltuatim redire festinamus in locum, omnia confundentes, squaliditate maxima rerum ordines implicemus.

Patria et genus, mores, ac dignitates Procopii; deque eius sub Ioviano latebra: et qua ratione Constantinopoli imperator sit appellatus.

Insigni genere Procopius in Cilicia natus et educatus, ea consideratione qua propinquitate Iulianum, postea principem, contingebat, a primo gradu eluxit, et ut vita moribusque castigatior, licet occultus erat et taciturnus, notarius diu perspicaciter militans, et tribunus, iamque summatibus proximus, post Constanti obitum in rerum conversion, velut imperatoris cognatus, altius anhelabat, adiunctus consortio comitum: et apparebat eum, si umquam potuisset, fore quietis publicae turbatorem. [2] Hunc Iulianus Persidem ingrediens, consociato pari potestatis iure Sebastiano, in Mesopotamia cum manu militum reliquerat valida, mandaratque (ut susurravit obscurior fama, nemo enim dicti auctor exstitit verus), pro cognitorum ageret textu, et si subsidia rei Romanae languisse sensisset, imperatorem ipse se provideret ocus nuncupari. [3] Qui iniuncta civiliter agens et caute, Iuliani letaliter vulnerati funus et ad regenda communia comperit Iovianum evectum, falsoque rumore disperso, inter abeuntis anhelitus animae eundem Iulianum verbo mandasse, placere sibi Procopio clavos summae rei gerendae committi, veritus ne hac ex causa indemnatus occideretur, e medio se conspectu discrevit, maxime post Ioviani territus necem, notariorum omnium primi, quem Iuliano perempto veluti dignum imperio paucis militibus nominatum, novaque exinde coeptare suspectum, cruciabiliter didicerat interfectum. [4] Et quia se quaeri industria didicerat magna, vitans gravioris invidiae pondus, ad abdita longiusque remota, discessit. Cumque a Ioviano exploratius indagari latibula sua sentiret, et ferinae vitae iam fuisset pertaesum, — quippe a celsiore statu deiectus ad inferiora, etiam edendi penuria, in locis squalentibus, stringebatur, hominumque egebat colloquiis — postremae necessitatis impulsu, deviis itineribus ad Chalcedonos agrum pervenit. [5] Ubi quoniam ei illud firmitus visum est receptaculum, apud fidissimum amicorum delitescerat, Strategium quendam, ex palatino milite senatorem, Constantinopolim quantum fieri poterat clanculo saepe intermeans, ut indicio eiusdem Strategii patuit, postquam saepius in factionis conscios est inquisitum. [6] Ritu itaque sollertissimi cuiusdam speculatoris, ignotus ob squalorem vultus et maciem, rumusculos colligebat tunc crebrescentes, ut sunt acerba semper instantia, incusantium multorum Valentem, quasi cupiditate aliena rapiendi succensum. [7] Cuius diritati adiectum erat incentivum exitiale, socer Petronius, ex praeposito Martensium militum, promotus repentino saltu patricius, animo deformis et habitu, qui ad nudandos sine discretione cunctos

immaniter flagrans, nocentes pariter et insontes, post exquisita tormenta quadrupli nexibus vinciebat, debita iam inde a temporibus principis Aureliani perscrutans, et impendio maerens, si quemquam absolvisset indemnem. [8] Cuius morum intolerantiae, haec quoque pernicies accedebat, quod cum ditaretur luctibus alienis, erat inexorabilis et crudelis, et intrepido corde durissimus, nec reddendae nec accipiendae rationis umquam capax, inuisor Cleandro, quem agentem sub imperatore Commodο praefecturam, sublata vecordia, diversas legimus vexasse fortunas, et onerosior Plautiano, qui praefectus itidem sub Severo, ultra mortalem tumens cuncta confuderat, ni gladio perisset ultore. [9] Haec lacrimosa, quae incitante Petronio, sub Valente clausere multas paupertinas et nobiles domos, impendentiumque spes atrocior provincialium, et militum paria gementium, sensibus imis haerebant, et votis, licet obscuris et tacitis permutatio status praesentis ope numinis summi concordī gemitu poscebatur.

[10] Quae Procopius latenter accipiens, arbitratusque ubi feliciter acciderit fatum, negotio levi ad apicem summae potestatis assumi, subsidebat ut praedatrix bestia viso, quod capi potuerit, protinus eruptura. [11] Cui in haec quae maturabat ardenti, fors hanc materiam dedit impendio tempestivam. Consumpta hieme festinans ad Syriam Valens, iamque fines Bithynorum ingressus docetur relationibus ducum, gentem Gothorum, ea tempestate intactam, ideoque saevissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadenda parari collimitia Thraciarum: hocque cognito, ut impraevedite ipse pergeret quo tendebat, sufficiens equitum adiumentum et peditum, mitti iussit ad loca, in quibus barbarici timebantur excursus. [12] Dimoto itaque longius principe, Procopius aerumnis diuturnis attritus, et vel atrocem mortem clementiorem ratus malis quibus afflictabatur, aleam periculorum omnium iecit abrupte, et extrema iam perpeti nequaquam timens, praeceunte perdita ratione, facinus adoritur audacissimum; Divitenses, Tungricosque Iuniores, ad procinctum urgentem per Thracias inter alios celerare dispositos, et Constantinopoli moraturos sollemniter biduum, per quosdam ex eisdem numeris notos sollicitare properans (quia cum omnibus loqui, periculosum erat et arduum), fidem paucorum elegit. [13] Qui pellecti spe praemiorum ingentium, sub consecratione iuris iurandi, promiserunt se quae vellet cuncta facturos, favorem quoque polliciti contumeliam, inter quos ipsi potiorem locum obtinebant in suadendo, stipendiis excellentes et meritis. [14] Utque condictum est, ubi excaudit radiis dies, idem Procopius, diductus in cogitationes varias, Anastasianas balneas petit, a sorore Constantini cognominatas, ubi locata noverat signa, doctusque per arcanorum conscios omnes in eius studium consensisse, societate coita nocturna, fide salutis data libenter, admissus constipatione vendibilium militum, cum honore quidem, sed in modum tenebatur obsessi, qui ut praetoriani quondam, post Pertinacis necem licitantem imperii praemia, Iulianum susceperant, ipsi quoque Procopium, infausti dominatus exordia molientem, attenti ad omne compendium defenderunt.

[15] Stetit itaque subtabidus — excitum putares ab inferis, — nusquam reperto paludamento, tunica auro distincta, ut regius minister, indutus, a calce in pubem, in paedagogiani pueri speciem, purpureis opertus tegminibus pedum, hastatusque purpureum itidem pannulum laeva manu gestabat, ut in theatrâ scaena simulacrum quoddam insigne per aulaeum vel mimicam cavillationem subito putares emersum. [16] Ad hoc igitur dehonestamentum honorum omnium ludibriose sublatus, et ancillari adulatione, beneficii allocutus auctores, opesque pollicitus amplas et dignitates, ob principatus primitias, processit in publicum multitudine stipatus armorum, signisque sublatis erectius ire pergebat, circumclausus horrendo fragore scutorum, lugubre concrepantium, quae metuentes ne a celsioribus tectis, saxis vel tegularum fragmentis conflictaretur, densius ipsis galearum cristis aptabant.

[17] Huic intimidius incedenti, nec resistebat populus nec favebat; accendebatur tamen insita plerisque vulgarium, novitatis repentina iucunditate, ea re potius incitante, quod Petronium (ut praediximus) divitias violenter augentem, omnes eadem mente detestabantur, qui sepulta iam dudum negotia, et redivivas nebulas debitorum, in diversos ordines excitabat.

[18] Cum itaque tribunal idem escendisset Procopius, et cunctis stupore defixis, timeret silentium triste, procliviorẽ viam ad mortem (ut sperabat), existimans advenisse, per artus tremore diffuse, implicatior ad loquendum, diu tacitus stetit; pauca tamen interrupta et moribunda voce dicere iam exorsus, quibus stirpis propinquitatem imperatoriae praetendebat, leni paucorum susurro, pretio illectorum, deinde tumultuariis succlamationibus plebis, imperator appellatus incondite, petit curiam raptim. Ubi nullo clarissorum sed ignobilium paucitate inventa, palatium pessimo pede, festinatis passibus introiit.

[19] Mirantur quidam profecto irrisione digna principia incaute coepta et temere, ad ingemiscendas erupisse rei publicae clades, ignari forsitan exemplorum, accidisse primitus arbitantes. [20] Sic Adramytenus Andriscus, de genere quidam infimae sortis, ad usque Pseudophilippi nomen evectus, bellis Macedonicis tertium addidit grave. Sic Antiochiae Macrino imperatore agente, ab Emesa Heliogabalus exsiluit Antoninus. Ita inopino impetu Maximini, Alexander cum Mamaea matre confossus est. Ita in Africa superior Gordianus in imperium raptus, adventantium periculorum angoribus implicatus vitam laqueo spiritu intercluso profundit.

Procopius Thracias sine sanguine in suam potestatem redigit, et equites peditesque per Thraciam iter facientes, promissis in verba sua adigit, necnon Iovios et Victores, a Valente adversus se missos, sibi oratione iungit.

Igitur cuppediarum vilium mercatores, et qui intra regiam apparebant, aut apparere desierant, quique coetu militarium nexi, ad pacatiora iam vitae discesserant, in insoliti casus ambigua, partim inviti, alii volentes, adsciscebantur, non nulli omnia tutiora praesentibus rati, e civitate occulte dilapsi, imperatoris castra petivere, itineribus festinatis.

[2] Hos omnes Sophronias vivacissimo cursu praegressus (tunc notarius) praefectus postea Constantinopoleos, Valentem a Caesarea Cappadocum iam profecturum, ut vaporatis aestibus Ciliciae iam lenitis, ad Antiochiae percurreret sedes, textu narrato gestorum, spe dubia (ut in talibus) percitum et stupentem, avertit Galatiam, res adhuc trepidas arrepturum.

[3] Qui dum itineribus properat magnis, attentissima cura Procopius in dies agitabatur et noctes, subditivos quosdam ostentans, qui astutia confidenti, partim ab Oriente, alii e Gallis se venisse et Valentinianum obisse fingentes, cuncta patere novo et favorabili principi, memorabant. [4] Et quia res novae petulanter arreptae, celeritate muniri solent interdum, nequid formidandum omitteretur, confestim Nebridius, in locum Saluti praefectus praetorio, factione Petronii recens promotus, et Caesarius Constantinopolitanae urbis praefectus, in vincula compinguntur, et iubetur civitatem curare solita potestate Phronemius, esseque magister officiorum Euphrasius, ambo Galli institutis bonarum artium spectatissimi, et administratio negotiorum castrensium, Gomoario et Agiloni revocatis in sacramentum, committitur inconsulte, ut docuit rerum exitus proditarum. [5] Quia igitur Iulius comes, per Thracias copiis militaribus praesidens, oppressurus rebelles, si comperisset conata, ex propinquis stationibus timebatur, commentum excogitatum est validum, et quasi iussu Valentis, seria super barbaricis motibus tractaturus, Nebridii litteris adhuc clausi violenter expressis, accitus Constantinopolim, strictius tenebatur. Hacque callida fraude bellatrices Thraciae gentes sine cruore adquisitae, adminicula ausis tumultuariis maxima compararunt. [6] Post quae ita eventu laetiore completa, Araxius exambita regia praetorio praefectus accessit, velut Agilone genero suffragante, aliique plures ad aulae varios actus et administrandas provincias sunt admissi, quidam inviti, alii ultro semet offerentes cum praemiis. [7] Utique in certaminibus intestinis usu venire contingit, emergebant ex vulgari faece non nulli, desperatione consiliisque ductantibus caecis, contraque quidam orti splendide a culminibus summis ad usque mortes et exilia corruebant.

[8] Ubi per haec et similia factio firmiter videbatur esse composita, restabat ut abundans cogeretur militum manus, et impetratum est facile, id quod in publicis turbamentis, aliquotiens ausa ingentia, vel iustis exorsa primordiis impedit. [9] Transeuntes ad expeditionem per Thracias, concitatae equitum peditumque turmae, blandequae acceptae et liberaliter, cum essent omnes in unum quaesitae iamque exercitus species apparebat, promissis uberrimis inhiantes, sub execrationibus diris in verba iuravere Procopii, hanc polliciti pertinaciam, quod eum suis animis defensabunt. [10] Inventa est enim occasio ad illiciendos eos perquam opportuna, quod Constanti filiam parvulam, cuius recordatio colebatur, sinu ipse circumferens necessitudinem praetendebat eiusdem. Adeptusque est aliud tempori congruum, quod Faustina matre puellae, casu praesente, quaedam acceperat habitus insignia principalis. [11] Adiungit his aliud veloci diligentia maturandum, et electi quidam stoliditate praecipites, ad capessendum Illyricum missi sunt, nullo praeter petulantiam

adiumento confisi, aureos scilicet nummos, effigiatos in vultum novi principis, aliaque ad illecebras aptantes, quos correptos Aequitius, per eas regiones militum rector, exstinxit genere diverso poenarum. [12] Pariaque deinde metuens, obstruxit tres aditus angustissimos, per quos provinciae temptantur arctoe, unum per Daciam ripensem, alterum per Succos notissimum, tertium per Macedonas, quem appellant Acontisma. Hacque cautela vana persuasione rapiendi Illyrici destitutus usurpator indebitae potestatis magna perdidit instrumenta bellorum.

[13] Dum haec ita aguntur, atrocitate nuntii Valens perculsus iamque revertens per Gallograeciam, auditis apud Constantinopolim gestis, diffidenter incedebat et trepide, ac repentino pavore vias providendi turbante, eo usque desponderat animum, ut augustos amictus abicere tamquam gravem sarcinam cogitaret, fecissetque profecto, ni vetantibus proximis, detractus a deformi proposito, firmatusque meliorum sententiis, agmina duo praeire iussisset, quibus nomina sunt Iovii atque Victores, castra perduellium irrupturos. [14] His iam propinquantibus, ipse Procopius a Nicaea regressus, quo nuper advenerat, cum Divitensibus desertorumque plebe promiscua, quam dierum brevi spatio congregarat, Mydgum acceleravit, qui locus Sangario alluitur flumine. [15] Ubi cum legiones iam pugnaturae congredierentur, inter reciprocantes missilia quasi procursatione hostem lacesens, solus prorupit in medium. Et secundioris ductu fortunae, ex contraria acie velut agnitum quendam Vitalianum, quem si norat ambigitur, Latine salute data blande produxit, eumque porrecta dextera saviatus omnibus hinc inde attonitis. [16] ‘En’ inquit ‘cana Romanorum exercituum fides et religionibus firmis iuramenta constricta! Placet, fortissimi viri, pro ignotis tot suorum consurrexisse mucrones, utque Pannonius degener, labefactans cuncta et proterens, imperio quod ne votis quidem concipere ausus est umquam, potiatur, ingemiscere nos vestris nostrisque vulneribus! Quin potius sequimini culminis summi prosapiam, non ut rapiat aliena, sed in integrum maiestatis avitae restituatur, arma iustissima commoventem.’

[17] Hac sermonis placiditate molliti omnes, qui acriter venerant pugnaturi, signorum apicibus aquilisque summissis descivere libentes ad eum, et pro terrifico fremitu, quem barbari dicunt barritum, nuncupatum imperatorem, stipatumque de more, consentientes in unum, reduxerunt ad castra, testati more militiae Iovem, invictum Procopium fore.

Nicaea et Chalcedone obsidione liberatis, Bithynia in dicionem Procopii redigitur; et mox, Cyzico expugnato, Hellespontus.

Huic perduellium prosperitati alia laetior accessit. Rumitalca enim tribunus, in societatem Procopianorum adscitus, et suscepta cura palatii, digesto mature consilio, permeatoque cum militibus mari, ad Drepanum ante, nunc Helenopolim venit, exindeque Nicaeam spe celerius occupavit. [2] Ad quam obsidendam, cum huius modi pugnarum peritis, Vadomario misso, ex duce et rege Alamannorum, Valens Nicomediam pergit. Exindeque profectus, oppugnationi Chalcedonis magnis viribus insistebat, cuius e muris probra in

eum iaciebantur, et irrisive compellebatur ut Sabaiarius. Est autem sabaia ex ordeo vel frumento, in liquorem conversis, paupertinus in Illyrico potus. [3] Fessus denique inopia commeatuum, et obstinatione nimia defensorum, discedere iam parabat, cum inter haec clausi apud Nicaeam, patefactis subito portis, egressi, munitorum magna parte prostrata, ductore fidentissimo Rumitalca, properabant ardenter circumventuri Valentem a tergo, nondum a Chalcedonos suburbano digressum, et patrassent conata, ni rumore quodam praeverso, imminens exitium ille perdoctus, instantem vestigiis hostem per Sunonensem lacum et fluminis Galli sinuosos amfractus propere discedendo, frustra sequentem lusisset. Et hoc casu Bithynia quoque in Procopii dicionem redacta est.

[4] Unde cum Ancyram Valens citis itineribus revertisset, comperissetque Lupicinum ab Oriente cum catervis adventare, non contemnendis, spe prosperorum erectior, Arintheum lectissimum ducem occurrurum hostibus misit. [5] Qui ubi Dadastanam tetigit, in qua statione perisse diximus Iovianum, Hyperechium, sibi oppositum, repente vidit cum copiis, antehac cellae castrensis apparitorem, id est ventris ministrum et gutturis, cui ut amico Procopius auxilia ductanda commisit. Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiducia corporis, ipsis hostibus iussit, suum vincere rectorem: atque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprehensus suorum est manibus.

[6] Quae dum hoc modo procedunt, Venustus quidam, largitionum apparitor sub Valente, multo ante Nicomediam missus, ut aurum susceptum stipendii nomine, militibus per Orientem diffusis, viritim tribueret, hac tristitia cognita, alienum pervidens tempus, Cyzicum cum his quae susceperat, se citius contulit. [7] Ubi forte Serenianus repertus, domesticorum tunc comes, missus ad thesauros tuendos, urbem inexsuperabili moenium ambitu, monumentis quoque veteribus cognitam, fretus tumulturio praesidio, custodibat : ad quam expugnandam, Procopius, ut possessa Bithynia, sibi etiam Hellespontum iungeret, validam destinaverat manum. [8] Morabantur autem effectum sagittis et glandibus, ceterisque iaculis, obsidentium saepe globi confixi, et propugnatorum sollertia, claustrum per catenam ferream valde robustam ori portus insertum, quae ne rostratae irruerent naves hostiles, erat altrinsecus colligata. [9] Hanc post varios militum labores et ducum, fatigatorum acerrimis proeliis, Aliso quidam tribunus abscidit, exsertus bellator et prudens, hoc modo. Coniunctis tribus navigiis, testudinem hac specie superstruxit: densetis cohaerentes supra capita scutis, primi transtris instabant armati, alii post hos semet curvantes humiliter, tertiis gradatim inclinatis summissee, ita ut novissimi suffraginibus insidentes, formam aedificii fornicati monstrarent. Quod machinae genus contra murales pugnas ideo figuratur hac specie, ut missilium ictus atque saxorum, per decursus cadentium labiles, instar imbrum evanescant. [10] Itaque coniectu telorum Aliso paulisper defensum, ingenti corporis robore, supposito stipite, eandem catenam fortius bipenni concidens, ita confregit, ut disiecta patefaceret aditum latum, hocque exitu civitas hostili

impetu patuit impropecta. Qua causa extincto postea proterviae totius auctore, cum in factionis participes saeviretur, hic idem tribunus, contemplatione facinoris clari, vitam cum militia retinens, diu post in Isauria oppetit, v astatoria manu confossus.

[11] Hoc Marte Cyzico reserata, Procopius ad eam propere festinavit, veniaque universis qui repugnare donatis, Serenianum solum iniectis vinculis, iussit duci Nicaeam servandum artissime.

[12] Statimque Ormizdae mature iuveni, Ormizdae regalis illius filio, potestatem proconsulis detulit, et civilia more veterum et bella recturo. Qui agens pro moribus lenius, a militibus quos per devia Phrygiae, miserat Valens, subito corripiendus incursu, tanto vigore evasit, ut escensa navi quam ad casus pararat ancipites, sequentem ac paene captam uxorem, sagittarum nube diffusa defensam, averteret secum: matronam opulentam et nobilem, cuius verecundia et destinatio gloriosa, abruptis postea discriminibus, maritum exemit.

[13] Ea victoria ultra homines sese Procopius efferens, et ignorans quod quivis beatus, versa rota Fortunae, ante vesperum potest esse miserrimus, Arbitionis domum, cui antea tamquam eadem sibi sentientis parcebat, ut propriae, iussit exinaniri, mobilis census inaestimabilis plenam, ideo indignatus, quod venire ad eum accitus, aliquotiens distulit, causatus incommoda senectutis, et morbos. [14] Et licet hac ex causa praesumptor momentum pertimesceret grave, tamen, cum obsistente nullo se in orientales provincias effundere libenti cunctorum assensione, iam licentius posset, avidas novitatem quandam visere, taedio asperioris imperii, quo tunc tenebantur: erga alliciendas quasdam civitates Asiae legendosque eruendi peritos auri (ut sibi profuturos proeliis, quae magna exspectabat et crebra), segnius commoratus, in modum acuti mucronis obtusus est. [15] Ut quondam Pescennius Niger, ad subveniendum spei rerum extremae, a Romano populo saepe accitus, dum diu cunctatur in Syria, a Severo superatus in sinu Issico (qui est in Cilicia, ubi Dareum Alexander fudit) fugatusque in suburbano quodam Antiochiae, gregarii manu militis interiit.

Procopius in Bithynia, in Lycia, et Phrygia a suis desertus, et vivus Valenti traditus, capite truncatur.

Haec adulta hieme Valentiniano et Valente consulibus agebantur. translato vero in Gratianum, adhuc privatum, et Dagalaifum amplissimo magistratu, aperto iam vere, suscitatis viribus Valens, iuncto sibi Lupicino cum robustis auxiliis, Pessinunta signa propere tulit, Phrygiae quondam, nunc Galatae oppidum. [2] Quo praesidiis tutius communito, nequid inopinum per eos emergeret tractus, praeter radices Olympi montis excelsi, tramitesque fragosos, ire tendebat ad Lyciam, oscitantem ibi Gomoarium aggressurus. [3] Cui pertinaci conspiratione multorum, hac maxima consideratione resistebatur, quod hostis eius (ut ante relatam est), Constanti filiam parvulam, cum matre Faustina, et in agminibus et cum prope in acie starent, lectica circumferens secum, ut pro imperiali germine cui se quoque iunctum addebat, pugnarent audentius, iras militum accenderat. Sicut aliquando dimicaturi Macedones

cum Illyriis, regem adhuc infantem in cunis locavere post aciem, cuius metu ne traheretur captivus, adversos fortius oppresserunt.

[4] Contra has calliditatis argutias, sagaci opitulatione nutanti negotio, consuluit imperator: et Arbitionem ex consule, agentem iam dudum in otio, ad se venire hortatus est, ut Constantiniani ducis verecundia truces animi lenirentur, neque secus evenit. [5] Nam cum omnibus provectior natus, et dignitate sublimior, canitiem reverendam ostenderet, multis ad perfidiam inclinatis, publicum grassatorem Procopium, milites vero secutos eius errorem, filios et laborum participes pristinatorum, appellans, orabat, ut se ac si parentem magis sequerentur, felicissimis ductibus cognitum, quam profligate morem gererent nebuloni, destituendo iam et casuro. [6] Quibus cognitis Gomoarius, cum elisis hostibus unde venerat, redire posset innoxius, ad castra imperatoris, opportunitate intervalli proximi nactus captivi colore transivit, velut accursu multitudinis visae subito circumsaepus.

[7] Qua succensus alacritate, Valens castra promovit ad Phrygiam et prope Nacoliā collatis manibus partium, dum in ancipiti articulo proelium versaretur, Agilo rem excursu prodidit repentino, eumque secuti complures, iam pila quatientes et gladios, ad imperatorem transeunt cum vexillis, scuta perversa gestantes, quod defectionis signum est apertissimum.

[8] Hoc praeter spem omnium viso Procopius, salutis intercluso suffragio, versus in pedes, circumiectorum nemorum secreta petebat et montium, Florentio sequente et Barchalba tribuno, quem per saevissima bella iam inde a Constanti temporibus notum, necessitas in crimen traxerat, non voluntas. [9] Maiore itaque noctis parte consumpta, cum a vespertino ortu luna praelucens in diem metum augeret, undique facultate evadendi exempta, consiliorum inops Procopius, ut in arduis necessitatibus solet, cum Fortuna expostulabat luctuosa et gravi, mersusque multiformibus curis, subito a comitibus suis artius vinctus, relate iam die, ductus ad castra, imperatori offertur, reticens atque defixus, statimque abscisa cervice, discordiarum civilium gliscentes turbines sepelevit et bella, ad veteris Perpennae exemplum, qui post Sertorium inter epulas obruncatum, dominatione paulisper potitus, a fructibus ubi latebat, extractus, oblatusque Pompeio, eius iussu est interfectus.

[10] Parique indignationis impetu Florentius et Barchalba, qui eum duxerunt, confestim, non pensata ratione, sunt interfecti. Nam si principem legitimum prodidissent, vel ipsa Iustitia iure caesos pronuntiaret; si rebellem et oppugnatorem internae quietis, ut ferebatur, amplas eis memorabilis facti oportuerat deferri mercedes.

[11] Excessit autem vita Procopius anno quadragesimo, amplius mensibus decem: corpore non indecoro, nec mediocris staturae, subaquilus, humumque intuendo semper incedens, perque morum tristium latebras, illius similis Crassi, quem in vita semel risisse, Lucilius affirmat et Tullius, sed (quod est mirandum), quoad vixerat, incruentus.

Marcellus protector, eius cognatus, et multi Procopianarum partium supplicio capitis affecti.

Eisdem fere diebus, protector Marcellus, eiusdem cognatus, agens apud Nicaeam praesidium, prodicione militum et interitu Procopii cognito, Serenianum intra palatium clausum, medio noctis horrore incautum adortus, occidit. Cuius mors saluti plurimis fuit. [2] Nam si victoriae superfuisset incultis moribus homo, et nocendi acerbitate conflagrans, Valentique ob similitudinem morum, et genitilis patriae vicinitatem, acceptus, occultas voluntates principis introspiciens, ad crudelitatem propensioris multas innocentium ediderat strages.

[3] Quo interfecto, idem Marcellus, occupata celeri cursu Chalcedone, concrepantibus paucis, quos vilitas et desperatio trudebat in scelus, umbram principatus funesti capessit, gemina ratione fallente, quod et Gothorum tria milia regibus iam lenitis, ad auxilium transmissa Procopio, Constantianam praetendenti necessitudinem, ad societatem suam parva mercede traduci posse existimabat, quodque gesta in Illyrico etiam tum latebant.

[4] Inter quae tam trepida, speculationibus fidis Aequitius doctus, conversam molem belli totius in Asiam, degressus per Succos, Philippopolim clausam praesidiis hostium, Eumolpiadam veterem, reserare magna vi conabatur, urbem admodum opportunam et impedituram eius appetitus, si pone relicta adiumenta Valenti laturus (nondum enim apud Nacoliā gesta compererat), festinare ad Haemimontum cogeretur. [5] Verum paulo postea cognita levi praesumptione Marcelli, milites missi sunt audaces et prompti, qui eum raptum, ut deditum noxae mancipium, in custodiam compegerunt. Unde post dies paucos productus, lateribus sulcatis acerrime, pariaque perpeffis consortibus, interiit, hoc favorabilis solo quod abstulit Serenianum e medio, crudelem ut Phalarim, et illi fidum quia doctrinarum diritatem causis inanibus praetexebat.

[6] Exstirpatis occasu ducis funeribus belli, saevitum est in multos acrius quam errata flagitaverant vel delicta, maximeque in Philippopoleos defensores, qui urbem seque ipsos, non nisi capite viso Procopii, quod ad Gallias portabatur, aegerrime dederunt. [7] Ad gratiam tamen precantium, coerciti sunt aliqui lenius. Inter quos eminebat Araxius, in ipso rerum exustarum ardore adeptus ambitu praefecturam, et Agilone intercedente genero supplicio insulari multatus, breve post tempus evasit. [8] Euphrasius vero, itemque Phronemius, missi ad occiduas partes, arbitrio obiecti sunt Valentiniani, et absolute Euphrasio, Phronemius Cherronesum deportatur, inclementius in eodem punitus negotio, ea re quod divo Iuliano fuit acceptus, cuius memorandis virtutibus, ambo fratres principes obtrectabant, nec similes eius, nec suppare.

[9] His accedebant alia graviora, et multo magis quam in proeliis formidanda. Carnifex enim, et unci, et cruentae quaestiones, sine discrimine ullo aetatum et dignitatum, per fortunas omnes et ordines grassabantur, et pacis obtentu latrocinium detestandum agitabatur, infaustam victoriam exsecrantibus universis internecivo bello quovis graviozem. [10] Nam inter arma et lituos condicionis aequatio leviora facit pericula, et Martiae virtutis

potestas, aut absumit quod occupat, aut nobilitat, et mors (si acciderit), nullum ignominiae continet sensum, finemque secum vivendi simul et dolendi perducit: ubi vero consiliis impiis iura quidem praetenduntur et leges, et Catonianae vel Cassianae sententiae fuco perliti resident iudices, agatur autem, quod agitur, ad voluntatem praetumidae potestatis, et ex eius libidine, incidentium vitae necisque momenta pensantur, ibi capitalis vertitur perniciēs et abrupta. [11] Nam ut quisque ea tempestate ob quamlibet valuerat causam, regio imperio prope accedens, et aliena rapiendi aviditate exustus, licet aperte insontem, arcessens, ut familiaris suscipiebatur et fidus, ditandus casibus alienis. [12] Imperator enim promptior ad nocendum, criminantibus patens, et funereas delationes adsciscens, per suppliciorum diversitates effrenatius exsultavit, sententiae illius Tullianae ignarus, docentis infelices esse eos qui omnia sibi licere existimarunt. [13] Haec implacabilitas causae quidem piissimae, sed victoriae foedioris, innocentes tortoribus exposuit multos, vel sub eculeo locavit incurvos, aut ictu carnificis torvi substravit: quibus (si pateretur natura), vel denas animas profundere praestabat in pugna, quam lateribus fodicatis, omni culpa immunis, fortunis gementibus universis, quasi laesae maiestatis luere poenas, dilaniatis ante corporibus, quod omni est tristius morte. [14] Exin cum superata luctibus ferocia deflagrasset, proscriptiones et exilia et quae leviora quibusdam videntur, quamquam sint aspera, viri pertulere summates, et (ut ditaretur alius) genere nobilis, et forte meritis locupletior, actus patrimonio praeceps, trususque in exilium consumebatur angore, aut stipe precaria victitabat, nec modus ullus exitialibus malis impositus, quam diu principem et proximos opum satietas cepit et caedis.

[15] Hoc novatore adhuc superstite, cuius actus multiplices docuimus et interitum, diem duodecimum Kalendas Augustas, consule Valentiniano primum cum fratre, horrendi terrores per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subito, qualis nec fabulae nec veridicae nobis antiquitates exponunt. [16] Paulo enim post lucis exortum, densitate praevia fulgurum acrius vibratorum, tremefacta concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis, mareque dispulsum, retro fluctibus evolutis abscessit, ut resecta voragine profundorum, species natantium multiformes limo cernerentur haerentes, valliumque vastitates et montium tunc (ut opinari dabatur), suspicerent radios solis, quos primigenia rerum natura sub immensis gurgitibus amendavit. [17] Multis igitur navibus velut arida humo conexis, et licenter per exiguas undarum reliquias palantibus plurimis, ut pisces manibus colligerent et similia: marini fremitus velut gravati repulsam, versa vice consurgunt, perque vada ferventia insulis et continentis terrae porrectis spatiis violenter illisi, innumera quaedam in civitatibus, et ubi reperta sunt aedificia, complanarunt: proinde ut elementorum furente discordia, involuta facies mundi, miraculorum species ostendebat. [18] Relapsa enim aequorum magnitudo cum minime speraretur, milia multa necavit hominum et submersit, recurrentiumque aestuum incitata vertigine, quaedam naves, postquam umentis substantiae consenuit tumor, pessum datae visae

sunt, exanimataque naufragiis corpora supina iacebant aut prona. ^[19] Ingentes aliae naves, extrusae rabidis flatibus, culminibus insedere tectorum (ut Alexandriae contigit) et ad secundum lapidem fere procul a litore contortae sunt aliquae, ut Laconicam prope Mothonen oppidum nos transeundo conspeximus, diuturna carie fatiscentem.

LIBER XXVII.

[1] Alamanni, fuis acie Romanis, Chariettonem et Severianum comites interficiunt.

Dum per eorum orbem haec, quae narravimus, diversi rerum expediunt casus, Alamanni post aerumnosas iacturas et vulnera, quae congressi saepe Iuliano Caesari pertulerunt, viribus tandem resumptis, licet imparibus pristinis, ob causam expositam supra Gallicos limites formidati iam persultabant. Statimque post Kalendas Ianuarias, cum per glaciales tractus hiemis rigidum inhorresceret sidus, cuneatim egressa, multitudo licentius vagabatur. [2] Horum portioni primae Charietto, tunc per utramque Germaniam comes, occursurus cum milite egreditur ad bella ineunda promptissimo, adscito in societatem laboris Severiano itidem comite, invalido et longaevo, qui apud Cabillona Divitensibus praesidebat et Tungricanis. [3] Proinde confertius agmine in unum coacto, ponteque brevioris aquae festina celeritate transmissa, visos eminus barbaros, Romani sagittis aliisque levibus iaculis incessebant, quae illi reciprocis iactibus valide contorquebant. [4] Ubi vero turmae congressae strictis confluxere mucronibus, nostrorum acies impetu hostium acriore concussa nec resistendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam repperit, cunctis metu compulsis in fugam, cum Severianum vidissent equo deturbatum, missilique telo perfossum. [5] Ipse denique Charietto, dum cedentes obiectu corporis et vocis obiurgatorio sonu audentius retinet, pudendumque diluere dedecus fiducia diu standi conatur, oppetit telo letali confossus. [6] Post cuius interitum, Erulorum Batavorumque vexillum direptum, quod insultando tripudiantes barbari crebro sublatum altius ostendebant, post certamina receptum est magna.

Iovinus, magister equitum per Gallias, unam et alteram Alamannorum manum imparatam caedit; tertiam barbarorum partem apud Catalaunos proelio superat, VI hostium millibus interfectis, IV vulneratis.

Qua clade cum ultimo maerore comperta, correcturus secius gesta, Dagalaifus a Parisiis mittitur. Eoque diu cunctante, causanteque diffusos per varia barbaros semet adoriri non posse, accitoque paulo postea ut cum Gratiano, etiam tum privato, susciperet insignia consulatus, Iovinus equitum magister accingitur, et instructus paratusque cautissime, observans utrumque sui agminis latus, venit prope locum Scarponna, ubi inopinus maiorem barbarorum plebem antequam armaretur, temporis brevi puncto praeveniam ad internecionem exstinxit. [2] Exsultantes innoxii proelii gloria milites, ad alterius globi perniciem ducens, sensimque incedens rector eximius, speculatione didicit fida, direptis propius villis, vastatoriam manum quiescere prope flumen, iamque adventans, abditusque in valle densitate arbustorum obscura, videbat lavantes alios, quosdam comas rutilantes ex more, potantesque non nullos. [3] Et nactus horam impendio tempestivam, signo repente per lituos dato, latrocinialia castra perripuit, contraque Germani, nihil

praeter inefficaces minas iactanter sonantes et fremitum, nec expedire arma dispersa, nec componere aciem, nec resurgere in vires permittebantur urgente instanter victore. Quocirca forati pilis et gladiis, cecidere complures, absque his quos versos in pedes texere flexuosi tramites et angusti.

[4] Hoc prospero rerum effectu, quem virtus peregerat et fortuna, aucta fiducia, Iovinus militem ducens, diligenti speculatione praemissa, in tertium cuneum qui restabat, prope castra commovit, et maturato itinere omnem prope Catelaunos invenit, ad congregiendum promptissimum. [5] Et vallo opportune metato, suisque pro temporis copia cibo recreatis et somno, primo aurorae exortu, in aperta planitie composuit aciem, dilatata arte sollerti, ut spatiis amplioribus occupatis, aequiperare Romani hostium multitudinem apparerent, inferiores numero (licet viribus pares). [6] Signo itaque per bucinas dato, cum pede collato res agi coepisset, saeva vexillorum splendentium facie terrii, stetere Germani. Quibus hebetatis parumper, reparatisque confestim, ad usque diei extimum concertatione protenta, validius imminens miles, fructum rei bene gestae sine dispendio quaesisset, ni Balchobaudes armaturarum tribunus, magniloquentia socordi coalitus, propinquante iam vespera, cessisset incondite. Quem si secutae residuae cohortes abissent, ad tristes exitus eo usque negotium venerat, ut nec acta nuntiaturus quisquam posset superesse nostrorum. [7] Sed resistens animorum acri robore miles, ita lacertis eminuit, ut hostium quattuor milibus sauciis, sex alia interficeret milia, ipse vero non amplius mille ducentis amitteret, ducentis tantummodo vulneratis. [8] Noctis itaque adventu proelio iam dirempto, relictisque viribus fessis, prope confinia lucis ductor egregius, in agminis quadrati figuram producto exercitu, cum comperisset occultantibus tenebris barbaros lapses, securus insidiarum per aperta camporum sequebatur et mollia, calcando semineces et constrictos, quos, vulneribus frigoribus asperitate contractis, dolorum absumpserat magnitudo. [9] Exin progressus ulterius, revertens ubi nullum reppererat, didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum, ab Ascariis (quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamannica) suffixum patibulo. Ideoque iratus, in tribunum animadvertere statuit, ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore fecisse, eumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox documentis evidentibus constitisset.

[10] Ei post haec redeunti Parisios post claritudinem recte gestorum, imperator laetus occurrit, brevique postea consulem designavit, illo videlicet ad gaudii cumulum accedente, quod eisdem diebus Procopii susceperat caput, a Valente transmissum. [11] Praeter haec alia multa narratu minus digna conserta sunt proelia, per tractus varios Galliarum, quae superfluum est explicare, cum neque operae pretium aliquod eorum habuere proventus, nec historiam producere per minutias ignobiles decet.

De III praefectis Urbi, Symmacho, Lampadio, et Iuventio. Sub eo Damasi et Ursini de Episcopatu Romano contentiones.

Hoc tempore vel paulo ante, nova portenti species per Annonariam apparuit Tusciam, idque quorsum evaderet, prodigialium rerum periti penitus

ignorarunt. In oppido enim Pistoriensi, prope horam diei tertiam, spectantibus multis, asinus tribunali escenso audiebatur destinatus ruginis, et stupefactis omnibus, qui aderant quique didicerant referentibus aliis, nulloque coniectante ventura postea quod portendebatur evenit. [2] Terentius enim, humili genere in urbe natus et pistor, ad vicem praemii, quia peculatus reum detulerat Orfitum ex praefecto, hanc eandem provinciam correctoris administraverat potestate. Eaque confidentia deinceps inquietius agitans multa, in naviculariorum negotio falsum admisisse convictus, ut ferebatur, perit carnificis manu, regente Claudio Romam.

[3] Multo tamen antequam hoc contingeret, Symmachus Aproniano successit, inter praecipua nominandus exempla doctrinarum atque modestiae. Quo instante urbs sacratissima otio copiisque abundantius solito fruebatur, et ambitioso ponte exultat quem ipse, iudicio principum maximorum, et magna civium laetitia dedicavit, ingratorum, ut res docuit apertissima. [4] Qui consumptis aliquot annis, domum eius in Transtiberino tractu pulcherrimam incenderunt, ea re perciti, quod vilis quidam plebeius finxerat, illum dixisse sine indice ullo vel teste, libenter se vino proprio calcarias exstincturum, quam id venditurum pretiis quibus sperabant.

[5] Advenit post hunc urbis moderator Lampadius, ex praefecto praetorio, homo indignanter admodum sustinens, si (etiam cum spueret) non laudaretur, ut id quoque prudenter praeter alios faciens, sed non numquam severus et frugi. [6] Hic cum magnificos praetor ederet ludos, et uberrime largiretur, plebis nequiens tolerare tumultum, indignis multa donari saepe urgentis, ut et liberalem se et multitudinis ostenderet contemptorem, accitos a Vaticano quosdam egentes, opibus ditaverat magnis. [7] Vanitatis autem eius exemplum, ne latius evagemur, hoc unum sufficiet poni, leve quidem, sed cavendum iudiciis. Per omnia enim civitatis membra, quae diversorum principum exornarunt impensae, nomen proprium inscribebat, non ut veterum instaurator, sed conditor. Quo vitio laborasse et Traianus dicitur princeps, unde eum herbam parietinam iocando cognominarunt.

[8] Hic praefectus exagitatus est motibus crebris, uno omnium maximo, cum collecta plebs infima domum eius prope Constantinianum lavacrum iniectis facibus incenderat et malleolis, ni vicinorum et familiarum veloci concursu a summis tectorum culminibus petita saxis et tegulis abscessisset. [9] Eaque vi territus ipse, primitiis crebrescentis seditionis in maius, secessit ad Mulvium pontem, quem struxisse superior dicitur Scaurus, ut lenimenta ibidem tumultus opperiens, quem causa concitaverat gravis. [10] Aedificia erigere exordiens nova, vel vetusta quaedam instaurans, non ex titulis solitis parari iubebat impensas, sed si ferrum quaerebatur, aut plumbum, aut aes aut quicquam simile, apparitores immittebantur, qui velut ementes diversas raperent species, nulla pretia persolvendo, unde accensorem iracundiam pauperum, damna deflentium crebra, aegre potuit celeri vitare digressu.

[11] Advenit successor eius ex quaesitore palatii, Viventius, integer et prudens Pannonius, cuius administratio queta fuit et placida, copia rerum

omnium affluente. Sed hunc quoque discordantis populi seditiones terruere cruentae, quas tale negotium excitarat. [12] Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopi sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnorumque discrimina adiumentis utriusque progressis, quae nec corrigere sufficiens Viventius nec mollire, coactus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum. [13] Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quae ei favebat instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum, efferatamque diu plebem aegre postea delenitam.

[14] Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, huius rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum iurgare debere, cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. [15] Qui esse poterant beati re vera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent, quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini, verisque eius cultoribus, ut puros commendant, et verecundos. Hactenus deviasse sufficiet, nunc ad rerum ordines revertamur.

Describuntur populi et VI provinciae Thraciarum, singularumque clarae urbes.

Dum aguntur ante dicta per Gallias et Italiam, novi per Thracias exciti sunt procinctus. Valens enim ut consulto placuerat fratri, cuius regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos, ratione iusta permotus, quod auxilia misere Procopio, civilia bella coeptanti. Ergo conveniet pauca super harum origine regionum et situ transcurrere, per brevem excessum.

[2] Erat Thraciarum descriptio facilis, si veteres concinerent stili, quorum obscura varietas, quoniam opus veritatem professum non iuvat, sufficiet ea quae vidisse meminimus expedire. [3] Has terras immensa quondam camporum placiditate aggerumque altitudine fuisse porrectas, Homeri perennis auctoritas docet, aquilonem et zephyrum ventos exinde flare fingentis, quod aut fabulosum est, aut tractus antehac diffusi latissime, destinatique nationibus feris, cuncti Thraciarum vocabulo censebantur. [4] Et partem earum habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab eisdem provinciis disparati, saevi quondam et truces, et (ut antiquitas docet), hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius, quorum asperitate post multiplices pugnarum aerumnas saepe res Romana vexata postremo omnem amisit exercitum, cum rectore.

[5] Sed (ut nunc cernimus), eadem loca, formata in cornuti sideris modum, effingunt theatri faciem speciosam. Cuius in summitate occidentali montibus praeruptis densitate Succorum patescunt angustiae, Thracias dirimentes et Daciam. [6] Partem vero sinistram, arctois obnoxiam stellis, Haemimontanae

celsitudines claudunt, et Hister, qua Romanum caespitem lambit, urbibus multis et castris contiguus et castellis. [7] Per dextrum (quod australe est) latus, scopuli tenduntur Rhodopes, unde eorum iubar exsurgit, finitur in fretum; cui undosius ab Euxino ponto labenti, pergentique fluctibus reciprocis ad Aegaeum, discidium panditur terrarum angustum. [8] Ex angulo tamen orientali, Macedonicis iungitur collimitiis, per artas praecipitesque vias, quae cognominantur Acontisma: cui proxima Arethusa cursualis est statio, in qua visitur Euripidis sepulcrum, tragoediarum sublimitate conspicui, et Stagira, ubi Aristotelem (ut Tullius ait), fundentem aureum flumen, accipimus natum. [9] Haec quoque priscis temporibus loca barbari tenuere, morum sermonumque varietate dissimiles, e quibus praeter alios ut immaniter efferati memorantur Odrysae, ita humanum fundere sanguinem assueti, ut cum hostium copia non daretur, ipsi inter epulas post cibi satietatem et potus, suis velut alienis corporibus imprimerent ferrum.

[10] Verum aucta re publica, dum consulare vigeret imperium, has gentes antehac semper indomitas, vagantesque sine cultu vel legibus, Marcus Didius ingenti destinatione repressit, Drusus intra fines continuit proprios, Minucius prope amnem Hebrum a celsis Odrysarum montibus defluentem, superatas proelio stravit, post quos residui ab Appio Claudio pro consule sunt infesta concertatione deleti. Oppida enim in Bosporo sita et Propontide classes optinere Romanae. [11] Advenit post hos imperator Lucullus, qui cum durissima gente Bessorum conflixit omnium primus, eodemque impetu Haemimontanos acriter resistentes oppressit. Quo imminente, Thraciae omnes in dicionem veterum transiere nostrorum, hocque modo post procinctus ancipites, rei publicae sex provinciae sunt quaesitae.

[12] Inter quas prima ex fronte, quae Illyriis est confinis, Thracia speciali nomine appellatur: quam Philippopolis, Eumolpias vetus, et Beroea, amplae civitates exornant. Post hanc Haemimontus Hadrianopolim habet (quae dicebatur Uscudama), et Anchialon, civitates magnas et opulentas. Dein Mysia, ubi Marcianopolis est, a sorore Traiani principis ita cognominata, et Dorostorus et Nicopolis et Odessus, iuxtaque Scythia, in qua celebriora sunt aliis oppida Dionysopolis et Tomi et Calatis. Europa omnium ultima, praeter municipia urbibus nitet duabus, Apris et Perintho, quam Heracleam posteritas dixit. [13] Rhodopa huic annexa, Maximianopolim habet et Maroneam et Aenum, qua condita et relicta, Aeneas Italiam auspiorum prosperitate perpetua, post diuturnos occupavit errores.

[14] Constat autem (ut vulgare rumores assidui), omnes paene agrestes, qui per regiones praedictas montium circumcolunt altitudines, salubritate virium, et praerogativa quadam vitae longius propagandae, nos anteire, idque inde contingere arbitrantur, quod colluvione ciborum abstinent calidisque, et perenni viriditate roris asperginibus gelidis corpora constringente, aurae purioris dulcedine potiuntur, radiosque solis, suapte natura vitales, primi omnium sentiunt, nullis adhuc maculis rerum humanarum infectos. His ita digestis, pedem referamus ad coepta.

Valens Aug. Gothis, qui auxilia Procopio contra ipsum miserant, bellum infert, et post triennium pacem cum eis facit.

Procopio superato in Phrygia, internarumque dissensionum materia consopita, Victor magister equitum ad Gothos est missus, cogniturus aperte, quam ob causam gens amica Romanis, foederibusque longae pacis obstricta, tyranno dederat adminicula, bellum principibus legitimis inferenti. Qui ut factum firma defensione purgarent, litteras eiusdem obtulere Procopii, ut generis Constantiniani propinquo, imperium sibi debitum sumpsisse commemorantis, veniaque dignum asserentes errorem.

[2] Quibus eodem referente Victore compertis, Valens parvi ducens excusationem vanissimam, in eos signa commovit motus adventantis iam praescios, et pubescente vere, quaesito in unum exercitu, prope Daphnen nomine munimentum, est castra metatus, ponteque contabulato supra navium foros, flumen transgressus est Histrum, resistentibus nullis. [3] Iamque sublatus fiducia, cum ultro citroque discurrens, nullum inveniret quem superare poterat vel terrere: omnes enim formidine perciti militis cum apparatu ambitioso propinquantis, montes petivere Serrorum, arduos et inaccessos, nisi perquam gnaris. [4] Ne igitur aestate omni consumpta, sine ullo remearet effectus, Arintheo magistro peditum misso cum praedatoriis globis, familiarum rapuit partem, quae antequam ad dirupta venirent et flexuosa, capi potuerunt, per plana camporum errantes. Hocque tantum, quod fors dederat, impetrato, redit cum suis innoxius, nec illato gravi vulnere nec accepto.

[5] Anno secuto, ingredi terras hostiles pari alacritate conatus, fusius Danubii gurgitibus evagatis, impeditus mansit immobilis prope Carporum vicum, stativis castris ad usque autumnum locatis emensum. Unde quia nihil agi potuit dirimente magnitudine fluentorum, Marcianopolim ad hiberna discessit.

[6] Simili pertinacia, tertio quoque anno, per Novidunum navibus ad transmittendum amnem conexus, perrupto barbarico, continuatis itineribus longius agentes Greuthungos bellicosam gentem aggressus est, postque leviora certamina, Athanaricum ea tempestate iudicem potentissimum, ausum resistere, cum manu quam sibi crediderit abundare, extremorum metu coegit in fugam, ipseque cum omnibus suis Marcianopolim redivit ad hiemem agendam (ut in illis tractibus) habilem.

[7] Aderant post diversos triennii casus finiendi belli materiae tempestivae. Prima quod ex principis diuturna permansione metus augebatur hostilis, dein quod commerciis vetitis ultima necessariorum inopia barbari stringebantur, adeo ut, legatos supplices saepe mittentes, venialem poscerent pace. [8] Quibus imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum, antequam adulationum perniciosus illecebris captus rem publicam funeribus perpetuo deflendis affligeret, in commune consultans pacem dari oportere decrevit. [9] Missique vicissim Victor et Arintheus, qui tunc equestrem curabant militiam et pedestrem, cum propositis condicionibus assentiri Gothos docuissent litteris veris, praestituitur componendae paci conveniens locus. Et quoniam asserebat

Athanasius, sub timenda execratione iuris iurandi se esse obstrictum, mandatisque prohibitum patris, ne solum calcaret aliquando Romanum, et adigi non poterat, indecorumque erat et vile ad eum imperatorem transire: recte noscentibus placuit navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quae vehebant cum armigeris principem, gentisque iudicem inde cum suis, foederari, ut statutum est, pacem. [10] Hocque composito, et acceptis obsidibus, Valens Constantinopolim redit, ubi postea Athanasius proximorum factione genitalibus terris expulsus, fatali sorte decessit et ambitosius exsequiis ritu sepultus est nostro.

Gratianum filium Valentinianus consentiente exercitu Augustum nuncupat, et puerum purpuram indutum ad fortiter faciendum hortatur, militibusque commendat.

Inter haec Valentiniano magnitudine quassato morborum, agitanteque extrema, colloquio occultiore Gallorum, qui aderant in commilitio principis, ad imperium Rusticus Iulianus, tunc magister memoriae, poscebatur, quasi afflatu quodam furoris, bestiarum more humani sanguinis avidus, ut ostenderat cum proconsulari potestate regeret Africam. [2] In praefectura enim urbana, quam adhuc administrans exstinctus est, tempus anceps metuens tyrannidis, cuius arbitrio, tamquam inter dignorum inopiam, ad id escenderat columnen, lenis videri cogeatur et mollior. [3] Contra hos nitebantur aliqui studiis altioribus in favorem Severi, magistri tunc peditum, ut apti ad hoc impetrandum, qui licet asper esset et formidatus, tolerabilior tamen fuit, et praeferendus modis omnibus ante dicto.

[4] Sed dum haec cogitantur in cassum, imperator remediis multiplicibus recreatus, vixque se mortis periculo contemplans extractum, Gratianum filium suum, adulto iam proximum, insignibus principatus ornare meditabatur. [5] Et paratis omnibus militeque firmato, ut animis id acciperet promptis, cum Gratianus venisset, progressus in campum, tribunal escendit, splendoreque nobilium circumdatus potestatum, dextra puerum apprehensum, productumque in medium, oratione contionaria destinatum imperatorem exercitui commendabat.

[6] 'Faustum erga me vestri favoris indicium, hunc loci principalis circumferens habitum, quo potior aliis iudicatus sum, multis et claris: consiliorum sociis votorumque auspiciis vobis, pietatis officium aggrediar tempestivum, prospera deo spondente, cuius sempiternis auxiliis stabit Romana res inconcussa. [7] Accipite igitur, quaeso, placidis mentibus, viri fortissimi, desiderium nostrum, id reputantes, quod haec quae fieri caritatis sanciant iura, non tantum transire volumus per conscientiam vestram, verum etiam probata firmari, ut congrua vobis et profutura. [8] Gratianum hunc meum adultum, quem diu versatum inter liberos vestros, commune diligitis pignus, undique muniendae tranquillitatis publicae causa, in augustum assumere commilitium paro, si propitia caelestis numinis vestraeque maiestatis voluntas parentis amorem iuverit praeaeuntem: non rigido cultu ab incunabulis ipsis (ut nos) educatum, nec tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum, nec capacem adhuc

Martii pulveris, ut videtis, sed familiae suae laudibus, maiorumque factis praestantibus, concinentem — parcius invidiae metu dicitur — protinus surrecturum. [9] Ut enim mihi videri solet mores eius et appetitus, licet nondum maturos, saepe pensanti: ineunte adulescentia, quoniam humanitate et studiis disciplinarum sollertium est expolitus, librabit suffragiis puris merita recte secusve factorum: faciet, ut sciant se boni intellegi: in pulchra facinora procursabit, signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus: solem nivesque et pruinas et sitim perferet et vigilias: castris (si necessitas adegerit aliquotiens) propugnabit: salutem pro periculis sociis obiectabit: et quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere poterit, et avitam.’

[10] Nondum finita oratione, dictis cum assensu laeto auditis, pro suo quisque loco et animo, milites alius alium anteire festinans, tamquam utilitatis et gaudiorum participes, Gratianum declararunt Augustum, clamorum amplissimo sonu blandum fragorem miscentes armorum. [11] Quo viso maiore fiducia Valentinianus exultans, corona indumentisque supremae fortunae ornatum, filium osculatus, iamque fulgore conspicuum, alloquitur advertentem quae dicebantur.

[12] ‘En,’ inquit, ‘habes, mi Gratiane, amictus, ut speravimus omnes, augustos, meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio, delatos ominibus faustis. Accingere igitur pro rerum urgentium pondere, ut patris patruique collega, et assuesce impavidus penetrare cum agminibus peditum gelu pervios Histrum et Rhenum, armatis tuis proximus stare, sanguinem spiritumque considerate pro his impendere quos regis, nihil alienum putare, quod ad Romani imperii pertinet statum. [13] Haec pro tempore praecepisse sufficiet, cetera monere non desinam. Nunc reliqui vos estis, rerum maximi defensores, quos rogo et obtestor, ut accrescentem imperatorem fidei vestrae commissum, servetis affectione fundata.’

[14] His dictis sollemnitate omni firmatis, Eupraxius (Caesariensis Maurus) magister ea tempestate memoriae, primus omnium exclamavit: ‘Familia Gratiani hoc meretur’ statimque promotus quaestor multa et prudentibus aemulanda bonae fiduciae reliquit exempla, nusquam a statu naturae discedens intrepidae, sed constans semper legumque similis, quas omnibus una eademque voce loqui in multiplicibus advertimus causis: qui tunc magis in suscepta parte iustitiae permanebat, cum eum recta monentem, exagitaret minax imperator et nimius. [15] Consurrectum est post haec in laudes maioris principis et novelli, maximeque pueri, quem oculorum flagrantior lux commendabat, vultusque et reliqui corporis iucundissimus nitor, et egregia pectoris indoles: quae imperatorem impleisset cum veterum lectissimis comparandum, si per fata proximosque licuisset, qui virtutem eius etiam tum instabilem obnubilarunt actibus pravis.

[16] In hoc tamen negotio, Valentinianus morem institutum antiquitus supergressus, non Caesares sed Augustos germanum nuncupavit et filium, benevole satis. Nec enim quisquam antehac adscivit sibi pari potestate

collegam, praeter principem Marcum, qui Verum, adoptivum fratrem, absque diminutione aliqua maiestatis imperatoriae, socium fecit.

Valentiniani A. iracundia, feritas, et saevitia.

His ex sententia rectoris et militum ordinatis, vix dies intercessere pauci cum Mamertinum, praefectum praetorio, ab urbe regressum, quo quaedam perrexerat correcturus, Avitianus ex vicario peculatus detulerat reum. [2] Cui ideo Vulcatius successit Rufinus, omni ex parte perfectus, et velut apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens, sed lucrandi opportunas occasiones occultationis spe numquam praetermittens. [3] Qui nactus copiam principis, Orfitum ex praefecto urbis solutum exsilio, patrimonii redintegrata iactura, remitti fecit in lares.

[4] Et quamquam Valentinianus, homo propalam ferus, inter imperitandi exordia, ut asperitatis opinionem molliret, impetus truces retinere non numquam in potestate animi nitebatur, serpens tamen vitium et dilatum, paulatim licentius erupit ad perniciem plurimorum, quod auxit ira acerbius effervescens. Hanc enim ulcus esse animi diuturnum, interdumque perpetuum, prudentes definiunt, nasci ex mentis mollitia consuetum, id asserentes argumento probabili, quod iracundiores sunt incolumibus languidi, et feminae maribus, et iuvenibus senes, et felicibus aerumnosi.

[5] Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter alias humilium neces, mors Dioclis ex comite largitionum Illyrici, quem ob delicta brevia flammis iussit exuri; et Diodori ex agente in rebus, triumque apparitorum potestatis vicariae per Italiam, ob id necatorum atrociter, quod apud eum questus est comes, Diodorum quidem adversus se civiliter implorasse iuris auxilium, officiales vero iussu iudicis ausos monere proficiscentem, ut responderet ex lege. Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc usque Christiani, locum ubi sepulti sunt Ad Innocentis appellant.

[6] Dein cum in negotio Maxentii cuiusdam Pannonii, ob executionem a iudice recte maturari praeceptam, trium oppidorum ordines mactari iussisset, interpellavit Eupraxius, tunc quaestor, et ‘Parcius’ inquit ‘agito, piissime principum: hos enim, quos interfici tamquam noxios iubes, ut martyras (id est divinitati acceptos) colet religio Christiana.’ [7] Cuius salutarem fiduciam praefectus imitatus Florentius, cum in re quadam venia digna audisset, eum percitum ira, iussisse itidem ternos per ordines urbium interfici plurimarum, ‘Et quid agetur’ ait ‘si oppidum aliquod curialis non habuerit tantos? Inter reliqua id quoque suspendi debet, ut cum habuerit, occidantur.’ [8] Ad hanc inclementiam illud quoque accedebat, dictu dirum et factu, quod si quis eum adisset, iudicium potentis inimici declinans, aliumque sibi postulans dari, hoc non impetrato, ad eundem quem metuebat, licet multa praetenderet iusta, remittebatur. Itemque aliud audiebatur horrendum, quod ubi debitorum aliquem egestate obstrictum nihil reddere posse discebat, interfici debere pronuntiabat.

[9] Haec autem et similia licenter ideo altiore fastu quidam principes agunt, quod amicis emendandi secus cogitata vel gesta copiam negant, inimicos

loqui terrent amplitudine potestatis. Nil autem valet correctio pravitatum apud eos qui quod effici velint maximae putant esse virtutis.

Pictis, Attacottis, et Scottis post Ducem et Comitem interfectos, Britanniam impune vastantibus, Theodosius comes fuis praedam excussit.

Profectus itaque ab Ambianis, Treverosque festinans, nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam, Nectaridumque comitem maritimi tractus occisum, et Fullofauden ducem hostilibus insidiis circumventum. [2] Quibus magno cum horrore compertis, Severum etiam tum domesticorum comitem misit, si fors casum dedisset optatum, correcturum sequius gesta: quo paulo postea revocato, Iovinus ... in eadem loca profectus reverti eisdem celeri gradu permisit, adminicula petiturus exercitus validi; id enim instantes necessitates flagitare firmabat. [3] Postremo ob multa et metuenda, quae super eadem insula rumores assidui perferebant, electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur, officiiis Martiis felicissime cognitus, asscitaque animosa legionum et cohortium pube, ire tendebat praeceunte fiducia speciosa.

[4] Et quoniam cum Constantis principis actus componerem, motus adulescentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Britanniae, pro captu virium explanavi, ad ea quae digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi, ut Ulixes Homericus apud Phaeacas ob difficultatem nimiam replicare formidat.

[5] Illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones, eisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit, terra vel mari, praedis acerbis incendiisque, et captivorum funeribus omnium violabant.

[6] Ad haec prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens, cum venisset ad Bononiae litus, quod a spatio controverso terrarum, angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis aestibus assueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa, in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeato lentius freto, defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam. [7] Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli, Ioviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, vetus oppidum quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisis plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum, et propere fuis, qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi. [8] Eisdemque restituta omni praeter partem exiguam, impensam militibus fessis, mersam difficultatibus summis antehac civitatem, sed subito, quam salus sperari potuit recreatam, in ovanis speciem laetissimus introiit.

[9] Ubi ad audenda maiora, prospero successu elatus, tutaque scrutando consilia, futuri morabatur ambiguus, diffusam variarum gentium plebem, et ferocientem immaniter, non nisi per dolos occultiores, et improvisos excursus, superari posse, captivorum confessionibus, et transfugarum indiciiis, doctus.

[10] Denique edictis propositis, impunitateque promissa, desertores ad procinctum vocabat, et multos alios per diversa libero commeatu dispersos. Quo monitu redire plerique, incentivo perciti, relevatusque anxiiis curis, Civilem nomine recturum Britannias pro praefectis, ad se poposcerat mitti, virum acrioris ingenii, sed iusti tenacem et recti, itidemque Dulcitium, ducem scientia rei militaris insignem.

Mauricae gentes Africam populantur. Isaurorum latrocinia Valens compescit. De Praetextati praefectura urbana.

Haec in Britanniis agebantur. Africam vero, iam inde ab exordio Valentiniani imperii, exurebat barbarica rabies, per procursus audentiores, et crebris caedibus et rapinis intenta. Quam rem militaris augebat socordia, et aliena invadendi cupiditas, maximeque Romani nomine comitis. [2] Qui venturi providus transferendaeque in alios invidiae artifex, saevitia morum multis erat exosus, hac praecipue causa, quod superare hostes in vastandis provinciis festinabat, affinitate Remigii tunc magistri officiorum confisus, quo prava et contraria referente, princeps (ut prae se ferebat ipse) cautissimus, lacrimosa dispendia diutius ignoravit Afrorum.

[3] Gestorum autem per eas regiones seriem plenam, et Rurici praesidis legatorumque mortem, et cetera luctuosa, cum adegerit ratio, diligentius explicabo. [4] Et quoniam adest liber locus dicendi quae sentimus, aperte loquemur: hunc imperatorem omnium primum in maius militares fastus ad damna rerum auxisse communium, dignitates opesque eorum sublimius erigentem, et quod erat publice privatimque dolendum, inflexa saevitia punientem gregariorum errata, parentem potioribus, qui tamquam peccatis indulta licentia, ad labes delictorum immanium consurgebant; qui ex eo altius anhelantes, ex nutu suo indistanter putant omnium pendere fortunas. [5] Horum flatus et pondera inventores iuris antiqui mollientes, etiam insontes quosdam aliquotiens suppliciis aboleri censuere letalibus. Quod saepe contingit, cum ob multitudinis crimina non nulli sortis iniquitate plectuntur innoxii; id enim non numquam ad privatorum pertinuit causas.

[6] At in Isauria, globatim per vicina digressi praedones, oppida villasque uberes libera populatione vexantes, magnitudine iacturarum Pamphyliam afflictabant et Cilicas. Quos cum nullis arcentibus, internecive cuncta disperdere, Asiae vicarius ea tempestate Musonius advertisset, Athenis Atticis antehac magister rhetoricus, deploratis novissime rebus, luxuque adiumento militari marcente, adhibitis semermibus paucis, quos Diogmitas appellant, unum grassatorum cuneum (si patuisset facultas), adoriri conatus, per angustum quendam transiens devexitatis anfractum, ad inevitabiles venit insidias, et ibi cum his confossus est quos ducebat. [7] Tali successu latrones praetumidos, palantesque per varia confidentius, interfectis aliquibus, ad latebrosa montium saxa, quae incolunt, excitae tandem copiae contruserunt; ubi cum eis nec quiescendi nec inveniendi ad victum utilia copia laxaretur, per indutias pacem sibi tribui poposcerunt, Germanicopolitanis auctoribus, quorum apud eos ut signiferae manus semper valere sententiae, obsidibusque

datis (ut imperatum est), immobiles diu mansere, nihil audentes hostile.

[8] Haec inter Praetextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius curans, per integritatis multiplices actus et probitatis, quibus ab adulescentiae rudimentis inclaruit, adeptus est id quod raro contingit, ut cum timeretur, amorem non perderet civium, minus firmari solitum erga iudices formidatos. [9] Cuius auctoritate iustisque veritatis suffragiis, tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum iurgia concitarunt, pulsoque Ursino, alta quies est parta, proposito civium Romanorum aptissima, et adulescebat gloria praeclari rectoris, plura et utilia disponentis. [10] Namque et Maeniana sustulit omnia, fabricari Romae priscis quoque vetita legibus, et discrevit ab aedibus sacris privatorum parietes, eisdem invereconde conexos, ponderaque per regiones instituit universas, cum aviditati multorum, ex libidine trutinas componentium, occurri nequiret. In examinandis vero litibus ante alios id impetravit quod laudando Brutum Tullius refert, ut cum nihil ad gratiam faceret, omnia tamen grata viderentur esse, quae facitabat.

Valentinianus A. Rhenum transit, et Alamannos qui in celsissimos montes fugerant, non incruento utrimque certamine fundit fugatque.

Sub idem fere tempus, Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute (ut rebatur ipse) profecto, Alamannus regalis (Rando nomine) diu praestruens quod cogitabat, Mogontiacum praesidiis vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit. [2] Et quoniam casu Christiani ritus invenit celebrari sollemnitatem, impraepedite cuiusque modi fortunae virile et muliebre secus cum suppellectili non parva indefensum abduxit.

[3] Parvo inde post intervallo, inopina rei Romanae spes laetiorum adfulsit. Cum enim Vithicabius rex, Vadomarii filius, specie quidem molliculus et morbosus, sed audax et fortis, ardores in nos saepe succenderet bellicos, opera navabatur impensior, ut qualibet concideret strage. [4] Et quia temptatus aliquotiens, nullo genere potuit superari vel prodi, fraude citerioris vitae ministri, studio sollicitante nostrorum, occubuit, cuius post necem aliquatenus hostiles torpuere discursus. Interfector tamen prae metu poenarum, quas verebatur si patuisset negotium, ad Romanum solum se celeri transtulit gradu.

[5] Parabatur post haec contentioribus curis, et per copias multiformes, in Alamannos expeditio solitis gravior, destinatus id publica tutela poscente, quoniam reparabilis gentis motus timebantur infidi: milite nihilo minus accenso, cui ob suspectos eorum mores nunc infimorum et supplicum, paulo post ultima minitantium, nullae quiescendi dabantur indutiae.

[6] Contracta igitur undique mole maxima catervarum, armis et subsidiis rei cibariae diligenter instructa, accitoque Sebastiano comite cum Illyricis et Italicis numeris, quos regebat, anni tempore iam tepente Valentinianus cum Gratiano Moenum transiit, visoque nemine, divisus agminibus quadratis, ipse medius incedebat, Iovino et Severo, magistris rei castrensis, altrinsecus ordinum latera servantibus, ne repentino invaderentur adsultu. [7] Protinusque inde ductantibus itinerum callidis, exploratis accessibus, per regiones longo situ porrectas, sensim gradiens miles, irritator ad pugnandum, velut repertis

barbaris minaciter infrendebat. Et quoniam aliquot diebus emensis, nullus potuit qui resisteret inveniri, cuncta satorum et tectorum quae visebantur, iniecta cohortium manu, vorax flamma vastabat, praeter alimenta quae colligi dubius rerum eventus adigebat et custodiri. [8] Post haec leniore gressu princeps ulterius tendens, cum prope locum venisset, cui Solicinio nomen est, velut quadam obice stetit, doctus procursantium relatione verissima, barbaros longe conspectos. [9] Qui nullam ad tuendam salutem viam superesse cernentes, ni se celeri defendissent occurso, locorum gnaritate confisi, unum spirantibus animis, montem occupavere praecelsum, per confragosos colles undique praeruptum et invium, absque septentrionali latere (unde facilem habet devexitatem et mollem). Signis ilico fixis ex more, cum undique ad arma conclamaretur, imperio principis et ductorum stetit regibilis miles, vexillum opperiens extollendum: quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae. [10] Ergo quia spatium deliberandi aut exiguum dabatur aut nullum, hinc impatientia militis perterrente, inde horrenda circumsonantibus Alamannis, id consilium ratio celeritatis admisit, ut arctoam montium partem, quam clementer diximus esse proclivem, Sebastianus occuparet cum suis, fugientes Germanos, si fors ita tulisset, levi negotio confossurus: quo ita (ut placuit) maturato, Gratianoque apud signa Iovianorum retro detento, cuius aetas erat etiam tum proeliorum impatiens et laborum, Valentinianus ut dux cunctator et tutus, centurias et manipulos capite intecto collustrans, nullo potentium in conscientiam arcani adhibito, remota multitudine stipatorum, speculatum radices aggerum avolavit cum paucis, quorum industriam norat et fidem, praedicans (ut erat sui arrogans aestimator) inveniri posse aliam viam, ducentem ad arduos clivos, praeter eam quam inspexere procursatores. [11] Per ignota itaque et palustres uligines devius tendens, insidiatricis manus locatae per abdita subito oppetisset accursu, ni necessitatis adiumento postremo, per labilem limum incitato iumento digressus, legionum se gremiis immersisset, post abruptum periculum, cui adeo proximus fuit, ut galeam eius cubicularius ferens, auro lapillisque distinctam, cum ipso tegmine penitus interiret, nec postea vivus reperiretur aut interfectus.

[12] Proinde quiete reficiendis corporibus data, signoque erecto, quod solet ad pugnam hortari, tubarum minacium accendente clangore, fidentissimo impetu acies motas, prompte ante alios praeiere duo iuvenes lecti, in principiis adeundi discriminis, Salvius et Lupicinus, scutarius unus, alter e schola gentilium, bellum fragore terribili concitantes: hastasque crispando, cum ad rupium obiecta venissent, trudentibusque Alamannis evadere ad celsiora conarentur, advenit omne pondus armorum, eisdemque antesignanis, per hirta dumis et aspera, magno virium nisu in editas sublimitates erepsit. [13] Acri igitur partium spiritu, conflictus cuspidibus temptatur infestis, et hinc arte belli doctior miles, inde licet feroces sed incauti barbari dexteris coihere collatis, quos latius sese pandens exercitus, infusis utrimque cornibus afflictabat, per fremitus territos, et equorum hinnitus, et tubas. [14] Nihilominus tamen ipsi assumpta fiducia restiterunt, aequataque parumper proeliorum sorte, haud

parva mole certatum est, dum ruinarum funeribus mutuis res gerebatur. [15] Disiecti denique Romanorum ardore, metuque turbati, miscentur ultimis primi, dumque in pedes versi discedunt, verrutis hostilibus forabantur et pilis. Postremo dum anhelii currunt et fessi, pandebant sequentibus poplites et suras et dorsa. Stratis denique multis, lapsorum partem Sebastianus, cum subsidiali manu locatus post montium terga, trucidavit ex incauto latere circumventam: dispersi ceteri silvarum se latebris amendarunt.

[16] In hac dimicatione, nostri quoque periere non contemnendi. Inter quos Valerianus fuit domesticorum omnium primus, et Natuspardo quidam scutarius, exsertus ita bellator, ut Sicinio veteri comparetur, et Sergio. Hisque tali casuum diversitate perfectis, milites ad hiberna, imperatores Treveros reverterunt.

De Probi nobilitate, opibus, dignitatibus et moribus.

Per haec tempora Vulcatio Rufino absoluto vita, dum administrat, ad regendam praefecturam praetorianam ab urbe Probus accitus, claritudine generis et potentia et opum amplitudine cognitus orbi Romano, per quem universum paene patrimonia sparsa possedit, iuste an secus, non iudicium est ruinarum, V; turmarum, EAG. nostri. [2] Hunc quasi genuina quaedam (ut fingunt poetae) fortuna vehens praepetibus pinnis, nunc beneficum ostendebat, et amicos altius erigentem, aliquotiens insidiatorem dirum et per cruentas noxium simultates. Et licet potuit (quoad vixit) ingentia, largiendo et intervallando potestates assiduas, erat tamen interdum timidus ad audaces, contra timidos celsior, ut videretur cum sibi fideret, de cothurno strepere tragico, et ubi paveret, omni humilior socco. [3] Atque ut natantium genus, elemento suo expulsum, haud ita diu spirat in terris, ita ille marcebat absque praefecturis, quas ob iugi familiarum licentia, capessere cogebatur, numquam innocentium per cupiditates immensas, utque multa perpetrarent impune, dominum suum mergentium in rem publicam. [4] Namque fatendum est numquam ille, magnanimitate coalitus, clienti vel servo agere quicquam iussit illicitum, sed si eorum quemquam crimen ullum compererat admisisse, vel ipsa repugnante Iustitia, non explorato negotio, sine respectu boni honestique defendebat. Quod vitium reprehendens, ita pronuntiat Cicero: 'Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum?' [5] Suspiciosus tamen et munitus suoapte ingenio fuit, et subamarum arridens, blandiensque interdum, ut noceat. [6] Id autem perspicuum est in eius modi moribus malum, tum maxime cum celari posse existimatur; ita implacabilis et directus, ut si laedere quemquam instituisset, nec exorari posset nec ad ignoscendum erroribus inclinari, ideoque aures eius non cera sed plumbo videbantur obstructae. In summis divitiarum et dignitatum culminibus, anxius et sollicitus, ideoque semper levibus morbis afflictus. Hae per occidentales plagas series rerum fuere gestarum.

Romani et Persae de Armenia et Hiberia inter se pugnant.

Rex vero Persidis, longaevis ille Sapor, et ab ipsis imperitandi exordiis dulcedini rapinarum addictus, post imperatoris Iuliani excessum, et pudendae

pacis icta foedera, cum suis paulisper nobis visus amicus, calcata fide sub Ioviano pactorum, iniectabat Armeniae manum ut eam, velut placitorum abolita firmitate, dicioni iungeret suae. [2] Et primo per artes fallendo diversas, nationem hominum potentem dispendiis levibus afflictabat, sollicitans quosdam optimatum et satrapas, alios excursibus occupans improvisis. [3] Dein per exquisitas periuriisque mixtas illecebras, captum regem ipsum Arsacen, adhibitumque in convivium, iussit ad latentem trahi posticam, eumque effossis oculis vinctum catenis argenteis, quod apud eos honoratis vanum suppliciorum aestimatur esse solacium, exterminavit ad castellum Agabana nomine, ubi discruciatu ceciderat ferro poenali. [4] Deinde nequid intemeratum perfidia praeteriret, Sauromace pulse, quem auctoritas Romana praefecit Hiberiae, Aspacurae cuidam potestatem eiusdem detulit gentis, diademate addito, ut arbitrio se monstraret insultare nostrorum. [5] Quibus ita studio nefando perfectis, Cylaci spadoni et Artabanni, quos olim susceperat perfugas, commisit Armeniam (horum alter ante gentis praefectus, magister alter fuisse dicebatur armorum) eisdemque mandaratum, ut Artogerassam intentiore cura excinderent, oppidum muris et viribus validum, quod thesauros et uxorem cum filio tuebatur Arsacis. [6] Iniere (ut statutum est) obsidium duces. Et quoniam munimentum, positum in asperitate montana, rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis, adiri non poterat, eunuchus Cylaces, aptusque ad muliebria palpamenta, Artabanne ascito, prope moenia ipsa, fide non amittendae salutis accepta, propere venit, et cum socio ad interiora susceptus, ut postulavit, suadebat minaciter defensoribus et reginae, motum Saporis inclementissimi omnium lenire deditione veloci. [7] Multis post haec ultro citroque dictitatis, heulanteque muliere truces mariti fortunas, prodicionis acerrimi compulsores, in misericordiam flexi, mutavere consilium, et spe potiorum erecti, secretis colloquiis ordinarunt, hora praestituta nocturna, reclusis subito portis, validam manum erumpere, vallumque hostile caedibus aggredi repentinis, ut lateant id temptantes, polliciti se provisuros. [8] Quibus religione firmatis, egressi, biduumque ad deliberandum quid capessere debeant, sibi concedi clausos petisse asseverantes, in desidiam obsessores traduxerunt, et vigiliis quibus ob securitatem altiore stertitur somno, civitatis aditu reserato iuventus exsiluit velox, passibusque insonis, expeditis mucronibus, repens, cum castra nihil metuentium invasissent, iacentes multos nullis resistentibus trucidarunt. [9] Haec inopina defectio, necesque insperatae Persarum, inter nos et Saporem discordiarum excitavere causas immanes, illo etiam accedente, quod Arsacis filium Papam, suadente matre cum paucis e munimento digressum, susceptumque imperator Valens apud Neocaesaream morari praecepit, urbem Polemoniaci Ponti notissimam, liberali victu curandum et cultu.

Qua humanitate Cylaces et Artabannes illecti, missis oratoribus ad Valentem, auxilium eundemque Papam sibi regem tribui poposcerunt. [10] Sed pro tempore adiumentis negatis, per Terentium ducem Papa reducitur in Armeniam, recturus interim sine ullis insignibus gentem, quod ratione iusta

est observatum, ne fracti foederis nos argueremur et pacis.

[11] Hoc comperto textu gestorum, Sapor ultra hominem efferatus, concitis maioribus copiis, Armenias aperta praedatione vastabat. Cuius adventu territus Papa, itidemque Cylaces et Arrabannes, nulla circumspectantes auxilia, celsorum montium petivere secessus, limites nostros disterrimantes et Lazicam, ubi per silvarum profunda, et flexuosos colles mensibus quinque delitescens, regis multiformes luseret conatus. [12] Qui operam teri frustra contemplans, sidere flagrante brumali, pomiferis exustis arboribus, castellisque munitis et castris quae ceperat superata vel prodita, cum omni pondere multitudinis Artogerassam circumsaepit, et post varias certaminum casus, lassatis defensoribus patefactam incendit: Arsacis uxorem erutam inde cum thesauris abduxit.

[13] Quas ob causas ad eas regiones Arintheus cum exercitu mittitur comes, suppetias laturus Armeniis, si eos exagitare procinctu gemino temptaverint Persae.

[14] Inter quae Sapor immensum quantum astutus, et cum sibi conduceret, humilis aut elatus, societatis futurae specie Papam ut incuriosum sui per latentes nuntios increpabat, quod maiestatis regiae velamento, Cylaci serviret et Arrabanni, quos ille praeceptis blanditiarum illecebris interfecit, capitaque caesorum ad Saporem ut ei morigerus misit.

[15] Hac clade late diffusa, Armenia omnis perisset inpropugnata, ni Arinthei adventu territi Persae, eam incursare denuo distulissent, hoc solo contenti, quod ad imperatorem misere legatos, petentes nationem eandem, ut sibi et Ioviano placuerat, non defendi. [16] Quibus repudiatis, Sauromaces pulsus (ut ante diximus) Hiberiae regno, cum duodecim legionibus et Terentio remittitur, et eum amni Cyro iam proximum, Aspacures oravit, ut socia potestate consobrini regnarent, causatus ideo se nec cedere, nec ad partes posse transire Romanas, quod Ultra eius filius obsidis lege tenebatur adhuc apud Persas.

[17] Quae imperator edoctus, ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti molliret, divisioni acquievit Hiberiae, ut eam medius dirimeret Cyrus, et Sauromaces Armeniis finitima retineret et Lazis, Aspacures Albaniae Persisque contigua.

[18] His percitus Sapor, pati se exclamans indigna, quod contra foederum textum iuvarentur Armenii, et evanuit legatio, quam super hoc miserat corrigendo, quodque se non assentiente, nec conscio, dividi placuit Hiberiae regnum: velut obsecratis amicitiae foribus, vicinarum gentium auxilia conquirebat, suumque parabat exercitum, ut reserata caeli temperie subverteret omnia, quae ex re sua struxere Romani.

LIBER XXVIII.

[1] Multi, etiam Senatores et Senatorii generis feninae, Romae veneficiorum, stuprorum et adulteriorum accusantur et supplicio afficiuntur.

Dum apud Persas (ut supra narravimus), perfidia regis motus agitatur insperatos, et in eo tractibus bella rediviva consurgunt, anno sexto decimo et eo diutius post Nepotiani exitium, saeviens per urbem aeternam, urebat cuncta Bellona, ex primordiis minimis ad clades excita luctuosas, quas oblitterasset utinam iuge silentium! Ne forte paria quandoque temptentur, plus exemplis generalibus nocitura quam delictis. [2] Ac licet ab hoc textu cruento gestorum exquisite narrando iustus me retraheret metus, multa reputantem et varia, tamen praesentis temporis modestia fretus, carptim ut quaeque memoria digna sunt explanabo, nec pigebit quid ex his quae apud veteres acciderunt timuerim docere succincte. [3] Bello Medico primo, cum diripuissent Asiam Persae, obsidentes Miletum molibus magnis, minantesque defensoribus cruciabiles necesse, iniecere clausis necessitatem, ut omnes magnitudine malorum afflicti, peremptis caritatibus propriis, proiectoque in ignem mobili censu, arsueros se certatim congererent, in communem pereuntis patriae rogam. [4] Hoc argumentum paulo postea digestum timore tragico Phrynichus in theatrum induxerat Athenarum, paulisperque iucunde auditus, cum cothurnatus stilus procederet lacrimosus, indignatione damnatus est populi, arbitrati non consolandi gratia sed probrose monendi, quae pertulerat amabilis civitas, nullis auctorum adminiculis fulta, hos quoque dolores scaenicis adnumerasse fabulis insolenter. Erat enim Atheniensium colonia Miletus, deducta inter Ionas alios per Nileum filium Codri, qui fertur pro patria bello se Dorico devovisse. [5] Sed ad proposita veniamus.

Maximinus regens quondam Romae vicariam praefecturam, apud Sopianas Valeriae oppidum obscurissime natus est, patre tabulario praesidialis officii, orto a posteritate Carporum, quos antiquis excitos sedibus, Diocletianus transtulit in Pannoniam. [6] Is post mediocre studium liberalium doctrinarum defensionemque causarum ignobilem, et administratas Corsicam itidemque Sardiniam, rexit deinde Tusciam. Unde morato in itinere diutius successore, transgressus ad curandam urbis annonam, etiam provinciae moderamina retinebat, egitque consideratione triplici inter exordia cautius. [7] Primo quod recalebant in auribus eius parentis effata, quid augurales alites vel cantus monerent oscinum adprime callentis, ad usque sublimia regimenta venturum, sed perituum ferro poenali: dein quod nactus hominem Sardum, quem ipse postea per dolosas fallacias interemit, ut circumtulit rumor, eliciendi animulas noxias, et praesagia sollicitare larvarum, perquam gnarum: dum superesset ille, timens ne proderetur, tractabilis erat et mollior; postremo quod tamquam subterraneus serpens, per humiliora reptando, nondum maiores funerum excitare poterat causas.

[8] Principium autem unde latius se funditabat, emersit ex negotio tali.

Chilo ex vicario, et coniux eius Maxima nomine, questi apud Olybrium, ea tempestate urbi praefectum, vitamque suam venenis petitam asseverantes, impetrarunt ut hi quos suspectati sunt, ilico rapti, compingerentur in vincula, organarius Sericus, et Asbolius palaestrita, et haruspex Campensis. [9] Verum negotio tepescente propter diuturnam morborum asperitatem, qua tenebatur Olybrius, morarum impatientes, hi qui rem detulerunt, libello petiverunt oblato, ut examinandum iurgium praefecto mandaretur annonae, idque studio celeritatis concessum est. [10] Accepta igitur nocendi materia, Maximinus effudit genuinam ferociam, pectori crudo affixam, ut saepe faciunt amphitheatrales ferae, diffractis tandem solutae posticis.

Cumque multiformiter quasi in proludiis negotium spectaretur, et quidam sulcatis lateribus, nominassent nobiles aliquos, tamquam usos artificibus laedendi per clientes aliosque humiles, notos reos et indices, supra plantam (ut dicitur) evagatus, tartareus cognitor, relatione maligna, docuit principem, non nisi supplicii acrioribus, perniciofa facinora scrutari posse vel vindicari, quae Romae perpetrare complures. [11] His ille cognitis, efferatus, ut erat vitiorum inimicus acer magis quam severus, uno proloquio, in huius modi causas, quas arroganter proposito maiestatis imminutae miscebat, omnes quos iuris prisci iustitia, divorumque arbitria, quaestionibus exemere cruentis, si postulasset negotium, statuit tormentis affligi. [12] Utque congeminata potestas, erectaque sublatius, altiores consarcinaret aerumnas, Maximino Romae agere disposito pro praefectis, sociavit ad haec cognoscenda, quae in multorum pericula struebantur, Leonem notarium, postea officiorum magistrum, bustuarium quendam latronem Pannonium, efflantem ferino rictu crudelitatem, etiam ipsum nihilo minus humani sanguinis avidissimum. [13] Auxit obstinatum Maximini ingenium ad laedendum adventus collegae similis et litterarum cum ampla dignitate dulcedo. Ideoque pedes huc et illuc exsultando contorquens, saltare, non incedere videbatur, dum studebat inter altaria celsius gradientes (ut quidam memorant) imitari Brachmanas.

[14] Iamque lituis cladium concrepantibus internarum, rerum atrocitate torpentibus cunctis, praeter multa cruda et immitia quorum nec diversitas comprehendendi, nec numerus potest, mors Marini causarum defensoris eminuit. Quem ut ausum Hispanillae cuiusdam, artibus pravis, affectasse coniugium, transeunter indiciorum fide discussa, supplicio letali damnavit. [15] Et quoniam existimo, forsitan aliquos haec lecturos, exquisite scrutando notare, strepentes id actum esse prius, non illud, aut ea quae viderint praetermissa: hactenus faciendum est satis, quod non omnia narratu sunt digna, quae per squalidas transiere personas, nec si fieri fuisset necesse, instructiones vel ex ipsis tabulariis suppeterent publicis, tot calentibus malis, et novo furore, sine retinaculis imis summa miscente, cum iustitium esse, quod timebatur, non iudicium, aperte constaret.

[16] Tunc Cethegus senator, adulterii reus delatus, cervice perit abscesa, et Alypius nobilis adulescens, ob levem relegatus errorem, aliique humiles, publica morte oppetiverunt: in quorum miseriis, velut sui quisque discriminis

cernens imaginem, tortorem et vincula somniabat, et deversoria tenebrarum.

[17] Eodem tempore etiam Hymetii praeclarae indolis viri, negotium est actitatum, cuius hunc fuisse novimus textum. Cum Africam pro consule regeret, Carthaginiensibus victus inopia iam lassatis, ex horreis Romano populo destinatis, frumentum venumdedit, pauloque postea, cum provenisset segetum copia, integre sine ulla restituit mora. [18] Verum quoniam denis modiis singulis solidis indigentibus venundatis, emerat ipse tricenos, interpretii compendium ad principis aerarium misit. Ideoque Valentinianus, per nundinationem suspicatus parum quam oportuerat missum, eum bonorum parte multavit. [19] Ad cuius cladem exaggerandam, id quoque eisdem diebus acciderat, non minus exitiale. Amantius haruspex, ea tempestate prae ceteris notus, occultiore indicio proditus, quod ob prava quaedam implenda, ad sacrificandum ab eodem esset adscitus Hymetio, inductusque in iudicium, quamquam incurvus sub eculeo staret, pertinaci negabat instantia. [20] Quo infitiant, secretioribus chartis ab eius domo prolatis, commonitorium repertum est, manu scriptum Hymetii, petentis ut obsecrato ritu sacrorum sollemnium numine, erga se imperatores delenirentur. Cuius extima parte quaedam invectiva legebantur in principem ut avarum et truculentum [21] Haec Valentinianus relatione iudicum doctus, asperius interpretantium facta, vigore nimio in negotium iussit inquire. Et quia Frontinus, consiliarius ante dicti minister fuisse conceptae precationis arguebatur, concisus virgis, atque confessus, ablegatus est in exilium ad Britannos, Amantius vero, damnatus postea rerum capitalium interiit. [22] Post hanc gestorum seriem Hymetius ad oppidum ductus Oriculum, audiendus ab Ampelio urbi praefecto, et Maximino vicario, confestimque perdendus (ut apparebat) data sibi copia audentius imperatoris praesidium appellavit, nominisque eius perfugio tectus, servabatur incolumis. [23] Super hoc princeps consultus, senatui negotium dedit. Qui cum rem librata iustitia comperisset, eumque ad Boas, Delmatiae locum, exterminasset, aegre imperatoris iracundiam tulit, perciti vehementer, quod hominem addictum (ut ipse proposuerat) morti, clementiori sententia didicerat plexum.

[24] Ob haec et huius modi multa, quae cernebantur in paucis, omnibus timeri sunt coepta. Et ne tot malis dissimulatis, paulatimque serpentibus, acervi crescerent aerumnarum, nobilitatis decreto legati mittuntur: Praetextatus ex urbi praefecto, et ex vicario Venustus, et ex consulari Minervius, oraturi ne delictis supplicia sint grandiora, neve senator quisquam, inusitato et illicito more, tormentis exponeretur. [25] Qui cum intromissi in consistorium haec referrent, negantem Valentinianum se id statuisset, et calumnias perpeti clamitantem, moderate redarguit quaestor Eupraxius, hacque libertate emendatum est crudele praeceptum, supergressum omnia diritatis exempla.

[26] Circa hos dies Lollianus, primae lanuginis adulescens, Lampadi filius ex praefecto, exploratus causam Maximino spectante, convictus codicem noxiarum artium nondum per aetatem firmato consilio, descripsisse, exsulque

mittendus (ut sperabatur) patris impulsu, provocavit ad principem, et iussus ad eius comitatum adduci, de fumo (ut aiunt) in flammam, traditus Phalangio (Baeticae consulari) cecidit funesti carnificis manu.

[27] Super his etiam Tarracius Bassus, postea urbi praefectus, et frater eius Camenius, et Marcianus quidam et Eusaphius, omnes clarissimi, arcessiti in crimen, quod eiusdem conscii veneficiis, aurigam fovere dicebantur Auchenium, documentis etiam tum ambiguis, suffragante absoluti sunt Victorino, ut dispersus prodidit rumor, qui erat amicus Maximino iunctissimus.

[28] Nec minus feminae quoque calamitatum participes fuere similium. Nam ex hoc quoque sexu, peremptae sunt originis altae complures, adulteriorum flagitiis obnoxiae, vel stuprorum. Inter quas notiores fuere Claritas et Flaviana, quarum altera cum duceretur ad mortem, indumento (quo vestita erat) abrepto, ne velamen quidem secreto membrorum sufficiens retinere permissa est. Ideoque carnifex, nefas admisisse convictus immane, vivus exustus est.

[29] Paphius quin etiam et Cornelius, senatores, ambo venenorum artibus pravis se polluisse confessi, eodem pronuntiante Maximino sunt interfecti. Pari sorte etiam procurator monetae extinctus est. Sericum enim, et Asbolum supra dictos, quoniam cum hortaretur passim nominare quos vellent, adiecta religione firmarat, nullum igni vel ferro se puniri iussurum, plumbi validis ictibus interemit. Et post hoc flammis Campensem haruspicem dedit, in negotio eius nullo sacramento constrictus.

[30] Opportunum est (ut arbitror) explanare nunc causam, quae ad exitium praecipitem Aginatum impulit, iam inde a priscis maioribus nobilem, ut locuta est pertinacior fama; nec enim super hoc ulla documentorum rata est fides. [31] Anhelans flatu superbo, Maximinus etiam tum praefectus annonae, nactusque audaciae incitamenta non levia, tendebat ad usque Probi contemptum, viri summatum omnium maximi, iureque praefecturae praetorianae regentis provincias. [32] Quod Aginatus indignissime ferens, dolensque in examinandis causis Maximinum ab Olybrio sibi praelatum, cum esset ipse vicarius Romae, familiari sermone docuit Probum occulte, facile vanum hominem recalcitrantem sublimibus meritis posse opprimi, si ille id fieri censuisset. [33] Has litteras (ut quidam asseverabant), Probus ad Maximinum eruditorem iam in sceleribus, commendatumque principi pertimescens, nullo conscio praeter baiulum, misit. Hisque recitatis, ita homo ferus exarsit, ut machinas omnes in Aginatum deinde commoveret, velut serpens vulnere ignoti cuiusdam attritus. [34] Accessit his alia potior insidiarum materia, quae eundem Aginatum obruit. Victorinum enim defunctum insimulabat, ut Maximini actus (dum supererat) venditantem, cuius ex testamento legata ipse sumpserat non aspernanda, parique petulantia Anepsiae quoque, eius uxori, lites minabatur et iurgia. [35] Quae haec metuens ut Maximini muniretur auxilio, finxit maritum in voluntate, quam condiderat nuper, argenti tria milia pondo eidem reliquisse. Qui aviditate nimia flagrans

(nec enim hoc quoque vitio caruit) petit hereditatis medietatem. Verum etiam hoc (ut parum sufficienti) nequaquam contentus, aliud commentus est (ut arbitrabatur) honestum et tutum, et ne amitteret amplam sibi oblatam lucrandi uberis patrimonii, Victorini privignam, Anepsiae filiam, petit filio coniugem, idque assentiente muliere prompte firmatum est.

[36] Per haec et alia simili maerore deffenda, quae decolorabant speciem urbis aeternae, grassabatur per strages multiplices fortunarum, homo cum gemitu nominandus, ultra forenses terminos semet extentans. Namque et resticulam de fenestra praetorii quadam remota, dicitur semper habuisse suspensam, cuius summitas quaedam velut damnosa colligeret, nullis quidem indiciis fulta, sed nocitura insontibus multis: et Mucianum Barbarumque apparitores aliquotiens discretim trudi iubebat, ad fallendum aptissimos. [37] Hi tamquam heulando casus quibus se simulabant oppressos, iudicis exaggerando crudelitatem, remedium nullum aliud reis ad obtinendam vitam superesse eadem replicando saepe asseverabant, ni criminibus magnis petissent nobiles viros, quibus ad sui societatem annexis facile eos absolvi posse firmabant.

[38] Ob quae implacabilitate ultra apposita iam pergente, manus vinculis sunt artatae complurium, ortuque nobiles inculti videbantur et anxii. Nec eorum culpari quisquam debuit, cum salutantes humum paene curvatis contingentibus membris, persaepe clamantem audirent, spiritus ferini latronem, nullum se invito reperiri posse insontem. [39] Quae verba effectui propere iuncta, terruissent profecto Numae Pompilii similis, et Catonem. Prorsus enim sic agebatur, ut nec in alienis malis quorumdam exarescerent lacrimae: quod in variis et confragosis actibus vitae plerumque contingit. [40] A iure tamen iustitiaque crebro discedens, ferreus cognitor erat uno quasi praecipuo tolerabilis. Interdum enim exoratus parcebat aliquibus, quod prope vitium esse, in hoc loco legitur apud Tullium: ‘Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sunt, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas; quae tamen (ut in malis) acerbitati anteponenda est.’

[41] Post haec praegresso Leone, acceptoque successore, ad principis comitatum Maximinus accitus, auctusque praefectura praetoriana, nihilo lenior fuit, etiam longius nocens, ut basilisci serpentes. [42] In id tempus aut non multo prius, scopae florere sunt visae, quibus nobilitatis curia mundabatur, idque portendebat, extollendos quosdam despiciatissimae sortis ad gradus potestatum excelsos.

[43] Et quamlibet tempestivum est ad ordinem redire coeptorum, tamen nihil impedituri temporum cursus, immorabimur paucis, quae per iniquitatem curantium vicariam praefecturam in urbe, contra quam oportuerat, gesta sunt, quia ad nutum Maximini et voluntatem eisdem ministris velut apparitoribus gerebantur. [44] Post hunc venit Ursicinus ad mitiora propensior, qui quoniam cautus esse voluit et civilis, rettulerat Esaia cum aliis, ob commissum adulterium in Rufinam detentis, Marcellum maritum eius ex agente in rebus reum imminutae maiestatis deferre conari: ideoque ut cunctator contemptus, et

ad haec fortiter exsequenda parum conveniens, e vicaria potestate discessit. [45] Huic successit Hemonensis Simplicius, Maximini consiliarius ex grammatico, per administrationem nec erectus nec tumidus sed obliquo aspectu terribilis, qui compositis ad modestiam verbis acerba meditabatur in multos. Et primo Rufinam, cum universis auctoribus adulterii commissi vel consciis, interfecit, super quibus Ursicinum rettulisse praediximus, alios deinde complures nullo noxiorum discrimine vel insontium. [46] Cruento enim certamine cum Maximino velut antepilano suo contendens, superare eum in succidendis familiarum nobilium nervis studebat, Busirim veterem et Antaeum imitatus et Phalarim, ut taurus ei solus deesse videretur Agrigentinus.

[47] His in hunc modum ac talibus actis, Hesychia quaedam matrona, ob intentatum crimen in domo apparitoris, cui custodienda est tradita, multa pertimescens et saeva, fulcro plumeo vultu contracto incubuit, et animam occluso narium spiramento effudit.

[48] Adiunctum est his aliud haut mitius malum. Eumenius enim et Abienus, ambo ex coetu amplissimo, infamati sub Maximino, in Fausianam feminam non obscuram, post Victorini obitum, quo iuvante vivere securius, Simplicii adventu perterrefacti, non secus volentis maligna cum minis, ad secreta receptacula se contulerunt. [49] Sed Fausiana damnata, inter reos recepti, vocatique edictis, semet abstrusius amendarunt: quorum Abienus apud Anepsiam diu delitescerat. Sed ut solent insperati casus aggravare miserabilis clades, Apaudulus nomine, servus Anepsiae, verberatae coniugis dolore percussus, negotium ad Simplicium detulit, nocte progressus, missique apparitores, indicatos e latebris abstraxerunt. [50] Et Abienus quidem, exaggerate crimine stupri, quod intulisse dicebatur Anepsiae, morte multatus est. Mulier vero ut continendae vitae spem firmam dilato posset habere supplicio, appetitam se nefariis artibus, vim in domo Aginati perpressam, adseveravit. [51] Haec (ut gesta sunt) malignius ad principem Simplicius rettulit, agensque ibi Maximinus infestus, ob causam quam supra docuimus, Aginatio, simultate una cum potestate in maius accensa, oravit impense ut rescriberetur eum occidi: et impetravit facile male sanus incitator et potens. [52] Metuensque gravioris invidiae pondus, ne pronuntiante Simplicio, et consiliario suo et amico, periret homo patriciae stirpis, retinuit apud se paulisper imperiale praeceptum, haerens et ambigens quemnam potissimum exsecutorem atrocis rei fidum inveniret et efficacem. [53] Tandemque, ut solent pares facile congregari cum paribus, Doryphorianus quidam repertus est Gallus, audax ad usque insaniam, cui hanc operam implere brevi pollicito, deferri providit vicariam, et commonitorium cum Augusti litteris tradidit, instruens hominem saevum quidem sed rudem, qua celeritate Aginatum sine ullo deleret obstaculo, dilatione qualibet inventa forsitan evasurum. [54] Festinavit (ut mandatum est) Doryphorianus magnis itineribus Romam, et inter administrandi initia, magna quaeritabat industria, qua vi senatorem perspicui generis interficeret, iuvantibus nullis. Cognitoque eum iam pridem repertum, in villa propria custodiri, ipse tamquam capita sontium Aginatum,

pariterque Anepsiam horrore medio tenebrarum audire disposuit, quo tempore hebetari solent obstrictae terroribus mentes: ut inter innumera multa, Aiax quoque Homericus docet, optans perire potius luce, quam pati formidinis augmenta nocturnae. [55] Et quoniam iudex, quin immo praedo nefandus, ad id solum quod promisit intentus, cuncta extollebat in maius, iusso sub quaestione Aginatio statui, agmina fecit introire carnificum, catenisque sonantibus triste, mancipia squalore diuturno marcentia, in domini caput ad usque ultimum lacerabat exitium, quod in stupri quaestione fieri vetuere clementissimae leges. [56] Denique cum iam contigua morti tormenta ancillae voces expressissent obliquas, indicii fide parum plene discussa, Aginatus ad supplicium duci pronuntiatur abrupte, nec auditus cum magnis clamoribus appellaret nomina principum, sublimis raptus occiditur, pari sententia Anepsia interfecta. Haec agitante (cum adesset) perque emissarios (cum procul ageret) Maximino, funera urbs deploravit aeterna.

[57] Sed vigilarunt ultimae dirae caesorum. Namque ut postea tempestive dicetur, et idem Maximinus sub Gratiano intoleranter se efferens, damnatorio iugulatus est ferro, et Simplicius in Illyrico truncatus, et Doryphorianum pronuntiatum capitis reum, trusumque in carcerem Tullianum, matris consilio, princeps exinde rapuit, reversumque ad lares per cruciatus oppressit immensos. Verum unde huc fleximus revertamur. Is urbanarum rerum status, ut ita dixerim, fuit.

Valentinianus Aug. totam Rheni ripam Gallicam castris, castellis et turribus munit; Alamanni Romanos trans Rhenum munimentum exstruentes interficiunt. Maratocupreni grassatores in Syria iussu Valentis A. cum liberis et vico suo deleti.

At Valentinianus magna animo concipiens et utilia, Rhenum omnem a Raetiarum exordio, ad usque fretalem Oceanum, magnis molibus communiebat, castra extollens altius et castella, turresque assiduas per habiles locos et opportunos, qua Galliarum extenditur longitudo: non numquam etiam ultra flumen aedificiis positis, subradens barbaros fines. [2] Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, praeterlabente Nicro nomine fluvio, paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu immani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit, et quaesitis artificibus peritis aquariae rei, copiosaque militis manu arduum est opus aggressus. [3] Per multos enim dies compaginatae formulae e roboribus, coniectaeque in alveum, fixis refixisque aliquotiens prope ingentibus stilis, fluctibus erectis confundebantur, avulsaeque vi gurgitis interibant. [4] Vicit tamen imperatoris vehementior cura, et morigeri militis labor, mento tenus (dum operaretur) saepe demersi: tandem non sine quorundam discrimine, castra praesidiaria, inquietudini ringentis amnis exempta, nunc valida sunt.

[5] His ac talibus laetus exsultansque exin, quae pro anni et temporis statu utilia conducerent rei publicae studium habuit, ut officio principis congruebat. Ratusque aptissimum ad id quod deliberabat implendum, trans Rhenum in

monte Piri (qui barbaricus locus est) munimentum exstruere disposuit raptim. Utque celeritas effectum negotii faceret tutum, per Syagrium tunc notarium, postea praefectum et consulem, Aratorem monuit ducem, ut dum undique altum esset silentium, id arripere conaretur. [6] Transiit cum notario dux (ut iussum est) statim, fodereque per militem quem duxit fundamenta exorsus, Hermogenen susceperat successorem, eodemque puncto quidam optimates Alamanni venire, obsidum patres, quos lege foederis mansuraeque diutius pacis haut aspernanda pignora tenebamus. [7] Qui flexis poplitibus supplicabant, ne Romani securitatis improvidi, quorum fortunam sempiterna fides caelo contiguam fecit, pravo deciperentur errore, pactisque calcatis, rem adorerentur indignam. [8] Verum haec et similia loquentes in cassum, cum nec audirentur, nec quietum aliquid vel mite referri sentirent, filiorum flentes exitium discesserunt, eisdemque aegre digressis, ex abdito collis propinqui sinu, barbaricus prosiluit globus, optimatibus tum danda responsa (ut intellegi dabatur) opperiens: et adortus milites seminudos, humum etiam tum gestantes, expeditis agiler gladiis, obtruncabant, inter quos etiam duces ambo sunt caesi. [9] Nec indicaturus gesta superfuit quisquam, praeter Syagrium, qui deletis omnibus ad comitatum reversus, irati sententia principis sacramento exutus, abiit ad lares, id commeruisse saevo iudicatus arbitrio, quod evaserit solus.

[10] Haec inter per Gallias latrociniorum rabies saeva scatebat in perniciem multorum, observans celebres vias, fundensque indistanter quidquid inciderat fructuosum. Denique praeter complures alios quos absumpserunt insidiae tales, Constantianus tribunus stabuli impetu est clandestino exceptus, moxque interfectus, Valentiniani affinis, Cerealis et Iustinae germanus.

[11] At procul, tamquam horum similia cientibus furiis, per omne latus Maratocupreni grassatores acerrimi vagabantur, vici huius nominis incolae, in Syria prope Apamiam positi, nimium quantum numero et exquisitis fallaciis abundantes, ideoque formidati, quod mercatorum militumque honoratorum specie sine strepitu ullo diffusi, opimas domos et villas et oppida pervadebant. [12] Nec quisquam adventum eorum cavere poterat inopinum, non destinata, sed varia petentium et longinqua, et quocumque ventus duxerat, inrumpentium: quam ob causam prae ceteris hostibus Saxones timentur ut repentini. Et quamlibet coniurati multorum opes attriverint, oestroque concepti furoris exagitati, strages edidere luctificas, sanguinis nihilo minus avidi quam praedarum, tamen ne per minutias gesta narrando, rectum aliquatenus operis impediam cursum, id unum sufficiet, eorum exitiale poni commentum. [13] Quaesitus in unum impiorum hominum globus, imitatus rationalis officium, ipsumque iudicem, vespertinis tenebris lugubre clamante praecone, civitatem ingressi, ambitiosam domum cuiusdam primatis, ut proscripti iussique interfici, cum gladiis obsederunt, raptaque suppellectili pretiosa, quia subito percussi familiares, hebetatis sensibus non defenderant dominum, caesis pluribus ante revolutam lucem gressu discessere veloci. [14] Verum cum exuviis referti multorum, rapiendi dulcedinem praetermitterent,

interceptam, imperiali motu, oppressi interiere omnes ad unum, eorumque suboles parva etiam tum, ne ad parentum exempla subcresceret, pari sorte deleta est, et lares versi, quos ambitiose luctuosis aliorum dispendiis construxerunt. Et haec quidem textu processere narrato.

Theodosius urbes Britanniae a barbaris vastatas restituit, castella reparat, et provinciam insulae recipit, quae Valentia est appellata.

Theodosius vero dux nominis incluti, animi vigore collecto, ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Britannorum fortunis opem maximam tulit, opportuna ubique ad insidiandum barbaris praeveniens loca, nihilque gregariis imperans, cuius non ipse primitias alacri capesseret mente. [2] Hocque genere cum strenui militis munia et praeclari ducis curas expleret, fuis variis gentibus et fugatis, quas insolentia nutriende securitate, aggredi Romanas res inflammabat, in integrum restituit civitates et castra, multiplicibus quidem damnis afflicta, sed ad quietem temporis longi fundata.

[3] Evenerat autem eodem haec agente facinus dirum, erupturum in periculum grave, ni inter ipsa conatus principia fuisset extinctum. [4] Valentinus quidam natus in Valeria Pannoniae, superbi spiritus homo, Maximini illius exitialis vicarii, postea praefecti coniugis frater, ob grave crimen actus in Britannias exsul, quietis impatiens ut malefica bestia, ad res perniciosas consurgebat et novas, in Theodosium tumore quodam, quem solum resistere posse nefandis cogitationibus advertibat. [5] Multa tamen clam palamque circumspiciens, crescente flatu cupiditatis immensae, exsules sollicitabat et milites, pro temporis captu ausorum illecebras pollicendo mercedes. [6] Iamque propinquante temptatorum effectum, doctus haec unde convenerat, dux alacrior ad audendum, et corde celso ad vindictam compertorum erectus, Valentinum quidem cum paucis arta ei societate iunctissimis, letali poena plectendos, Dulcitio dederat duci: militari scientia vero, qua superabat praesentes, futura coniciens, de coniuratis quaestiones agitari prohibuit, ne formidine sparsa per multos, reviviscerent provinciarum turbines consopiti.

[7] Hinc ad corrigenda plura conversus et necessaria, periculo penitus dempto, cum aperte constaret, nulla eius propitiam deseruisse fortunam, instaurabat urbes et praesidiaria (ut diximus) castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis, recuperatamque provinciam, quae in dicionem concesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut eodem referente et rectorem haberet legitimum, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis, velut ovantis gaudio nuntio inaeestimabili cognito.

[8] Inter haec tam praecipua, Arcanos genus hominum a veteribus institutum, super quibus aliqua in actibus Constantis rettulimus, paulatim prolapsos in vitia a stationibus suis removit: aperte convictos, acceptarum promissarumque magnitudine praedarum allectos, quae apud nos agebantur, aliquotiens barbaris prodidisse. Id enim illis erat officium, ut ultro citroque, per longa spatia discurrentes, vicinarum gentium strepitum nostris ducibus

intimarent.

[9] Ita spectatissime ante dictis rebus aliisque administratis similibus, ad comitatum accitus, tripudiantesque relinquens provincias, ut Furius Camillus vel Cursor Papirius, victoriis crebris et salutaribus erat insignis. Et favore omnium ad usque fretum deductus, leni vento transgressus, venit ad commilitium principis, cumque gaudio susceptus et laudibus, in locum Iovini ut lenti successit, qui equorum copias tuebatur.

De Olybrii et Ampelii Praefectura Urbana; et de vitiis Senatus populi Romani.

Diu multumque a negotiis discussus urbanis, adigente cumulo foris gestorum, ad ea strictim exsequenda regrediar, exorsus ab Olybrii praefectura, tranquilla nimis et leni, qui numquam ab humanitatis statu deiectus, sollicitus erat et anxius, nequid usquam factum eius asperum inveniretur aut dictum, calumniarum acerrimus insectator, fisci lucra unde poterat circumcidens, iustorum iniustorumque distinctor, et arbiter plenus, in subiectos admodum temperatus. [2] Sed obnubilabat haec omnia vitium, parum quidem nocens rei communi, sed in alto iudice maculosum, quod citeriorem vitam paene omnem vergentem in luxum, per argumenta scaenica amoresque peregerat, nec vetitos nec incestos.

[3] Post hunc urbem rexit Ampelius, cupidus ipse quoque voluptatum, Antiochiae genitus, ex magistro officiorum, ad proconsulatum geminum, indeque multo postea ad praefecturae culmen evectus, lectus alia et ad populi favorem adipiscendum aptissimus, non numquam tamen rigidus, atque utinam in proposito perseverans. Correxisset enim ex parte, licet exigua, irritamenta gulae et ganeas taetras, ni flexus in molliora, amisisset gloriam diu victuram.

[4] Namque statuerat, ne taberna vinaria ante horam quartam aperiretur, neve aquam vulgarium calefaceret quisquam, vel usque ad praestitutum diei spatium lixae coctam proponerent carnem, vel honestus quidam mandens videretur in publico. [5] Quae probra aliaque his maiora, dissimulatione iugi neglecta, ita effrenatius exarserunt, ut nec Epimenides ille Cretensis, si fabularum ritu ab inferis excitatus redisset ad nostra, solus purgare sufficeret Romam: tanta plerosque labes insanabilium flagitiorum oppressit.

[6] Et primo nobilitatis, ut aliquotiens pro locorum copia fecimus, dein plebis digeremus errata, incidentia veloci constringentes excessu. [7] Praenomina claritudine conspicui quidam (ut putant) in immensum semet extollunt, cum Reburri et Elabunii et Pagonii Gereonesque appellantur, ac Dalii cum Tarraciis et Perrasiis, aliisque ita decens sonantibus originum insignibus multis. [8] Non nullos fulgentes sericis indumentis, ut ducendos ad mortem, vel ut sine diritate ominis loquamur, praegresso exercitu, arma cogentes, manipulatim concitato fragore sequitur multitudo servorum. [9] Tales ubi comitantibus singulos quinquaginta ministris, tholos introierint balnearum, 'Ubi ubi sunt nostri?' minaciter clamant: si apparuisse subito ignotam compererint meretricem, aut oppidanae quondam prostibulum plebis, vel meritorii corporis veterem lupam, certatim concurrunt, palpanesque advenam,

deformitate magna blanditiarum ita extollunt, ut Samiramim Parthi vel Cleopatras Aegyptus aut Artemisiam Cares vel Zenobiam Palmyreni. Et haec admittunt hi quorum apud maiores censoria nota senator afflictus est, ausus dum adhuc non deceret, praesente communi filia coniugem osculari.

[10] Ex his quidam cum salutari pectoribus oppositis coeperint, osculanda capita in modum taurorum minacium obliquantes, adulatoribus offerunt genua suavianda, vel manus, id illis sufficere ad beate vivendum existimantes, et abundare omni cultu humanitatis peregrinum putantes, cuius forte etiam gratia sunt obligati, interrogatum, quibus thermis utatur aut aquis, aut ad quam successerit domum.

[11] Et cum ita graves sint et cultores virtutum, (ut putant) si venturos undelibet equos aut aurigas quendam didicerint nuntiasse, ita velociter imminet eidem et percunctantur, ut Tyndaridas fratres eorum suspexere maiores, cum priscis illis victoriis indicatis gaudio cuncta complessent.

[12] Horum domus otiosi quidam garruli frequentant, variis assentandi figmentis, ad singula ulterioris fortunae verba plaudentes, parasitorum in comoediis facetias affectando. Ut enim illi sufflant milites gloriosos, obsidiones et pugnas contra milia hostium, eisdem ut heroicis aemulis assignantes, ita hi quoque columnarum constructiones, alta fronte suspensas mirando, atque parietes lapidum circumspectis coloribus nitidos, ultra mortalitatem nobiles viros extollunt. [13] Poscuntur etiam in conviviiis aliquotiens trutinae, ut appositi pisces et volucres ponderentur, et glires, quorum magnitudo saepius replicata, non sine taedio praesentium, ut antehac inusitata, laudatur assidue, maxime cum haec eadem numerantes, notarii triginta prope assistant, cum thecis et pugillaribus tabulis, ut deesse solus magister ludi litterarii videretur.

[14] Quidam detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contrectantes, quam ob causam non iudicioli est nostri. [15] Cum multa et varia pro amplitudine gloriarum et generum lectitare deberent, audientes destinatum poenae Socratem, coniectumque in carcerem, rogasse quendam scite lyrici carmen Stesichori modulantem, ut doceretur id agere, dum liceret: interroganteque musico, quid ei poterit hoc prodesse, morituro postridie, respondisse, 'Ut aliquid sciens amplius e vita discedam.'

[16] Ita autem pauci sunt inter eos severi vindices delictorum ut, si aquam calidam tardius attulerit servus, trecentis affligi verberibus iubeatur: si hominem sponte occiderit propria, instantibus plurimis, ut damnetur ut reus, dominus hactenus exclamabit: 'Quid faciat male factis famosus et nequam? et siquid aliud eius modi deinceps ausus fuerit, corrigetur.'

[17] Civilitatis autem hoc apud eos est nunc summum, quod expedit peregrino fratrem interficere cuiuslibet, quam cum rogatus sit ad convivium excusare: defectum enim patrimonii se opimi perpeti senator existimat, si is defuerit quem aliquotiens libratiss sententiis, invitaverit semel.

[18] Pars eorum si agros visuri processerunt longius, aut alienis laboribus

venaturi, Alexandri Magni itinera se putant aequiperasse, vel Caesaris: aut si a lacu Averni lembis invecti sunt pictis Puteolos, velleri certamen, maxime cum id vaporato audeant tempore. Ubi si inter aurata flabella laciniis sericis insederint muscae, vel per foramen umbraculi pensilis radiolus irruerit solis, queruntur quod non sunt apud Cimmerios nati. [19] Dein cum a Silvani lavacro vel Mamaeae aquis ventitant sospitalibus, ut quisquam eorum egressus, tenuissimis se terserit linteis, solutis pressoriis, vestes luce nitentes ambigua diligenter explorat, quae una portantur sufficientes ad induendos homines undecim: tandemque electis aliquot involutus, receptis anulis quos (ne violentur humoribus) famulo tradidit, digitis ut metatis abit.

[20] Enim vero siqui vetus in commilitio principis recens digressus fuerit in otium ut aevi provecti, ille tali praesente coetu ... mirionum ... cantilenae praesul existimatur: ceteri taciturni audiunt dicta ... solus pater familias textui narrans aliena, et placentia referens, et erudite pleraque fallendo.

[21] Quidam ex his (licet rari) aleatorum vocabulum declinantes, ideoque se cupientes appellari potius tesserarios : inter quos tantum differt, quantum inter fures atque latrones. Hoc tamen fatendum est, quod cum omnes amicitiae Romae tepescant, aleariae solae, quasi gloriosis quaesitae sudoribus, sociales sunt et affectus nimii firmitate plena conexae: unde quidam ex his gregibus inveniuntur ita concordēs, ut Quintilios esse existimes fratres. Ideoque videre licet ignobilem artis tesserariae callentem arcana, ut Catonem Porcium ob repulsam praeturae, nec suspectam antea nec speratam, incedere gravitate composita maestiores, quod ei in maiore convivio vel consessu proconsularis quidam est antelatus.

[22] Subsident aliqui copiosos homines senes aut iuvenes, orbos vel caelibes, aut etiam uxores habentes seu liberos (nec enim hoc titulo discrimen aliquod observatur), ad voluntates condendas allicientes eos praestigiis miris: qui cum, supremis iudiciis ordinatis, quaedam reliquerint his quibus morem gerendo testati sunt, ilico pereunt, ut id impleri sorte factorum operante nec putes, nec facile possit aegritudo testari nec funus comitatur his quisquam.

[23] Alius cum dignitate (licet mediocri), cervice tumida gradiens, notos antea obliquato contuetur aspectu, ut post captas Syracusas existimes reverti Marcellum.

[24] Multi apud eos negantes esse superas potestates in caelo, nec in publicum prodeunt nec prandent nec lavari arbitrantur se cautius posse, antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didicerint, ubi sit verbi gratia signum Mercurii, vel quotam Cancri sideris partem polum discurrens obtineat luna.

[25] Alius si creditorem suum flagitare molestius adverterit debitum, ad aurigam confugit, audentem omnia praelicenter, eumque ut veneficum curat urgeri: unde non nisi reddita cautione, dispendioque afflictus gravi discedit. Et additur huic, debitorem voluntarium includit ut proprium, nec ante eius professionem absolvit.

[26] Parte alia uxor, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, eandem incudem diu

nocturne tundendo, maritum testari compellit, hocque idem ut faciat uxor, urget maritus instanter: et periti iuris altrinsecus assciscuntur, unus in cubiculo alter eius aemulus in triclinio, repugnantia tractaturi: eisdemque subseruntur genitalium factorum interpretes controversi, hinc praefecturas profusius largientes, et sepulturas divitum matronarum; inde ad exsequias virorum iam adventantes necessaria parari oportere iubentes : et testatur ancilla suapte natura pallidior, spiritu pridie consumpto defuncta ... um Roma atque, ut Tullius ait: 'Nec in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit: amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus se sperant maximum fructum esse capturos.'

[27] Cumque mutuum illi quid petunt, soccatos ut Miconas videbis et Lachetas: cum adiguntur ut reddant, ita cothurnatos et turgidos, ut Heraclidas illos Cresphontem et Temenum putes. Hactenus de senatu.

[28] Nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem. In qua nitent, ut nominibus cultis, quidam calceorum expertes, ut Messores Statarii Semicupae et Serapini, et Cicimbricus cum Gluturino et Trulla, et Lucanicus cum Pordaca et Salsula, similesque innumeri. [29] Hi omne quod vivunt, vino et tesseris impendunt et lustris, et voluptatibus et spectaculis: eisque templum et habitaculum et contio et cupitorum spes omnis Circus est maximus: et videre licet per fora et compita et plateas et conventicula, circulos multos collectos in se controversis iurgiis ferri, aliis aliud (ut fit) defendentibus. [30] Inter quos hi qui ad satietatem vixerunt, potiores auctoritate longaeva, per canos et rugas clamitant saepe, rem publicam stare non posse, si futura concertatione, quem quisque vindicat, carceribus non exsiluerit princeps, et inominalibus equis, parum cohaerenter circumflexerit metam. [31] Et ubi neglegentiae tanta est caries, exoptato die equestrium ludorum illucescente, nondum solis puro iubare, effusius omnes festinant praecipites, ut velocitate currus ipsos anteeant certaturos: super quorum eventu discissi votorum studiis anxii, plurimi agunt pervigiles noctes.

[32] Unde si ad theatralem ventum fuerit vilitatem, artifices scaenarii per sibilos exploduntur, siqui sibi aere humiliorem non conciliaverit plebem. Qui si defuerit strepitus, ad imitationem Tauricae gentis, peregrinos vociferantur pelli debere, quorum subsidiis semper nisi sunt ac steterunt, et taetris vocibus et absurdis; quae longe abhorrent a studiis et voluntate veteris illius plebis, cuius multa facete dicta memoria loquitur et venuste. [33] Id enim nunc repertum est pro sonitu laudum impensiore, per applicatos homines ad plaudendum, ut in omni spectaculo exodiario venatori aurigae et histrionum generi omni, et iudiciis celsis, itidemque minoribus, nec non etiam matronis, clametur assidue: 'Per te illi discant'; quid autem debeat disci, nemo sufficit explanare.

[34] In his plerique distentioribus saginis addicti, praeunte nidoris indagine, acutisque vocibus feminarum, a galliciniis ipsis, in modum pavonumieiunitate clangentium, humum summis pedum unguibus contingentes, aulis assistunt, digitos praerodentes, dum patinae defervescunt: alii nauseam

horridae carnis, dum excoquitur, intentius despectantes, ut discissarum pecudum exta rimari cum anatomicis Democritum putes, docentem quibus modis posteritas mederi doloribus possit internis.

[35] Sit satis interim haec digessisse super rebus urbanis. Nunc redeamus ad cetera, quae per provincias agitavere multiplices casus.

Saxones in Gallia, post factas indutias, a Romanis insidiis circumventi. Valentinianus data fide iungendi copias, Burgundiones Alamanniae immisit, qui decepti et illusi, captivis omnibus occisis domum redierunt.

Erupt Augustis ter consulibus Saxonum multitudo, et Oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, saepe nostrorum funeribus pasta: cuius eruptionis primae procellam Nannenus sustinuit comes, regionibus eisdem appositus, dux diuturno bellorum labore compertus. [2] Sed tunc ad mortem destinatae plebi congressus, cum milites quosdam ruisse, et se vulneratum imparem fore certaminibus adverteret crebris, docto imperatore quid agi deberet, id est adeptus, ut peditum magister Severus opitulatum rebus dubiis adveniret. [3] Qui ducens militem rei sufficientem, cum venisset ad loca, discriminatis ordinibus, superbos barbaros ante colluctationem adeo terruit et turbavit, ut nec controversas opponerent manus, sed signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestrici, venialem poscerent pacem. [4] Diuque variatis consiliis, cum id rei publicae conducere videretur, pactis indutiis, et datis ex condicione proposita iuvenibus multis, habilibus ad militiam, discedere permissi sunt Saxones, sine impedimento, unde venerant, reversuri. [5] Quibus omni iam formidine vacuis, reditumque parantibus, occulte pedites missi, insidias in abdita quadam valle struxerunt, unde praetereuntes aggredi negotio poterant levi. Sed longe secus accidit quam sperabatur. [6] Sonitu enim adventantium perciti, exsiluere quidam intempestive, visique subito, dum se firmare festinant, ululantibus lugubre barbaris, vertuntur in pedes. Stetere tamen mox conglobati, extremaque sorte vires (licet non integras) suggerente, configere cgebantur, multaque caede perculsi, concidissent nullo relicto, ni cataphractorum equitum cuneus, ad inferendum periculum transeuntibus barbaris, ex alio latere prope divortium itineris, pari modo locatus, clamore percitus tristi, agiler subvenisset. [7] Exin concursus infestius, firmatisque pectoribus, hinc inde incumbentes Romani clausos hostes eductis gladiis obtruncabant: nec quisquam eorum genitales revisere potuit lares, ne uno quidem caedibus concorporalium superesse permissio. Ac licet iustus quidam arbiter rerum, factum incusabit perfidum et deforme, pensato tamen negotio, non feret indigne manum latronum exitialem tandem copia data consumptam.

[8] Post haec ita prospere consummata, Valentinianus versando sententias multiformes, anxia sollicitudine stringebatur, reputans multa et circumspiciens, quibus commentis Alamannorum et Macriani regis frangeret fastus, sine fine vel modo rem Romanam irrequietis motibus confundentis. [9] Immanis enim natio iam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta, ita saepius adulescit, ut fuisse longis saeculis aestimetur intacta.

Seditque consilia alia post alia imperatori probanti, Burgundios in eorum excitari perniciem, bellicosos et pubis immensae viribus affluentes, ideoque metuendos finitimis universis. [10] Scribebatque frequenter ad eorum reges per taciturnos quosdam et fidos, ut eisdem tempore praestituto supervenirent, pollicitus ipse quoque, transito cum Romanis agminibus Rheno, occurrere pavidis, pondus armorum vitantibus insperatum.

[11] Gratanter ratione gemina principis acceptae sunt litterae: prima quod iam inde a temporibus priscis subolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt, dein quod salinarum finiumque causa Alamannis saepe iurgabant. Et catervas misere lectissimas, quae antequam milites congregarentur in unum, ad usque ripas Rheni progressae, imperatore ad struenda munimenta districto, terrori nostris fuere vel maximo. [12] Igitur paulisper morati, cum neque Valentinianus (ut spoponderat) die praedicto venisset, nec promissorum aliquid adverterent factum, ad comitatum misere legatos, poscentes adminicula sibi dari, redituris ad sua, ne nuda hostibus exponerent terga. [13] Quod ubi negari per ambages sentirent et moras, maesti exinde discesserunt et indignati. Hocque comperto, reges ut ludibrio habiti saevientes, captivis omnibus interfectis, genitales repetunt terras.

[14] Apud hos generali nomine rex appellatur Hendinos, et ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra, ut solent Aegyptii casus eius modi suis assignare rectoribus. Nam sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus vocatur Sinistus, et est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges.

[15] Per hanc occasionem impendio tempestivam, Alamannos gentis ante dictae metu dispersos, aggressus per Raetias Theodosius (ea tempestate magister equitum) pluribus caesis, quoscumque cepit ad Italiam iussu principis misit, ubi fertilibus pagis acceptis, iam tributarii circumcolunt Padum.

Clades Tripoli provinciae, Lepcitanis et Oeensibus ab Austorianis illatae, et fraude Romani comitis Valentiniano occultatae, et minime vindicatae.

Hinc (tamquam in orbem migrantes alium) ad Tripoleos Africanae provinciae veniamus aerumnas, quas (ut arbitror) Iustitia quoque ipsa deflevit, quae unde instar exarsere flammaram, textus aperiet absolutus. [2] Austoriani his contermini partibus barbari, in discursus semper expediti veloces, vivereque assueti rapinis et caedibus, paulisper pacati, ad genuinos turbines revoluti sunt, hanc causam praetendentes ut seriam. [3] Stachao quidam nomine popularis eorum, ut in otio nostra peragrando licentius agebat quaedam vetita legibus, inter quae illud potius eminebat, quod provinciam omni fallaciarum via prodere conabatur, ut indicia docuere verissima: quocirca supplicio flammaram absumptus est.

[4] Huius necem ulcisci, ut propinqui damnatique iniuste causantes, ferarum similes rabie concitarum, exsiluere sedibus suis, Ioviano etiam tum imperante, veritique prope Leptim accedere, civitatem muris et populo validam, suburbano eius uberrimo insedere per triduum, mactatisque agrestibus, quos

inopinus hebetaverat pavor, vel confugere coegerat ad speluncas, incensa suppellectili multa, quae vehi non poterat, referti rapinis reverterunt ingentibus, trahentes captivum Silvam quoque casu cum caritatibus in agro inventum, ordinis sui primatem.

[5] Hac subita clade Leptitani perterriti, ante incrementa malorum, quae intentabat barbaricus tumor, praesidium imploravere Romani, comitis per Africam recens provecti. Qui cum venisset, militaris copias ducens, ferreque opem rebus rogaretur afflictis, non nisi abundanti commeatu aggesto, et camelorum quattuor milibus apparatis, castra firmabat esse moturum. [6] Hocque responso, miserandis civibus stupefactis, atque negantibus, sufficere se posse post vastationes et incendia ita enormibus instrumentis remedia quaerere damnorum immanium, dissimulanter diebus ibi quadraginta consumptis, nullo temptato, inde discesserat comes.

[7] Qua spe Tripolitani frustrati, formidantesque extrema, allapso legitimo die concilii, quod apud eos est annuum, Severum et Flaccianum creavere legatos, Victoriarum aurea simulacra Valentiniano ob imperii primitias oblaturus, utque lacrimosas provinciae ruinas docerent intrepide. [8] Quibus compertis, Romanus, misso equite velocissimo, magistrum officiorum petit Remigium, affinem suum vel rapinarum participem, ut provideret imperatoris arbitrio cognitionem huius negotii Vincentio vicario sibi deferri. [9] Venerunt in comitatum legati, aditoque principe, verbis quae perpeSSI sunt ostenderunt: obtulerunt decreta, textum continentia rei totius. Quibus lectis cum neque relationi officiorum magistri, faventis Romani flagitiis, nec contraria referentibus crederetur, promissa disceptatio plena dilata est eo more, quo solent inter potiorum occupationes ludi potestates excelsae.

[10] Dum remedia quaedam a commilitio principis exspectantur, suspensis Tripolitanis, diuque anxiis, rursus globi supervenere barbarici, fiducia sublata praeteritorum, Leptitanoque agro et Oensi interneciva populatione transcurtis, expleti praedarum acervis ingentibus, abscesserunt, occisis decurionibus multis, inter quos Rusticianus sacerdotalis, et Nicasius enitebat aedilis. [11] Haec autem eruptio ideo arceri non potuit, quod ad legatorum preces negotiorum quoque militarium cura praesidi delata Ruricio, mox translata est ad Romanum. [12] Et iam recens inflictae cladis nuntius missus ad Gallias, excitavit acrius principem. Ideoque tribunus et notarius Palladius mittitur, ut et militi disperso per Africam praeberet stipendium debitum, et gesta per Tripolim fide congrua scrutaretur.

[13] Inter tales tamen consulendi moras exspectandique responsa, Austoriani successu gemino insolentes, ut rapaces alites advolarunt, irritamento sanguinis atrocius efferatae; cunctisque (nisi quos fuga discriminibus eximeret) interemptis, praedas quas antehac reliquerant, avexerunt arboribus exsectis et vitibus. [14] Tunc Mychon quidam nobilis oppidanus et potens, captus in suburbano lapsusque, antequam vinciretur, quia pedibus aeger evadere penitus vetabatur, in puteum aquis vacuum sese coniecit, unde costa diffracta levatus a barbaris, ductusque prope portas, coniugis miseratione redemptus est, et ad

pinnae muri fune sublatus post biduum interiit. [15] Unde elati in pertinaciam saevissimi grassatores, ipsa pulsare moenia Leptitana, funestis plangoribus resonantia feminarum, quas numquam antea hostiliter clausas pavor exanimabat insolitus, obsessaque urbe per octo continuos dies, cum quidam oppugnatores sine ullo vulnerarentur effectu, redierunt ad propria tristiores.

[16] Ob quae super salute dubii cives, ultimaque temptantes, profectis ante legatis nondum reversis, Iovinum mittunt atque Pancratium, quae viderint, quaeque ipsi perpassi sint, imperatorem fida relatione docturos. Qui Severum apud Carthaginem inventum et Flaccianum superiores illos legatos percontando quid egerint, cognoverunt eos audiri a vicario iussos et comite. E quibus Severus ilico perit vexatus acerbitate morborum: nihilo minus tamen properarunt ad comitatum magnis itineribus ante dicti.

[17] Ingresso post haec Palladio Africam, Romanus, quas ob res venerat ante praestructurus, ut securitatem suam in tuto locaret, numerorum principiiis per quosdam secretorum mandaverat conscios, ut ei tamquam potenti et palatii summatibus proximo, stipendii, quod pertulerat, praestarent maximam partem: et ita est factum. [18] Confestimque ille ditatus perrexit ad Lepcim, utque ad veritatis perveniret indaginem, Erechthium et Aristomenem facundos municipales et insignes, libere suas civiumque et finitimorum retexentes aerumnas, ad loca vastata secum eduxit. [19] Quibus aperte cuncta monstrantibus, luctuosis provinciae cineribus visis revertit, Romanumque ut desidem increpans, relaturum se cuncta verissime, quae viderat, minabatur ad principem. Atque ille ira percitus et dolore, se quoque mox referre firmavit, quod missus ut notarius incorruptus, donativum militis omne in quaestus averterit proprios. [20] Qua gratia flagitiorum arbitra conscientia, cum Romano deinde Palladius concordabat, reversusque ad comitatum, arte mendaciorum impia Valentinianum fefellerat, Tripolitanos frustra queri commemorans. Ideoque rursus ad Africam cum Iovino postremo omnium legatorum Remittitur — Pancratius enim decesserat apud Treveros — ut cum vicario ipse merita legationis quoque secundae spectaret: praeter haec linguas Erechthi et Aristomenis praecidi iusserat imperator, quos invidiosa quaedam locutos idem Palladius intimarat.

[21] Secutus, ut statutum est, vicarius notarius venit ad Tripolim. Hocque comperto Romanus domesticum suum illuc volucriter misit, et Caecilium consiliarium in ea provincia genitum, per quos — incertum pretio an fallaciis — circumventi municipales omnes gravabant Iovinum, destinatus asserentes nihil eorum mandasse, quae docuerat principem: eo usque iniquitate grassante ut ipse quoque Iovinus ad salutis suae discrimen confiteretur se imperatori mentitum.

[22] Quibus per Palladium regressum iam cognitis, Valentinianus ad acerbitem proclivior Iovinum quidem ut auctorem, Caelestinum vero Concordiumque et Lucium ut falsi conscios et participes puniri supplicio capitali praecepit, Ruricium autem praesidem ut mendacem morte multari, hoc quoque accedente quod in relatione eius verba quaedam (ut visum est)

immodica legebantur. [23] Ac Ruricius quidem apud Sitifim caesus est, reliqui apud Uticam sententia vicarii Crescentis addicti. Flaccianus tamen ante legatorum interitum, cum a vicario audiretur et comite, constanter saluti suae propugnans, acclamationibus iratorum militum impetuque cum conviciis paene confossus est, obicientium, ideo Tripolitanos non potuisse defendi, quod ipsi ad expeditionalis usus praebere necessaria detrectarunt. [24] Et ob haec trusus in carcerem, dum consultus super eo, quid conveniret agi, decerneret imperator, sollicitatis (ut dabatur opinari) custodibus, in urbem Romam abierat profugus, ibique delitescens, fatali lege discessit.

[25] Hoc memorando fine externis domesticisque cladibus vexata, conticuit Tripolis, non indefensa, quia vigilavit Iustitiae oculus sempiternus, ultimaeque legatorum et praesidis dirae. Diu enim postea huius modi casus emersit: solutus sacramento Palladius, destitutusque fastu quo tumebat, discessit ad otium. [26] Et cum Theodosius dux exercituum ille magnificus, oppressurus Firmum perniciose coeptantem, venisset in Africam, et proscripti Romani rem mobilem (ut iussum est) scrutaretur, inter chartas eius inventa est et Meteri cuiusdam epistula, id continens ‘Domino patrono Romano Meterius,’ et in fine post multa nihil ad rem pertinentia: ‘Salutat te Palladius proiecticius, qui non aliam ob causam dicit se esse proiectum, nisi quod in causa Tripolitanorum apud aures sacras mentitus est.’ [27] His litteris ad comitatum missis et lectis, Valentiniani iussu Meterius raptus, suam esse confitetur epistulam, ideoque Palladius exhiberi praeceptus, cogitans quas criminum coxerit moles, in statione primis tenebris observata custodum absentia, qui festo die Christiani ritus in ecclesia pernoctabant, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit. [28] Hoc fortunae secundioris iudicio plene comperto, deletoque tristium concitore turbarum, exsilerunt Erechthius et Aristomenes e latebris, qui cum sibi iussas abscidi linguas didicissent, ut prodigas, ad longe remota declinarunt et abdita, doctoque super nefanda fraude Gratiano imperatore fidentius — Valentinianus enim obierat — ad Hesperium proconsulem et Flavianum vicarium audiendi sunt missi, quorum aequitas auctoritate mixta iustissima, torto Caecilio, aperta confessione cognovit, ipsum suasisse civibus suis, ut gravarent mentiendo legatos. Haec acta secuta est relatio gestorum pandens plenissimam fidem; ad quam nihil responsum est.

[29] Et nequid cothurni terribilis fabulae relinquerent intemptatum, hoc quoque post depositum accessit aulaeum. Romanus ad comitatum profectus secum Caecilium duxit, cognitores accusaturum, ut inclinatos in provinciae partem: isque Merobaudis favore susceptus, necessarios sibi plures petierat exhiberi. [30] Qui cum Mediolanum venissent, frustra se tractos ob similitudines documentis probabilibus ostendissent, absoluti redierunt ad lares. Valentiniano tamen superstite, post superiora quae narravimus, Remigius quoque digressus ad otium, laqueo vitam elisit, ut congruo docebimus loco.

LIBER XXIX.

[1] Theodorus notarius imperium affectat, et apud Valentem Antiochiae accusatus maiestatis, convictusque cum plurimis criminis consciis interficitur.

Exacta hieme rex Persarum gentium Sapor, pugnarum fiducia pristinorum immaniter arrogans, suppleto numero suorum abundeque firmato, erupturos in nostra cataphractus et sagittarios et conductam miserat plebem. [2] Contra has copias, Traianus comes et Vadamarius ex rege Alamannorum cum agminibus perrexere pervalidis, hoc observare principis iussu appositi, ut arcerent potius quam lacerarent Persas. [3] Qui cum venissent Vagabanta, legionibus habilem locum, rapidos turmarum procursus hostilium in se ruentium acriter exceperunt inviti, operaque consulta retrocedentes, ne ferro violarent adversorum quemquam primi, et iudicarentur discissi foederis rei, ultima trudente necessitate, congressi sunt, confossisque multis, discessere victores.

[4] Inter moras tamen utrimque secus temptatis aliquotiens levibus proeliis, varioque finitis eventu, pactis indutiis ex consensu, aestateque consumpta, partium discessere ductores, etiam tum discordes. Et rex quidem Parthus, hiemem Ctesiphonte acturus, rediit ad sedes, et Antiochiam imperator Romanus ingressus. Qui, dum ibi moratur securus interim hostium externorum, intestinis paene perierat fraudibus, ut aperiet series delata gestorum.

[5] Procopius quidam, inquit homo, turbarum cupiditati semper addictus, Anatolium detulerat et Spudadium palatinos, exigui quae de aerario interceperant iussos, insidiari comiti Fortunatiano, molesto illi flagitatori. Qui animi asperitate confestim ad insanum percitus modum, pro potestatis auctoritate, quam regebat, Palladium quendam obscurissime natum ut veneficum a memoratis conductum, et Heliodorum, factorum per genituras interpretem, adigendos prodere quae scirent, praetorianae iudicio tradidit praefecturae. [6] Cumque ad facti vel temptati quaestionem acrius veniretur, exclamabat Palladius confidenter, levia esse haec de quibus agitur, et praetereunda: alia se (si licuerit dicere) monstraturum, metuenda et potiora, quae ingenti molimine iam praestructa (nisi prospectum fuerit) universa confundent. Iussusque docere fidenter quae norat, rudentem explicavit immensum, affirmans Fidustium praesidiale, et cum Irenaeo Pergamium, nomen imperaturi post Valentem detestandis praesagiis didicisse secretim. [7] Et correptus Fidustius ilico (namque aderat forte,) occulteque inductus, indice viso, nulla infitiatione obumbrare iam publicata conatus, rei totius calamitosum aperit textum, absolute confessus, se cum Hilario et Patricio vaticinandi peritis, quorum Hilarius militaverat in palatio, de imperio consuluisse futuro: motasque secretis artibus sortes, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipsis consultoribus luctuosos exitus praedixisse. [8] Atque cunctantibus quisnam ea tempestate omnibus vigore animi antistaret, visus est aliis excellere Theodorus, secundum inter notarios adeptus iam gradum. Et

erat re vera ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliis natus, et liberaliter educatus a primis pueritiae rudimentis, modestia prudentia humanitate gratia litteris ornatissimus, semper officio locoque, quem retinebat, superior videbatur, altis humilibusque iuxta acceptus. Solusque paene omnium erat, cuius linguam non infrenem, sed dispicientem quae loqueretur, nullius claudebat periculi metus. [9] His addebat idem Fidustius, excarnificatus iam ad interitum, omnia quae praedixit, se indicante Theodorum per Euserium didicisse, virum praestabilem scientia litterarum, abundeque honoratum: Asiam quippe paulo ante rexerat pro praefectis. [10] Quo in custodia condito, gestorumque volumine imperatori recitato de more, prodigiosa feritas in modum ardentissimae facis fusius vagabatur, elata turpi adulatione multorum, maximeque omnium praefecti praetorio tunc Modesti. [11] Qui dum formidine successoris agitaretur in dies, obumbratis blanditiarum concinnitatibus, cavillando Valentem, subrusticum hominem, sibi varie commulcebat, horridula eius verba et rudia flosculos Tullianos appellans, et ad extollendam eius vanitiam, sidera quoque, si iussisset, exhiberi posse promittens.

[12] Igitur et Theodorus a Constantinopoli, quam ex negotio familiari petierat, rapi celeri iubetur effectum, et dum ille reducit, ex praeiudiciis variis, quae diebus exercebantur et noctibus, plures a disiunctissimis regionibus trahebantur, dignitatibus et nobilitate conspicui. [13] Cumque nec carceres publici, iam distenti, inclusorum catervas, nec privata domicilia sustinerent, constipatione vaporata confertas, quoniam vinculis maxima pars eorum attinebatur, et suam et proximi cuiusque vicem omnes horrebant. [14] Advenit aliquando tamen ipse quoque Theodorus, praemortuus et atratus, quo in devia territorii parte abscondito, paratis omnibus quae indagines futurae poscebant, internarum cladum litui iam sonabant.

[15] Et quia fallere non minus videtur, qui gesta praeterit sciens, quam ille, qui numquam facta confingit, non abnuimus (neque enim ambigitur) salutem Valentis, et antea saepius per occultas coitiones, et tunc in extrema demersam, ferrumque ad iugulum eius prope adactum a militaribus, fato reflectente depulsum, quem lacrimosis in Thracia discriminibus destinarat. [16] Namque et in nemoroso quodam inter Antiochiam et Seleuciam loco leni quiete post meridiem consopitus, a Sallustio tunc scutario, et saepe alias appetenter insidiantibus multis, vitae terminis a primigenio ortu adscriptis, ausa immania frenantibus evadebat. [17] Ut sub principibus Commodo et Severo non numquam accidebat, quorum summa vi salus crebro oppugnabatur, adeo ut post intestina pericula multa et varia alter in amphitheatrali cavea cum affuturus spectaculis introiret, a Quintiano senatore illicitae cupidinis homine, ad debilitatem paene pugione vulneraretur; alter inopinabili impetu, tempore aetatis extremo, a Saturnino centurione, consilio Plautiani praefecti, in cubiculo iacens confoderetur, ni tulisset suppetias filius adulescens. [18] Quocirca etiam Valens erat venia dignus, vitam, quam ereptum ire perfidi properabant, omni cautela defendens. Sed inexpiable illud erat, quod regaliter turgidus, pari eodemque iure, nihil inter se distantibus meritis, nocentes

innocentesque maligna insectatione volucriter perurgebat, ut dum adhuc dubitaretur de crimine, imperatore non dubitante de poena, damnatos se quidam prius discerent quam suspectos. [19] Adulescebat autem obstinatum eius propositum, admovente stimulos avaritia, et sua et eorum qui tune in regia versabantur, novos hiatus aperientium, et, siqua humanitatis fuisset mentio rara, hanc appellantium tarditatem: qui cruentis adulationibus, institutum hominis mortem in acie linguae portantis, ad partem pessimam depravantes, omnia turbine intempestivo perflabant, eversum ire funditus domus opulentissimas festinantes. [20] Erat enim expositus accessu insidiantium et reclusus, vitio gemino perniciose implicitus, quod intoleranter irascebatur, tune magis cum eum puderet irasci, et quae facilitate privati opertis susurris audierat, an vera essent, excutere tumore principis supersedens pro veris accipiebat et certis. [21] Inde factum est ut clementiae specie penatibus multi protruderentur insontes, praeceps in exilium acti, quorum in aerario bona coacta et ipse ad quaestus proprios redigebat, ut damnati cibo precario victitarent, angustis formidandae paupertatis attriti, cuius metu vel in mare nos ire praecipites suadet Theognis poeta vetus et prudens. [22] Quae etiam si recta fuisse concesserit quisquam, erat tamen ipsa nimietas odiosa. Unde animadversum est recte hoc definitum, nullam esse crudeliorem sententiam ea, quae est (cum parcere videtur) asperior.

[23] Igitur cum praefecto praetorio summatibus quaesitis in unum, quibus cognitiones commissae sunt, intenduntur eculi, expediuntur pondera plumbea, cum fidiculis et verberibus, resultabant omnia truculentae vocis horroribus, inter catenarum sonitus ‘Tene, claude, comprime, abde’ ministris officiorum tristium clamitantibus. [24] Et quoniam addici post cruciabiles poenas vidimus multos, ut in tenebrosis rebus confusione cuncta miscente, summatim quia nos penitissima gestorum memoria fugit, quae recolere possumus, expeditius absolvemus.

[25] Primo intro vocatus post interrogatiunculas leves, Pergamius, a Palladio (ut dictum est) proditus, quaedam imprecationibus praescisse nefariis, sicut erat impendio eloquentior, et in verba periculosa proiectus, inter ambigentes iudices, quid prius quaeri debeat quidve posterius, dicere audacter exorsus, multa hominum milia quasi consciorum sine fine strependo fundebat, modo non ab extremo Atlante magnorum criminum arguendos poscens aliquos exhiberi. Quo (ut consarcinante nimis ardua) morte multato, aliisque gregatim post illum occisis, ad ipsius Theodori causam quasi ad Olympici certaminis pulverem pervenitur. [26] Eodem die inter complura alia hoc quoque evenerat triste, quod Salia, thesaurorum paulo ante per Thracias comes, cum de vinculis educitur audiendus, et calceo inserit pedem, quasi ruina incidentis immensi terroris repente percussus, animam inter retinentium manus efflavit.

[27] Constituto itaque iudicio, et cognitoribus praescripta ostendantibus legum, sed ex voluntate dominantis moderantibus momenta causarum, horror pervaserat universos. Totus enim devius ab aequitate dilapsus, iamque eruditior ad laedendum, in modum harenariae ferae, si admotus quisquam

fabricae diffugisset, ad ultimam rabiem saeviebat.

[28] Inducti itaque Patricius et Hilarius, ordinemque replicare iussi gestorum, cum inter exordia variarent, fodicatis lateribus, illato tripede quo utebantur, adacti ad summas angustias, aperiunt negotii fidem, ab ipsis exordiis replicatam. Et prius Hilarius:

[29] ‘Construximus,’ inquit, ‘magnifici iudices, ad cortinae similitudinem Delphicae, diris auspiciis, de laureis virgulis infaustam hanc mensulam, quam videtis, et imprecationibus carminum secretorum, choragiisque multis ac diuturnis, ritualiter consecratam, movimus tandem: movendi autem quotiens super rebus arcanis consulebatur, erat institutio talis. [30] Collocabatur in medio domus, emaculatae odoribus Arabicis undique, lance rotunda pure superposita, ex diversis metallicis materiis fabrefacta. Cuius in ambitu rotunditatis extremo, elementorum viginti quattuor scriptiles formae incisae perite, diiungebantur spatiis examinate dimensis. [31] Ac linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatusque itidem linteis soccis, torulo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felicitis arboris gestans, litato conceptis carminibus numine, praescitorum auctore, caerimoniali scientia supersistit cortinulae sacerdos pensilem anulum librans, aptum ex Carphathio filo perquam levi, mysticis disciplinis initiatum: qui per intervalla distincta, retinentibus singulis litteris, incidens saltuatim, heroos efficit versus, interrogationibus consonos, ad numeros et modos plene conclusos, quales leguntur Pythici vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum. [32] Ibi turn quaerentibus nobis, ‘qui praesenti succedet imperio’?, quoniam omni parte expolitus fore memorabatur, et assiliens anulus, duas perstrinxerat syllabas θεο cum adiectione litterae posterae, exclamavit praesentium quidam, Theodorum praescribente fatali necessitate portendi. Nec ultra super negotio est exploratum: satis enim apud nos constabat hunc esse qui poscebatur.’

[33] Cumque totius rei notitiam ita signate sub oculis iudicum subiecisset, adiecit benivole id Theodorum penitus ignorare. Post haec interrogati an ex fide sortium quas agitabant, ea praescierint quae sustinerent, versus illos notissimos ediderunt clare pronuntiantes capitalem eis hanc operam scrutandi sublimiora cito futuram; nihilo minus tamen ipsi quoque cum cognitoribus principi caedis incendiaque flatantes, furias imminere; quorum tres ponere sufficet ultimos:

οὐ μὰν νηποινὶ γε σὸν ἔσσεται αἶμα καὶ αὐτοῖς
τισιφὸνῃ βαρὺμηνὶς ἐφοπλίσσει κακὸν οἶτον
ἐν πεδίοισι μίμαντος ἀγαιομένοιο ἄρης.

Quibus lectis, unguibus male mulcati, separantur exanimis. [34] Postea ut cogitati sceleris officina pateret aperte, honoratorum inducitur globus, vertex ipsos continens rerum. Cumque nihil praeter se quisque cernens, ruinam suam impelleret super alium, permissio quaesitorum coeptans dicere Theodorus, primo in precem venialem prostratus, dein artius respondere compulsus, ostendit se cognita per Euserium, ne ad imperatorem referret, ut conatus est aliquotiens, ab eo prohibitum, asserente, non appetitu regni occupandi illicito,

sed ratione quadam indeclinabilis fati, id quod sperabatur ultro venturum. [35] Deinde haec eadem Euserio sub cruenta quaestione confesso, confutabant Theodorum litterae suae, per ambagis obliquas ad Hilarium scriptae, quibus spe iam firma concepta ex vatibus, de re non cunctabatur, sed tempus patrandae cupidinis quaeritabat.

[36] Quibus post haec cognita sequestratis, Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tune obtinens potestate, ut factionis conscius arcessitus in crimen, abscessit innocuus, Pasiphilo eximente philosopho, qui ut eum mendacio iniusto perverteret, crudeliter tortus, de statu robustae mentis non potuit deturbari. [37] His accessit philosophus Simonides, adulescens ille quidem, verum nostra memoria severissimus. Qui cum audisse negotium per Fidustium deferretur, et causam non ex veritate sed ex unius nutu pensari vidisset, didicisse se dixit praedicta, sed commissa pro firmitate animi tacuisse.

[38] Quis omnibus perspicaciter inquisitis, imperator cognitorum consultationi respondens, sub uno proloquio cunctos iubet occidi, et vix sine animorum horrore funestum spectaculum multitudine innumera contuente, et onerante questibus caelum (namque singulorum mala omnium esse communia credebantur), ducti universi flebiliter iugulantur praeter Simonidem, quem solum saevus ille sententiae lator, efferatus ob constantiam gravem, iusserat flammis exuri. [39] Qui vitam ut dominam fugitans ravidam, ridens subitas momentorum ruinas, immobilis conflagravit, Peregrinum ilium imitatus (Protea cognomine) philosophum clarum, qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiae quinquennali certamine sub Graeciae conspectu totius, escenso rogo quem ipse construxit, flammis absumptus est. [40] Et post hunc diebus secutis, omnium fere ordinum multitudo, quam nominatim recensere est arduum, in plagas calumniarum coniecta, percussorum dexteris fatigavit, tormentis et plumbo et verberibus ante debilitata, sumptumque est de quibusdam sine spiramento vel mora supplicium, dum quaeritur an sumi deberet, et ut pecudum ubique trucidatio cernebatur.

[41] Deinde congesti innumeri codices, et acervi voluminum multi, sub conspectu iudicum concremati sunt, ex domibus eruti variis ut illiciti, ad leniendam caesorum invidiam, cum essent plerique liberalium disciplinarum indices variarum et iuris.

[42] Neque ita multo post Maximus ille philosophus, vir ingenti nomine doctrinarum, cuius ex uberrimis sermonibus ad scientiam copiosus Iulianus exstitit imperator, oraculi supra dicti versus audisse insimulatus, seque comperisse assensus, sed reticenda professionis consideratione non effudisse, verum ultro praedixisse consultores ipsos suppliciis poenalibus perituros, Ephesum ad genuinam patriam ductus, ibique capite truncatus, sensit docente periculo postremo quaesitoris iniquitatem omnibus esse criminibus graviorem.

[43] Constrictus etiam Diogenes laqueis impiae falsitatis, vir nobili prosapia editus, ingenio facundia forti suavitateque praestans, dudum Bithyniae rector, ut opimum patrimonium eius diriperetur, capitali est poena affectus. [44] Ecce autem Alypius quoque, ex vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo iucundae,

post otiosam et repositam vitam (quoniam huc usque iniustitia tetenderat manus) in squalore maximo volutatus, ut veneficus reus citatus est, cum Hierocle filio, adulescente indolis bonae, urgente Diogene quodam et vili et solo, omnique laniena excruciate, ut verba placentia principi, vel potius accersitori, loqueretur: quo cum poenis non sufficerent membra, vivo exusto, ipse quoque Alypius post multationem bonorum exulare praeceptus, filium miserabiliter ductum ad mortem casu quodam prospero revocatum excepit.

Multi in Oriente veneficiorum et aliorum criminum rei delati, damnatique, pars iure, pars iniuria iugulantur.

Per id omne tempus, Palladius ille, coagulum omnium aerumnarum, quem captum a Fortunatiano docuimus primum, ipsa sortis infinitate ad omnia praeceps, clades alias super alias cumulando, lacrimis universa perfuderat luctuosis. [2] Nactus enim copiam nominandi, sine fortunarum distantia, quos voluisset, ut artibus interdictis imbutos, ita ut ferarum occulta vestigia doctus observare venator, multos intra casses lugubres includebat, quosdam veneficiorum notitia pollutos, alios ut appetitoribus imminuendae conscios maiestatis. [3] Et ne vel coniugibus maritorum vacaret miserias flere, immittebantur confestim qui signatis domibus inter scrutinia suppellectilis patris addicti, incantamenta quaedam anilia vel ludibriosa subderent amatoria, ad insontium perniciem concinnata: quibus in iudicio recitatis, ubi non lex non religio, non aequitas veritatem a mendaciis dirimebat, indefensi bonis ablatis, nullo contacti delicto, promiscue iuvenes alique, membris omnibus capti, ad supplicia sellis gestatoriis ducebantur. [4] Inde effectum est per orientales provincias, ut a dominis metu similium exurerentur libraria omnia: tantus universos invaserat terror. Namque ut pressius loquar, omnes ea tempestate velut in Cimmeriis tenebris reptabamus, paria convivis Siculi Dionysii pavitantes, qui cum epulis omni tristioribus fame saginarentur, ex summis domorum laqueariis, in quibus discumbebant, saetis nexos equinis, et occipitiis incumbentes, gladios perhorrebant.

[5] tunc et Bassianus, praeclaro genere natus, notarius militans inter primos, quas praeoscere altiora conatus, licet ipse de qualitate partus uxoris consuluisse firmaret, ambitioso necessitudinum studio, quibus tegebatur, morte ereptus, patrimonio opimo exutus est.

[6] Inter fragores tot ruinarum Heliodorus, tartareus ille malorum omnium cum Palladio fabricator, mathematicus (ut memorat vulgus) colloquiis ex aula regia praepigneratus abstrusis, iam funebres aculeos exsertabat, omni humanitatis invitamento ad prodenda quae sciret vel fingeret, laccessitus. [7] Nam et sollicitius cibo mundissimo fovebatur, et ad largiendum paelicibus, merebat aes collaticium grave, et incedebat passim ac late, os circumferens vultuosum, omnibusque formidatum, ea fiducia sublatis, quod ad lupanar, quo (sicut ipse voluit), liberius versabatur, cubiculariis officiis praepositus, assidue propalam ventitabat, elogia parentis publici praeferebat, futura pluribus luctuosa. [8] Per quae eum (ut forensium causarum patronum) quid in primis orationis partibus collocaret, ut proficere possit facilius et valere, quibusve

figurarum commentis, splendida loca attemptare debeat praemonebat.

[9] Et quoniam longum est narrare omnia quae cruciarius ille conflavit, hoc unum edisseram, quam praecipiti confidentia patriciatus columnina ipsa pulsavit. Qui ex clandestinis (ut dictum est) regionum confabulationibus immaniter arrogans, et ipsa vilitate ad facinus omne venalis, egregium illud par consulum, Eusebium et Hypatium (germanos fratres) Constanti principis quondam affines, ad cupidinem altioris fortunae erectos et consuluisse et agitasse quaedam super imperio detulit, addens itineri ad mendacium fecte constructo, quod Eusebio etiam principalia indumenta parata sint. [10] Quibus haustis averter, fremebundus et minax, cui nihil licere debuerat, quia omnia sibi licere etiam iniusta existimabat, irremisse ab extremis regionum intervallis exhibitis omnibus, quos solutus legibus accusator perducere debere profunda securitate mandarant, suscipi quaestionem criminose praecepit. [11] Cumque nodosis coartationibus aequitate diu calcata, et nexibili asseveratione perditum nebulonis durante, nullam confessionem exprimere tormenta gravia potuissent, ablegatosque ab omni huius modi conscientia ipsa viros ostenderent claros, calumniator quidem ita ut antea honorabiliter colebatur, illi vero exsilio et pecuniariis afflicti dispendiis, paulo postea reddita sibi multa, sunt revocati, dignitatibus integris et splendore.

[12] Nec tamen post haec tam paenitenda repressius actum est vel pudenter, non reputante alta nimium potestate, quod recte institutis ne cum inimicorum quidem incommodis in delicta convenit ruere voluntaria, nihilque sit tam deforme quam ad ardua imperii supercilia etiam acerbiter naturae adiungi.

[13] Sed Heliodoro (incertum morbo an quadam excogitata vi) mortuo (nolim dicere 'sero' : utinam nec ipsa res loqueretur!) funus eius per vespillones elatum, pullati praecedere honorati complures, inter quos et fratres iussi sunt consulares. [14] Ibi tunc rectoris imperii caries tota stoliditatis apertius est profanata, qui cum abstinere inconsolabili malo rogaretur obnix, inflexibilis mansit, ut videretur aures ocluisse ceris (quasi scopulos Sirenios transgressurus). [15] Superatus tamen precibus destinatis, tandem nudatis capitibus, infaustam bustuarii libitinam ad usque sepulcrum incedentes et pedibus, quosdam etiam complicatis articulis, praeire mandavit. Horret mens reminisci, quo iustitio humilitati tot rerum apices visebantur, et praecipue consulares, post scipiones et trabeas et fastorum monumenta mundana. [16] Inter quos omnes ab adulescentia virtutum pulchritudine commendabilis, noster Hypatius praeminebat, vir quieti placidique consilii, honestatem lenium morum velut ad perpendicularum librans, qui et maiorum claritudini gloriae fuit, et ipse posteritatem mirandis actibus praefecturae geminae decoravit.

[17] Accesserat hoc quoque eodem tempore ad Valentis ceteras laudes, quod cum in aliis ita saeviret infeste, ut poenarum maiores aegre ferret finire cum morte dolores, Numerium tribunum, malitia quendam exsuperantem, eisdem diebus convictum, confessumque quod exsecto vivae mulieris ventre, atque intempestivo partu extracto, infernis manibus excitis, de permutatione imperii consulere ausus est, familiaritatis contuitu, ordine omni mussante, abire iussit,

inlaesum, salutem et invidendas opes et militiae statum integrum retenturum.

[18] O praeclara informatio doctrinarum, munere caelesti indulta felicibus, quae vel vitiosas naturas saepe excoluisti! Quanta in illa caligine temporum correxisses, si Valenti scire per te licuisset, nihil aliud esse imperium, ut sapientes definiunt, nisi curam salutis alienae, bonique esse moderatoris, restringere potestatem, resistere cupiditati omnium rerum, et implacabilibus iracundiis, nosseque (ut Caesar dictator aiebat) miserum esse instrumentum senectuti recordationem crudelitatis, ideoque de vita et spiritu hominis, qui pars mundi est et animantium numerum complet, laturum sententiam diu multumque oportere cunctari, nec praecipiti studio, ubi irrevocabile factum est, agitari, ut exemplum est illud antiquitati admodum notum. [19] Apud proconsulem Asiae Dolabellam Smyrnaea mulier subolem propriam et maritum venenis necasse confessa, quod filium e matrimonio priore susceptum occiderint, et comperendinata cum consilium, ad quod res ex more delata est, anceps, quid inter ultionem et scelus statui debeat, haesitaret, ad Areopagitas missa est (Athenienses iudices tristiores), quorum aequitas deorum quoque iurgia dicitur distinxisse. Hi causa cognita centesimo post anno cum accusatore mulierem adesse iusserunt, ne aut absolverent veneficam, aut ultrix necessitudinum puniretur. Ita numquam tardum existimatur, quod est omnium ultimum.

[20] Post commissa iniquitatibus variis ante dicta, et impressas foede corporibus liberis, quae supervixerant, notas, inconivus Iustitiae oculus, arbiter et vindex perpetuus rerum vigilavit attente. Namque caesorum ultimae dirae, perpetuum numen ratione querellarum iustissima commoventes, Bellonae accenderant faces, ut fides oraculi firmaretur, quod nihil impune praedixerat perpetrari.

[21] Dum haec quae supra digesta sunt Antiochiae Parthico fragore cessante, per intestinas dilatantur aerumnas, coetus furiarum horrificus, post convolutos multiplices casus, ab eadem urbe digressus, cervicibus Asiae totius insedit hoc modo. [22] Festinus quidam Tridentinus ultimi sanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus, ut sodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fati, ad orientem transgressus est, ibique administrata Syria magisterioque memoriae peracto, bona lenitudinis et reverentiae reliquit exempla, unde regere Asiam proconsulari potestate exorsus, velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam. [23] Audiens autem Maximinum optimo cuique exitialem, obtrectabat subinde actibus eius, ut perniciosus et foedis. Sed cum impie peremptorum exsequiis suffragantibus, ad praefecturam venisse hominem comperisset immeritum, exarsit ad agenda sperandaque similia, et histrionis ritu mutata repente persona, studio nocendi concepto, incedebat oculis intentis ac diris, praefecturam autumans affore prope diem, si ipse quoque se contaminasset insontium poenis. [24] Et quamquam sint multa et varia, quae (ut levius interpretemur) egit asperrime: pauca tamen dici sufficiet, quae sunt nota ac pervulgata, ad aemulationem eorum commissa, quae facta sunt Romae. Ratio enim eadem est ubique recte secusve gestorum, etiam si magnitudo sit

dissimilis rerum. [25] Philosophum quendam Coeranum, haut exilis meriti virum, ea causa tormentorum immanitate invictum occidit, quod ad coniugem suam familiariter scribens, id sermone addiderat Graeco: σὺ δὲ νόει καὶ στέφε τὴν πύλην, quod dici proverbialiter solet, ut audiens altius aliquid agendum agnoscat. [26] Anum quendam simplicem intervallatis febribus mederi leni carmine consuetam, occidit ut noxiam, postquam filiam suam ipso conscio curavit adscita. [27] In chartis cuiusdam municipis clari, scrutari ex negotio iussis, genitura Valentis cuiusdam inventa est, repellensque calumnias is cuius intererat, cum obiectaretur ei quam ob rem constellationem principis collegisset, fratrem suum fuisse Valentem, dudumque obisse, documentorum plena fide monstrare pollicitus, inexpectato veritatis indicio, laniatis lateribus, trucidatus est. [28] Visus adulescens in balneis admovere marmori manus utriusque digitos alternatim et pectori, septemque vocales litteras numerasse, ad stomachi remedium prodesse id arbitratus: in iudicium tractus, percussus est gladio post tormenta.

In Occidentis tractibus varia Valentiniani Aug. saevitiae et efferatae crudelitatis exempla.

Hic et mihi vertenti stilum in Gallias, confunditur ordo seriesque gestorum, inter multa et saeva Maximinum reperiens iam praefectum, qui potestate late diffusa, scaevum imperatori accesserat incentivum, maiestati fortunae miscenti licentiam gravem. Quisquis igitur dicta considerat, perpendat etiam cetera, quae tacentur, veniam daturus, ut prudens, si non cuncta complectimur, quae consiliorum pravitas crimina in maius exaggerando commisit. [2] Adulescente enim acerbitate, rationum inimica rectorum, trux suoapte ingenio Valentinianus, post eiusdem Maximini adventum, nec meliora monente ullo nec retentante, per asperos actus velut aestu quodam fluctuum ferebatur et procellarum, adeo ut irascentis saepe vox et vultus et incessus mutaretur et color. Quam rem indicia varia testantur et certa, e quibus pauca sufficiet poni.

[3] Adultus quidam ex his quos paedagogianos appellant, ad observandam venaticiam praedam, Spartanum canem retinere dispositus, ante praedictum tempus absolvit, adsultu eius evadere conantis appetitus et morsu: ideoque necatus ad exitium fustibus, eadem humatus est die. [4] Praepositum fabricae oblato thorace polito faberrime, praemiumque ideo exspectantem, ea re praecepit occidi diritate pari quod pondus paulo minus habuit species ferrea, quam ille firmarat. Epiroten aliquem ritus Christiani presbyterum acceptum Octaviano ex proconsule ... offensarum auctore licet tardius ad sua remisso. [5] Constantianus strator paucos militares equos ex his ausus mutare, ad quos probandos missus est in Sardiniam, eodem iubente lapidum ictibus oppetit crebris. Athanasius favorabilis tunc auriga, ita suspectus ei vulgari levitate, ut vivus incendi iuberetur, si quid temptasset huius modi, non multo postea veneficiis usus incessebatur; nulla delata voluptatum artificii venia, ignibus aboleri praeceptus est. [6] Africanus causarum in urbe defensor assiduus, post administratam provinciam, ad regendam aliam adspiravit, cuius suffragatori magistro equitum Theodosio, id petenti, subagresti verbo pius responderat

imperator: 'Abi,' inquit, 'comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit': et hoc elogio perit homo disertus, ad potiora festinans, ut multi. [7] Claudium et Sallustium, ex Iovianorum numero ad usque tribunatus dignitates progressos, accusabat quidam vilitate ipsa despectus, quod cum imperium Procopius affectasset, aliqua pro eo locuti sunt bona. Cumque nihil quaestiones reperirent assiduae, mandare magistris equitum auditoribus princeps, ut agerent in exsilium Claudium et Sallustium pronuntiarent capitis reum, pollicitus quod eum revocabit ad supplicium raptum; hocque ita (ut statutum est) observato, nec Sallustius morte exemptus est, nec Claudius nisi post eiusdem Valentiniani obitum deportationis maestitia liberatus ... longe recusaverit, cum illi saepissime torquerentur. [8] Replicatis igitur quaestionibus dense, et quibusdam vi nimia tormentorum absumptis, ne vestigia quidem ulla delatorum reperta sunt criminum. In hoc negotio protectores, ad exhibendas missi personas, de ... fustibus praeter solitum caesi.

[9] Horrescit animus omnia recensere, simulque reformidat, ne ex professo quaesisse videamur in vitia principis, alia commodissimi. Illud tamen nec praeteriri est aequum nec sileri, quod cum duas haberet ursas saevas hominum ambestrices, Micam auream et Innocentiam, cultu ita curabat enixo, ut earum caveas prope cubiculum suum locaret, custodesque adderet fidos, visuros sollicite, nequo casu ferarum deleretur luctificus calor. Innocentiam denique, post multas quas eius laniatu cadaverum viderat sepulturas, ut bene meritam in silvas abire dimisit innoxiam, exoptans similes edituram. ...

Valentinianus A. Rhenum navali ponte transgressus, culpa militis Macrianum Alamannorum Regem incautum capere non potuit.

Et haec quidem morum eius et propositi cruenti sunt documenta verissima. Sollertiae vero circa rem publicam usquam digredientis, nemo eum vel obtrectator pervicax incusabit, illud contemplans, quod maius pretium operae foret in coercendis verius limite barbaris quam pellendis. Et cum dedisset ... e speculis, siquis hostium se commovisset, desuper visus obruebatur.

[2] Agitabatur autem inter multiplices curas id omnium primum atque potissimum, ut Macrianum regem auctum inter mutationes crebras sententiarum, iamque in nostros adultis viribus exsurgentem, vi superstitem raperet vel insidiis, ut multo ante Vadomarium Iulianus: et praevisis quae negotium poscebat et tempus, cognitoque transfugarum indiciis, ubi comprehendi nihil hostile operiens poterit ante dictus, tacite quantum concessit facultas, nequi conserendo officeret ponti, iunxit navibus Rhenum. [3] Et antegressus contra Mattiacas aquas, primus Severus, qui pedestrem curabat exercitum, perpensa militum paucitate, territus stetit, timens ne resistere nequiens, irruentium opprimeretur hostilium agminum mole. [4] Et quia suspicabatur venalia ducentes mancipia scurras, casu illic repertos, id quod viderant, excursu celeri nuntiare, cunctos mercibus direptis occidit. [5] Adventu itaque plurium copiarum animati indices, castrisque ad tempus brevissimum fixis, quia nec sarcinale iumentum quisquam nec tabernaculum habuit, praeter

principem, cui tapete et sisyra suffecerant pro tentorio, parumper ob tenebras morati nocturnas, exsiliente Lucifero, urgente procinctu pergebant ulterius, itinerum gnaris ducentibus, frequenti equitatu cum Theodosio rectore praeire disposito, ne quid lateret ... tempore iaceat, extento strepitu suorum est impeditus quibus assidue mandans, ut rapinis et incendiis abstinere, impetrare non potuit. Ignium enim crepitu dissonisque clamoribus satellites exciti, idque quod acciderat suspicati, carpento veloci impositum regem angusto aditu circumfractis collibus abdiderunt. [6] Hac Valentinianus gloria defraudatus nec sua culpa nec ducum, sed intemperantia militis, quae dispendiis gravibus saepe rem Romanam afflixit, ad usque quinquagesimum lapidem terris hostilibus inflammatis, redit Treveros maestus. [7] Ubi tamquam leo ob cervum amissum vel capream morsus vacuos concrepans tum cum hostium disiecta frangeret timor, in Macriani locum Bucinobantibus, quae contra Mogontiacum gens est Alamannica, regem Fraomarium ordinavit, quem paulo postea quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Britannias translatum, potestate tribuni, Alamannorum praefecerat numero, multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti: Bitheridum vero et Hortarium (nationis eiusdem primates), item regere milites iussit, e quibus Hortarius, proditus relatione Florenti, Germaniae ducis, contra rem publicam quaedam ad Macrianum scripsisse, barbarosque optimates, veritate tormentis expressa, conflagravit flamma poenali.

Theodosius, magister equitum per Gallias, Firmum Maurum Nubelis Regulifilium, qui a Valentiniano desciverat, multis procliis atterit, ac demum eo ad voluntariam mortem compulso, pacem Africae reddit.

Abhinc inter ... proximo haec narratione disseri continua placuit, ne dum negotiis longe discretis et locis alia subseruntur, cognitio multiplex necessario confundatur.

[2] Nubel velut regulus per nationes Mauricas potentissimus, vita digrediens, et legitimos et natos e concubinis reliquit filios, e quibus Zammac comiti nomine Romano acceptus, latenter a fratre Firmo peremptus, discordias excitavit et bella. Eius enim necem ulcisci, impensiore studio properans comes, ad insidiatoris perniciem multa ciebat et formidanda. Utque rumores distulerunt assidui, navabatur opera diligens in palatio, Romani quidem relationes, multa et aspera congerentes in Firmum, libenter suscipi recitarique principi, in earum favorem concinentibus multis: ea vero, quae contra Firmus salutis tuendae gratia docebat crebro per suos, accepta, diutius occultari, Remigio tunc officiorum magistro, affine amicoque Romani, inter potiores imperatoris necessitates haec velut minima et superflua, non nisi opportune legi posse adseverante.

[3] Quae cum ad obruendam defensionem suam agitari adverteret Maurus, ultimorum metu iam trepidans, ne amendatis, quae praetendebat, ut perniciosus et contumax indemnatus occideretur, ab imperii ditione descivit et adiumenta conquirebat vicinarum gentium ... ad vastandum ... [4] Ad hoc

periculum antequam hostis implacabilis incrementis virium adulescerent, abolendum cum comitatensis auxilio militis pauci Theodosius magister equitum mittitur, cuius virtutes (ut impetrabilis) ea tempestate prae ceteris enitebant: Domitii Corbulonis et Lusii simillimi veterum, quorum prior sub Nerone, alter Traiano rem regente Romanam pluribus inclaruere fortibus factis. [5] Proinde ab Arelate secundis egressus auspiciis, emeatoque mari cum classe, quam ductabat, nullo de se rumore praegresso, defertur ad Sitifensis Mauritaniae litus, quod appellant accolae Igilgitanum. Ibiq̃ue inventum casu Romanum leniter allocutus, misit ad vigilias ordinandas et praetenturas, parum super his quae verebatur increpitum. [6] Quo ad Caesariensem digresso Gildonem Firmi fratrem et Maximum misit correpturos Vincentium, qui curans Romani vicem, incivilitatis eius erat particeps et furtorum. [7] Recepto itaque tardius milite, quem amplitudo maris morabatur, Sitifim properans, Romanum cum domesticis custodiendum, protectoribus committi mandavit, agensque in oppido sollicitudine diducebatur ancipiti, multa cum animo versans, qua via quibusve commentis, per exustas caloribus terras pruinis assuetum duceret militem, vel hostem caperet discursatorem et repentinum, insidiisque potius clandestinis, quam proeliorum stabilitate confisum.

[8] Quod ubi Firmo levi rumore, dein apertis est indiciiis cognitum, spectatissimi ducis adventu praestriatus, veniam cum concessione praeteritorum, missis oratoribus poscebat et scriptis, docentibus eum non sponte sua ad id erupisse, quod norat scelestum, sed Romani iniquitate grassante licentius, ut monstrare pollicebatur. [9] Quibus lectis, paceque obsidibus acceptis promissa, dux ad recensendas legiones quae Africam tuebantur, ire pergebat ad Pancharianam stationem, quo convenire praeceptae sunt. Ibi magnificis verbis atque prudentibus spe cunctorum erecta, reversus Sitifim, consociato indigena milite cum eo quem ipse perduxerat, aegre perpetiens moras, ad procinctus ire ocus festinabat. [10] Inter residua autem multa et clara, id amorem eius auxerat in immensum, quod a provincialibus comneatum exercitui prohibuit dari, messes et condita hostium virtutis nostrorum horrea esse, fiducia memorans speciosa.

[11] His ita cum laetitia possessorum dispositis, ad Tubusuptum progressus, oppidum Ferrato contiguum monti, legationem secundam Firmi repudiavit, quae obsides (ut ante statutum est) non duxerat secum. Unde omnibus pro loco et tempore cautius exploratis, concito gradu Tyndensium gentem et Masinissensium petit, levibus armis instructas, quas Mascizel et Dius fratres Firmi ductabant. [12] Cum essent hostes iam in contuitu, membris omnibus celeres, post missilia hinc inde crebrius iacta, committitur certamen asperissimum, interque gemitus mortis et vulnerum, audiebantur barbarorum ululabiles fletus captorum et caesorum, pugnaque dirempta plures agri populati sunt et incensi. [13] Inter quas clades eminuerunt Petrensis, excisi radicatus, quem Salmaces dominus (Firmi frater) in modum urbis exstruxit. Hoc successu victor elatus, mira velocitate Lamfoctense oppidum occupavit, inter gentes positum ante dictas, ubi abunde rei cibariae copiam condi effecit,

ut si pergens interius alimentorum offendisset penuriam, iuberet e propinquo convectari. [14] Quae dum ita procedunt, Mascizel reparatis viribus nationum confinium adminicula ductans, conserta manu cum nostris, fusis e parte suorum compluribus, ipse equi pernicitate aegre discrimine mortis exemptus est.

[15] Fessus aerumnis gemini proelii Firmus, imoque aestuans corde, nequid ultimae rationis omitteret, Christiani ritus antistites oraturos pacem cum obsidibus misit. Qui quoniam suscepti lenius pollicitique victui congrua militibus (ut praeceptum est), laeta rettulere responsa et pacem, missis muneribus, Maurus ipse fidentius ad Romanum perrexerat ducem, equo insidens apto ad ancipitis casus, cumque prope venisset, fulgore signorum et terribili vultu Theodosi praestriatus, iumento desiluit, curvataque cervice humi paene affixus, temeritatem suam flebiliter incusabat, pacem obsecrando cum venia. [16] susceptusque cum osculo, quoniam id rei publicae conducebat, bonae spei iam plenus, sufficientia praebuit alimenta, et quibusdam propinquis suis ad obsidum vicem relictis, abscessit, captivos (ut spondederat) redditurus, quos primis barbarum exordiis rapuit: biduoque post, Icosium oppidum, cuius supra docuimus conditores, militaria signa et coronam sacerdotalem, cum ceteris quae interceperat, nihil cunctatus restituit, ut praeceptum est.

[17] Exinde cum discursis itineribus magnis, Tipasam noster dux introiret, legatis Mazicum, qui se consociaverant Firmo, suppliciter obsecrantibus veniam, animo elato respondit, se in eos ut perfidos arma protinus commoturum. [18] Quibus imminenti periculi metu defixis, revertique iussis ad sua, Caesaream ire tendebat, urbem opulentam quondam et nobilem, cuius itidem originem in Africae situ digessimus plene, eamque ingressus, cum omnem paene incendiis late dispersis vidisset exustam, horridasque canitie silices, primam et secundam legionem ad tempus ibi locari disposuit, ut favillarum egerentes acervos, agitent ibi praesidium, ne repetito barbarorum impetu vastaretur.

[19] Quae cum rumores crebri distulissent et veri, provinciae rectores, tribunusque Vincentius, e latibulis quibus sese commiserant, egressi tandem intrepidi ad ducem ocius pervenerunt. Quibus ille gratanter visis atque susceptis, agens etiam tum apud Caesaream, fide rerum diligentius explorata, comperit Firmum per speciem paventis et supplicis, tectiore consilio id moliri, ut nihil hostile metuentem exercitum in modum tempestatis subitae conturbaret. [20] Quam ob rem conversus hinc venit ad municipium Sugabarritanum, Transcellensi monti accline, ubi inventos equites quartae sagittariorum cohortis, quae ad rebellem defecerat, ut contentum se supplicio leniori monstraret, omnes contrusit ad infimum militiae gradum, eosque et Constantianorum peditum partem Tigavias venire iusserat cum tribunis, e quibus unus torquem pro diademate capiti imposuit Firmi. [21] Quae dum aguntur, reverterunt Gildo et Maximus, Bellen e principibus Mazicum et Fericius gentis praefectum ducentes, qui factionem iuverant quietis publicae turbatoris ... producerent victos. [22] Quo ita ut statutum est facto, lucis primo

exortu, ipse egressus, cum invenisset eos in exercitu circumsaepatos: ‘Quid de istis nefariis’ inquit ‘proditoribus fieri oportere, contubernales devoti, censetis?’ Secutusque acclamationem rogantium, sanguine vindicari, eos qui inter Constantianos merebant, prisco more militibus dedit occidendos, sagittariorum vero primoribus manus incidit, residuos supplicio capitali multavit, ad aemulationem Curionis, acerrimi illius ducis, qui Dardanorum ferociam, in modum Lernaee serpentis aliquotiens renascentem, hoc genere poenarum extinxit. [23] Sed obtrectatores malivoli vetus factum laudantes, hoc ut dirum vituperant et asperrimum, Dardanos hostes memorantes internecivos, et iuste quae sustinere perpessos, hos vero subsignanos milites debuisse lenius corrigi, ad unum prolapsos errorem. Quos nescientes forsitan admonemus, hanc cohortem et facto fuisse et exemplo adversam. [24] Ante dictos Bellen et Fericium, quos duxerat Gildo, tribunumque sagittariorum Curandium, ea re iussit occidi, quod nec ipse umquam cum hostibus congredi voluit, nec suos ut pugnarent hortari. Agebat autem haec Tullianum illud advertens, quod ‘salutaris vigor vincit inanem speciem clementiae.’

[25] Exin profectus, fundum nomine Gaionatis, muro circumdatum valido, receptaculum Maurorum tutissimum, arietibus admotis evertit, et caesis omnibus incolis, moenibusque complanatis, ad Tingitanum castellum progressus, per Ancorarium montem, Mazicas in unum collectos invasit, iam tela reciprocantes, volitantia grandinis ritu. [26] Et cum esset utrimque discursus, agmina viribus armisque incitata nostrorum non perferentes Mazices licet bellicosum genus et durum, diversis stragibus implicati, foedo diffluxere terrore, ruentesque in fugam, caesi sunt absque his qui reperta copia discedendi supplici prece veniam (quam dari tempus flagitaverat) impetrarunt. [27] Suggen eorum ductorem ... Romano successerat, in Sitifensem Mauritaniam ire disposito, ad agitata praesidia, ne provincia pervaderetur, ipse praeteritis elatior casibus, gentem petit Musonum, quam conscientia rapinarum et caedum actibus congregaverat Firmi, ut sperabatur maiora mox adepturi.

[28] Progressusque aliquantum, iuxta Addense municipium comperit, dissonas cultu et sermonum varietate, nationes plurimas unum spirantibus animis, immanium exordia concitare bellorum, adigente hortanteque maxima spe praemiorum, sorore Firmi nomine Cyria, quae abundans divitiis, et destinatione feminea, nisibus magnis instituit iuvare germanum. [29] Quocirca Theodosius veritus, ne Marti sese committeret impari, congressusque multitudini immensae cum paucis — tria enim armatorum milia ductabat atque quingentos — amitteret universos, inter pudorem cedendi, pugnandique ardorem, gradiens retro paulatim, trudente pondere plebis abscessit. [30] Hocque eventu barbari nimium quantum elati, sequentesque pertinaciter ... certare necessitate compulsus semet ipsum et ad internecionem perdidit cunctos, ni gentium turbulenta concussio, procul Mazicum visis auxiliis, quos anteibant quidam Romani, arbitrata in se impetum agminum ferri complurium, versa in pedes aperuisset nostris exitus antehac intersaepatos. [31]

Exinde cum militem ducens incolumem Theodosius ad fundum venisset nomine Mazucanum, exustis desertoribus paucis, aliisque ad sagittariorum exemplum, quibus manus ademptae sunt, contruncatis, Tipasam mense Februario venit. [32] Ubi diutius agens, ut antiquus ille Cunctator pro negotio consultabat, commentis potius et prudentia quam periculosis congressibus, hostem pugnacem et impetrabilem iactu telorum, si fors copiam dederit, oppressurus. [33] Mittebat tamen assidue suadendi quosdam peritos, ad gentes circumscitas, Baiuras Cantaurianos Avastomates Cafaves Davaresque et finitimos alios, nunc timore nunc praemiis eos ad societatem alliciens, veniamque petulantiae interdum promittendo cum ... t ulterius per ambages et moras hostem frangentem suos impetus oppressurus, ut quondam Pompeius Mithridatem.

[34] Qua causa declinans perniciem proximam Firmus, licet praesidiorum magnitudine communitus, relicta plebe, quam coegerat magna mercede, quoniam latendi copiam nocturna quies dedit, Caprarienses montes longe remotos penetravit, et diruptis rupibus inaccessos. [35] Cuius habitu clandestine multitudo dispersa sine rectore particulatimque diffluens, invadendi eius castra nostris copiam dedit. Hisque direptis, et interfectis qui resistebant, vel in deditionem acceptis, regionum maxima parte vastata, gentibus per quas transibat dux consultissimus apposuit fidei compertae praefectos. [36] Hac inopina sequendi confidentia territus perduellis, servis comitantibus paucis, digressu celeri consulturus saluti, nequo praepediretur obstaculo, abiecit pretiosarum sarcinas specierum, quas avexerat secum. Uxorem namque fessam labore continuo et per ancipitis di ... [37] Theodosius nullique adeuntium parcens, mundiore victu stipendioque milite recreato, Caprariensibus Abannisque eorum vicinis proelio levi sublati, ad municipium properavit ... ense: sed veris nuntiis doctus, barbaros occupasse iam tumulos, per anfracta undique spatia in sublime porrectos, nullique pervios nisi indigenis locorum perquam gnaris, repedando dedit hostibus facultatem, per indutias (licet breves) Aethiopum iuxta agentium adminiculis augeri vel maximis. [38] Qui concatervatis copiis fremituque minaci, sine sui respectu ruentes in pugnam, averterunt eum inaestimabilium turmarum specie dira perterrefactum, statimque redintegratis animis, commeatus vehens abunde, revertit, et conglobatis suis scutaque in formidabilem moventibus gestum, controversas eisdem opposuit manus. [39] Quamquam igitur immite quiddam barbaricis concrepantibus tubis, manipuli furentium imminebant, ipsi quoque parmas genibus illidentes, tamen ut pugnator ille cautus et prudens, militis paucitate diffusus, audacter agmine quadrato incedens, ad civitatem nomine Contensem flexit iter intrepidus, ubi captivos nostros Firmus ut in munimento abstruso locarat et celso; cunctisque receptis, in proditores satellitesque memorati animadvertit acriter (ut solebat).

[40] Hoc ei magni numinis adiumento gerenti prosperrime, verus indicat explorator confugisse ad Isafilensium populum Firmum: ad quem repositum una cum fratre Mazuca, ceterisque necessitudinibus illuc

ingressus, cum adipisci non posset, genti bellum indixit. [41] Et proelio atroci commisso, ferocientibus barbaris ultra modum, aciem rotundo habitu figuratam opponit, adeoque Isafilenses pondere catervarum urgentium inclinati sunt, ut plurimi caderent, et ipse Firmus ferox et saepe in suam perniciem praeceps equo auferretur in fugam, per saxa et rupes discurrere citius assuetus, Mazuca vero frater eius caperetur letaliter saucius. [42] Qui Caesaream mitti dispositus, ubi saeva inusserat monumenta facinorum pessimorum, dilatato vulneris hiatu discessit. Caput tamen eius avulsum residue integro corpore, cum magno visentium gaudio urbi illatum est ante dictae. [43] Post haec Isafilensium gentem, quae obstitit, superatam dux nobilis incommodis multis (ut aequitas poscebat) afflixit. Ibi Evasium potentem municipem, Florumque eius filium, et quosdam alios per secretiora consilia temeratorem quietis iuvisse confutatos aperte, flammis absumpsit.

[44] Exindeque pergens interius, nationem Iubalenam spiritu aggressus ingenti, ubi natum Nubelem patrem didicerat Firmi, repulsus altitudine montium et flexuosis angustiis, stetit. Et quamlibet facto in hostem impetu pluribusque peremptis aperuerit viam, formidans tamen sublimia collium ad insidiandum aptissima, ducens suos incolumes, revertit ad Audiense castellum: ubi Iesalensium gens fera semet deditit voluntaria, auxilia praestare spondens et commeatus.

[45] His et eius modi gloriosis actibus exsultans amplissimus ductor, ipsum otii turbatorem petebat valido virium nisu, ideoque prope munimentum nomine Medianum diu consistens, per multas prudentesque sententiarum vias eundem sibi prodi posse sperabat. [46] Haecque cogitationibus anxiiis, altioreque prospiciens cura, rursus ad Isafilenses hostem comperit revertisse; quos nihil moratus, ut antea, agminibus adoritur incitatis. Cui rex Igmazen nomine spectatus per eos tractus opibusque insignis, progressus obviam confidenter: ‘Cuius loci es tu’ inquit ‘vel quid acturus huc venisti?’ responde.’ Quem Theodosius fundata mente intuens torvum: ‘Comes,’ ait, ‘Valentinianum (orbis terrarum domini) ad opprimendum latronem funereum missus; quem nisi statim reddideris, ut invictus statuit imperator, peribis funditus cum gente quam regis.’ Quo audito Igmazen post convicia multa, quae congegit in ducem, ira doloreque perculsus abscessit. [47] Et secutae principio lucis, utrimque occursurae sibi ad confligendum processerunt acies minacissimae, et barbarorum viginti paene milia in ipsis locata sunt frontibus, occultatis pone terga subsidialibus globis, ut assurgentes paulatim nostros multitudine clauderent insperata: hisque Iesalenses auxiliares accessere quam plures, quos adiumenta et commeatus nostris docuimus promisisse. [48] Contra Romani, quamvis admodum pauci, tamen fortibus animis, victoriisque antegressis elati, densetis lateribus, scutisque in testudinis formam cohaerenter aptatis, restiterunt gradibus fixis, et a sole orto usque ad diei extimum pugna protenta, paulo ante vesperam visus est Firmus, equo celsiori insidens, sago puniceo porrectus panso, milites clamoribus magnis hortari, ut dedant Theodosium opportune, truculentum eum appellans et dirum, et suppliciorum saevum

repertorem, si discriminibus eximi vellent, quae perferebant. [49] Hae insperatae voces ad dimicandum quosdam acrius incitarunt, alios deserere proelium illexerunt. Proinde ubi noctis advenit quies prima, partibus tenebrarum obvolutis horrore, dux reversus ad Duodiense castellum, militesque recognoscens, eos quos a pugnandi proposito pavor et verba detorserant Firmi, diverso genere poenarum exstinxit: alios adeptis dexteris quosdam vivos combustos. [50] Excubiasque agens cura pervigili, barbarorum aliquos ausos, cum apparere non possent, post occasum lunae castra sua temptare effudit, vel irruentes audentius capit. Digressus exinde passibus citis, Iesalenses ut ambiguae fidei per tramites adortus obliquos undere parum sperari potuit) ad penuriam vastavit extremam, perque Caesariensis Mauritaniae oppida reversus Sitifim, Castorem et Martinianum rapinarum flagitiorumque Romani participes, ad interitum tortos incendit.

[51] Redintegratur post haec cum Isafilensibus bellum, primoque conflictu barbarorum pluribus pulsus et interfectis, rex eorum Igmazen, vincere antehac assuetus, terrore fluctuans mali praesentis, nihilque commerciis vetitis ad vitam spei sibi restare, si obstinatius egerit, arbitratus, quantum caute fieri potuit et occulte, prorupit ex acie solus, visumque Theodosium suppliciter petit, ut Masillam Mazicum optimaem ad se venire iuberet. [52] Per quem (ut rogaverat) missum, clandestinis colloquiis monuit, ducem suoapte ingenio pertinacem, ut ad praebendam sibi copiam agendi quae vellet, popularibus suis acriter immineret, eosque assiduitate pugnandi mutaret in metum, promptos quidem ad perduellis favorem sed iacturis multiplicibus fessos. [53] Paruit Theodosius dictis, et crebritate certaminum Isafilenses ita protrivit, ut eisdem labentibus pecudum ritu, Firmus ipse latenter evaderet, et aviis et diuturnis latebris amandandus, inibi dum de fuga consultat, tentus ab Igmazene custodiretur. [54] Et quoniam obscurius gesta didicerat per Masillam, in extremis rebus unum remedium superesse contemplans, calcare vivendi cupiditatem voluntaria statuit morte: vinoque consulto distentis et crapulatis, silenti nocte oppressis altiore somno custodibus, pervigil ipse impendentis aerumnae terrore, insonis gradibus relicto cubili, manibus repens et pedibus, longius sese discrevit, repertumque funiculum, quem ad finiendae vitae paraverat casus, de clavo parieti affixo suspendit, ubi collo inserto, animam absque mortis cruciabilibus exhalavit.

[55] Quod dolenter ferens Igmazen, ereptamque sibi gloriam gemens, quia non contigerat ad castra Romana vivum ducere perduellem, interposita fide publica per Masillam, ipse camelo necati cadaver impositum ferens, cum tentoria exercitus adventaret, ad Subicarense castellum locata, in iumentum transtulit sarcinale, et Theodosio obtulit exultanti. [56] Qui convocatis armatis simul atque plebeiis, interrogatisque an agnoscerent vultum, cum eiusdem esse sine ulla didicisset ambage, ibi paulisper moratus, Sitifim triumphanti similis redit, aetatum ordinumque omnium celebrabili favore susceptus.

Quadi, nefaria Gabinii regis sui caede incitati, Pannonias et Valeriam igni et ferro cum Sarmatis vastant, et legiones duas paene totas delent. De Claudii

praefectura urbana.

Dum hoc pulvere per Mauritaniam dux ante dictus anhelat et Africam, Quadorum natio mota est diu inexcita repentino, parum nunc formidanda, sed immensum quantum antehac bellatrix et potens, ut indicant properata quondam raptim proclivia, obsessaque ab eisdem Marcomannisque Aquileia, Opitergiumque excisum, et cruenta complura perceleri acta procinctu, vix resistente perruptis Alpibus Iuliis principe Pio, quem ante docuimus, Marco. Et erat (ut barbaris) ratio iusta querellarum. [2] Valentinianus enim studio muniendorum limitum glorioso quidem sed nimio, ab ipso principatus initio flagrans, trans flumen Histria in ipsis Quadorum terris quasi Romano iuri iam vindicatis, aedificari praesidiaria castra mandavit: quod accolae ferentes indigne, suique cautiores, legatione tenus interim et susurris arcebant. [3] Sed Maximinus in omne avidus nefas, et genuinos mitigare nequiens flatus, quibus praefecturae accesserat tumor, increpabat Aequitum, per Illyricum eo tempore magistrum armorum, ut pervicacem et desidem, necdum opere, quod maturari dispositum est, consummate: addebatque ut consulens in commune, quod, si parvo suo Marcelliano deferretur potestas per Valeriam ducis, munimentum absque ulla causatione consurgeret. [4] Utrumque mox est impetratum. Qui promotus profectusque cum venisset ad loca, intempestive turgens ut filius, nullis affatibus delentis his quos numquam temptatae cupiditatis figmenta regionum suarum faciebant extorres, opus paulo ante inchoatum aggreditur, admissa copia refragandi suspensum. [5] Denique Gabinium regem, nequid novaretur modeste poscentem, ut assensurus humanitate simulata cum aliis ad convivium corrogavit, quem digredientem post epulas, hospitalis officii sanctitate nefarie violata, trucidari securum fecit.

[6] Cuius rei tam atrocis disseminatus rumor ilico per diversa et Quados et gentes circumscitas efferavit, regisque flentes interitum, in unum coactas misere vastatorias manus, quae Danubium transgressae, cum nihil exspectaretur hostile, occupatam circa messem agrestem, adortae sunt plebem, maioreque parte truncata, quicquid superfuit, domum cum multitudine varii pecoris abduxerunt. [7] Evenisset profecto tunc inexpiabile scelus, numerandum inter probrosas rei Romanae iacturas; paulo enim afuit, quin filia caperetur Constanti, cibum sumens in publica villa, quam appellant Pistrensem, cum duceretur Gratiano nuptura, ni favore propitii numinis, praesens Messalla, provinciae rector, eam iudiciali carpento impositam, ad Sirmium vicensimo sexto lapide disparatam, cursu reduxisset effuso.

[8] Hoc casu prospero regia virgine periculo miserae servitutis exempta, cuius ni potuisset impetrari redemptio captae, magnas inussisset rei publicae clades, latius se cum Sarmatis Quadi pandentes, ad raptus et latrocinia gentes aptissimae, praedas hominum virile et muliebre secus agebant et pecorum, villarum cineribus exustarum, caesorumque incolentium exsultantes aerumnis, quos necopinantes sine ulla parsimonia deleverunt. [9] Per omnia itaque propinqua malorum similium dispersa formidine, praefectus praetorio agens tunc apud Sirmium Probus, nullis bellorum terroribus assuetus, rerum

novarum lugubri visu praestricus, oculosque vix attollens, haerebat, diu quid capesseret ambigens: et cum, paratis velocibus equis, noctem proximam destinasset in fugam, monitus tutiore consilio, mansit immobilis. [10] Didicerat enim omnes secuturos confestim, qui moenibus claudebantur, tegendos latebris opportunis: quod si contigisset, impugnata civitas venisset in manus hostiles. [11] Proinde parumper lenito pavore, ad arripienda quae urgebant acri nisu adsurgens, retersit obrutas ruderibus fossas, murorumque maximam partem, pacis diuturnitate contemptam et subversam, ad usque celsarum turrium minas expedit, studio aedificandi coalitus: hac ratione opere velociter absolute, quod impensas aedificandi causa theatri, dudum congestas, sufficientis ad id quod efficere maturabat, invenit. Atque huic spectato consilio salutare addidit aliud, et sagittariorum cohortem e statione proxima, adfuturam obsidio (si venisset), accivit.

[12] His velut obicibus, barbari ab oppugnanda urbe depulsi, parum ad has calliditates dimicandi sollertes, sarcinisque impediti praedarum, ad Aequitii vertuntur indaginem. Et cum ad Valeriae spatia longe remota secessisse raptorum didicissent indicii, illuc properato petierant gradu, frendentes, hacque ex causa iugulo eius intenti, quod per ipsum circumventum regem existimabant insontem. [13] Quibus cognitis, cursu ruenti, infestius obviam legiones motae sunt duae, Pannonica et Moesiaca, valida proeliis manus: quae si conspirasset, abierat procul dubio victrix. Sed dum discretim grassatores adoriri festinant, ortis inter se discordiis impediti, de honore certabant et dignitate. [14] Quo intellecto, Sarmatae sagacissimi, non exspectato certandi signo sollemni, Moesiacam primam incessunt, dumque militias arma tardius per tumultum expediuntur, interfectis plurimis, aucti fiducia aciem perrupere Pannonicam, disiectaque agminis mole, geminatis ictibus omnem paene delessent, ni periculo mortis aliquos citum extraxisset effugium.

[15] Inter haec fortunae dispendia tristioris, dux Moesiae Theodosius iunior, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus, Sarmatas Liberos ad discretionem servorum rebellium appellatos, collimitia nostra, ex alio latere invadentes, aliquotiens expulit et afflixit, congressibus densis attritos, adeoque obsistentes fortissime turbas confluentes oppressit, ut caesorum plurium alites iusta sagina satiaret et feras. [16] Unde residui, timore iam deflagrante, metuentes ne idem dux virtutis (ut apparuit) expeditae, in primo finium aditu, incursantes cuneos sterneret aut fugaret, vel insidias per silvarum locaret occulta, post multos perrumpendi conatus subinde temptatos in cassum, abiecta pugnandi fiducia, concessionem petivere praeteritorum et veniam, victique ad tempus, indultae foederibus pacis nihil egere contrarium, eo maxime timore perculsi, quod ad tutelam Illyrici Gallicani militis validum accesserat robur.

[17] Dum haec tot ac talia per turbines agitantur assiduos, Claudio regente urbem aeternam, Tiberis qui media intersecans moenia, cloacis et fluviis abundantibus multis, Tyrreno mari miscetur, effusione imbrum exuberans nimia, et supra amnis speciem pansus, omnia paene contextit. [18] Et

stagnantibus civitatis residuis membris, quae tenduntur in planitiem molliorem, montes soli et quicquid insularum celsius eminebat, a praesenti metu defendebatur: et ne multi inedia contabescerent, undarum magnitudine nusquam progredi permittente, lembis et scaphis copia suggerebatur abunde ciborum. At vero ubi tempestas mollivit, et flumen retinaculis ruptis redit ad solitum cursum, absterso metu nihil postea molestius expectabatur. [19] Hic ipse praefectus egit admodum quiete, nullam seditionem super querella iusta perpressus, et instauravit vetera plurima. Inter quae porticum excitavit ingentem, lavacro Agrippae contiguam, Eventus Boni cognominatam ea re quod huius numinis prope visitur templum.

LIBER XXX.

[1] Papa, rex Armeniorum evocatus a Valente, et Tarsi specie obsequiorum custoditus, cum trecentis popularibus fugit, et frustratus viarum observatores, equis regnum repetit, nec multo post a Traiano duce in convivio interficitur.

Inter has turbarum difficultates, quas perfidia ducis rege Quadorum excitavit occiso per scelus, dirum in Oriente committitur facinus, Papa Armeniorum rege clandestinis insidiis obtruncato: cuius materiae impio conceptae consilio hanc primordiale fuisse novimus causam. [2] Consarcinabant in hunc etiam tum adultum crimina quaedam apud Valentem exaggerantes male sollertes homines, dispendiis saepe communibus pasti. Inter quos erat Terentius dux demisse ambulans semperque submaestus, sed, quoad vixerat, acer dissensionum instinator. [3] Qui adscitis in societatem gentilibus paucis, ob flagitia sua suspensis in metum, scribendo ad comitatum assidue, Cylacis necem replicabat et Artabanis, addens eundem iuvenem, ad superbos actus elatum, nimis esse in subiectos immanem. [4] Unde quasi futurus particeps suscipiendi tunc pro instantium rerum ratione tractatus, idem Papa regaliter vocatus, et apud Tarsum Ciliciae obsequiorum specie custoditus, cum neque ad imperatoris castra accipi nec urgentis adventus causam scire cunctis reticentibus posset, tandem secretiore indicio comperit, per litteras Romano rectori suadere Terentium, mittere prope diem alterum Armeniae regem, ne odio Papae, speque quod revertetur, natio nobis opportuna deficeret ad iura Persarum, eam rapere vi vel metu vel adulatione flagrantium.

[5] Quae reputans ille, impendere sibi praesagibat exitium grave. Et doli iam prudens, neque aliam nisi cito discessu salutis reperiens viam, suadentibus his quibus fidebat, conglobatis trecentis comitibus, secutis eum e patria, cum equis velocissimis, ut in magnis solet dubiisque terroribus, audacter magis quam considerate pleraque diei parte emensa, egressus cuneatim, properabat intrepidus. [6] Cumque eum provinciae moderator, apparitoris qui portam tuebatur indicio percitus, festinato studio repperisset in suburbanis, ut remaneret enixius obsecrabat, et parum hoc impetrato, mortis aversus est metu. [7] Nec minus paulo postea legionem secutam, iamque adventantem ipse cum promptissimis retrorsus excurrans, fundensque in modum scintillarum sagittas, sed voluntate deerrans, ita in fugam compulit ut cum tribuno milites universi perterrefacti, vividius quam venerant remearent ad muros. [8] Exin solutus omni formidine, biduo et binotio exanclatis itinerum laboribus magnis, cum ad flumen venisset Euphraten, et inopia navium, voraginosum amnem vado transire non posset, nandi imprudentia paventibus multis, ipse omnium maxime cunctabatur: et remansisset ni cunctis versantibus varia, id reperire potuisset effugium, in necessitatis abrupto tutissimum. [9] Lectulos in villis repositos binis utribus suffulserunt, quorum erat abundans prope in agris vinariis copia, quibus singulis proceres insidentes, et regulus ipse, iumenta

trahentes, praeruptos undarum occurrentium fluctus obliquatis meatibus declinabant: hocque commentum tandem ad ulteriorem ripam post extrema discrimina pervenerunt. [10] Residui omnes, equis invecti natantibus, et circumfluente flumine saepe demersi iactatique, infirmati periculoso madore, expelluntur ad contrarias margines, ubi paulisper refecti, expeditius quam diebus praeteritis incedebant.

[11] Hoc nuntiato, princeps ante dicti fuga perculsus, quem elaqueatum fidem rupturum existimabat, cum sagittariis mille succinctis et levibus, Danielum mittit et Barzimerem, revocatos eum -comitem unum, alterum scutariorum tribunum. [12] Hi locorum gnaritate confisi, quia ille properans ut peregrinus et insuetus, maeandros faciebat et gyros, compendiosis vallibus eius itinera praevenirent, et divisis inter se copiis, claudere vias proximas duas, trium milium intervallo distinctas, ut transiturus per utramvis caperetur improvidus: sed evanuit cogitatum hoc casu. [13] Viator quidam ad citeriora festinans, cum clivum armato milite vidisset oppletum, per posterulam tramitem medium, squalentem fructibus et sentibus, vitabundus excedens, in Armenios incidit fessos, et ductus ad regem, arcano sermone solum quae viderat docet, ac retinetur intactus. [14] Moxque metu dissimulato, eques mittitur clandestinus ad dextrum itineris latus, diversoria paraturus et cibum, quo paulum progressus, in laevum tractum item alius talia facturus ire iubetur ocissime, alterum aliorum nesciens missum. [15] Quibus ita utiliter ordinatis, rex ipse cum suis, dumeta per quae venerat viatore relegente retrorsus, monstranteque hispidam et iumento onusto exiguam callem, post terga relictis militibus evolavit, qui captis eius ministris, missis ad mentes observantium praestringendas, quasi venaticiam praedam, modo non porrectis brachiis expectabant. Dumque hi venturum operiuntur, ille regno incolumis restitutus, et cum gaudio popularium summo susceptus, fide pari deinde mansit immobilis, iniuriis quas pertulerat omnibus demussatis.

[16] Danielus post haec et Barzimeres, cum lusi iam revertissent, probrosis lacerati conviciis, ac si inertes et desides, ut hebetatae primo appetitu venenatae serpentes, ora exacuere letalia, cum primum potuissent, lapso pro virum copia nocituri. [17] Et leniendi causa flagitii sui vel fraudis, quam meliore consilio pertulerunt, apud imperatoris aures (rumorum omnium tenacissimas) incessebant falsis criminibus Papam, intentiones Circeas, in vertendis debilitandisque corporibus, miris modis eum callere fingentes: addentesque quod huius modi artibus, offusa sibi caligine, mutata sua suorumque forma transgressus, tristes sollicitudines (si huic irrisioni superfuerit) excitabit.

[18] Hinc in illum inexpiabile auctum principis odium, et doli struebantur in dies, ut per vim ei vel clam vita adimeretur: agentique tunc in Armenia Traiano, et rem militarem curanti, id secretis committitur scriptis. [19] Qui illecebrosis regem insidiis ambiens, et modo serenae mentis Valentis indices litteras tradens, modo ipse sese eius convivii ingerens, ad ultimum composita fraude, ad prandium verecundius invitavit: qui nihil adversum metuens venit,

concessoque honoratiore discubuit loco. [20] Cumque apponerentur exquisitae cuppediae, et aedes amplae nervorum et articulate flatilique sonitu resultarent, iam vino incalescente ipso convivii domino, per simulationem naturalis cuiusdam urgentis egresso, gladium dstrictum intentans, torvo lumine ferociens quidam immittitur barbarus asper, ex his quos scurras appellant, confossurus iuvenem, ne exsilire posset etiam tum praepeditum. [21] Quo viso regulus forte prominens ultra torum, expedito dolone, adsurgens ut vitam omni ratione defenderet, perforato pectore deformis procubuit victima, multiplicatis ictibus foede concisa. [22] Hocque figmento nefarie decepta credulitate, inter epulas quae reverendae sunt vel in Euxino ponto, hospitali numine contuente, peregrinus cruor in ambitiosa lintea conspersus spumante sanie satietati superfuit convivarum, horrore maximo dispersorum. Ingemiscat, siquis vita digressis est dolor, huius arrogantiam facti Fabricius ille Luscinus, sciens qua animi magnitudine Democharen, vel (ut quidam scribunt) Niciam, ministrum reppulerit regium, colloquio occultiore pollicitum, quod Pyrrum Italiam tune bellis saevissimis exurentem, veneno poculis necabit infectis, scripseritque ad regem, ut a citeriore caveret obsequio. Tantum reverentiae locum apud priscam illam iustitiam vel hostilis mensae genialitas obtinebat. [23] Verum excusabatur recens inusitatum facinus et pudendum, necis exemplo Sertorianae, adulatoribus forsitan ignorantibus, quod (ut Demosthenes, perpetuum Graeciae decus, affirmat) numquam similitudine aut impunitate alterius criminis diluitur id quod contra ac liceat arguitur factum.

Valens A. et Saporis P.R. de Armeniae et Hiberiae regnis contententium legiones.

Haec per Armeniam notabiliter gesta sunt. Sapor vero post suorum pristinam cladem, comperto interitu Papae, quem sociare sibi impendio conabatur, maerore gravi percussus, augenteque nostri exercitus alacritate formidinem, maiora sibi praeseminans, [2] Arsace legato ad principem misso, perpetuam aerumnarum causam deserere penitus suadebat Armeniam: si id displicuisset, aliud poscens, ut Hiberiae divisione cessante, remotisque inde partis Romanae praesidiis, Aspacures solus regnare permetteretur, quem ipse praefecerat genti. [3] Ad quae Valens in hanc respondit sententiam, nihil derogare se posse placitis ex consensu firmatis, sed ea studio curatiore defendere. Glorioso proposito contrariae regis litterae hieme iam extrema perlatae sunt, vana causantis et tumida. adseverabat enim non posse semina radicitus amputari discordiarum, nisi intervenissent conscii pacis foederatae cum Ioviano, quorum aliquos vita didicerat abscessisse.

[4] Ingravescente post haec altius cura, imperator eligere consilia quam invenire sufficiens, id conducere rebus existimans, Victorem magistrum equitum et Urbicium, Mesopotamiae ducem, ire propere iussit in Persas, responsum absolutum et unius modi perferentes: quod rex iustus et suo contentus, ut iactitabat, sceleste concupiscat Armeniam, ad arbitrium suum vivere cultoribus eius permissis: et ni Sauromaci praesidia militum impertita

principio sequentis anni (ut dispositum est) impraepedita reverterint, invitus ea complebit, quae sponte sua facere supersedit. [5] Quae legatio recta quidem et libera, ni deviasset in eo, quod absque mandatis, oblatas sibi regiones in eadem Armenia suscepit exiguas.

Qua regressa advenit Surena potestatis secundae post regem, has easdem imperatori offerens partes, quas audacter nostri sumpserunt legati. [6] Quo suscepto liberaliter et magnifice, sed parum impetrato, quod poscebat, remisso, parabantur magna instrumenta bellorum, ut mollita hieme imperatore trinis agminibus perrupturo Persidem, ideoque Scytharum auxilia festina celeritate mercante.

[7] Proinde parum adeptus ea quae spe vana conceperat, Sapor, ultraque solitum asperatus, quod ad expeditionem accingi rectorem compererat nostrum: iram eius conculcans Surenae dedit negotium, ut ea, quae Victor comes susceperat et Urbicius, armis repeteret, si quisquam repugnaret, et milites Sauromacis praesidio destinati malis affligerentur extremis. [8] Haecque (ut statuerat) maturata confestim, nec emendari potuerunt nec vindicari, quia rem Romanam alius circumsteterat metus, totius Gothiae Thracias licentius perrumpentis: quae funera tunc explicari poterunt carptim, si ad ea quoque venerimus.

[9] Haec per eos agitata sunt tractus. Quorum inter seriem Africanas clades et legatorum Tripoleos manes, inultos etiam tum et errantes, sempiternus vindicavit Iustitiae vigor, aliquotiens serus, sed scrupulosus quaesitor gestorum recte vel secius, hoc modo. [10] Remigius (quem populanti provincias rettulimus comiti favisse Romano), postquam Leo in eius locum magister esse coepit officiorum, a muneribus rei publicae iam quiescens, negotiis se ruralibus dedit prope Mogontiacum in genitalibus locis. [11] Quem ibi morantem securius, praefectus praetorio Maximinus reversum ad otium spernens, ut solebat dirae luis ritu grassari per omnia, laedere modis quibus poterat affectabat: utque rimaretur plura quae latebant, Caesarium antehac eius domesticum, postea notarium principis, raptum, quae Remigius egerit, vel quantum acceperit, ut Romani iuvaret actus infandos, per quaestionem cruentam interrogabat. [12] Quibus ille cognitis, cum esset (ut dictum est) in secessu, conscientia malorum urgente, vel rationem formidine superante calumniarum, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit.

Valentinianus A. post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos, cum Macriano Alamannorum rege colloquitur, ac pacem facit.

Secuto post haec anno Gratiano asscito in trabeae societatem Aequitio consule, Valentiniano post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos, munimentum aedificanti prope Basiliam, quod appellant accolae Robur, offertur praefecti relatio Probi, docentis Illyrici clades. [2] Quibus ille ut cunctatorem decuerat ducem, examinatus lectis, attonitus cogitationibus anxiiis, Paterniano notario misso, negotium scrupulosa quaesivit indagine, moxque veris per eum nuntiis gestorum acceptis, evolare protinus festinarat, ausos temerare limitem

barbaros, primo fragore (ut mente conceperat), oppressurus armorum. [3] Quia igitur abeunte autumnno multa impediabant et aspera, annitebantur omnes per regiam optimates, ut ad usque veris principium oratum retinerent et exoratum: primum durata pruinis itinera, ubi nec adultae in pastum herbae reperirentur, nec cetera usui congrua, penetrari non posse firmantes: dein vicinorum Galliis regum immanitatem, maximeque omnium Macriani, ut formidati, tunc praetendentes, quem constabat impacatum relictum etiam ipsa urbium moenia temptaturum. [4] Haec memorantes, addentesque utilia, reduxere eum in meliorem sententiam, statimque (ut conducebat rei communi), prope Mogontiacum blandius rex ante dictus accitur, proclivis ipse quoque ad excipiendum foedus (ut apparebat). Et venit immane quo quantoque flatu distentus, ut futurus arbiter superior pacis, dieque praedicto colloqui ad ipsam marginem Rheni, caput altius erigens, stetit hinc inde sonitu scutorum intonante gentilium. [5] Contra Augustus escensis amnicis lembis, saeptus ipse quoque multitudine castrensium ordinum, tutius prope ripas accessit, signorum fulgentium nitore conspicuus, et immodestis gestibus murmureque barbarico tandem sedato, post dicta et audita ultro citroque versus, amicitia media sacramenti fide firmatur. [6] Hisque perfectis, discessit turbarum rex artifex delenitus, futurus nobis deinceps socius, et dedit postea ad usque vitae tempus extremum, constantis in concordiam animi facinorum documentum pulchrorum. [7] Periit autem in Francia postea, quam dum internecive vastando perripuit avidius, oppetit, Mallobaudis bellicosi regis insidiis circumventus. Post foedus tamen sollemni ritu impletum, Treveros Valentinianus ad hiberna discessit.

Modestus praefectus praetorio a iure dicundo Valentem avertit; et de causidicina atque iurisconsultis, et variis advocatorum generibus.

Haec per Gallias et latus agebantur arctoum. At in eois partibus alto externorum silentio, intestina pernicies augebatur, per Valentis amicos et proximos, apud quos honestate utilitas erat antiquior. Navabatur enim opera diligens, ut homo rigidus audire cupiens lites, a studio iudicandi revocaretur, metu ne ita ut Iuliani temporibus, defensione innocentiae respirante, frangeretur potentium tumor, assumpta licentia latius solitus evagari. [2] Ob haec et similia, concordii consensu dehortantibus multis, maximeque Modesto, praefecto praetorio, regionum arbitrio spadonum exposito, et subagreste ingenium, nullis vetustatis lectionibus expolitur, coacto vultu fallente, et asserente, quod infra imperiale columen causarum essent minutiae privatarum; ille ad humilitandam celsitudinem potestatis negotiorum examina spectanda instituta esse arbitratus (ut monebat), abstinuit penitus, laxavitque rapinarum fores quae roborabantur in dies, iudicum advocatorumque pravitae sententiarum paria, qui tenuiorum negotia militaris rei rectoribus, vel intra palatium validis venditantes, aut opes aut honores quaesivere praeclaros.

[3] Hanc professionem oratorum forensium, πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (id est civilitatis particulae umbram) vel adulationis partem quartam esse definit amplitudo Platonis, Epicurus autem κακοτεχνίαν nominans inter artes numerat

malas. Tisias suasionis opificem esse memorat assentiente Leontino Gorgia. [4] Quam a veteribus ita determinatam, orientalium quorundam versutia ad usque bonorum extulit odium, unde etiam retinaculis temporis praestituti frenatur. Ergo absolutis super eius indignitate perpaucis, quam in illis partibus agens expertus sum, ad coeptorum cursum regrediar institutum.

[5] Florebant elegantiae priscae patrociniis tribunalia, cum oratores concitae facundiae, attentis studiis doctrinarum, ingenio fide copiis ornamentisque dicendi pluribus eminebant, ut Demosthenes, quo dicturo concursus audiendi causa ex tota Graecia fieri solitos monumentis Atticis continetur, et Callistratus, quem nobilem illam super Oropo causam (qui locus in Euboea est) perorantem, idem Demosthenes, Academia cum Platone relicta, sectatus est: ut Hyperides et Aeschines et Andocides et Dinarchus et Antiphon ille Rhamnusius, quem ob defensum negotium omnium primum antiquitas prodidit accepisse mercedem. [6] Nec minus apud Romanos, Rutilii et Galbae et Scauri vita moribus frugalitateque spectati, et postea per varias aevi sequentis aetates, censorii et consulares multi et triumphales, Crassi et Antonii et cum Philippis Scaevolae aliique numerosi, post exercitus prosperrime ductos, post victorias et tropaea, civilibus stipendiorum officiis floruerunt, laureasque fori speciosis certaminibus occupantes, summis gloriae honoribus fruebantur. [7] Post quos excellentissimus omnium Cicero, orationis imperiosae fluminibus saepe depresses aliquos iudiciorum eripiens flammis, 'Non defendi homines sine vituperatione fortasse posse, neglegenter defendi sine scelere non posse' firmabat.

[8] At nunc videre est per eos omnes tractus violenta et rapacissima genera hominum, per fora omnia volitantium, et subsidentium divites domus, of the wealthy, and like Spartan or Cretan ut Spartanos canes aut Cretas, vestigia sagacius colligendo, ad ipsa cubilia pervenire causarum.

[9] In his primus est coetus eorum, qui seminando diversa iurgia per vadimonia mille iactantur, viduarum postes et orborum limina deterentes, et aut inter discordantes amicos, aut propinquantes, vel affines, si simultatum leviter senserint receptacula, odia struentes infesta: in quibus aetatis progressu non ut aliorum vitia intepescunt, sed magis magisque roborantur: inter rapinas insatiabiles inopes, ad capiendam versutis orationibus iudicum fidem, quorum nomen ex iustitia natum est, sicam ingenii destringentes. [10] Horum obstinatione libertatem temeritas, constantiam audacia praeceps, eloquentiam inanis quaedam imitatur affluentia loquendi: quarum artium scaevitate, ut Tullius asseverat, nefas est religionem decipi iudicantis. Ait enim 'Cumque nihil tam incorruptum esse debeat in re publica quam suffragium, quam sententia, non intellego cur qui ea pecunia corruperit, poena dignus sit: qui eloquentia, laudem etiam ferat. Mihi quidem hoc plus mali facere videtur, qui oratione, quam qui pretio iudicem corrumpit: quod pecunia corrumpere prudentem nemo potest, dicendo potest.'

[11] Secundum est genus eorum, qui iuris professi scientiam, quam repugnantium sibi legum abolvere discidia, velut vinculis ori impositis

reticentes, iugi silentio umbrarum sunt similes propriarum. Hi velut fata natalicia praemonstrantes, aut Sibyllae oraculorum interpretes, vultus gravitate ad habitum composita tristiores, ipsum quoque venditant, quod oscitantur. [12] Hi ut altius videantur iura callere, Trebatium loquuntur et Cascellium et Alfenum, et Auruncorum Sicanorumque iam diu leges ignotas, cum Evandri matre abhinc saeculis obrutas multis. Et si voluntate matrem tuam finxeris occidisse, multas tibi suffragari absolutionem lectiones reconditas pollicentur, si te senserint esse nummatum.

[13] Tertius eorum est ordo, qui ut in professione turbulenta clarescant, ad expugnandam veritatem ora mercenaria procudentes, per prostitutas frontes vilesque latratus, quo velint aditus sibi patefaciunt crebros: qui inter sollicitudines iudicum per multa distentas, irresolubili nexu vincientes negotia, laborant, ut omnis quies litibus implicetur, et nodosis quaestionibus de industria iudicia circumscribunt, quae cum recte procedunt, delubra sunt aequitatis: cum depravantur, foveae fallaces et caecae: in quas si captus ceciderit quisquam, non nisi per multa exsiliet lustra, ad usque ipsas medullas exsuctus.

[14] Quartum atque postremum est genus impudens, pervicax et indoctum, eorum qui cum immature a litterariis eruperint ludis, per angulos civitatum discurrunt, mimiambos non causarum remediis congrua commentantes, fores divitum deterendo, cenarum ciborumque aucupantes delicias exquisitas. [15] Qui cum semel umbraticis lucris, et inhiandae undique pecuniae sese dediderint, litigare frustra quoslibet innocentes hortantur, et ad defendendam causam admissi, quod raro contingit, suscepti nomen et vim negotii sub ore disceptatoris inter ipsos conflictuum articulos instruuntur, circumlocutionibus indigestis ita scatentes, ut in colluvione taeterrima audire existimes ululabili clamore Thersiten. [16] Cum autem ad inopiam muniendarum venerint allegationum, ad effrenatam deflectunt conviciandi licentiam: quo nomine ob assidua in personas honorabiles probra, diebus dictis aliquotiens sunt damnati, e quibus ita sunt rudes non nulli, ut numquam se codices habuisse meminerint.

[17] Et si in circulo doctorum auctoris veteris inciderit nomen, piscis aut edulii peregrinum esse vocabulum arbitrantur: si vero advena quisquam inusitatum sibi antea Marcianum (verbo tenuis) quaesierit oratorem, omnes confestim Marcianos appellari se fingunt. [18] Nec iam fas ullum prae oculis habent, sed tamquam avaritiae venundati et usucapti, nihil praeter interminatam petendi licentiam norunt. Et siquem semel intra retia ceperint, cassibus mille impedicant, per morborum simulationem vicissim consulto cessantes: utque pervulgati iuris proferatur lectio vana, septem vendibiles introitus praeparant, dilationum examina longissima contextentes. [19] Et cum nudatis litigatoribus dies cesserint et menses et anni, tandem obtrita vetustate controversia intromissa, ipsa capita splendoris ingressa, alia secum advocatorum simulacra inducunt. Cumque intra cancellorum venerint saepta, et agi coeperint alicuius fortunae vel salus, atque laborari debeat ut ab insonte gladius vel calamitosa detrimenta pellantur, corrugatis hinc inde frontibus brachiisque histrionico

gestu formatis, ut contionaria Gracchi fistula sola post occipitum desit, consistitur altrinsecus diu: tandemque ex praemeditato colludio, per eum qui est in verba fidentior, suave quoddam principium dicendi exoritur, Cluentianae vel pro Ctesiphonte orationum aemula ornamenta promittens: et in eam conclusionem cunctis finem cupientibus desinit, ut nondum se patroni post speciem litis triennium editam causentur instructos, spatioque prorogati temporis impetrato, quasi cum Antaeo vetere colluctati, perseveranter flagitant pulveris periculosi mercedes.

[20] Verum tamen haec cum ita sint, non desunt advocatis incommoda plurima, parum sustinenda recte victuro. Namque sellulariis quaestibus inescati, inter se hostiliter dissident, et abrupta maledicendi ferocia (ut dictum est) multos offendunt: quam tunc effutiunt, cum commissarum sibi causarum infirmitatem rationibus validis convallare non possunt. [21] Et iudices patiuntur interdum doctos ex Philistionis aut Aesopi cavillationibus, quam ex Aristidis illius Iusti vel Catonis disciplina productos: qui aere gravi mercati publicas potestates, ut creditores molesti, opes cuiusque modi fortunae rimantes, alienis gremiis excutiunt praedas. [22] Ad ultimum id habet causidicina cum ceteris metuendum et grave, quod hoc ingenitum est paene litigantibus cunctis, ut cum iurgia mille casibus cadant, accidentia secus in potestate esse existiment patronorum, et omnem certaminum exitum eisdem soleant assignare, et non vitiis rerum, aut iniquitati aliquotiens disceptantium, sed solis defensantibus irascantur. Verum unde huc declinavimus, revertamur.

Valentinianus Sarmatis et Quadis Pannoniarum populatoribus bellum illaturus, in Illyricum proficiscitur, et transito Danubio Quadorum pagos vastat, vicos incendit, barbaros cuiusque aetatis iugulat.

Pubescente iam vere, Valentinianus a Treveris motus, per nota itinera gradu celeri contendebat, eique regiones adventanti quas petebat, legatio Sarmatarum offertur: pedibusque eius prostrata, orabat pacifica prece, ut propitius veniret et lenis, nullius diri facinoris participes popularis suos inventurus aut conscios. [2] Quibus saepe eadem iterantibus, hactenus perpensa deliberatione respondit, haec in locis ubi dicuntur admissa, quaerenda verissimis documentis et vindicanda. Cumque exinde Carnuntum Illyriorum oppidum introisset, desertum quidem nunc et squalens, sed ductori exercitus perquam opportunum, ubi fors copiam dedisset aut ratio, e statione proxima reprimebat barbaricos appetitus.

[3] Et quamquam terrori cunctis erat dum sperabatur, ut acer et vehemens, mox iudices damnari iussurus, quorum perfidia vel secessione Pannoniarum nudatum est latus: cum illuc venisset, ita intepuit, ut neque in Gabinii regis inquireret necem, necque inusta rei publicae vulnera, quo sinente vel agente segnius evenissent, curatius vestigaret: eo videlicet more, quo erat severus in gregariis corrigendis, remissior erga maiores fortunas vel verbis asperioribus incessendas. [4] Solum tamen incitato petebat odio Probum, numquam ex quo eum viderat minari desinens vel mitescens: cuius rei causae nec obscurae fuerunt nec leves. Hic praefecturam praetorio non tunc primitus nactus,

eamque multis atque utinam probabilibus modis, in longum proferre gestiens, non ut prosapiae suae claritudo monebat, plus adulationi quam verecundiae dedit. [5] Contemplatus enim propositum principis, quaerendae undique pecuniae vias absque iustorum iniustorumque discretione scrutantis, errantem non reducebat ad aequitatis tramitem (ut saepe moderatores fecere tranquilli) sed ipse quoque flexibilem sequebatur atque transversum. [6] Unde graves oboedientium casus, et exitialia provisorum nomina titulorum, iuxta opulentas et tenues enervatas succidere fortunas, argumentis aliis post alia validioribus, usu laedendi reperiente longaevo. Denique per tributorum onera vectigaliumque augmenta multiplicata, optimatum quosdam ultimorum metu exagitatos, mutare compulit sedes, et flagitantium ministrorum amaritudine quidam expressi, cum non suppeteret quod daretur, erant perpetui carcerum inquilini: e quibus aliquos, cum vitae iam taederet et lucis, suspendiorum exoptata remedia consumpserunt. [7] Haec ita illecebrosius atque inhumanius agi loquebatur quidem pertinax rumor; Valentinianus vero tamquam auribus cera illitis ignorabat, indifferenter quidem lucrandi vel ex rebus minimis avidus, idque tantum cogitans quod offerebatur, parsurus tamen fortasse Pannoniis, si haec ante ingemiscenda compendia comperisset, quae nimium sero tali didicit casu. [8] Ad provincialium residuorum exemplum, etiam Epirotae acturos sibi gratias a praefecto mittere compulsi legatos, Iphiclem quendam philosophum, spectatum robore pectoris hominem, adegere (non sponte propria) pergere ad id munus implendum. [9] Qui cum imperatorem vidisset, agnitus adventusque sui causam interrogatus, Graece respondit, atque ut philosophus veritatis professor, quaerente curatius principe, si hi qui misere ex animo bene sentiunt de praefecto, ‘gementes,’ inquit, ‘et inviti.’ [10] Quo ille verbo tamquam telo percussus, actus eius ut sagax bestia rimabatur, genuino percunctando sermone quos noscitabat, ubinam ille esset (verbi gratia) honore suos antecellens et nomine, vel ille dives, aut alius ordinis primus. Cumque disceret perisse aliquem laqueo, abisse alium trans mare, conscivisse sibi alium mortem aut plumbo vita erepta exstinctum, in immensum excanduit, urente irarum nutrimenta tunc officiorum magistro Leone (pro nefas!) ipso quoque praefecturam, ut e celsiore scopulo caderet, affectante: quam si adeptus rexisset, prae his quae erat ausurus, administratio Probi ferebatur in caelum.

[11] Agens itaque apud Carnuntum imperator per continuos tres menses aestivos arma parabat et alimenta, siqua fors secundasset, pervasurus opportune Quados, tumultus atrocis auctores; in quo oppido Faustinus, filius sororis Viventii praefecti praetorio, notarius militans, Probo spectante negotium, carnificis manu peremptus est post tormenta, vocatus in crimen, quod asinum occidisse dicebatur ad usum artium secretarum, ut asserebant quidam urgentes; ut autem aiebat ille ad imbecillitatem firmandam fluentium capillorum. [12] Alio quoque in eum perniciose composito, quod petenti per iocum cuidam Nigrino, ut eum notarium faceret, exclamavit ille hominem ridens: ‘Fac me imperatorem, si id volueris impetrare.’ Hocque ludibrio inique

interpretato, et Faustinus ipse et Nigrinus et alii sunt interfecti.

[13] Praemisso igitur Merobaude cum militari peditum manu, quam regebat, ad vastandos cremandosque barbaricos pagos, comite adiuncto Sebastiano, Valentinianus Acinum propere castra commovit, navigiisque ad repentinum casum coniunctis, et contabulato celeri studio ponte, per partem aliam transiit in Quados, speculantes quidem ex diruptis montibus eius adventum, quo plerique ancipites, incertique accidentium, cum suis caritatibus secesserunt: sed stupore defixos, cum in regionibus suis, contra quam opinabantur, augusta cernerent signa. [14] Progressus ergo coacto gradu in quantum res tulit, iugulataque aetate promiscua, quam etiam tum palantem subitus occupavit excursus, et tectis combustis, redit cum incolumibus cunctis, quos duxerat secum, itidemque apud Acinum moratus, autumnus praecipiti, per tractus conglaciari frigoribus assuetos, commoda quaerebat hiberna, nullaque sedes idonea reperiri praeter Savariam poterat, quamvis eo invalidam tempore, assiduisque malis afflictam. [15] Unde hoc, etiam si magni intererat, paulisper sequestrate, impigre motus, peragrata fluminis ripa, castrisque praesidio competenti munitis atque castellis, Bregitionem pervenit, ibique diu compositum ad quietem principis fatum sortem denuntiabat ei supremam, prodigiis ingredientibus multis. [16] Namque diebus ante paucissimis, ruinas fortunarum indicantia celsarum, arsere crinita sidera cometarum, quorum originem supra docuimus. Ante apud Sirmium repentino fragore nubium fulmen excussum, palatii et curiae partem incendit et fori, et apud Savariam eodem adhuc constitute, bubo culminibus regii lavacri insidens, occentansque funebria, nulla iacentium sagittas et lapides contemplabili dextera cadere potuit, certatim licet ardenti studio petebatur. [17] Item cum ab urbe praedicta tenderet ad procinctum, per portam voluit unde introiit exire, ut omen colligeret, quod cite remeabit ad Gallias. Dumque locus aggestis rudibus neglectus purgatur, lapsam forem ferratam, quae exitum obseravit, multitudo remove non potuit, viribus magnis enisa, et ille ne frustra tereret diem, coactus per aliam egressus est portam. [18] Nocteque quam lux ereptura eum vita secuta est (ut per quietem solet) videbat coniugem suam absentem, sedere passis capillis, amictu squalenti contextam: quam aestimari dabatur Fortunam eius esse, cum taetro habitu iam discessuram. [19] Progressus deinde matutinus, contractiore vultu subtristis, cum eum oblatus non susciperet equus, anteriores pedes praeter morem erigens in sublime, innata feritate concitus, ut erat immanis, dexteram stratoris militis iussit abscidi, quae eum insilientem iumento fulserat consuete: perissetque cruciabiliter innocens iuvenis, ni tribunus stabuli Cerealis dirum nefas cum sui periculo distulisset.

Idem dum legatis Quadorum populares suos purgantibus respondet iratus, ictu sanguinis exstinguitur.

Post haec Quadorum venere legati, pacem cum praeteritorum obliteratione, suppliciter obsecrantes, quam ut adipisci sine obstaculo possent, et tirocinium et quaedam utilia rei Romanae pollicebantur. [2] Quos quoniam suscipi placuit, et redire indutiis, quae poscebantur, indultis, quippe

eos vexari diutius, nec ciborum inopia, nec alienum tempus anni patiebantur, in consistorium, Aequitio suadente, sunt intromissi. Cumque membris incurvatis starent metu debiles et praestricti, docere iussi quae ferebant, usitatas illas causationum species iurandi fidem addendo firmabant; nihil ex communi mente procerum gentis delictum asseverantes in nostros, sed per extimos quosdam latrones, amnique confines evenisse, quae inciviliter gesta sunt, etiam id quoque addendo, ut sufficiens ad facta purganda firmantes, quod munimentum extrui coeptum nec iuste nec opportune ad ferociam animos agrestes accendit. [3] Ad haec imperator, ira vehementi perculsus, et inter exordia respondendi tumidior, increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu nationem omnem ut beneficiorum immemorem et ingratham. Paulatimque lenitus, et ad molliora propensior, tamquam ictus e caelo, vitalique via voceque simul obstructa, suffectus igneo lumine cernebatur; et repente cohibito sanguine, letali sudore perfusus, ne laberetur spectantibus multis et vilibus, concursu ministrorum vitae secretioris ad conclave ductus est intimum. [4] Ubi locatus in lecto, exiguas spiritus reliquias trahens, nondum intellegendi minuto vigore, cunctos agnoscebat adstantes, quos cubicularii, nequis eum necatum suspicaretur, celeritate maxima corrogarant. Et quoniam viscerum flagrante compage, laxanda erat necessario vena, nullus inveniri potuit medicus, hanc ob causam quod eos per varia sparserat, curaturos militem pestilentiae morbo temptatum. [5] Unus tamen repertus, venam eius iterum saepiusque pungendo, ne guttam quidem cruoris elicere potuit, internis nimietate calorum ambustis, vel (ut quidam existimabant), arefactis ideo membris, quod meatus aliqui (quos haemorrhoidas nunc appellamus), obserati sunt gelidis frigoribus con crustati. [6] Sensit immensa vi quadam urgente morborum, ultimae necessitatis adesse praescripta, dicereque conatus aliqua vel mandare, ut singultus ilia crebrius pulsans, stridorque dentium et brachiorum motus velut caestibus dimicantium indicabat, iam superatus, liventibusque maculis interfusus, animam diu colluctatam efflavit, aetatis quinquagesimo anno et quinto, imperii (minus centum dies) secundo et decimo.

Quo patre natus sit, et quas res princeps gesserit.

Replicare nunc est opportunum (ut aliquotiens fecimus), et ab ortu primigenio patris huius principis ad usque ipsius obitum, actus eius discurrere per epilogos brevis, nec vitiorum praetermisso discrimine, vel bonorum, quae potestatis amplitudo monstravit, nudare solita semper animorum interna.

[2] Natus apud Cibalas, Pannoniae oppidum, Gratianus maior ignobili stirpe, cognominatus est a pueritia prima Funarius, ea re quod nondum adultus, venalem circumferens funem, quinque militibus eum rapere studio magno conatis, nequaquam cessit: aemulatus Crotoniaten Milonem, cui mala saepe cohaerenter laeva manu retinenti vel dextra, nulla umquam virium fortitudo abstraxit. [3] Ob ergo validi corporis robur, et peritiam militum more luctandi, notior multis, post dignitatem protectoris atque tribuni, comes

praefuit rei castrensi per Africam, unde furtorum suspicione contactus, digressusque multo postea pari potestate Britannum rexit exercitum, tandemque honeste sacramento solutus, revertit ad larem, et agens procul a strepitu, multatione bonorum afflictus est a Constantio, hoc nomine, quod civili flagrante discordia, hospitio dicebatur suscepisse Magnentium, per agrum suum ad proposita festinantem.

[4] Cuius meritis Valentinianus ab ineunte adulescentia commendabilis, contextu suarum quoque suffragante virtutum, indutibus imperatoriae maiestatis apud Nicaeam ornatus, in Augustum collegium fratrem Valentem adscivit, ut germanitate ita concordia sibi iunctissimum, inter probra medium et praecipua, quae loco docebimus competenti. [5] Igitur Valentinianus post periculorum molestias plures, dum esset privatus, emensas, imperitare exorsus, ut arces prope flumina sitas et urbes muniret, Gallias petit, Alamannicis patentes excursibus, reviviscentibus erectius cognito principis Iuliani interitu, quem post Constantem solum omnium formidabant. [6] Ideo autem etiam Valentinianus merito timebatur, quod auxit et exercitus valido supplemento, et utrobique Rhenum celsioribus castris munivit atque castellis, ne latere usquam hostis ad nostra se proripiens possit.

[7] Utque multa praetereamus, quae egit moderatoris auctoritate fundati, quaeque per se vel duces correxit industrios, post Gratianum filium in societatem suae potestatis assumptum, Vithicabium regem Alamannorum, Vadomario genitum, adulescentem in flore primo genarum, nationes ad tumultus cientem et bella, clam (quia non potuit aperte) confodit; et Alamannis congressus, prope Solicinium locum, ubi insidiis paene perierat, circumventus, ad exitium ultimum delere potuit universos, ni paucos velox effugium tenebris amendasset.

[8] Inter haec tamen caute gesta, iam conversos ad metuendam rabiem Saxonas, semper quolibet inexplorato ruentes, delatosque tunc ad maritimos tractus, quorum spoliis paene redierant locupletes, malefido quidem sed utili commento peremit, praeda raptoribus vi fractis excussa.

[9] Itidemque Britannos, catervas superfusorum hostium non ferentes, spe meliorum assumpta, in libertatem et quietem restituit placidam, nullo paene redire permisso grassatorum ad sua.

[10] Efficacia pari Valentinum quoque, Pannonium exsulem, per has provincias molientem otium turbare commune, antequam negotium effervescat, oppressit.

Africam deinde malo repentino percussam, discriminibus magnis exemit, cum voracis militarium fastus ferre nequiens Firmus, ad omnes dissensionum motus perflabiles gentes Mauricas concitasset.

Similique fortitudine clades ingemiscendas Illyrici vindicasset, ni morte praeventus reliquisset rem seriam imperfectam.

[11] Ac licet opera praestabilium ducum haec quae rettulimus consummata sunt, tamen ipsum quoque satis constat, ut erat expeditae mentis usuque castrensis negotii diuturno firmatus, egisse complura; inter quae illud elucere

clarius potuit, si Macrianum regem ea tempestate terribilem, vivum capere potuisset, ut industria magna temptarat, postquam eum evasisse Burgundios, quos ipse admoverat Alamannis, maerens didicisset et tristis.

Eius saevitia, avaritia, invidia, et timor.

Haec super actibus principis brevi sunt textu percurta: nunc confisi quod nec metu nec adulandi foeditate constricta posteritas, incorrupta praeteritorum solet esse spectatrix, summatim eius numerabimus vitia, post et praecipua narraturi. [2] Adsimulavit non numquam clementiae speciem, cum esset in acerbiter naturae calore propensior, oblitus profecto quod regenti imperium omnia nimia, velut praecipites scopuli, sunt evitanda. [3] Nec enim usquam reperitur miti coercitione contentus, sed aliquotiens quaestiones multiplicari iussisse cruentas, per interrogationes funestas, non nullis ad usque discrimina vitae vexatis: et ita erat effusior ad nocendum ut nullum aliquando damnatorum capitis eriperet morte, subscriptionis elogio leni, cum id etiam principes interdum fecere saevissimi. [4] Atquin potuit exempla multa contueri maiorum, et imitari peregrina atque interna humanitatis et pietatis, quas sapientes consanguineas virtutum esse definiunt bonas. E quibus haec sufficere poni. Artaxerxes Persarum ille rex potentissimus, quem Macrochira membri unius longitudo commemoravit, suppliciorum varietates, quas natio semper exercuit cruda, lenitate genuina castigans, tiaras ad vicem capitum quibusdam noxiis amputabat: et ne secaret aures more regio pro delictis, ex galeris fila pendencia praecidebat: quae temperantia morum ita tolerabilem eum fecit et verecundum, ut annitentibus cunctis, multos et mirabiles actus impleret, Graecis scriptoribus celebratos. [5] Praenestino praetore, qui bello quodam Samnitico properare iussus ad praesidium venerat segnius, ad crimen diluendum exhibito, Papirius Cursor, ea tempestate dictator, securem per lictorem expediri homineque abiecta purgandi se fiducia stupefacto, visum prope fruticem iussit abscidi: hocque ioci genere castigatum, cum eum absolveret, non ideo contemptus, bella diuturna patrum superavit et gravia, solus ad resistendum aptus Alexandro Magno, si calcasset Italiam, aestimatus.

[6] Haec forsitan Valentinianus ignorans, minimeque reputans, afflictis solacium status semper esse lenitudinem principum, poenas per ignes augebat et gladios: quod ultimum in adversis rebus remedium pietas reperit animorum, ut Isocratis memorat pulchritudo: cuius vox est perpetua docentis, ignosci debere interdum armis superato rectori, quam iustum quid sit ignoranti. [7] Unde motum existimo Tullium praeclare pronuntiasse, cum defenderet Oppium: ‘Et enim multum posse ad salutem alterius, honori multis; parum potuisse ad exitium, probro nemini umquam fuit.’

[8] Aviditas plus habendi, sine honesti pravique differentia, et indagandi quaestus varios per alienae vitae naufragia, exundavit in hoc principe flagrantius adulescens, Quam quidam praetendentes imperatorem Aurelium purgare temptabant, id affirmando quod ut ille post Gallienum, et lamentabilis rei publicae casus, exinanito aerario, torrentis ritu ferebatur in divites, ita hic quoque post procinctus Parthici clades, magnitudine indigens impensarum, ut

militi supplementa suppetere et stipendium, crudelitati cupiditatem opes nimias congerendi miscebat: dissimulans scire, quod sunt aliqua quae fieri non oportet, etiam si licet, Themistoclis illius vere dissimilis, qui cum post pugnam agminaque deleta Persarum, licenter obambulans, armillas aureas vidisset humi proiectas, et torquem, 'Tolle' inquit 'haec,' ad comitem quendam prope adstantem versus, 'quia Themistocles non es,' quodlibet spernens in duce magnanimo lucrum. [9] Huius exempla continentiae similia plurima in Romanis exuberant ducibus: quibus omissis, quoniam non sunt perfectae virtutis indicia, (nec enim aliena non rapere laudis est), unum ex multis constans innocentiae vulgi veteris specimen ponam. Cum proscriptorum locupletes domus diripiendas Romanae plebei Marius dedisset et Cinna, ita vulgi rudes animi sed humana soliti respectare, alienis laboribus pepercerunt, ut nullus egens reperiretur aut infimus, qui de civili luctu fructum contrectare pateretur sibi concessum.

[10] Invidia praeter haec ante dictus medullitus urebatur, et sciens pleraque vitiorum imitari solere virtutes, memorabat assidue, livorem severitatis rectae potestatis esse individuum sociam. Utque sunt dignitatum apices maximi, licere sibi cuncta existimantes, et ad suspicandum contrarios, exturbandosque meliores pronius inclinati, bene vestitos oderat et eruditos et opulentos et nobiles, et fortibus detrahebat, ut solus videretur bonis artibus eminere, quo vitio exarsisse principem legimus Hadrianum.

[11] Arguebat hic idem princeps timidos saepius, maculosos tales appellans et sordidos, et infra sortem humilem amendandos, ipse ad pavores irritos aliquotiens abiectius pallens, et quod nusquam erat, ima mente formidans. [12] Quo intellecto, magister officiorum Remigius, cum eum ex incidentibus ira fervere sentiret, fieri motus quosdam barbaricos, inter alia subserebat: hocque ille audito, quia timore mox frangebatur, ut Antoninus Pius erat serenus et clemens. [13] Iudices numquam consulto malignos elegit, sed si semel promotos agere didicisset immaniter, Lycurgos invenisse praedicabat et Cassios, columnina iustitiae prisca, scribensque hortabatur assidue, ut noxas vel leves acerbius vindicarent. [14] nec afflictis (si fors ingruisset inferior) erat ullum in principis benignitate perfugium, quod semper, ut agitato mari iactatis, portus patuit exoptatus. Finis enim iusti imperii (ut sapientes docent) utilitas oboedientium aestimatur et salus.

Eiusdem virtutes.

Consentaneum est venire post haec ad eius actus, sequendos recte sentientibus et probandos: ad quos si reliqua temperasset, vixerat ut Traianus et Marcus. In provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas: oppidorum et limitum conditor tempestivus: militaris disciplinae censor eximius, in hoc tantum deerrans, quod cum gregariorum etiam levia puniret errata, potiorum ducum flagitia progredi sinebat in maius, ad querellas in eos motas aliquotiens obsurdescens: unde Britannici strepitus et Africanae clades et vastitas emersit Illyrici.

[2] Omni pudicitiae cultu domi castus et foris, nullo contagio conscientiae

violatus obscenae, nihil incestum: hancque ob causam tamquam retinaculis petulantiam frenarat aulae regalis, quod custodire facile potuit, necessitudinibus suis nihil indulgens, quas aut in otio reprimebat, aut mediocriter honoravit absque fratre, quem temporis compulsus angustiis, in amplitudinis suae societatem assumpsit.

[3] Scrupulosus in deferendis potestatibus celsis nec imperante eo provinciam nummularius rexit, aut administratio venundata, nisi inter imperandi exordia, ut solent occupationis spe impune quaedam scelestae committi.

[4] Ad inferenda propulsandaque bella sollertissime cautus, aestu Martii pulveris induratus, boni pravique suasor et desuasor admodum prudens, militaris rei ordinum scrutantissimus: scribens decore, venusteque pingens et fingens, et novorum inventor armorum: memoria sermoneque incitato quidem sed raro, facundiae proximo vicens, amator munditiarum, laetusque non profusis epulis sed excultis.

[5] Postremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur, imperavit aut illud: nec interdictis minacibus subiectorum cervicem ad id, quod ipse coluit, inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes ut repperit.

[6] Corpus eius lacertosum et validum, capilli fulgor colorisque nitor cum oculis caesiis, semper obliquum intuentibus et torvum, atque pulchritudo staturae, liniamentorumque recta compago, maiestatis regiae decus implebat.

Valentinianus iunior, Valentiniani filius, in castris apud Bregetionem Augustus appellatur.

Post conclamata imperatoris suprema, corpusque curatum ad sepulturam, ut missum Constantinopolim inter divorum reliquias humaretur, suspensio instante procinctu, anceps rei timebatur eventus cohortibus Gallicanis, quae non semper dicatae legitimorum principum fidei, velut imperiorum arbitri, ausurae novum quoddam in tempore sperabantur: hoc temptandae novitatis spes adiciente, quod gestorum ignarus etiam tum Gratianus agebat tum apud Treveros, ubi profecturus eum morari disposuerat pater. [2] Cum negotium in his esset angustiis, et tamquam in eadem navi futuri periculorum (si accidissent) participes, omnes eadem formidarent: sedit summatum consilio, avulso ponte quem compaginarat ante necessitas, invadens terras hostilis, ut superstitis Valentiniani mandatu Merobaudes protinus acciretur. [3] Hocque ille ut erat sollertis ingenii, quod evenerat ratus, aut forte doctus ab eo per quem vocabatur, rupturum concordiae iura Gallicanum militem suspicatus, missam ad se tesseram finxit redeundi cum eo, ad observandas Rheni ripas quasi furore barbarico crudescente: utque erat secrete mandatum, Sebastianum principis adhuc ignorantem excessum, longius amendavit, quietum quidem virum et placidum, sed militari favore sublatum, ideo maxime tunc cavendum.

[4] Reverso itaque Merobaude, altiore cura prospectum, expedite consilio, Valentinianus puer defuncti filius tum quadrimus, vocaretur in imperium cooptandus, centesimo lapide disparatus, degensque cum Iustina matre in

villa, quam Murocinctam appellant. [5] Hocque concinenti omnium sententia confirmato, Cerealis avunculus eius ocius missus, eundem puerum lecticae impositum, duxit in castra sextoque die post parentis obitum imperator legitime declaratus, Augustus nuncupatur more sollemni. [6] Et licet cum haec agerentur, Gratianum indigne laturum existimantes, absque sui permissu principem alium institutum, postea tamen sollicitudine discussa vivere securius, quod ille (ut erat benivulus et pius) consanguineum pietate nimia dilexit et educavit.

LIBER XXXI.

[1] Caedis Valentis A. et cladis a Gothis inferendae prodigia.

Inter haec Fortunae volucris rota, adversa prosperis semper alternans, Bellonam furiis in societatem adscitis, armabat, maestosque transtulit ad Orientem eventus, quos adventare praesagiorum fides clara monebat, et portentorum. [2] Post multa enim quae vates auguresque praedixere veridice, resultabant canes ululantibus lupis, et querulum quoddam nocturnae volucres tinniebant et flebile, et squalidi solis exortus hebetabant matutinos diei candores, et Antiochiae per rixas tumultusque vulgares id in consuetudinem venerat, ut quisquis vim se pati existimaret, 'Vivus ardeat Valens' licentius clamitaret, vocesque praeconum audiebantur, assidue mandantium congeri ligna ad Valentini lavacri succensionem, studio ipsius principis conditi. [3] Quae hunc illi impendere exitum vitae modo non aperte loquendo monstrabant. Super his larvale simulacrum Armeniae regis, et miserabiles umbrae paulo ante in negotio Theodori caesorum, per quietem stridendo carmina quaedam neniarum horrenda, multos diris terroribus agitabant. [4] Vaccula gurgulione consecto, exanimis visa est iacens, cuius mors publicorum funerum aerumnas indicabat amplas et pervulgatas. Denique cum Chalcedonos subverterentur veteres muri, ut apud Constantinopolim aedificaretur lavacrum, ordine resoluta saxorum, in quadrato lapide qui structura latebat in media, hi Graeci versus incisi reperti sunt, futura plene pandentes:

[5]

ἀλλὰ' ὁπόταν νύμφαι δροσεραὶ κατὰ ἄστρῳ χορεῖη
τερπόμεναι στρωφῶνται ἐυστεφέας κατ' ἀγνίας,
καὶ τεῖχος λουτροῖο πολύστονον ἔσσειται ἄλκαρ,
δὴ τότε μυρία φῦλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων
ἴστρον καλλιρόοιο πόρον περάοντα σὺν αἰχμῇ,
καὶ σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ μυσίδα γαῖαν,
παιονίης δ' ἐπιβάντα σὺν ἐλπίσι μαινομένῃσιν
αὐτοῦ καὶ βιότοιο τέλος καὶ δῆρις ἐφέξει.

De Hunnorum et Alanorum, aliarumque Scythiae Asiaticae gentium sedibus et moribus.

Totius autem sementem exitii et cladum originem diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito miscendo cuncta concivit, hanc comperimus causam. Hunorum gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota, ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit. [2] Ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro sulcantur altius genae, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens, corrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes, compactis omnes firmisque membris et opimis cervicibus, prodigiose deformes et pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in commarginandis pontibus effigiati

stipites dolantur incompte. [3] In hominum autem figura, licet insuavi, ita victu sunt asperi, ut neque igni neque saporatis indigeant cibis, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium, et semicruda cuiusvis pecoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua equorumque terga subsertam, fotu calefaciunt brevi. [4] Aedificiis nullis umquam tecti, sed haec velut ab usu communi discreta sepulcra declinant. Nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum reperiri tugurium potest. Sed vagi montes peragrantes et silvas, pruinas famem sitimque perferre ab incunabulis adsuescunt. Peregre tecta (nisi adigente maxima necessitate) non subeunt: nec enim se tutos existimant esse sub tectis morantes. [5] Indumentis operiuntur linteis vel ex pellibus silvestrium murum consarcinatis; nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis. Sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta, non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos diffluxerit defrustata. [6] Galeris incurvis capita tegunt, hirsuta crura coriis munientes haedinis, eorumque calcei formulis nullis aptati, vetant incedere gressibus liberis. Qua causa ad pedestres parum adcommodati sunt pugnas, verum equis prope affixi, duris quidem sed deformibus, et muliebriter eisdem non numquam insidentes, funguntur muneribus consuetis. Ex ipsis quivis in hac natione pernox et perdiu emit et vendit, cibumque sumit et potum, et inclinatus cervici angustae iumentum, in altum soporem ad usque varietatem effunditur somniorum. [7] Et deliberatione super rebus proposita seriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. Aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario primatum ductu contenti, perrumpunt quicquid incident. [8] Et pugnant non numquam lacesiti, ineuntes proelia cuneatim, variis vocibus sonantibus torvum. Utque ad pernecitatem sunt leves et repentini, ita subito de industria dispersi incessunt, et incompressa acie, cum caede vasta discurrunt, nec invadentes vallum, nec castra inimica pilantes, prae nimia rapiditate cernuntur. [9] Eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores, quod procul missilibus telis, acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine, arte mira coagmentatis, et distantis decursis comminus ferro sine sui respectu configunt, hostisque dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis illigant, ut laqueatis resistentium membris, equitandi vel gradiendi adimant facultatem. [10] Nemo apud eos arat nec stivam aliquando contingit. Omnes enim sine sedibus fixis, absque lare vel lege aut victu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi coniuges taetra illis vestimenta contextunt, et coeunt cum maritis, et pariunt, et ad usque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. Nullusque apud eos interrogatus respondere unde oritur potest, alibi conceptus natusque procul, et longius educatus. [11] Per indutias infidi et inconstantes, ad omnem auram incidentis spei novae perquam mobiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes. Inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit, penitus ignorantes, flexiloqui et obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti, auri cupidine immensa flagrant, adeo permutabiles et irasci faciles ut eodem aliquotiens die a sociis nullo irritante saepe desciscant, itidemque propitientur, nemine leniente.

[12] Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus, externa praedandi aviditate flagrans immani, per rapinas finitimorum grassatum et caedes, ad usque Halanos pervenit, veteres Massagetarum, qui unde sint vel quas incolant terras (quoniam huc res prolapsa est), consentaneum est demonstrare, geographica perplexitate monstrata, quae diu multimoda tractans et varia, tandem repperit veritatis interna.

[13] Abundans aquarum Hister advenarum magnitudine fluenti Sauromatas praetermeat, ad usque amnem Tanaim pertinentes, qui Asiam terminat ab Europa. Hoc transito in immensum extensas Scythiae solitudines Halani inhabitant, ex montium appellatione cognominati, paulatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem sui vocabuli traxerunt (ut Persae). [14] Inter hos Nervi mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos praeruptos geluque torpentes, aquilones adstringunt. Post quos Vidini sunt et Geloni, perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus, indumenta sibi equisque tegmina conficiunt bellatoria. Gelonis Agathyrsi collimitant, interstincti colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius fucatis et densioribus notis. [15] Post hos Melanchlaenas et Anthropophagos palari accepimus per diversa, humanis corporibus victitantes, quibus ob haec alimenta nefanda desertis, finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. Ideoque plaga omnis orienti aestivo obiecta, usque dum venit ad Seras, inhabitabilis mansit. [16] Parte alia prope Amazonum sedes, Halani sunt orienti acclines, diffusi per populosas gentes et amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangen accepi, fluvium intersecantem terras Indorum, mareque inundantem australe.

[17] Hi bipertiti per utramque mundi plagam Halani, quorum gentes varias nunc recensere non refert, licet dirempti spatiis longis, per pagos (ut Nomades) vagantur immensos, aevi tamen progressu, ad unum concessere vocabulum, et summatim omnes Halani cognominantur, ob mores et modum efferatum vivendi, eandemque armaturam. [18] Nec enim ulla sunt illis vel tuguria, aut versandi vomeris cura, sed carne et copia victitant lactis, plaustris supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt sine fine distentas. Cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis, ferino ritu vescuntur, absumptisque pabulis velut carpentis civitates impositas vehunt, maresque supra cum feminis coeunt, et nascuntur in his et educantur infantes, et habitacula sunt haec illis perpetua, et quocumque ierint, illic genuinum existimant larem. [19] Armenta prae se agentes, cum gregibus pascunt, maximeque equini pecoris est eis sollicitior cura. Ibi campi semper herbescunt, intersitis pomiferis locis: atque ideo transeuntes quolibet, nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent, quod efficit umectum solum et crebri fluminum praetermeantium cursus. [20] Omnis igitur aetas et sexus imbellis, circa vehicula ipsa versatur, muniisque distringitur mollibus: iuventus vero equitandi usu a prima pueritia coalescens, incedere pedibus existimat vile, et omnes multiplici disciplina prudentes sunt bellatores. Unde

etiam Persae, qui sunt originitus Scythae, pugnandi sunt peritissimi.

[21] Proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles, et armorum levitate veloces, Hunisque per omnia suppare, verum victu mitiores et cultu, latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna, et Cimmerium Bosporum, itidemque Armenios discurrentes, et Mediam. [22] Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula iuvant et bella. Iudicatur ibi beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam, senescentes enim et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur, nec quicquam est quod elatius iactent, quam homine quolibet occiso, proque exuviis gloriosis interfectorum, avulsis capitibus, detractas pelles pro phaleris iumentis accommodant bellatoriis. [23] Nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcolunt praesulem, verecundius colunt. [24] Futura mire praesagunt mode. Nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis, praestituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portenditur norunt. [25] Servitus quid sit ignorant, omnes generoso semine procreati, iudicesque etiam nunc eligunt diuturno bellandi usu spectatos. Sed ad reliqua textus propositi revertamur.

Hunni Alanos Tanaitas armis aut pactis sibi adiungunt, Gothosque irvadunt, ac suis sedibus pellunt.

Igitur Huni pervasis Halanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines Tanaitas consuetudo cognominavit, interfectisque multis et spoliatis, reliquos sibi concordandi fide pacta iunxerunt, eisque adhibitis confidentius Ermenrichi late patentes et uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicosissimi regis, et per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis nationibus formidati. [2] Qui vi subitae procellae percussus, quamvis manere fundatus et stabilis diu conatus est, impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatus fama, magnorum discriminum metum voluntaria morte sedavit. [3] Cuius post obitum, rex Vithimiris creatus, restitit aliquantisper Halanis, Hunis aliis fretus, quos mercede sociaverat partibus suis. Verum post multas quas pertulit clades, animam effudit in proelio, vi superatus armorum. Cuius parvi filii Viderichi nomine curam susceptam Alatheus tuebatur et Saphrax, duces exerciti et firmitate pectorum noti, qui cum tempore arto praeventi, abiecissent fiduciam repugnandi, cautius discedentes, ad amnem Danastium pervenerunt, inter Histrum et Borysthenem, per camporum ampla spatia diffluentem. [4] Haec ita praeter spem accidissee doctus Athanarichus, Theruingorum iudex (in quem ut ante relatum est, ob auxilia missa Procopio, dudum Valens commoverat signa) stare gradu fixo temptabat, surrecturus in vires, si ipse quoque lacesseretur, ut ceteri. [5] Castris denique prope Danasti margines a Greuthungorum vallo longius opportune metatis, Munderichum ducem postea limitis per Arabiam, cum Lagarimano et optimatibus aliis, ad usque vicensimnm lapidem misit, hostium speculatu ad adventum, ipse aciem nullo turbante, interim struens. [6]

Verum longe aliter quam rebatur evenit. Huni enim (ut sunt in coniectura sagaces), multitudinem esse longius aliquam suspicati, praetermissis quos viderant, in quietem tamquam nullo obstante compositis, rumpente noctis tenebras luna, vado fluminis penetrate, id quod erat potissimum elegerunt, et veriti ne praecursorius index procul agentes absterreat, Athanaricum ipsum ictu petivere veloci. [7] Eumque stupentem ad impetum primum, amissis quibusdam suorum, coegerunt ad effugia properare montium praeruptorum. Qua rei novitate, maioreque venturi pavore constrictus, a superciliis Gerasi fluminis ad usque Danubium, Taifalorum terras praestringens, muros altius erigebat: hac lorica diligentia celeri consummata, in tuto locandam securitatem suam existimans et salutem. [8] Dumque efficax opera suscitatur, Huni passibus eum citis urgebant, et iam oppresserant adventantes, ni gravati praedarum onere destitissent.

Fama tamen late serpente per Gothorum reliquas gentes, quod invisitatum antehac hominum genus, modo, nivium ut turbo montibus celsis, ex abdito sinu coortum apposita quaeque convellit et corrumpit: populi pars maior, quae Athanaricum attenuata necessariorum penuria deseruerat, quaeritabat domicilium remotum ab omni notitia barbarorum, diuque deliberans, quas eligeret sedes, cogitavit Thraciae receptaculum gemina ratione sibi conveniens, quod et caespitis est feracissimi, et amplitudine fluentorum Histri distinguitur ab arvis patentibus iam peregrini fulminibus Martis: hoc quoque idem residui velut mente cogitare communi.

Pars maior Gothorum cognomine Theringorum finibus suis expulsa, permissu Valentis a Romanis transportatur in Thraciam, obsequium et auxilia pollicita. Greuthungi quoque, pars altera Gothorum, furtim ratibus Histrum transeunt.

Itaque duce Alavivo ripas occupavere Danubii, missisque oratoribus ad Valentem, suscipi se humili prece poscebant, et quiete victuros se pollicentes, et daturos (si res flagitasset) auxilia. [2] Dum aguntur haec in externis, novos maioresque solitis casus versare gentes arctoas, rumores terribiles diffuderunt: per omne quicquid ad Pontum a Marcomannis praetenditur et Quadis, multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum, vi subita sedibus pulsam, circa flumen Histrum, vagari cum caritatibus suis disseminantes. [3] Quae res aspernanter a nostris inter initia ipsa accepta est, hanc ob causam, quod illis tractibus non nisi peracta aut sopita audiri procul agentibus consueverant bella. [4] Verum pubescente fide gestorum, cui robur adventus gentilium addiderat legatorum, precibus et obtestatione petentium, citra flumen suscipi plebem extorrem: negotium laetitiae fuit potius quam timori, eruditis adulatoribus in maius fortunam principis extollentibus, quae ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia trahens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum suis et alienigenis viribus, invictum haberet exercitum, et pro militari supplemento, quod provinciatim annuum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus. [5] Hacque spe mittuntur diversi, qui cum vehiculis plebem transferant truculentam. Et navabatur opera diligens, nequi Romanam rem eversurus

relinqueretur, vel quassatus morbo letali. Proinde permissu imperatoris transeundi Danubium copiam, colendique adepti Thraciae partes, transfretabantur in dies et noctes, navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis agminatim impositi, atque per amnem longe omnium difficillimum, imbriumque crebritate tunc auctum, ob densitatem nimiam contra ictus aquarum nitentes quidam, et natare conati, hausti sunt plures.

[6] Ita turbido instantium studio orbis Romani perniciēs ducebatur. Illud sane neque obscurum est neque incertum, infaustos transvehendi barbaram plebem ministros, numerum eius comprehendere calculo saepe temptantes, conquievisse frustratos, ut eminentissimus memorat vates,

‘Quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem

Discere, quam multae zephyro trudentur harenae.

[7] Resipiscant tandem memoriae veteres, Medicas acies ductantes ad Graeciam: quae dum Hellespontiacos pontes, et discidio quodam fabрили, mare sub imo Athonis pede quaesitum exponunt et turmatim apud Doriscum exercitus recensitos, concordante omni posteritate, ut fabulosae sunt lectae. [8] Nam postquam innumerae gentium multitudines, per provincias circumfusae, pandentesque se in spatia ampla camporum, regiones omnes et cuncta opplevere montium iuga, fides quoque vetustatis recenti documento firmata est. Et primus cum Alavivo suscipitur Fritigernus, quibus et alimenta pro tempore, et subigendos agros tribui statuerat imperator.

[9] Per id tempus nostri limitis reseratis obicibus, atque (ut Aetnaeas favillas armorum agmina diffundente barbaria), cum difficiles necessitatum articuli correctores rei militaris poscerent aliquos claritudine gestarum rerum notissimos: quasi laevo quodam numine diligente, in unum quaesiti potestatibus praefuere castrensibus homines maculosi: quibus Lupicinus antistabat et Maximus, alter per Thracias comes, dux alter exitiosus, aemulae ambo temeritatis. [10] Quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit. Nam (ut alia omittamus, quae memorati vel certe, sinentibus eisdem, alii perditis rationibus in commeantes peregrinos adhuc innoxios deliquerunt) illud dicitur, quod nec apud sui periculi iudices absolvere ulla poterat venia, triste et inauditum. [11] Cum traducti barbari victus inopia vexarentur, turpe commercium duces invisissimi cogitarunt, et quantos undique insatiabilitas colligere potuit canes, pro singulis dederunt mancipiis, inter quae et filii ducti sunt optimatum.

[12] Per hos dies interea etiam Vithericus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo et Saphrace, quorum arbitrio regebatur, itemque Farnobio, propinquans Histri marginibus, ut simili susciperetur humanitate, obsecravit imperatorem legatis prope missis. [13] Quibus (ut communi rei conducere videbatur) repudiatis, et quid capesseren anxii, Athanarichus paria pertimescens abcessit, memor Valentem dudum cum foederaretur concordia despexisse, affirmantem se religione devinctum, ne calcaret solum aliquando Romanum, hacque causatione, principem firmare pacem in medio flumine coegisse: quam

simultatem veritus, ut adhuc durantem, ad Caucalandensem locum altitudine silvarum inaccessum et montium, cum suis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extrusis.

Theruingi fame et inopia pressi ac pessime habiti, ducibus Alavivo et Fritigerno a Valente deficiunt, ac Lupicinum cum suis fundunt.

At vero Theruingi, iam dudum transire permissi, prope ripas etiam tum vagabantur, duplici impedimento adstricti, quod ducum dissimulatione perniciosa, nec victui congruis sunt adiuti, et tenebantur consulto nefandis nundinandi commerciis. [2] Quo intellecto, ad perfidiam instantium malorum subsidium verti mussabant, et Lupicinus ne iam deficerent pertimescens, eos admotis militibus adigebat ocus proficisci. uerti, Pet.; uertendi, WE, Val.; uerter di, V.

[3] Id tempus opportunum nancti Greuthungi, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultro citroque discurrere solita, transgressum eorum prohibentia, quiescere perspexissent, ratibus transiere male contextis, castraque a Fritigerno locavere longissime.

[4] At ille genuina praevidendi sollertia, venturos muniens casus, ut et imperiis oboediret, et regibus validis iungeretur, incedens segnius, Marcianopolim tarde pervenit itineribus lentis. Ubi aliud accessit atrocius, quod arsuras in commune exitium faces furiales accendit. [5] Alavivo et Fritigerno ad convivium corrogatis, Lupicinus ab oppidi moenibus barbaram plebem, opposito milite, procul arcebat, introire ad comparanda victui necessaria, ut dicioni nostrae obnoxiam et concordem, per preces assidue postulantem, ortisque maioribus iurgiis inter habitatores et vetitos, ad usque necessitatem pugnandi est ventum. Efferatique acrius barbari, cum necessitudines hostiliter rapi sentirent, spoliarent interfectam militum magnam manum. [6] Quae accidisse idem Lupicinus, latenti nuntio doctus, dum in nepotali mensa ludicris concrepantibus, diu discumbens vino marcebat et somno, futuri coniciens exitum, satellites omnes, qui pro praetorio (honoris et tutelae causa) duces praestolabantur, occidit. [7] Hocque populus qui muros obsidebat dolenter accepto, ad vindictam detentorum regum (ut opinabatur) paulatim augescens, multa minabatur et saeva. Utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii, veritus ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit, graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sineretur exire cum sociis, quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos, in tumultum exarsit. Hocque impetrato, egressi omnes exceptique cum plausu et gaudiis, ascensis equis evolarunt, moturi incitamenta diversa bellorum. [8] Haec ubi fama rumorum nutrix maligna dispersit, urebatur dimicandi studio Theruingorum natio omnis, et inter metuenda multa periculorumque praevia maximorum, vexillis de more sublatis, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis, iam turmae praedatoriae concursabant, pilando villas et incendendo, vastisque cladibus quicquid inveniri poterat permiscentes.

[9] Adversus quos Lupicinus properatione tumultuaria coactis militibus, temere magis quam consulte progressus, in nono ab urbe miliario stetit,

paratus ad decernendum. Barbarique hoc contemplate, globos irrupere nostrorum incauti, et parmas oppositis corporibus illidendo, obvios hastis perforabant et gladiis, furoreque urgente cruento, et tribuni et pleraque pars armatorum periire, signis ereptis, praeter ducem infaustum, qui ad id solum intentus, ut confligentibus aliis, proriperet ipse semet in fugam, urbem cursu concito petit. Post quae hostes armis induti Romanis, nullo vetante per varia grassabantur.

[10] Et quoniam ad has partes post multiplices ventum est actus, id lecturos (siqui erunt unquam), obtestamur, nequis a nobis scrupulose gesta vel numerum exigit peremptorum, qui comprehendi nullo genere potuit. Sufficiet enim, veritate nullo velata mendacio, ipsas rerum digerere summitates: cum explicandae rerum memoriae ubique debeat integritas fida. [11] Negant antiquitatum ignari, tantis malorum tenebris offusam aliquando fuisse rem publicam, sed falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi. Namque si superiores vel recens praeteritae revolvantur aetates, tales tamque tristes rerum motus saepe contigisse monstrabunt. [12] Inundarunt Italiam ex abditis oceani partibus Teutones repente cum Cimbris, sed post inflictas rei Romanae clades immensas, ultimis proeliis per duces amplissimos superati, quid potestas Martia adhibita prudentia valeat, radicitus extirpati discriminibus didicere supremis. [13] Marco itidem moderante imperium, unum spirando vesania gentium dissonarum, post bellorum fragores immensos, post aerumnas urbium captarum et direptarum, et pessum datas copias, concitas probi rectoris interitu, partes earum exiguas reliquisset intactas. [14] Verum mox post calamitosa dispendia res in integrum sunt restituae, hac gratia, quod nondum solutioris vitae mollitie sobria vetustas infecta nec ambitiosis mensis nec flagitiosis quaestibus inhiabat, sed unanimanti ardore, summi et infimi inter se congruentes, ad speciosam pro re publica mortem tamquam ad portum aliquem tranquillum properabant et placidum.

[15] Duobus navium milibus, perrupto Bosporo et litoribus Propontidis, Scythicarum gentium catervae transgressae, ediderunt quidem acerbas terra marique strages; sed amissa suorum parte maxima reverterunt. [16] Ceciderunt dimicando cum barbaris imperatores Decii pater et filius. Obsessae Pamphylicae civitates, insulae populae complures, inflammata Macedonia omnis; diu multitudo Thessalonicam circumsedidit itidemque Cyzicum. Anchialos capta et tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator. [17] Post clades acceptas, illatasque multas et saevas, excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum milibus, nisi fingunt annales, intra moenia iugulatis. Vagati per Epirum Thessaliamque et omnem Graeciam licentius hostes externi, sed assumpto in imperium Claudio, glorioso ductore, et eodem honesta morte praerepto, per Aurelium, acrem virum, et severissimum noxarum ultorem, pulsus per longa saecula siluerunt immobiles, nisi quod postea latrocinales globi vicina cum sui exitio rarius incursabant. Verum ea persequar unde deverti.

Sueridus et Colias, Gothorum optimates, una cum suis prius recepti, cur

rebellaverint, et caesis Hadrianopolitanis, Fritigerno se adiunxerint, ad diripiendas Thracias conversi.

Hoc gestorum textu circumlato nuntiis densis, Sueridus et Colias (Gothorum optimates) cum populis suis longe ante suscepti, et curare apud Hadrianopolim hiberna dispositi, salutem suam ducentes antiquissimam omnium, otiosis animis accidentia cuncta contuebantur. [2] Verum imperatoris litteris repente perlatis, quibus transire iussi sunt in Hellespontum, viaticum cibos biduique dilationem tribui sibi sine tumore poscebant. Quod civitatis magistratus ferens indigne (succensebat enim eisdem ob rem suam in suburbano vastatam) imam plebem omnem cum Fabricensibus, quorum illic ampla est multitudo, productam, in eorum armavit exitium, iussisque bellicum canere bucinis, ni abirent ocus (ut statutum est) pericula omnibus minabatur extrema. [3] Quo malo praeter spem Gothi perculsi, et concito quam considerato civium assultu perterriti, steterunt immobiles, laceratique ad ultimum detestatione atque conviciis, et temptati missilium iactibus raris, ad defectionem erupere confessam, et caesis plurimis, quos impetus deceperat petulantior, aversisque residuis, et telorum varietate confixis, habitu iam Romano cadaveribus spoliatis armati, viso propius Fritigerno, iunxerunt semet ut morigeri socii, urbemque clausam obsidionalibus aerumnis urgebant. In qua difficultate diutius positi, passim et promiscue ruebant, eminensque aliquorum audacia peribat inulta, multique sagittis et rotatis per fundas lapidibus interibant. [4] tunc Fritigernus frustra cum tot cladibus collectari homines ignaros obsidendi contemplans, relicta ibi manu sufficiente, abire negotio imperfecto suasit, pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans, suadensque ut populandas opimas regiones et uberes, absque discrimine ullo, vacuas praesidiis etiamtum adorerentur. [5] Laudato regis consilio, quem cogitatorum norant fore socium efficacem, per Thraciarum latus omne dispersi caute gradiebantur, dediticiis vel captivis vices uberes ostendentibus, eos praecipue, ubi alimentorum reperiri satias dicebatur, eo maxime adiumento, praeter genuinam erecti fiduciam, quod confluebat ad eos in dies ex eadem gente multitudine, dudum a mercatoribus venundati, adiectis plurimis quos primo transgressu necati inedia vino exili vel panis frustis mutavere vilissimis. [6] Quibus accessere sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci, vectigalium perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves, susceptique libenti consensione cunctorum, magno usui eisdem fuere ignota peragrantibus loca, conditoria frugum occulta, et latebras hominum et receptacula secretiora monstrando. [7] Nec quicquam nisi inaccessum et devium praeaeuntibus eisdem mansit intactum. Sine distantia enim aetatis vel sexus, caedibus incendiorumque magnitudine cuncta flagrabant, abstractisque ab ipso uberum suctu parvulis et necatis, raptae sunt matres et viduae maritis coniuges ante oculos caesis, et puberes adultique pueri per parentum cadavera tracti sunt. [8] Senes denique multi, ad satietatem vixisse clamantes, post amissas opes cum speciosis feminis, manibus post terga contortis, defletisque gentilium favillis aedium ducebantur extorres.

Profuturus et Traianus ac Richomeres pugnant aequo Marte cum Gothis.

Haec ex Thraciis magno maerore accepta Valentem principem in sollicitudines varias distraxerunt. Et confestim Victore magistro equitum misso ad Persas, ut super Armeniae statu pro captu rerum componeret impendentium, ipse Antiochia protinus egressurus, ut Constantinopolim interim peteret, Profuturum praemisit et Traianum, ambo rectores, anhelantes quidem altius sed imbellis. [2] Qui cum ad loca venissent, ubi particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia multitudo minui deberet hostilis, ad id quod erat perniciosum intempestive conversi, legiones ab Armenia ductas opposuere vesanum adhuc spirantibus barbaris, opere quidem Martio saepe recte compertas, sed impares plebi immensae, quae celsorum iuga montium occuparat et campos. [3] Hi numeri nondum experti, quid cum desperatione rabies valeret indomita, trusos hostes ultra Haemi montis abscisos scopulos faucibus impegere praeruptis, ut in locis desertis et solis inclusos, nusquam reperientes exitum, diuturna consumeret fames, et opperirentur ipsi Frigeridum ducem, cum Pannonicis et transalpinis auxiliis adventantem, quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire disposuit in procinctum, laturum suppetias his qui ad ultimum vexabantur exitium. [4] Post quem Richomeres, domesticorum tunc comes, imperatu eiusdem Gratiani motus e Galliis, properavit ad Thracias, ductans cohortes aliquas nomine tenus, quarum pars pleraque deseruerat, ut iactavere quidam, Merobaudis suasu, veriti ne destitutae adminiculis Galliae vastarentur licenter, Rheno perrupto. [5] Verum articulorum dolore Frigerido praepedito, vel certe (ut obtrectatores finxere malivoli), morbum causante, ne ferventibus proeliis interesset, universos regens ex communi sententia, Richomeres Profuturo sociatur et Traiano, tendentibus prope oppidum Salices: unde haut longo spatio separatum, vulgus inaeestimabile barbarorum, ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum, tamquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis, otio fruebatur, et ubertate praedarum.

[6] Praevia igitur spe meliorum, Romani duces (si fors copiam attulisset), ausuri aliquid gloriosum, Gothos quicquid molirentur, sagaciter observabant: id scilicet praestruentes, ut si aliorum castra movissent, quod fecere creberrime, terga ultorum adorti, plures perfoderent contis, magnamque spoliolum averterent partem. [7] Hoc intellecto hostes vel transfugarum indiciis docti, per quos nihil latebat incognitum, in eodem loco diu manserunt: sed oppositi exercitus metu praestrici, aliorumque militum, quos affluere iam sperabant, tessera data gentili, per diversa prope diffusas accivere vastatorias manus, quae iussis optimatum acceptis, statim ut incensi malleoli, ad carraginem (quam ita ipsi appellant), aliti velocitate regressae, incentivum audendi maiora popularibus addiderunt. [8] Nihil post haec inter partes praeter indutias laxatum est breves. Reversis enim his quos necessitas evocarat, plebs omnis intra saeptorum ambitum etiam tum contrusa, immaniter fremens, animisque concita truculentis, experiri postrema discrimina, nec principibus gentis, qui aderant, renuentibus, cupiditate raecipiti festinabat. Et quoniam

haec sole agebantur extremo, noxque adventans ad quietem invitos retinebat et maestos, capto per otium cibo, somni manserunt expertes. [9] Contra Romani, his cognitis, ipsi quoque exsomnes, verebantur hostes et male sanos eorum ductores, ut rabidas feras: eventum licet ancipitem, ut numero satis inferiores, prosperum tamen ob iustiorum sui causam, mentibus expectantes impavidis.

[10] Candente itaque protinus die, signo ad arma capienda ex utraque parte per lituos dato, barbari postquam inter eos ex more iuratum est, tumultuosos locos appetere temptaverunt, quo exinde per proclive rotarum modo obvios impetu convolverent acriore. Hocque viso, ad suos quisque manipulos properans miles, stabili gradu consistens, nec vagabatur nec relictis ordinibus procurabat. [11] Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes, gressu steterunt immobili, torvitate mutua bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis. Et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes, a minore solita ad maiorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant barritum, vires validas erigebant. Barbari vero maiorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis, interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus, leviora proelia temptabantur. [12] Iamque verrutis et missilibus aliis, utrimque semet eminus lacescentes, ad conferendas coiere minaciter manus, et scutis in testudinum formam coagmentatis, pes cum pede collatus est. Barbarique ut reparabiles semper et celeres, ingentes clavas in nostros conicientes ambustas, mucronesque acrius resistentium pectoribus illidentes, sinistrum cornu perrumpunt: quod inclinatum subsidialis robustissimus globus, e propinquo latere fortiter excitus, haerente iam morte cervicibus sustentavit. [13] Fervente igitur densis caedibus proelio, in confertos quisque promptior ruens, ritu grandinis undique volitantibus telis oppetebat et gladiis; et sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientium occipitia lacertis ingentibus praecedentes et terga, itidemque altrinsecus pedites, lapsorum timore impeditorum secando suffragines. [14] Et cum omnia caesorum corporibus opplerentur, iacebant inter eos quidam semianimes, spem vitae inaniter usurpando, alii glande fundis excussa, vel harundinibus armatis ferro confixi, quorundam capita per medium frontis et verticis mucrone distincta, in utrumque humerum magno cum horrore pendebant. [15] Et pertinaci concertatione nondum lassatae, aequo Marte partes semet altrinsecus afflictabant, nec de rigore genuine quidquam remittebant, dum vires animorum alacritas excitaret. Diremit tamen interneciva certamina cedens vespero dies, et cunctis, qua quisque potuit, incomposite discedentibus, residui omnes repetunt tentoria tristiores. [16] Humatis denique, pro locorum et temporis ratione, honoratis quibusdam inter defunctos, reliqua peremptorum corpora dirae volucres consumpserunt, assuetae illo tempore cadaveribus pasci, ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi. Constat tamen in numero longe minores Romanos, cum copiosa multitudine colluctatos, funerea multa perpressos: non tamen sine deflendis aerumnis exagitasse barbaram plebem.

Clausi intra Hemimontanas Gothi, deinde a Romanis emissi, Thraciam

rapinis, caedibus, stupris, incendiisque foedant, et Barzimerem, scutariorum tribunum interficiunt.

His casibus proeliorum ita luctuose finitis, nostri proximos Marcianopoleos petivere secessus. Gothi intra vehiculorum anfractus sponte sua contrusi, numquam exinde per dies septem egredi vel videri sunt ausi, ideoque opportunitatem milites nancti, immensas alias barbarorum catervas inter Haemimontanas angustias clauserunt, aggerum obiectu celsum, hac spe nimirum ut inter Histum et solitudines perniciose hostium multitudo compacta, nullosque reperiens exitus, periret inedia, cunctis utilibus ad vivendum in civitates validas comportatis, quarum nullam etiam tum circumsedere conati sunt, haec et similia machinari penitus ignorantes. [2] Post quae repetivit Gallias Richomeres, ob maiorem proeliorum fremitum, qui sperabatur, inde adminicula perducturus. Haec Gratiano quater et Merochaude consulibus agebantur, anno in autumnum vergente.

[3] Inter quae Valens audito lugubri bellorum direptionumque eventu, Saturninum equestris exercitus ad tempus cura commissa, suppetias Traiano ferentem misit et Profuturo. [4] Forteque eisdem diebus, per Scythiae regiones et Moesiae omnibus quae poterant mandi consumptis, feritate urgente pariter et inopia erumpere barbari molibus magnis ardebant. Hocque saepe temptato, cum obruerentur vigore nostrorum, per asperitates scruposas valide resistentium, adacti necessitate postrema, Hunorum et Halanorum aliquos ad societatem spe praedarum ingentium adsciverunt.

[5] Quo cognito Saturninus (iam enim aderat, et praetenturas stationesque disponebat agrarias), paulatim colligens suos, digredi parabat consilio non absurdo: ne subita multitudo, ut amnis immani pulsu undarum obicibus ruptis emissus, convelleret levi negotio cunctos, suspecta loca acutius observantes. [6] Deinde post reseratas angustias abitumque militis tempestivum, incomposite, qua quisque clausorum potuit (nullo vetante), turbandis incubuit rebus: et vastabundi omnes per latitudines Thraciae pandebantur impune, ab ipsis tractibus, quos praetermeat Hister, exorsi, ad usque Rhodopen et fretum, quod immensa disternit maria, rapinis et caedibus, sanguineque et incendiis et liberorum corporum corruptelis, omnia foedissime permiscentes. [7] tunc erat spectare cum gemitu facta dictu visuque praedira, attonitas metu feminas flagris concrepantibus agitari, fetibus gravidas adhuc immaturis, antequam prodirent in lucem, impia tolerantibus multa, implicatos alios matribus parvulos, et puberum audire lamenta, puellarumque nobilium, quarum stringebat fera captivitas manus. [8] Post quae adulta virginitas, castitasque nuptiarum, ore abiecto, flens ultima ducebatur, mox profanandum pudorem optans morte (licet cruciabili) praevenire. Inter quae cum beluae ritu traheretur ingenuus paulo ante dives et liber, de te, Fortuna, ut inclementi querebatur et caeca, quae eum puncto temporis brevi opibus exutum et dulcedine caritatum, domoque extorrem, quam concidisse vidit in cinerem et ruinas, aut lacerandum membratim, aut servituum sub verberibus et tormentis crudo devovisti victori.

[9] Barbari tamen, velut diffractis caveis bestiae, per Thraciarum amplitudines fusius incitati, oppidum petivere nomine Dibaltum, ubi tribunum scutiariorum Barzimeren inventum cum suis Cornutisque et aliis peditum numeris castra ponentem assiliunt, eruditum pulvere militari rectorem. [10] Qui confestim (ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitii) iussa canere bellicum tuba, lateribus firmatis prorupit, cum promptis accinctis ad proelium: fortiterque resistendo pari pugnandi sorte discesserat, ni eum equitum accursus complurium anhelum circumvenisset et fessum. Et ita cecidit interfectis barbarorum non paucis, quorum clades copiarum magnitudo celabat.

Frigeridus dux Gratiani Farnobium optimatem cum multis Gothis et Taifalis caedit: reliquis vita et agri circa Padum dati.

Re in hunc modum peracta, Gothi quid postea molirentur incerti, quaeritabant Frigeridum, tamquam obicem validum, ubi reppererint excisuri: et cultiore victu somnoque parumper assumpto, eum sequebantur ut ferae: docti quod Gratiani monitu reversus in Thracias, et prope Beroeam vallo metato, eventus rerum speculabatur ancipites. [2] Et hi quidem ad patrandum propositum discursione rapida maturabant. Ille vero regendi conservandique militis non ignarus, id quod cogitatum est suspicatus, vel exploratorum relatione, quos miserat, aperte instructus, per montium celsa silvarumque densitates ad Illyricum redit, erectus prosperitate nimia, quam ei fors obtulit insperata. [3] Repedando enim congregatusque in cuneos sensim progrediens, Gothorum optimatem Farnobium cum vastatoriis globis vagantem licentius occupavit, ducentemque Taifalos, nuper in societatem adhibitos: qui (si dignum est dici), nostris ignotarum gentium terrore dispersis, transiere flumen directuri vacua defensoribus loca. [4] Eorum catervis subito visis, certare comminus dux cautissimus parans, adortusque nationis utriusque grassatores, minantes etiam tum acerbas strages multos occidit, trucidassetque omnes ad unum, ut ne nuntius quidem cladis post appareret, ni cum aliis multis perempto Farnobio, metuendo antehac incensore turbarum, obtestatus prece impensa superstitibus pepercisset, vivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit. [5] Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem ac obscenae vitae flagitiis ita accepimus mersam, ut apud eos nefandi concubitus foedere copulentur maribus puberes, aetatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro siqui iam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemerit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti.

Lentienses Alamanni a Gratiani A. ducibus proelio superati, Rege Priario item interfecto; et post deditionem datis Gratiano tironibus, domum redire permissi.

Haec autumno vergente in hiemem funesti per Thracias turbines converrebant. Quae temporum rabies, velut cuncta cientibus Furiis, ad regiones quoque longinquas progrediens, late serpebat. [2] Et iam Lentiensis Alamannicus populus, tractibus Raetiarum confinis, per fallaces discursus, violato foedere dudum concepto, collimitia nostra temptabat, quae clades hinc

exitiale primordium sumpsit. [3] Ex hac natione quidam inter principis armigeros militans, poscente negotio reversus in larem, ut erat in loquendo effusior, interrogantes multos quid ageretur in palatio, docet arcessitu Valentis patruī Gratianum Orientem versus mox signa moturum, ut duplicatis viribus repellantur plagarum terminalium accolae, ad Romanarum rerum excidium coniurati. [4] Quibus avide Lentienses acceptis, ipsi quoque haec quasi vicini cernentes, ut sunt veloces et rapidi, conferti in praedatorios globos, Rhenum gelu pervium pruinis Februario mense transire tentarunt; quos tendentes prope cum Petulantibus Celtae, non sine sui iactura, afflictos graviter adultis viribus averterunt. [5] Verum retrocedere coacti Germani, atque noscentes exercitus pleramque partem in Illyricum (ut imperatore mox adfuturo) praegressam, exarsere flagrantius: maioraque coeptantes, pagorum omnium incolis in unum collectis, cum quadraginta armorum milibus vel septuaginta, ut quidam laudes extollendo principis iactitarunt, sublati in superbiam nostra confidentius irruerunt.

[6] Quibus Gratianus cum formidine magna compertis, revocatis cohortibus, quas praemiserat in Pannonias, convocatisque aliis, quas in Galliis retinuerat dispositio prudens, Nannieno negotium dedit, virtutis sobriae duci: eique Mallobauden iunxit pari potestate collegam, domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum, virum bellicosum et fortem. [7] Nannieno igitur pensante fortunarum versabiles casus, ideoque cunctandum esse censente, Mallobaudes alta pugnandi cupiditate raptatus (ut consueverat), ire in hostem, differendi impatiens, angebatur. [8] Proinde horrifico adversum fragore terrente, ubi primum apud Argentariam signo per cornicines dato, concurrī est coeptum, sagittarum verrutorumque missilium pulsibus crebriores hinc indeque sternebantur. [9] Sed in ipso proeliorum ardore, infinita hostium multitudine milites visa, vitantesque aperta discrimina, per calles consitas arboribus et angustas, ut quisque potuit, dispersi, paulo postea stetere fidentius, et splendore consimili, proculque nitore fulgentes armorum, imperatorii adventus iniecere barbaris metum. [10] Qui repente versi in terga, resistentesque interdum, nequid ultimae rationis omitterent, ita sunt caesi, ut ex praedicto numero non plus quam quinque milia, ut aestimabatur, evaderent, densitate nemorum tecta, inter complures alios audaces et fortes, rege quoque Priario interfecto, exitialium concitore pugnatum.

[11] Hac laeti successus fiducia Gratianus erectus, iamque ad partes tendens eoas, laevorsus flexo itinere, latenter Rheno transito, spe incitator bona, universam, si id temptanti fors adfuisset, delere statuit malefidam et turbarum avidam gentem. [12] Hocque urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis cognito, Lentienses aerumnis populi sui ad internecionem paene deleti, et repentino principis adventu defixi, quid capesserent ambigentes, cum neque repugnandi neque agendi aliquid aut moliendi laxamentum possent invenire vel breve, impetu celeri obsessos petiverunt inviis cautibus colles, abruptisque per ambitum rupibus insistentes, rebus caritativisque suis, quas secum conduxerant, omni virium robore propugnabant. [13] Qua difficultate perpensa,

velut murorum obicibus opponendi, per legiones singulas quingenti leguntur armati, usu prudenter bellandi comperti. Qui ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod versari inter antesignanos visebatur acriter princeps, montes scandere nitebantur, tamquam venaticas praedas, si calcassent editiora, confestim sine certamine ullo rapturi: exorsumque proelium vergente in meridiem die, tenebrae quoque occupavere nocturnae. [14] Quippe magno utriusque partis pugnabatur exitio: caedebant cadebantque nostrorum non pauci, simul arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine, iaculatione ponderum densa confringebantur.

[15] Exinde diu reputante Gratiano cum optimatibus, perniciosum apparebat et irritum, contra asperitates aggerum prominentium intempestiva contendere pertinacia, multis (ut in tali negotio), variatis sententiis, otioso milite circumvallari placuit barbaros, inedia fatigatos, quia locorum iniquitate defenderentur. [16] Verum cum obstinatione simili renitentes Germani, peritique regionum, petissent alios montes, his quos ante insederant, altiores: conversus illuc cum exercitu imperator, eadem qua antea fortitudine, semitas ducentes ad ardua quaeritabat. [17] Quem Lentienses intentum iugulis suis omni perseverandi studio contemplantes, post deditionem, quam impetravere supplici prece, oblata (ut praeceptum est) iuventute valida nostris tirociniis permiscenda, ad genitales terras innoxii ire permissi sunt.

[18] Hanc victoriam, opportunam et fructuosam, quae gentes hebetavit occiduas, sempiterni numinis nutu, Gratianus incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque vigore exserta celeritate aliorum properans expedivit: praeclarae indolis adulescens, facundus et moderatus et bellicosus et clemens, ad aemulationem lectorum progrediens principum, dum etiam tum lanugo genis inserperet speciosa, ni vergens in ludibriosos actus natura, laxantibus proximis, semet ad vana studia Caesaris Commodi convertisset, licet hic incruentus. [19] Ut enim ille, quia perimere iaculis plurimas feras spectante consueverat populo, et centum leones in amphitheatrali circulo simul emissos, telorum vario genere, nullo geminato vulnere, contruncavit, ultra hominem exsultavit, ita hic quoque, intra saepta quae appellant vivaria, sagittarum pulsibus crebris dentatas conficiens bestias, incidentia multa parvi ducebat et seria: eo tempore quo etiam si imperium Marcus regeret Antoninus, aegre sine collegis similibus et magna sobrietate consiliorum, lenire luctuosos rei publicae poterat casus.

[20] Dispositis igitur, quae pro temporum captu per Gallias res rationesque poscebant, et punito scutario proditore, qui festinare principem ad Illyricum barbaris indicarat, Gratianus exinde digressus per castra, quibus Felicis Arboris nomen est, per Lauriacum ad opitulandum oppressae parti porrectis itineribus ire tendebat.

[21] Eisdemque diebus, Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti, munireque properanti Succorum angustias, ne discursatores hostes et leves, tamquam exaestuantes nivi torrentes, per septentrionales provincias fusius vagarentur, successor Maurus nomine

mittitur comes, venalis ferociae specie, et ad cuncta mobilis et incertus; is est quem praeteritorum textu rettulimus, ambigenti super corona capita imponenda Caesari Iuliano, dum inter eius armigeros militaret, Arroganti astu fidenter torquem obtulisse collo abstractam. [22] Remotusque in ipsa vertigine pereuntium rerum dux cautus et diligens, cum etiam si dudum discessisset in otium, ad procinctum reduci negotiorum magnitudine poscente deberet.

Sebastianus Gothos spoliis onustos apud Beroeam inopinantes concidit; paucos fuga servavit. Gratianus A. ad patrum Valentem properat, ei contra Gothos laturus auxilium.

His forte diebus, Valens tandem excitus Antiochia, longitudine viarum emensa, venit Constantinopolim, ubi moratus paucissimos dies, seditioneque popularium levi pulsatus, Sebastiano paulo ante ab Italia (ut petierat) misso, vigilantiae notae ductori, pedestris exercitus cura commissa, quem regebat antea Traianus: ipse ad Melanthiada villam Caesarianam profectus, militem stipendio fovebat et alimentis, et blanda crebritate sermonum. [2] Unde cum itinere edicto per tesseram Nicen venisset, quae statio ita cognominatur, relatione speculatorum didicit refertos opima barbaros praeda, a Rhodopes tractibus prope Hadrianopolim revertisse: qui motu imperatoris cum abundanti milite cognito, popularibus iungere se festinant, circa Beroeam et Nicopolim agentibus praesidiis fixis: atque ilico ut oblatae occasionis maturitas postulabat, cum trecentenis militibus per singulos numeros lectis, Sebastianus properare dispositus erat, conducens rebus publicis aliquid (ut promittebat) acturus. [3] Qui itineribus celeratis, conspectus prope Hadrianopolim, obseratis vi portis, iuxta adire prohibebatur: veritis defensoribus ne captus ab hoste veniret et subornatus, atque contingeret aliquid in civitatis perniciem, quale per Acacium acciderat comitem, quo per fraudem a Magnentiacis militibus capto, claustra patefacta sunt Alpium Iuliarum. [4] Agnitus tamen licet sero Sebastianus, et urbem introire permissus, cibo et quiete curatis pro copia, quos ductabat, secuta luce impetu clandestino erupit, vespераque incedente, Gothorum vastatorios cuneos prope flumen Hebrum subito visos, paulisper opertus aggeribus et fructibus, obscura nocte suspensis passibus consopitos adgressus est, adeoque prostravit, ut praeter paucos quos morte velocitas exemerat pedum, interirent reliqui omnes, praedamque retraxit innumeram, quam nec civitas cepit nec planities lata camporum. [5] Qua causa percitus Fritigernus, et extimescens, ne dux (ut saepe audierat) impetrabilis, dispersos licenter suorum globos raptuique intentos consumeret, improvises adoriens: revocatis omnibus prope Cabylen oppidum cito discessit, ut agentes in regionibus patulis nec inedia nec occultis vexarentur insidiis.

[6] Dum haec aguntur in Thraciis, Gratianus docto litteris patruo, qua industria superaverit Alamanos, pedestri itinere praemissis impedimentis et sarcinis, ipse cum expeditiore militum manu, permeato Danubio, delatus Bononiam, Sirmium introiit, et quadriduum ibi moratus, per idem flumen ad Martis castra descendit, febribus intervallatis afflictus: in quo tractu Halanorum impetu repentino temptatus, amisit sequentium paucos.

Valens A. ante adventum Gratiani cum Gothis pugnare constituit.

Eisdemque diebus exagitatus ratione gemina Valens, quod Lentienses compererat superatos, quodque Sebastianus subinde scribens facta dictis exaggerabat, e Melanthiade signa commovit, aequiperare facinore quodam egregio adolescentem properans filium fratris, cuius virtutibus urebatur: ducebatque multiplices copias, nec contemnendas nec segnes, quippe etiam veteranos eisdem iunxerat plurimos, inter quos et honoratiores alii et Traianus recinctus est, paulo ante magister armorum. [2] Et quoniam exploratione sollicita cognitum est cogitare hostes fortibus praesidiis itinera claudere, per quae commeatus necessarii portabantur, occursum est huic conatui competenter, ad retinendas opportunitates angustiarum, quae prope erant, peditibus sagittariis et equitum turma citius missa. [3] Triduoque proximo, cum barbari gradu incederent leni et metuentes eruptionem per devia, quindecim milibus passuum a civitate discreti, stationem peterent Nicen, incertum quo errore procursatoribus omnem illam multitudinis partem, quam viderant, in numero decem milium esse firmantibus, imperator procaci quodam calore percussus eisdem occurrere festinabat. [4] Proinde agmine quadrato incedens, prope suburbanum Hadrianopoleos venit, ubi vallo sudibus fossaque firmato, Gratianum impatienter operiens, Richomerem comitem domesticorum suscepit, ab eodem imperatore praemissum cum litteris, ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus. [5] Quarum textu oratus, ut praestolaretur paulisper periculorum participem, neve abruptis discriminibus temere semet committeret solum, adhibitis in consilium potestatibus variis, quid facto opus esset deliberabat. [6] Et cum Sebastiano auctore quidam protinus eundum ad certamen urgerent, Victor nomine (magister equitum) Sarmata sed cunctator et cautus, eadem sentientibus multis, imperii socium exspectari censebat, ut incrementis exercitus Gallicani adscitis, opprimeretur levius tumor barbaricus flammans. [7] Vicit tamen funesta principis destinatio, et adulabilis quorundam sententia regionum, qui ne paene iam partae victoriae (ut opinabantur) consors fieret Gratianus, properari cursu celeri suadebant.

[8] Et dum necessaria parabantur ad decernendum, Christiani ritus presbyter (ut ipsi appellant), missus a Fritigerno legatus, cum aliis humilibus venit ad principis castra, susceptusque leniter, eiusdem ductoris obtulit scripta, petentis propalam ut sibi suisque, quos extorres patriis laribus rapidi ferarum gentium exegere discursus, habitanda Thracia sola cum pecore omni concederetur et frugibus: hoc impetrato, spondentis perpetuam pacem. [9] Praeter haec idem Christianus, ut conscius arcanorum et fidus, secretas alias eiusdem regis obtulit litteras, qui astu et ludificandi varietate nimium sollers, docebat Valentem quasi mox amicus futurus et socius, aliter se popularium saevitiam mollire non posse vel ad condiciones rei Romanae profuturas allicere, nisi subinde armatum eisdem iuxta monstraret exercitum, et timore imperatorii nominis intentato, eos a pernicioso pugnandi revocaret ardore. Et legati quidem ut ambigui frustra habiti discesserunt.

[10] Exoriente vero aurora diei, quem quintum Iduum Augustarum numerus

ostendit annalis, signa praepropere commoventur, impedimentis et sarcinis prope Hadrianopoleos muros cum legionum tutela congrua collocatis. Thesauri enim et principalis fortunae insignia cetera, cum praefecto et consistorianis ambitu moenium tenebantur. [11] Decursis itaque viarum spatiis confragosis, cum in medium torridus procederet dies, octava tandem hora hostium carpenta cernuntur, quae ad speciem rotunditatis detornatae digesta exploratorum relatione affirmabantur. Atque (ut mos est) ululante barbara plebe ferum et triste, Romani duces aciem instruxere, et anteposito dextro cornu equitum prime, peditatus pars maxima subsidebat. [12] Cornu autem equitum laevum, disiectis adhuc per itinera plurimis, summa difficultate conductum, properabat passibus citis. Dumque idem cornu, nullo etiam tum interturbante, extenditur, horrendo fragore, sibilantibus armis, pulsuque minaci scutorum, territi barbari, quoniam pars eorum cum Alatheo et Saphrace, procul agens et accita, nondum venerat, oraturos pacem misere legatos. [13] Eorum dum vilitatem despicit imperator, ut firma fierent paciscenda, optimates poscens idoneos mitti, illi de industria cunctabantur, ut inter fallaces indutias equites sui redirent, quos affore iam sperabant: et miles fervore calefactus aestivo, siccis faucibus commarceret, relucente amplitudine camporum incendiis, quos lignis nutrimentisque aridis subditis, ut hoc fieret idem, hostes urebant. Cui malo aliud quoque accedebat exitiale, quod homines et iumenta cruciabat inedia gravis.

[14] Inter quae Fritignus, callidus futuri coniectior, Martemque pertimescens ancipitem, velut caduceatorem, unum e plebe suo misit arbitrio, impetens nobiles quosdam et electos ad se prope diem obsides mitti, impavidus ipse minas militares laturus, et necessaria. [15] Laudato probatoque formidati ducis proposito, tribunus Aequitius, cui tunc erat cura palatii credita, Valentis propinquus, assentientibus cunctis ire pignoris loco mature disponitur. Quo renitente, quia semel captus ab hostibus, lapsusque a Dibalto, verebatur eorum irrationabiles motus, Richomeres se sponte obtulit propria, ireque promiserat libens, pulcrum hoc quoque facinus, et viro convenire existimans forti. Iamque pergebat, indicia dignitatis et natalium ... [16] Eo ad vallum hostile tendente, sagittarii et scutarii, quos Bacurius Hiberus quidam tunc regebat et Cassio, avidius impetu calenti progressi, iamque adversis conexi, ut immature proruperant, ita inertis discessu, primordia belli foedarunt. [17] Hocque impedimento conatus intempestivi et Richomeris alacritas fracta est, nusquam ire permissi, et equitatus Gothorum cum Alatheo reversus et Saphrace, Halanorum manu permixta, ut fulmen prope montes celsos excussus, quoscumque accursu veloci invenire comminus potuit, incitata caede turbavit.

Gothi omnes in unum coniuncti, nimirum Theruingi ductu Fritignis R. et Greuthungi ducibus Alatheo et Saphrace, cum Romanis acie instructa confligunt, et fuso equitatu, pedites nudatos atque confertos cum maxima strage in fugam coniiciunt. Valens occisus nusquam comparuit.

Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur et tela, lituosque Bellona

luctuosos inflaret in clades Romanas solito immanius furens, cedentes nostri multis interclamantibus restiterunt, et proelium flammarum ritu accrescens, terrebat militum animos, confixis quibusdam rotatis ictibus iaculorum et sagittarum. [2] Deinde collisae in modum rostratarum navium acies, trudentesque se vicissim, undarum specie motibus sunt reciprocis iactitatae.

Et quia sinistrum cornu ad usque plaustra ipsa accessit, ultra (siqui tulissent suppetias) processurum: a reliquo equitatu desertum, multitudine hostili urgente, ac si ruina aggeris magni, oppressum atque deiectum est: steterunt impropecti pedites ita concatervatis manipulis, ut vix mucronem exserere aut manus reducere quisquam posset. Nec iam obiectu pulveris caelum patere potuit ad prospectum, clamoribus resultans horrificis. Qua causa tela undique mortem vibrantia, destinata cadebant et noxia, quod nec provideri poterant nec caveri. [3] Verum ubi effusi immensis agminibus barbari, iumenta conterebant et viros, et neque ad receptum confertis ordinibus laxari usquam poterat locus, et evadendi copiam constipatio densior adimebat: nostri quoque ultimo cadendi contemptu, occursantes receptis gladiis obtruncabant, et mutuis securium ictibus galeae perfringebantur atque loricae. [4] Videreque licebat celsum ferocia barbarum, genis stridore constrictis, succiso poplite aut abscisa ferro dextera vel confosso latere inter ipsa quoque mortis confinia minaciter circumferentem oculos truces: ruinaque confligentium mutua, humi corporibus stratis, campi peremptis impleti sunt, et morientium gemitus, profundisque vulneribus transfixorum, cum timore audiebantur ingenti. [5] In hoc tanto tamque confusae rei tumultu, exhausti labore et periculis pedites, cum deinceps neque vires illis neque mentes suppeterent ad consilium, diffractis hastarum plerisque collisione assidua, gladiis contenti dstrictis, in confertas hostium turmas se immergebant, salutis immemores, circumspectantes ademptum esse omne evadendi suffugium. [6] Et quia humus ravis operta sanguineis gressus labiles evertebat, conabantur modis omnibus vitam impendere non inultam: adeo magno animorum robore oppositi incumbentibus, ut etiam telis quidam propriis interirent. Atra denique cruoris facie omnia conturbante, et quocumque se inflexerant oculi, acervis caesorum aggestis, exanimata cadavera sine parsimonia calcabantur. [7] Solque sublimior, decurso Leone, ad domicilium caelestis Virginis transiens, Romanos magis attenuatos inedia, sitique confectos, etiam armorum gravantibus sarcinis exurebat. Ad ultimum incumbente barbarorum pondere acies inclinatae nostrorum, quod solum postremis malis habuere subsidium, incondite qua quisque poterat, vertuntur in pedes.

[8] Dumque omnes dispersi per ignotos tramites cedunt, imperator diris pavoribus circumsaepus, paulatimque insiliens funerum moles, ad lancearios confugit et mattiarios: qui dum multitudo tolerabatur hostilis, fixis corporibus steterant inconcussi. Eoque viso Traianus exclamat spem omnem absumptam, ni desertus ab armigeris princeps saltem adventicio tegeretur auxilio. [9] Hocque audito, Victor nomine comes, Batavos in subsidiis locatos haut procul, ad imperatoris praesidium raptim cogere properans, cum invenire

neminem posset, gradiens retro discessit. Parique modo Richomeres periculo semet exemit et Saturninus.

[10] Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari nostros, iam linquente venarum calore torpentes: quorum aliqui percussoribus cadebant incertis, non nulli ponderibus solis urgentium obruti, ictuque suorum aliqui trucidati: nec enim saepe renitentibus cedebatur, aut parcebat cedentibus quisquam. [11] Super his obstruebant itinera iacentes multi semineces, cruciatus vulnorum conquerentes, cum quibus aggeres quoque equorum constrati, cadaveribus campos implerant. Diremit haec numquam pensabilia damna, quae magno rebus stetero Romanis, nullo splendore lunari nox fulgens.

[12] Primaque caligine tenebrarum, inter gregarios imperator, ut opinari dabatur (neque enim vidisse se quisquam vel praesto fuisse adseveravit), sagitta perniciose saucius ruit, spirituque mox consumpto decessit, nec postea repertus est usquam. Hostium enim paucis spoliandi gratia mortuos per ea loca diu versatis, nullus fugatorum vel accolarum illuc adire est ausus. [13] Simili clade Caesarem accepimus Decium, dimicantem cum barbaris acriter, equi lapsu prostratum, quem ferventem retinere non valuit, abiectumque in paludem, nec emergere potuisse nec inveniri. [14] Alii dicunt Valentem animam non exhalasse confestim, sed cum candidatis et spadonibus paucis, prope ad agrestem casam relatum, secunda contignatione fabre munitam, dum fovetur manibus imperitis, circumsessum ab hostibus, qui esset ignorantibus, dedecore captivitatis exemptum. [15] Cum enim oppessulatas ianuas perrumpere conati qui secuti sunt, a parte pensili domus sagittis incenserentur, ne per moras inexpedibiles populandi amitterent copiam, congestis stipulae fascibus et lignorum, flammaque supposita, aedificium cum hominibus torruerunt. [16] Unde quidam de candidatis, per fenestram lapsus captusque a barbaris, prodidit factum et eos maerore afflixit, magna gloria defraudatos, quod Romanae rei rectorem non cepere superstitem. Is ipse iuvenis, occulte postea reversus ad nostros, haec ita accidisse narravit. [17] Pari clade recuperatis Hispaniis, Scipionum alterum cremata turri in quam confugerat, absumptum incendio hostili comperimus. Illud tamen certum est, nec Scipioni nec Valenti sepulturam (qui suprematatis honor est) contigisse.

[18] In hac multiplici virorum illustrium clade, Traiani mors eminuit et Sebastiani, cum quibus triginta quinque oppetivere tribuni, vacantes et numerorum rectores, et Valerianus atque Aequitius, quorum alter stabulum, alter curabat palatium. Inter hos etiam promotorum tribunus, Potentius, cecidit in primaeva flore aetatis, bono cuique spectatus, meritis Ursicini patris, magistri quondam armorum suisque commendabilis. Constatque vix tertiam evasisse exercitus partem. [19] Nec ulla annalibus praeter Cannensem pugnam ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta, quamquam Romani aliquotiens reflante Fortuna fallacis lusi, bellorum iniquitati cesserunt ad tempus, et certamina multa fabulosae naeniae flevere Graecorum.

Valentis A. virtutes et vitia.

Perit autem hoc exitu Valens, quinquagesimo anno contiguus, cum per

annos quattuor imperasset et decem, parvo minus. [2] Cuius bona multis cognita dicemus et vitia. Amicus fidelis et firmus, ultor acer ambitionum, severus militaris et civilis disciplinae corrector, pervigil semper et anxius, ne quis propinquitatem praetendens, altius semet efferret, erga deferendas potestates vel adimendas nimium tardus, provinciarum aequissimus tutor, quarum singulas ut domum propriam custodibat indemnes, tributorum onera studio quodam molliens singulari, nulla vectigalium admittens augmenta in adaerandis reliquorum debitis non molestus, furibus et in peculatu deprehensis iudicibus inimicus asper et vehemens. Nec sub alio principe in huius modi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit Oriens. [3] Super his omnibus liberalis erat cum moderatione, cuius rei licet abundent exempla, unum tamen sufficet poni. Ut sunt in palatiis non nulli alienarum avidi rerum, siqui caducum vel aliud petisset ex usu, cum magna iustorum iniustorumque distinctione, contradicturis copia servata, donabat ei qui petierat, tres vel quattuor alios absentes aliquotiens impetratorum participes iungens, ut castigatius agerent inquieti, lucra quibus inhiabant, hoc minui commento cernentes. [4] Super aedificiis autem, quae per diversas urbes et oppida vel instauravit, vel a primis instruxit auspiciis, (ne sim longior) taceo, rebus ipsis id apertius monstrare concedens. Haec bonis omnibus aemulanda sunt, ut existimo: nunc eius vitia percurramus.

[5] Magnarum opum intemperans appetitor, laborum impatiens, duritiamque magis affectans immanem, in crudelitatem proclivior, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus: alienis gemitibus libenter emolumenta fructusque conquirens, tuncque magis intolerabilis, cum incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel laesam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem saeviebat, et dispendia locupletum. [6] Illud quoque ferri non poterat, quod cum legibus lites omnes quaestionesque committere videri se vellet, destinatisque velut lectis iudicibus negotia spectanda mandabat, nihil agi contra libidinem suam patiebatur: iniuriosus alia et iracundus, et criminantibus, sine differentia veri vel falsi, facillime patens, quae vitiorum labes etiam in his privatis cotidianisque rationibus impendio est formidanda.

[7] Cessator et piger: nigri coloris, pupula oculi unius obstructa, sed ita ut non eminus appareret, figura bene compacta membrorum, staturae nec procerae nec humilis, incurvis cruribus exstanteque mediocriter ventre.

[8] Haec super Valente dixisse sufficet, quae vera esse aequalis nobis memoria plene testatur. Illud autem praeteriri non convenit, quod cum oraculo tripodis, quem movisse Patricium docuimus et Hilarium, tres versus illos fatidicos comperisset, quorum ultimus est

ἐν πεδίοισι μίμαντος ἀγαιομένοιο ἄρης,

ut erat inconsummatus et rudis, inter initia contemnebat, processu vero luctuum maximorum, abiecte etiam timidus, eiusdem sortis recordatione Asiae nomen horrebat: ubi Erythraeo oppido superpositum montem Mimanta, et Homerum scripsisse, et Tullium, doctis referentibus audiebat. [9] Denique post interitum eius, discessumque hostilem, prope locum in quo cecidisse

existimatus est, inventus dicitur saxeus monumenti suggestus, cui lapis affixus incisis litteris Graecis, sepultum ibi nobilem quendam Mimanta veterem indicabat.

Gothi victores Hadrianopolim oppugnant, ubi thesauros suos Valens et imperatoria insignia cum praefecto et consistorianis reliquerat; et omnia frustra experti discedunt.

Post exitialem pugnam cum iam tenebris nox terras implesset, hi qui superfuere, dextra pars alii laeva, vel quo metus traxerat ferebantur, quisque proximos quaerens: cum praeter se nihil singuli cernere poterant, occipitiis propriis ferrum arbitantes haerere. Audiebantur tamen (licet longius) heulatus miserabiles relictorum, singultusque morientium, et vulneratorum cruciabiles fletus.

[2] Luce vero coepte, victores, ut bestiae sanguinis irritamento atrocius efferatae, spei inanis illecebris agitati, Hadrianopolim agminibus petivere densetis, eam vel cum discriminibus excisuri postremis: docti per proditores et transfugas, potestatum culmina maximarum, et fortunae principalis insignia, thesaurosque Valentis, illic ut in munimento arduo conditos. [3] Et ne intervallatis ardor intepesceret moris, hora diei quarta ambitu cincto murorum, infestissime certabatur oppugnatoribus genuina ferocia ad praeceps exitium festinantibus, contraque defensorum vigore validis viribus incitato. [4] Et quia militum calorumque numerus magnus, civitatem cum iumentis introire prohibitus, affixus parietibus moenium, aedibusque continuis, pro loci humilitate fortiter decernebat, superaratque rabies imminentium ad usque horam diei nonam, subito pedites nostri trecenti, ex his qui prope ipsas steterant loricas, conferti in cuneum, desciverunt ad barbaros, eosque illi avidè raptos, confestim (incertum quo consilio) trucidarunt; et ex eo deinceps observatum est, neminem huius modi aliquid vel in desperatione rerum ultima cogitasse. [5] Fervente itaque tot malorum congerie, repente cum fragore caelesti, imbres nubibus atris effusi, dispersere circumfrentium globes, reversique ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustorum, immanes spiritus latius porrigentes, iubebant nostris per minaces litteras et legatum dedere civitatem, fide retinendae salutis accepta. [6] Verum introire non auso, qui missus est, per Christianum quendam portatis scriptis et recitatis, utque decebat contemptis, parandis operibus diei residuum et nox omnis absumpta. Nam intrinsecus silicibus magnis obstrusae sunt portae, et moenium intuta firmata, et ad emittenda undique tela vel saxa, tormenta per locos aptata sunt habiles, aggestaque prope sufficiens aqua. Pridie enim dimicantium quidam siti ad usque ipsa vitae detrimenta vexati sunt.

[7] Contra Gothi reputantes difficiles Martis eventus, anxiique cum sterni et sauciari cernerent fortiores, et particulatim vires suas convelli, astutum iniere consilium, quod ipsa indicante Iustitia publicatum est. [8] Partis enim nostrae candidatos aliquos qui die praeterito ad eos defecerant, pellexere, ut simulata fuga velut ad propria remeantes, intra muros suscipi se curarent, ingressique latenter quandam incenderent partem: ut tamquam signo erecto occultius, dum

circa exstinguendum incendium dstringitur multitudo clausorum, civitas perumperetur impugnata. [9] Perrexere (ut statutum est) candidati: cumque prope fossas venissent, manus tendentes, orantesque ut Romanos semet admitti poscebant. Et recepti quia nulla erat suspicio quae vetaret, interrogatique super consiliis hostium, variarunt: unde factum est ut cruenta quaestione vexati, cervicibus perirent abscisis, quid acturi venerant, aperte confessi.

[10] Omni itaque bellandi apparatu praestructo, adventante vigilia tertia, barbari abolito praeteritorum vulnerum metu, in urbis obseratos aditus multiplicatis ordinibus inundarunt, et obstinatione magna caventium malo. At cum armatis provinciales et palatini ad obruendos eos excitatius exsurgabant, et cuiusque modi tela in multitudine tanta, vel temere missa, cadere sine noxa non poterant. [11] Animadversum est a nostris eisdem telis barbaros uti, quibus appetebantur. Ideoque mandatum est, ut nervis ferrum lignumque conectentibus, ante iactum incisis, emitterentur arcu sagittae, quae volitantes vires integras reservabant. Infixae vero corporibus, nihil vigoris perdebant, aut certe (si cecidissent in vanum), ilico frangebantur. [12] Dedit autem rebus ita flagrantibus grave momentum casus admodum inopinus. Scorpio genus tormenti, quem onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat, e regione contra hostium aciem densam locatus, lapidem contorsit ingentem, qui licet humo frustra illis est, visus tamen ita eos metu exanimavit, ut stupore spectaculi novi, cedentes e medio, abire temptarent. [13] Sed bucinis optimatum monitu occidentibus, instauratum est proelium, et pari modo res Romana superior stetit, nullo ferme alio telo, vel funditoris amento, in cassum excusso. Agmina enim prae-euntium ductorum, quos rapiendi Valentis malis lucrationibus quaesita cupiditas incendebat, secuti ceteri prae se ferebant, aequiperasse discrimina potiorum: namque semineces aliquot, aut magnis obtriti ponderibus, vel confixi iaculis pectora,olvebantur, non nulli scalas vehendo, ascensumque in muros ex latere omni parantes, sub oneribus ipsis obruebantur, contrusis per pronum saxis et columnarum fragmentis et cylindris. [14] Nec quemquam furentium cruoris horrenda species ad serum usque diem ab alacritate faciendi fortiter avertebat, hoc incitante, quod etiam defensorum plurimos cadere diversis ictibus videntes eminus laetabantur. Ita sine requie ulla vel modo, pro moenibus et contra moenia ingentibus animis pugnabatur. [15] Et quia nullo ordine iam sed per procursus pugnabatur et globos, quod desperationis erat signum extremae, flexo in vesperam die, digressi omnes redire ad tentoria tristes, inconsideratae dementiae alter alterum arguentes, quod non (ut suaserat antea Fritigernus), obsidionales aerumnas ubique declinarunt.

Gothi, Hunnorum Alanorumque copiis auro sibi adiunctis, frustra Constantinopolim tentant. Qua arte Iulius, magister militum trans Taurum, orientales provincias Gothis exoneraverit.

Conversi post haec per omne tempus noctis (ut aestivae) non longum, ad vulnere curas, artesque medendi gentiles, reddita luce in varias consiliorum

vias diducebantur, quorsum tenderent ambigentes, multisque dictatis et controversis, occupare statuunt Perinthum, exinde vicinas urbes divitiarum refertas, docentibus omnia perfugis, etiam domorum nedum urbium interna noscentes. Hanc secuti sententiam, quam utilem existimarunt, itineribus lentis, miscentes cuncta populationibus et incendiis, nullo renitente pergebant.

[2] Obsessi vero apud Hadrianopolim, post eorum abitum tempestivum, cum vacare hoste loca proxima compertae fidei nuntiassent exploratores, egressi media nocte, vitatis aggeribus publicis, per nemorosa et devia, pars Philippopolim, exindeque Serdicam, alia ad Macedoniam, cum intemeratis opibus quas vehebant, omni studio ad properandum excogitato, currebant, velut in regionibus illis repperiendo Valente: quem inter medios certaminum turbines oppetisse, vel certe ad tugurium confugisse, ubi aestimatus est vi periisse flammaram, penitus ignorabant.

[3] At Gothi Hunis Halanisque permixti, nimium bellicosus et fortibus, rerumque asperarum difficultatibus induratis, quos miris praemiorum illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia Fritigerni, fixis iuxta Perinthum castris, ipsam quidem urbem, cladum memores pristinarum, nec adire nec temptare sunt ausi, agros vero fertiles late distentos et longe, ad extremam vastavere penuriam, cultoribus caesis aut captis. [4] Unde Constantinopolim, copiarum cumulis inhiantes amplissimis, formas quadratorum agminum insidiarum metu servantes, ire ocius festinabant, multa in exitium urbis inclitae molituri. Quos inferentes sese immodice, obicesque portarum paene pulsantes, hoc casu caeleste reppulit numen. [5] Saracenorum cuneus (super quorum origine moribusque diversis in locis rettulimus plura), ad furta magis expeditionalium rerum, quam ad concursatorias habilis pugnas, recens illuc accersitus, congressurus barbarorum globo repente conspecto, a civitate fidenter erupit, diuque extento certamine pertinaci, aequis partes discessere momentis. [6] Sed orientalis turma novo neque ante vise superavit eventum. Ex ea enim crinitus quidam, nudus omnia praeter pubem, subraucum et lugubre strepens, educto pugione, agmini se medio Gothorum inseruit, et interfecti hostis iugulo labra admovit, effusumque cruorem exsuxit. Quo monstroso miraculo barbari territi, postea non ferocientes ex more, cum agendum appeterent aliquid, sed ambiguis gressibus incedebant. [7] Processu dein audacia fracta, cum murorum ambitum insularumque spatiis immensis oblongum, et inaccessas pulchritudines urbis, et incolentium plebem considerarent immensam, iuxtaque fretum, quod Pontum disternat et Aegaeum, disiectis bellorum officinis, quas parabant, post accepta maiora funera quam illata, exinde digressi sunt effusorie per arctas provincias, quas peragrare licenter ad usque radices Alpium Iuliarum, quas Venetas appellabat antiquitas.

[8] His diebus efficacia Iulii, magistri militiae trans Taurum, enituit salutaris et velox. Comperta enim fatorum sorte per Thracias, Gothos antea susceptos, dispersosque per varias civitates et castra, datis tectioribus litteris ad eorum rectores, Romanos omnes (quod his temporibus raro contingit), universos tamquam vexillo erecto, uno eodemque die mandavit occidi, exspectatione

promissi stipendii securos, ad suburbana productos. Quo consilio prudenti sine strepitu vel mora completo, orientales provinciae discriminibus ereptae sunt magnis.

[9] Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensura: opus veritatem professum numquam (ut arbitror) sciens silentio ausus corrumpere, vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores, aetate et doctrinis florentes. Quos id (si libuerit) aggressuros, procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos.

Anonymi Valesiani Pars Prior: origo Constantini Imperatoris

Diocletianus cum Herculio Maximiano imperavit annos XX.

[2] Constantius, divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre, protector primum, inde tribunus, postea praeses Dalmatiarum fuit. Iste cum Galerio a Diocletiano Caesar factus est. Relicta enim Helena priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem, ex qua postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Sed de priore uxore Helena filium iam Constantinum habuit, qui postea princeps potentissimus fuit.

[2] Hic igitur Constantinus, natus Helena matre vilissima in oppido Naisso atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit, litteris minus instructus, obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium, sub eisdem fortiter in Asia militavit; quem post depositum imperium Diocletiani et Herculi, Constantius a Galerio repetit; sed hunc Galerius obiecit ante pluribus periculis. [3] Nam et in Sarmatas iuvenis equestris militans ferocem barbarum, capillis tentis raptum, ante pedes Galerii imperatoris adduxerat. Deinde Galerio mittente per paludem, equo ingressus suo, viam ceteris fecit ad Sarmatas, ex quibus plurimis stratis Galerio victoriam reportavit. [4] Tunc eum Galerius patri remisit. Qui ut Severum per Italiam transiens vitaret, summa festinatione veredis post se truncatis Alpes transgressus, ad patrem Constantium venit apud Bononiam, quam Galli prius Gesoriacum vocabant. Post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est, et Constantinus omnium militum consensu Caesar creatus.

[5] Interea Caesares duo facti, Severus et Maximinus; Maximino datum est Orientis imperium: Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thracias, et Bithyniam tenuit. Severus suscepit Italiam et quicquid Herculus obtinebat. [6] Postquam vero Constantius in Britannia mortuus est et Constantinus filius successit, subito in urbe Roma praetoriani milites Maxentium, filium Herculi, imperatorem crearunt. Sed adversum Maxentium iussu Galerii Severus duxit exercitum. Qui repente ab omnibus suis desertus est et Ravennam fugit. Dehinc Galerius cum ingentibus copiis Romam venit, minatus civitatis interitum, et castra Interamniae ad Tiberim posuit. [7] Tunc legatos ad urbem misit Licinium et Probum, per colloquium petens ut gener apud socerum, id est Maxentius apud Galerium, precibus magis quam armis optata mercaretur. Qui contemptus agnovit promissis motos multos suorum Maxenti partes suas deseruisse; quibus perturbatus retro versus est, et ut militi suo praedam quamcunque conferret, Flaminiam iussit auferri. [8] Ille ad Constantinum refugit. Tunc Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Caesarem fecit. Deinde illo in Pannonia relicto, ipse ad Serdicam regressus, morbo ingenti occupatus sic distabit, ut aperto et putrescenti viscere moreretur, in supplicium persecutionis iniquissimae ad auctorem scelerati praecepti iustissima poena redeunte. Imperavit annos XVIII.

[9] Severus Caesar ignobilis et moribus et natalibus, ebriosus et hoc Galerio amicus. Hunc ergo et Maximinum Caesares Galerius fecit, Constantino nihil tale noscente. Huic Severo Pannoniae et Italiae urbes et Africae contigerunt. Quo casu Maxentius factus est imperator; nam desertus Severus a suis fugit Ravennam. [10] Pro Maxentio filio evocatus illuc venit Herculus, qui per peiurium Severum deceptum custodiae tradidit et captivi habitu in Urbem perduxit et in villa publica Appiae viae tricensimo miliario custodiri fecit. Postea cum Galerius Italiam peteret, ille iugulatus est et deinde relatus ad octavum miliarium conditusque in Gallieni monumento. [11] Igitur Galerius sic ebriosus fuit, ut, cum iuberet temulentus ea quae facienda non essent, a praefecto admonitus, constituerit ne iussa eius aliquis post prandium faceret.

[12] Interea Constantinus, apud Veronam victis ducibus tyranni, Romam petiit. Cum autem ad urbem Constantinus venisset, egressus ex urbe Maxentius campum supra Tiberim, in quo dimicaret, elegit. Ubi victus, fugatis omnibus suis, inter angustias arcantis populi periit, equo praecipitatus in fluvium. Postera die corpus ipsius levatum flumine et caput eius incisum in urbem perlatum est. De cuius origine mater eius, cum quaesitum esset, Syro quodam genitum esse confessa. Imperavit annos VI.

[13] Licinius itaque ex Nova Dacia vilioris originis a Galerio factus imperator, velut adversum Maxentium pugnaturus. Sed oppresso Maxentio cum recepisset Italiam Constantinus, hoc Licinium foedere sibi fecit adiungi: ut Licinius Constantiam, sororem Constantini, apud Mediolanum duxisset uxorem. Nuptiis celebratis Gallias repetit Constantinus, Licinio ad Illyricum reverse. [14] Post aliquantum deinde temporis Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit, persuadens ut Bassianus Caesar fieret, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anatasiam, ut exemplo Maximiani inter Constantinum et Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius optineret. [15] Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Senicionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. Qui tamen in conatu deprehensus, Constantino iubente convictus et stratus est. Cum Senicio auctor insidiarum posceretur ad poenam, negante Licinio fracta concordia est; additis etiam causis quod apud Emonam Constantini imagines statuasque deiecerat. Bellum deinde apertum convenit ambobus. [16] Utriusque ad Cibalensem campum ductus exercitus. Licinio XXXV milia peditum et equitum fuere; Constantinus XX milia peditum et equitum duxit. Caesis post dubium certamen Licinianis viginti peditum milibus et equitum ferratorum parte, Licinius cum magna parte equitatus noctis auxilio pervolavit ad Sirmium. [17] Sublata inde uxore ac filio et thesauris tetendit ad Daciam. Valentem ducem limitis Caesarem fecit. Inde apud Hadrianopolim Thraciae civitatem per Valentem collecta ingenti multitudine, legatos ad Constantinum de pace misit apud Philippos constitutum. Quibus frustra remissis, iterum reparato bello, in campo Mardienne ab utroque concurritur et post dubium ac diuturnum proelium Licini partibus inclinatis profuit noctis auxilium. [18] Licinius et Valens credentes Constantinum, quod et verum erat, ad persequendum longius ad

Byzantium processurum, flexi in partem Beroeam concesserunt. Ita Constantinus vehementer in ulteriora festinans,prehendit Licinium remansisse post tergum. Fatigatis bello et itinere militibus, missus deinde Mestrianus legatus pacem petiit, Licinio postulante et pollicente se imperata facturum. Denuo, sicut ante, mandatum est Valens privatus fieret; quo facto pax ab ambobus firmata est, ut Licinius Orientem, Asiam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam possideret. [19] Deinde reversus Serdicam Constantinus hoc cum Licinio absente constituit, ut filii Constantini Crispus et Constantinus, filius etiam Licini Licinius, Caesares fierent et sic ab utroque concorditer regnaretur. Itaque Constantinus et Licinius simul consules facti. [20] In Orientis partibus, Licinio Constantino consulibus, repentina rabie suscitatus Licinius omnes Christianos a palatio iussit expelli.

Mox bellum inter ipsum Licinium et Constantinum efferbuit. [21] Item cum Constantinus Thessalonica esset, Gothi per neglectos limites eruperunt et, vastata Thracia et Moesia, praedas agere coeperunt. Tunc Constantini terrore et impetu represso, captives illi impetrata pace reddiderunt. Sed hoc Licinius contra fidem factum questus est, quod partes suae ab alio fuerint vindicatae. [22] Deinde cum variasset inter supplicandia et superba mandata, iram Constantini merito excitavit. Per tempora quibus nondum gerebatur bellum civile, sed item parabatur, Licinius scelere, avaritia, crudelitate, libidine saeviebat, occisis ob divitias pluribus, uxoribus eorum corruptis. [23] Rupta iam pace utriusque consensu, Constantinus Caesarem Crispum cum grandi classe ad occupandam Asiam miserat, cui de parte Licinii similiter cum navalibus copiis Amandus obstat. [24] Licinius vero circa Hadrianopolim maximo exercitu latera ardui montis impleverat. Illuc toto agmine Constantinus inflexit. Cum bellum terra marique traheretur, quamvis per arduum suis nitentibus, at tamen disciplina militari et felicitate Constantinus Licini confusum et sine ordine agentem vicit exercitum, leviter femore sauciatus. [25] Dehinc fugiens Licinius Byzantium petit; quo dum multitudo dissipata contenderet, clauso Byzantio Licinius obsidionem terrenam maris securus agitabat. Sed Constantinus classem collegit ex Thracia. Dehinc solita vanitate Licinius Martinianum sibi Caesarem fecit. [26] Crispus vero cum classe Constantini Callipolim pervenit; ibi bello maritimo sic Amandus vicit, ut vix per eos qui in litore remanserant vivus Amandus refugeret. Classis vero Licini vel oppressa vel capta est. [27] Licinius, desperata maris spe, per quod se viderat obsidendum, Chalcedonam cum thesauris refugit. Byzantium Constantinus invasit, victoriam maritimam Crispo conveniente cognoscens. Deinde apud Chrysopolim Licinius pugnavit, maxime auxiliantibus Gothis quos Alica regalis deduxerat; tum Constantini pars vincens XXV milia armatorum fudit partis adversae, ceteris fugientibus. [28] Postea cum legiones Constantini per liburnas venire vidissent, proiectis armis se dederunt. Sequenti autem die Constantia, soror Constantini, uxor Licini, venit ad castra fratris et marito vitam poposcit et impetravit. Ita Licinius privatus factus est et convivio Constantini adhibitus, et Martiniano vita concessa est. [29] Licinius

Thessalonicam missus est; sed Herculii Maximiani, soceri sui, motus exemplo, ne iterum depositam purpuram in perniciem rei publicae sumeret, tumultu militaribus exigentibus in Thessalonica iussit occidi, Martinianum in Cappadocia. Qui regnavit annos XVIII, filio et uxore superstite. Quamvis omnibus iam ministris nefariae persecutionis extinctis, hunc quoque in quantum exercere potuit persecutorem digna punitio flagitaret.

[30] Constantinus autem ex se Byzantium Constantinopolim nuncupavit ob insignis victoriae memoriam. Quam velut patriam cultu decoravit ingenti et Romae desideravit aequari: deinde quaesitis ei undique civibus divitias multas largitus est, ut prope in ea omnes regias facultates exhauriret. Ibi etiam senatum constituit secundi ordinis; claros vocavit. [31] Deinde adversum Gothos bellum suscepit et implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Constantinum Caesarem centum prope milia fame et frigore extincta sunt. Tunc et obsides accepit, inter quos Ariarici regis filium. [32] Sic cum his pace firmata, in Sarmatas versus est, qui dubiae fidei probabantur. Sed servi Sarmatarum adversum dominos rebellaverunt, quos pulsos Constantinus libenter accepit et amplius trecenta milia hominum mixtae aetatis et sexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam, Italiamque divisit.

[33] Item Constantinus imperator primus Christianus, excepto Philippo, qui Christianus admodum ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, ut millesimus Romae annus Christo potius quam idolis dicaretur. A Constantino autem omnes semper Christiani imperatores usque in hodiernum diem creati sunt, excepto Iuliano, quem impia (ut aiunt) machinante exitialis vita deseruit. [34] Item Constantinus iusto ordine et pio vicem vertit; edicto si quidem statuit citra ullam caedem hominum paganorum templa claudi. Mox Gothorum fortissimas et copiosissimas gentes in ipso barbarici soli sinu, hoc est in Sarmatarum regione, delevit.

[35] Calocaerum quendam in Cypro aspirantem novis rebus oppressit. Dalmatium, filium fratris sui Dalmatii, Caesarem fecit. Eius fratrem Hannibalianum, data ei Constantiana filia sua, regem regum et Ponticarum gentium constituit. Itaque Gallias Constantinus minor regebat, Orientem Constantius Caesar, Illyricum et Italiam Constans, ripam Gothicam Dalmatius tuebatur. Item Constantinus cum bellum pararet in Persas, in suburbano Constantinopolitano villa publica iuxta Nicomediam, dispositam bene rem publicam filiis tradens, diem obiit. Regnavit ann. XXXI. Sepultus est Constantinopoli.

Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior: Chronica Theodericiana

[36] Igitur imperante Zenone Augusto Constantinopoli, superveniens Nepos patricius ad Portum urbis Romae, deposuit de imperio Glycerium et factus est episcopus et Nepos factus imperator Romae. Mox veniens Ravennam; quem persequens Orestes patricius cum exercitu, metuens Nepos adventum Orestis, ascendens navem fugam petit ad Salonam et ibi mansit per annos quinque; postea vero a suis occiditur. Mox eo egresso factus imperator Augustulus. Augustulus imperavit annos X.

[37] Augustulus, qui ante regnum Romulus a parentibus vocabatur, a patre Oreste patricio factus est imperator. Superveniens autem Odoachar cum gente Scirorum occidit Orestem patricium in Placentia et fratrem eius Paulum ad Pinetam foris Classem Ravennae. [38] Ingressus autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cuius infantiae misertus concessit ei sanguinem, et quia pulcher erat, etiam donans ei redditum sex milia solidos, misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Enim pater eius Orestes Pannonius, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit se illi iunxit et eius notarius factus fuerat. Unde profecit et usque ad patriciatus dignitatem pervenerat.

[39] Ergo postquam factus est imperator Zeno a filio suo Leone, qui natus fuerat de filia Leonis Ariagne nomine, regnat cum filio suo anno uno, et merito Leonis regnum remansit apud Zenonem. Zeno vero cum filio iam regnans anno uno, imperavit annos XIII, Isauriae nobilissimus, qui dignus esset filiam imperatoris accipere, exercitus in arma. [40] Perhibent de eo, quia patellas in genucula non habuisset, sed mobiles fuissent, ut etiam cursum velocissimum ultra modum hominum haberet. In re publica omnino providentissimus, favens genti suae.

[41] Huic insidiabatur Basiliscus, ipse primus senator; quo cognito, Zeno cum aliquantis divitiis petiit Isauriam. At ubi ille egressus est, mox Basiliscus, qui ei, ut dictum est, insidiabatur, arripuit imperium.

[42] Basiliscus imperavit annos II. Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem Novam, ubi erat Theodericus dux Gothorum, filius Walamerici, et eum invitavit in solacium sibi adversus Basiliscum, obiectans militem, post biennium veniens, obsidens civitatem Constantinopolim. [43] Sed quia senatus et populus Zenonem metuentes, nequid mali pateretur civitas, relicto Basilisco se illi omnes dederunt aperta civitate. Basiliscus fugiens ad ecclesiam, intra baptisterium cum uxore et filiis ingreditur. Cui Zeno dato sacramento securum esse de sanguine, exiens, inclausus cum uxore et filiis intra cisternam siccam, ibidem frigore defecerunt. [44] Zeno recordatus est amorem senatus et populi, munificus omnibus se ostendit, ita ut omnes ei gratias agerent. Senatum Romanum et populum tuitus est, ut etiam ei imagines per diversa loca in urbe Roma levarentur. Cuius tempora pacifica

fuērunt.

[45] Odoacar vero, cuius supra fecimus mentionem, mox deposito Augustulo de imperio, factus est rex mansitque in regno annos XIII. Cuius pater Edico dictus, de quo ita invenitur in libris vitae Beati Severini monachi intra Pannoniam, qui eum admonuit, et praedixit regnum eius futurum. [46] Ita reperis ad locum: Quidam barbari cum ad Italiam pergerent, promerendae benedictionis ad eum intuitu deverterunt, inter quos et Odoacar, qui postea regnavit Italiae, vilissimo habitu iuvenis statura procerus advenerat; qui dum se, ne humillimae tectum cellulae eius suo vertice contingeret, inclinasset, a viro dei gloriosum se fore cognovit. Cui etiam vale dicenti ‘vade,’ inquit, ‘ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus, sed multis cito plurima largiturus.’ [47] Interim, ut dei famulus ei praedixerat, mox in Italiam ingressus est, regnum accepit. Eodem tempore Odoacar rex memor factus quod a viro sancto praedictum audierat, statim familiariter litteras ad eum ‘dirigens, siqua speranda duceret, dabat suppliciter optionem. Ergo vir dei tantis itaque eius alloquiis per litteras invitatus, Ambrosium quendam exulantem rogat absolvi; cuius Odoacar gratulabundus paruit imperatis.’

[48] Igitur Odoacar rex gessit bellum adversus Rugos, quos in secundo vicit, et funditus delevit. Nam dum ipse esset bonae voluntatis et Arrianae sectae favorem praeberet, ‘quodam tempore dum memoratum regem multi nobiles coram sancto viro humana, ut fieri solet, adulatione laudarent, interrogat quem regem tantis praeconiis praetulissent. Respondentibus ‘Odoacrem,’ ‘Odoacar,’ inquit, ‘integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim annos ‘; annos videlicet integri eius regni significans.’

[49] Zeno itaque recompensans beneficiis Theodericum, quem fecit patricium et consulem, donans ei multum et mittens eum ad Italiam. Cui Theodericus pactuatus est, ut, si victus fuisset Odoacar, pro merito laborum suorum loco eius, dum adveniret, tantum praeregnaret. Ergo superveniente Theoderico patricio de civitate Nova cum gente Gothica, missus ab imperatore Zenone de partibus Orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam.

[50] Cui occurrit venienti Odoacar ad fluvium Sontium, et ibi pugnans cum eodem, victus fugit et abiit in Veronam et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronense V kalendas Octobres. Ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoacar fugit Ravennam pridie kalendas Octobres.

[51] Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non et Tufa magister militum, quem ordinaverat Odoacar cum optimatibus suis kal. April. Eo anno missus est Tufa magister militum a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam. [52] Veniens Faventiam, Tufa obsedit Odoacrem cum exercitu, cum quo directus fuerat; et exiit Odoacar de Ravenna, et venit Faventiam, et Tufa tradidit Odoacri comites patricii Theoderici, et missi sunt in ferro, et adducti Ravennam.

[53] Fausto et Longino. His consulibus Odoacar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wisigothae in adiutorium Theoderici,

et facta est pugna super fluvium Adduam, et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte et occisus est Pierius comes domesticorum III idus Augustas, et fugit Odoacar Ravennam, et mox subsecutus est eum patricius Theodericus veniens in Pinetam et fixit fossatum, obsidens Odoacrem clausum per triennium Ravenna, et factum est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem Theodericus, Festum, caput senati, ad Zenonem imperatorem, et ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam.

[54] Olybrio V.C. Cons. Hoc consule exiit Odoacar rex de Ravenna nocte, cum Herulis ingressus in Pinetam in fossatum patrici Theoderici, et ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus, et fugiens Levila, magister militum Odoacris, occisus est in fluvio Bedente ; et victus Odoacar fugit Ravennam id. Iul. Igitur coactus Odoacar dedit filium suum Thelanem obsidem Theoderico, accepta fide securum se esse de sanguine. [55] Sic ingressus est Theodericus et post aliquot dies, dum ei Odoacar insidiaretur, detectus ante ab eo praeventus in palatio, manu sua Theodericus eum in Lauretum pervenientem gladio interemit. [56] Cuius exercitus in eadem die iussu Theoderici omnes interfecti sunt, quivis ubi potuit reperiri, cum omni stirpe sua. Et moritur Constantinopolim Zeno imperator, et factus est imperator Anastasius.

[57] Theodericus enim in legationem direxerat Faustum Nigrum ad Zenonem. At ubi cognita morte eius antequam legatio reverteretur, ut ingressus est Ravennam, et occidit Odoacrem, Gothi sibi confirmaverunt Theodericum regem, non exspectantes iussionem novi principis. [58] Vir enim bellicosissimus, fortis, eius pater Walamir dictus rex Gothorum, naturalis tamen eius fuit; mater, Ereriliva dicta Gothica, catholica quidem erat, quae in baptismo Eusebia dicta. [59] Ergo praeclarus et bonae voluntatis in omnibus, qui regnavit annos XXXIII.

Cuius temporibus felicitas est secuta Italiam per annos triginta, ita ut etiam pax pergentibus esset. [60] Nihil enim perperam gessit. Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno, Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen nihil contra religionem catholicam temptans; exhibens ludos circensium et amphitheatrum, ut etiam a Romanis Traianus vel Valentinianus, quorum tempora sectatus est, appellaretur, et a Gothis secundum edictum suum, quo ius constituit, rex fortissimus in omnibus iudicaretur. Militiam Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit. Dona et annonas largitus quamquam aerarium publicum ex toto faeneum invenisset, suo labore recuperavit et opulentum fecit.

[61] Dum illitteratus esset, tantae sapientiae fuit, ut aliqua, quae locutus est, in vulgo usque nunc pro sententia habeantur; unde nos non piget aliqua de multis eius in commemoratione posuisse. Dixit ‘aurum et daemonem qui habet, non eum potest abscondere’; item ‘Romanus miser imitatur Gothum et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.’

[62] Quidam defunctus est et reliquit uxorem et parvulum filium nescientem matrem. Ab aliquo sublatus est filius eius parvulus et ductus in aliam provinciam et educatus. Factus iuvenis quoquo modo revertitur ad matrem;

mater enim iam sponponderat virum. Cum vidisset mater, amplectit filium, benedicens deum se filium revidisse; et fecit cum ea dies triginta. Et ecce veniens sponsus matris, videns iuvenem, interrogavit quis esset. Quae respondit esse suum filium. At ubi comperit esse filium eius, coepit repetere arras et dicere ‘aut nega filium tuum esse aut vero abscedo hinc.’ Mulier compellitur ab sponso, et coepit negare filium, quem ipsa ante confessa est, et dicere: ‘Vade, iuvenis, de domo mea, quia peregrinum te suscepi.’ Ille enim dicebat regressum se ad matrem in domum patris sui. Quid multa? Dum haec aguntur, filius rogavit regem adversus matrem, quam rex iussit in conspectu suo sisti. Cui et dixit: ‘Mulier, filius tuus adversus te rogat; quid dicis? Est filius tuus an non?’ Quae dixit: ‘Non est meus filius sed peregrinum eum suscepi.’ Et dum per ordinem omnia filius mulieris intimasset in auribus regis, dicit mulieri denuo: ‘Est filius tuus an non?’ Quae dixit: ‘Non est filius meus.’ Dicit ei rex: ‘Et quae est facultas tua, mulier?’ Quae respondit: ‘Usque ad mille solidos.’ Et dum maritum se rex non esse facturum sub iusiurando pollicitus est nisi ipsum, alium non acciperet maritum, tune confusa est mulier et confessa est suum esse filium. Sunt eius et multa alia.

[63] Postea vero accepta uxore de Francis nomine Augofladam. Nam uxorem habuit ante regnum, de qua susceperat filias: unam dedit nomine Areaagni Alarico regi Wisigotharum in Gallias, et aliam filiam suam Theodegotham Sigismundo, filio Gundebadi regis. [64] Facta pace cum Anastasio imperatore per Festum de praesumptione regni, et omnia ornamenta palatii, quae Odoacar Constantinopolim transmiserat, remittit.

[65] Eodem tempore contentio orta est in urbe Roma inter Symmachum et Laurentium; consecrati enim fuerant ambo. Ordinante deo, qui et dignus fuit, superavit Symmachus. Post facta pace in urbe ecclesiae ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam, et occurrit Beato Petro devotissimus ac si catholicus. Cui papa Symmachus et cunctus senatus vel populus Romanus cum omni gaudio extra urbem occurrentes. [66] Deinde veniens ingressus urbem, venit ad senatum, et ad Palmam populo allocutus, se omnia, deo iuvante, quod retro principes Romani ordinaverunt inviolabiliter servaturum promittit.

[67] Per tricennem triumphans populo ingressus palatium, exhibens Romanis ludos circensium. Donavit populo Romano et pauperibus annonas singulis annis, centum viginti milia modios, et ad restaurationem palatii, seu ad recuperationem moeniae civitatis singulis annis libras ducentas de area vinaria dari praecepit. [68] Item Amalafrigdam germanam suam in matrimonium tradens regi Wandalorum Transimundo. Liberium praefectum praetorii, quem fecerat in initio regni sui, fecit patricium, et dedit ei successorem. Successit itaque in administratione praefecturae Theodorus, filius Basili. Odoin comes eius insidiabatur ei. [69] Dum haec cognovisset, in palatio quod appellatur Sessorium caput eius amputari praecepit. Verba enim promissionis eius, quae populo fuerat allocutus, rogante populo in tabula aenea iussit scribi et in publico poni.

[70] Deinde sexto mense revertens Ravennam, aliam germanam suam

Amalabirgam tradens in matrimonio Herminifredo regi Turingorum et sic sibi per circuitum placavit omnes gentes. Erat enim amator fabricarum et restaurator civitatum. [71] Hic aquae ductum Ravennae restauravit, quem princeps Traianus fecerat, et post multa tempora aquam introduxit. Palatium usque ad perfectum fecit, quem non dedicavit. Portica circa palatium perfecit. Item Veronae thermas et palatium fecit et a porta usque ad palatium porticum addidit. Aquae ductum, quod per multa tempora destructum fuerat, renovavit et aquam intromisit. Muros alios novos circuit civitatem. Item Ticino palatium, thermas, amphitheatrum, et alios muros civitatis fecit.

[72] Sed et per alias civitates multa beneficia praestitit. Sic enim oblectavit vicinas gentes, ut se illi sub foedus darent aliae gentes, sibi eum regem sperantes. Negotiantes vero de diversis provinciis ad ipsum concurrebant. Tanta enim disciplinae fuit, ut, si quis voluit in agro suo argentum vel aurum dimittere, ac si intra muros civitatis esset ita existimaretur. [73] Et hoc per totam Italiam tanto modo augurium habebat, ut nulli civitati portam fecerit : nec in civitate portae clauderentur: quivis quod opus habebat faciebat qua hora vellet, ac si in die. Sexaginta modios tritici in solidum ipsius tempore emerunt, et vinum triginta amphoras in solidum.

[74] Eodem itaque tempore habebat Anastasius imperator tres nepotes, id est Pompeium, Probum et Hypatium; cogitans quem de ipsis faceret post se imperatorem, quodam die iussit eos secum prandere, et intra palatium post prandium meridiari, et singula lecta eis sterni. Et in uno lecto iussit ad capitem regium insigne poni, et quis de ipsis in eodem lecto elegerisset dormire, in hoc se debere cognoscere cui regnum postea traderet. Unus quidem in uno lecto se iactavit, duo enim in alio, amore fraterno, se collocaverunt. Et ita contigit, ut in illo lecto ubi regium insigne positum erat nullus eorum dormiret. [75] Dum haec vidisset, coepit cogitare intra se, et discens eo quod nullus eorum regnaret coepit orare deum, ut illi revelatio fieret, ut scire possit, dum adviveret, quis post occasum eius regnum susciperet. Haec eodem cogitante et orante cum ieiunio, quadam noctu vidit hominem, qui ita eum admonuit: ‘Crastinus qui tibi primus intra cubiculum nuntiatum fuerit, ipse accipiet post te regnum tuum.’ [76] Ita factum est ut Iustinus, qui comes erat excubitorum, dum advenisset, ubi directus fuerat ab imperatore, renuntiaretur ipse ei primus per praepositum cubiculi. Cumque haec cognovisset, coepit gratias deo referre, qui ei dignatus est revelare successorem.

[77] Cumque haec apud se tacite habuisset, quadam die procedens imperator, dum festinus Iustinus vellet a latere imperatoris transire, obsequium ordinare vellens, calcavit chlamydem imperatoris. [78] Cui imperator hoc tantum dixit, ‘quid festinas?’ Nam ultima vita regni sui temptans eum diabolus, vellens sectam Eunomianam sequi; quem populus fidelis repressit, ita ut ei in ecclesia clamaretur: ‘In trinitatem lanceolam non mittes.’ Non post multum temporis in lecto suo intra urbem Constantinopolim morbo tentus extremam clausit diem.

[79] Igitur rex Theodericus illiteratus erat et sic obtuso sensu, ut in decem

annos regni sui quattuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. De qua re laminam auream iussit interrasmilem fieri, quattuor litteras ‘legi’ habentem; unde si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per earn pennam ducebat, ut subscriptio eius tantum videretur.

[80] Ergo Theodericus, dato consulatu Eutharico, Roma et Ravenna triumphavit qui Eutharicus nimis asper fuit et contra fidem catholicam inimicus. [81] Post haec Theoderico Verona consistente propter metum gentium facta est lis inter Christianos et Iudaeos Ravennates. Quare Iudaei baptizatos nolentes, dum ludunt frequenter oblatam aquam in aquam fluminis iactaverunt. Dehinc accensus est populus non observans neque regi neque Eutharico aut Petro, qui tunc episcopus erat, consurgentes ad synagogas, mox eas incenderunt. Quod et in Roma in re eadem similiter contigit.

[82] Mox Iudaei currentes Veronam, ubi rex erat, agente Triwano praeposito cubiculi, et ipse haereticus favens Iudaeis, insinuans regi factum adversus Christianos. Qui mox iussit propter praesumptionem incendii, ut omnis populus Romanus Ravennates synagogas, quas incendio concremaverunt, data pecunia restaurarent; qui vero non habuissent unde dare fustati per publicum sub voce praekoniam ducerentur. Data praecepta ad Eutharicum, Cilligam, et Petrum episcopum secundum hunc tenorem et ita adimpletum.

[83] Ex eo enim invenit diabolus locum, quem ad modum hominem bene rem publicam sine querella gubernantem subriperet. Nam mox iussit ad fonticulos in proastio civitatis Veronensis oratorium Santi Stephani, id est altarium, subverti. Item ut nullus Romanus arma usque ad cultellum uteretur vetuit. [84] Item mulier pauper de gente Gothica, iacens sub porticu non longe a palatio Ravennati, quattuor generavit dracones; duo de occidente in orientem ferri in nubibus a populo visi sunt et in mari praecipitari, duo portati sunt unum caput habentes. Stella cum facula apparuit, quae dicitur cometes, splendens per dies quindecim. Terrae mota frequenter fuerunt.

[85] Post haec coepit adversus Romanos rex subinde fremere inventa occasione. Cyprianus, qui tunc referendarius erat, postea comes sacrarum et magister, actus cupiditate insinuans de Albino patricio, eo quod litteras adversus regnum eius imperatori Iustino misisset; quod factum dum evocatus negaret, tunc Beothius patricius, qui magister officiorum erat, in conspectu regis dixit: ‘Falsa est insinuatio Cypriani; sed si Albinus fecit, et ego et cunctus senatus uno consilio fecimus; falsum est, domne rex.’ [86] Tunc Cyprianus haesitans, non solum adversus Albinum, sed et adversus Boethium, eius defensorem, deducit falsos testes. Sed rex dolum Romanis tendebat et quaerebat quem ad modum eos interficeret; plus credidit falsis testibus quam senatoribus. [87] Tunc Albinus et Boethius ducti in custodiam ad baptisterium ecclesiae. Rex vero vocavit Eusebium, praefectum urbis, Ticinum et inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Quem mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misere fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi eius creparent, sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur.

[88] Rediens igitur rex Ravennam, tractans non ut dei amicus sed legi eius inimicus, immemor factus omnis eius beneficii et gratiae quam ei dederat, confidens in brachio suo, item credens quod eum pertimesceret Iustinus imperator, mittens et evocans Ravennam Iohannem, sedis apostolicae praesulem, et dicit ad eum: ‘Ambula Constantinopolim ad Iustinum imperatorem, et dic ei inter alia, ut reconciliatos in catholica restituat religione.’ [89] Cui papa Iohannes ita respondit: ‘Quod factururus es, rex, facito citius; ecce in conspectu tuo adsto. Hoc tibi ego non promitto me facturum, nec illi dicturus sum. Nam in aliis causis, quas mihi iniunxeris, obtinere ab eodem, annuente deo, potero.’

[90] Iubet ergo rex iratus navem fabricari et super impositum eum cum aliis episcopis, id est Ecclesium Ravennatem et Eusebium Fanestrem, et Sabinum Campanum, et alios duos, simul et senatores Theodorum, Importunum, Agapitum, et alium Agapitum. Sed deus, qui fideles cultores suos non deserit, cum prosperitate perduxit. [91] Cui Iustinus imperator venienti ita occurrit ac si Beato Petro; cui data legatione, omnia repromisit facturum praeter reconciliatos, qui se fidei catholicae dederunt, Arrianis restitui nullatenus posse.

[92] Sed dum haec aguntur, Symmachus caput senati, cuius Boethius filiam habuit uxorem, deducitur de Roma Ravennam. Metuens vero rex ne dolore generi aliquid adversus regnum eius tractaret, obiecto crimine iussit interfici.

[93] Revertens Iohannes papa a Iustino, quem Theodericus cum dolo suscepit et in offensa sua eum esse iubet. Qui post paucos dies defunctus est. Ergo euntes populi ante corpusculum eius, subito unus de turba adeptus a daemonio cecidit, et dum pervenissent cum lectulo ubi latus erat usque ad hominem, subito sanus surrexit et praecedebat in exsequias. Quod videntes populi et senatores, coeperunt reliquias de veste eius tollere. Sic cum summo gaudio populi deductus est corpus eius foris civitatem.

[94] Igitur Symmachus, scolasticus Iudaeus, iubente non rege sed tyranno, dictavit praecepta die quarta feria, septimo kalend. Septembr. indictione quarta, Olybrio consule, ut die dominico adveniente Arriani basilicas catholicas invaderent. [95] Sed qui non patitur fideles cultores suos ab alienigenis opprimi mox intulit in eum sententiam Arrii, auctoris religionis eius; fluxum ventris incurrit, et dum intra triduum evacuatus fuisset, eodem die, quo se gaudebat ecclesias invadere simul regnum et animam amisit. [96] Ergo antequam exhalaret, nepotem suum Athalaricum in regnum constituit. Se autem vivo fecit sibi monimentum ex lapide quadrato, mirae magnitudinis opus, et saxum ingens quod superponeret inquisivit.

The Dual Text



The banks of the Tigris River, near Diyarbakır — after the death of Julian, Ammianus took part in the retreat of Jovian. At the banks of the Tigris the Roman army, deep inside Sassanid territory, was forced to sue for a peace treaty under humiliating terms.

DUAL LATIN AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by J. C. Rolfe

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Ammianus' historical work, alternating between the original Latin and Rolfe's English translation.

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LIBER XIV — BOOK XIV

[1] Galli Caesaris saevitia. Post emensos insuperabilis expeditionis eventus, languentibus partium animis, quas periculorum varietas fregerat et laborum, nondum tubarum cessante clangore, vel milite locato per stationes hibernas, fortunae saevientis procellae tempestates alias rebus infudere communibus, per multa illa et dira facinora Caesaris Galli, qui ex squalore imo miseriarum, in aetatis adultae primitiis, ad principale culmen insperato saltu provectus, ultra terminos potestatis delatae procurrens, asperitate nimia cuncta foedabat. Propinquitatem enim regiae stirpis, gentilitateque etiam tum Constantii nominis, efferebatur in fastus, si plus valuisset, ausurus hostilia in auctorem suae felicitatis (ut videbatur).

Constantius and Gallus

The cruelty of Gallus Caesar.

After the survival of the events of an unendurable campaign, when the spirits of both parties, broken by the variety of their dangers and hardships, were still drooping, before the blare of the trumpets had ceased or the soldiers been assigned to their winter quarters, the gusts of raging Fortune brought new storms upon the commonwealth through the misdeeds, many and notorious, of Gallus Caesar. He had been raised, at the very beginning of mature manhood, by an unexpected promotion from the utmost depths of wretchedness to princely heights, and overstepping the bounds of the authority conferred upon him, by excess of violence was causing trouble everywhere. For by his relationship to the imperial stock, and the affinity which he even then had with the name of Constantius, he was raised to such a height of presumption that, if he had been more powerful, he would have ventured (it seemed) upon a course hostile to the author of his good fortune.

[2] Cuius acerbitati uxor grave accesserat incentivum m, germanitate Augusti turgida supra modum, quam Hanniballiano regi fratris filio antehac Constantinus iunxerat pater, Megaera quaedam mortalis, inflammatrix saevientis assidua, humani cruoris avida nihil mitius quam maritus. Qui paulatim eruditiores facti processu temporis ad nocendum, per clandestinos versutosque rumigerulos, compertis leviter addere quaedam male suetos, falsa et placentia sibi discentes, affectati regni vel artium nefandarum calumnias insontibus affigebant.

[2] To his cruelty his wife was besides a serious incentive, a woman beyond measure presumptuous because of her kinship to the emperor, and previously joined in marriage by her father Constantine with his brother's son, King Hanniballianus. She, a Megaera in mortal guise, constantly aroused the savagery of Gallus, being as insatiable as he in her thirst for human blood.

The pair in process of time gradually became more expert in doing harm, and through underhand and crafty eavesdroppers, who had the evil habit of lightly adding to their information and wanting to learn only what was false and agreeable to them, they fastened upon innocent victims false charges of aspiring to royal power or of practising magic.

[3] *Eminuit autem inter humilia, supergressa iam impotentia fines mediocrium delictorum, nefanda Clematii cuiusdam Alexandrini nobilis mors repentina; cuius socrus cum misceri sibi generum, flagrans eius amore, non impetraret, ut ferebatur, per palatii pseudothyrum introducta, oblato pretioso reginae monili, id assecuta est, ut ad Honoratum, tum comitem Oriensis, formula missa letali, homo scelere nullo contactus, idem Clematius, nec hiscere nec loqui permissus, occideretur.*

[3] There stood out among their lesser atrocities, when their unbridled power had already surpassed the limits of unimportant delinquencies, the sudden and awful death of one Clematius, a nobleman of Alexandria. This man's mother-in-law, it was said, had a violent passion for her son-in-law, but was unable to seduce him; whereupon, gaining entrance to the palace by a back door, she presented the queen with a valuable necklace, and thus secured the dispatch of his death-warrant to Honoratus, at that time Count of the East; and so Clematius, a man contaminated by no guilt, was put to death without being allowed to protest or even to open his lips.

[4] *Post hoc impie perpetratum, quod in aliis quoque iam timebatur, tamquam licentia crudelitati indulta, per suspicionum nebulas aestimati quid am noxii damnabantur. Quorum pars necati alii puniti bonorum multatione, actique laribus suis extorres, nullo sibi relicto praeter querellas et lacrimas, stipe collaticia victitabant; et civili iustoque imperio ad voluntatem converso cruentam, claudebantur opulentae domus et clarae.*

[4] After the perpetration of this impious deed, which now began to arouse the fears of others also, as if cruelty were given free rein, some persons were adjudged guilty on the mere shadow of suspicion and condemned. Of these some were put to death, others punished by the confiscation of their property and driven from their homes into exile, where, having nothing left save tears and complaints, they lived on the doles of charity; and since constitutional and just rule had given place to cruel caprice, wealthy and famous houses were being closed.

[5] *Nec vox accusatoris ulla (licet subditicii) in his malorum quaerebatur acervis, ut saltem specie tenus crimina praescriptis legum committerentur, quod aliquotiens fecere principes saevi; sed quidquid Caesaris implacabilitati sedisset, id velut fas iusque perpensum, confestim urgebatur impleri.*

[5] And no words of an accuser, even though bribed, were required amid these

accumulations of evils, in order that these crimes might be committed, at least ostensibly, under the forms of law, as has sometimes been done by cruel emperors; but whatever the implacable Caesar had resolved upon was rushed to fulfilment, as if it had been carefully weighed and determined to be right and lawful.

[6] Excogitatum est super his, ut homines quidam ignoti, vilitate ipsa parum cavendi, ad colligendos rumores per Antiochiae latera cuncta destinarentur, relaturi quae audirent. Hi peragranter et dissimulanter honoratorum circulis assistendo, pervadendoque divites domus egentium habitu, quicquid noscere poterant vel audire, latenter intromissi per posticas in regiam, nuntiabant, id observantes conspiratione concordi, ut fingerent quaedam, et cognita duplicarent in peius, laudes vero supprimerent Caesaris, quas invitis compluribus formido malorum impendentium exprimebat.

[6] It was further devised that sundry low-born men, whose very insignificance made them little to be feared, should be appointed to gather gossip in all quarters of Antioch and report what they had heard. These, as if travellers, and in disguise, attended the gatherings of distinguished citizens, and gained entrance to the houses of the wealthy in the guise of needy clients; then, being secretly admitted to the palace by a back door, they reported whatever they had been able to hear or learn, with one accord making it a rule to add inventions of their own and make doubly worse what they had learned, but suppressing the praise of Caesar which the fear of impending evils extorted from some against their will.

[7] Et interdum acciderat, ut siquid in penetrali secreto, nullo citerioris vitae ministro praesente, paterfamilias uxori susurrasset in aurem, velut Amphiarao referente aut Marcio, quondam vatibus inclitis, postridie disceret imperator. Ideoque etiam parites arcanorum soli conscii timebantur.

[7] And sometimes it happened that if the head of a household, in the seclusion of his private apartments, with no confidential servant present, had whispered something in the ear of his wife, the emperor learned it on the following day, as if it were reported by Amphiarao or Marcio, those famous seers of old. And so even the walls, the only sharers of secrets, were feared.

[8] adolescebat autem obstinatum propositum erga haec et similia multa scrutandi, stimulos admovente regina, quae abrupte mariti fortunas trudebat in exitium praeceps, cum eum potius lenitate feminea ad veritatis humanitatisque viam reducere utilia suadendo deberet, ut in Gordianorum actibus factitasse Maximini truculenti illius imperatoris retulimus coniugem.

[8] Moreover, his fixed purpose of ferreting out these and many similar things increased, spurred on by the queen, who pushed her husband's fortunes headlong to sheer ruin, when she ought rather, with womanly gentleness, to

have recalled him by helpful counsel to the path of truth and mercy, after the manner of the wife of that savage emperor Maximinus, as we have related in our account of the acts of the Gordians.

[9] Novo denique perniciosoque exemplo, idem Gallus ausus est inire flagitium grave, quod Romae cum ultimo dedecore temptasse aliquando dicitur Gallienus, et adhibitis paucis clam ferro succinctis, vesperi per tabernas palabatur et compita, quaeritando Graeco sermone, cuius erat impendio gnarus, quid de Caesare quisque sentiret. Et haec confidenter agebat in urbe, ubi pernoctantium luminum claritudo dierum solet imitari fulgorem. Postremo agnitus saepe, iamque (si prodisset) conspicuum se fore contemplans, non nisi luce palam egrediens ad agenda quae putabat seria cernebatur. Et haec quidem medullitus multis gementibus agebantur.

[9] Finally, following an unprecedented and destructive course, Gallus also ventured to commit the atrocious crime which, to his utter disgrace, Gallienus is said to have once hazarded at Rome. Taking with him a few attendants with concealed weapons, he used to roam at evening about the inns and street-corners, inquiring of every one in Greek, of which he had remarkable command, what he thought of the Caesar. And this he did boldly in a city where the brightness of the lights at night commonly equals the resplendence of day. At last, being often recognized, and reflecting that if he continued that course he would be conspicuous, he appeared only in broad daylight, to attend to matters which he considered important. And all this conduct of his caused very deep sorrow to many.

[10] Thalassius vero ea tempestate praefectus praetorio praesens, ipse quoque arrogantis ingenii, considerans incitationem eius ad multorum augeri discrimina, non maturitate vel consiliis mitigabat, ut aliquotiens celsae potestates iras principum molliverunt, sed adversando iurgandoque cum parum congrueret, eum ad rabiem potius evibrabat, Augustum actus eius exaggerando creberrime docens, idque (incertum qua mente) ne lateret affectans. Quibus mox Caesar acrius efferatus, velut contumaciae quoddam vexillum altius erigens, sine respectu salutis alienae vel suae, ad vertenda opposita, instar rapidi fluminis, irrevocabili impetu ferebatur. Isaurorum incursiones. Nec sane haec sola perniciēs orientem diversis cladibus affligebat. Namque et Isauri, quibus est usitatum saepe pacari, saepeque inopinis excursibus cuncta miscere, ex latrociniis occultis et raris, alente impunitate adulescentem in peius audaciam, ad bella gravia proruperunt, diu quidem perduelles spiritus irrequietis motibus erigentes, hac tamen indignitate perciti vehementer, ut iactitabant, quod eorum capti quidam consortes, apud Iconium Pisidiae oppidum in amphitheatrali spectaculo feris praedatricibus obiecti sunt praeter morem.

[10] Now at that time Thalassius was the Praetorian Prefect at court, a man who was himself of an imperious character. He, perceiving that Gallus' temper was

rising, to the peril of many, did not try to soothe it by ripe counsel, as sometimes high officials have moderated the ire of princes; but rather roused the Caesar to fury by opposing and reproving him at unseasonable times; very frequently he informed the emperor of Gallus' doings, exaggerating them and taking pains — whatever his motive may have been — to do it openly. Through this conduct the Caesar was soon still more violently enraged, and as if raising higher, as it were, the standard of his obstinacy, with no regard for his own life or that of others, he rushed on with uncontrollable impetuosity, like a swift torrent, to overthrow whatever opposed him.

Inroads of the Isaurians.

And indeed this was not the only calamity to afflict the Orient with various disasters. For the Isaurians too, whose way it is now to keep the peace and now put everything in turmoil by sudden raids, abandoned their occasional secret plundering expeditions and, as impunity stimulated for the worse their growing boldness, broke out in a serious war. For a long time they had been inflaming their warlike spirits by restless outbreaks, but they were now especially exasperated, as they declared, by the indignity of some of their associates, who had been taken prisoner, having been thrown to beasts of prey in the shows of the amphitheatre at Iconium, a town of Pisidia — an outrage without precedent.

[2] Atque (ut Tullius ait) ut etiam bestiae fame monitae plerumque ad cum locum ubi aliquando pastae sunt revertuntur, ita omnes instar turbinis degressi montibus impeditus et arduis, loca petivere mari confinia, per quae viis latebrosis sese convallibusque occultantes, mm appeterent noctes — luna etiam tum cornuta, ideoque nondum solido splendore fulgente — nauticos observabant. Quos cum in somnum sentirent effusos, per ancoralia quadrupedo gradu repentes, seseque suspensis passibus iniectantes in scaphas, eisdem nihil opinantibus assistebant, et incendente aviditate saevitiam, ne cedentium quidem ulli parcendo, obtruncatis omnibus merces opimas vel utiles nullis repugnantibus avertabant.

[2] And, in the words of Cicero, as even wild animals, when warned by hunger, generally return to the place where they were once fed, so they all, swooping like a whirlwind down from their steep and rugged mountains, made for the districts near the sea; and hiding themselves there in pathless lurking-places and defiles as the dark nights were coming on—the moon being still crescent and so not shining with full brilliance — they watched the sailors. And when they saw that they were buried in sleep, creeping on all fours along the anchor-ropes and making their way on tiptoe into the boats, they came upon the crew all unawares, and since their natural ferocity was fired by greed, they spared no one, even of those who surrendered, but massacred them all and without resistance carried off the cargoes, led either by their value or by their usefulness.

[3] Haecque non diu sunt perpetrata. Cognitis enim pilatorum caesorumque funeribus, nemo deinde ad has stationes appulit navem, sed ut Scironis praerupta letalia declinantes, litoribus Cyprii contigui navigabant, quae Isauriae scopulis sunt controversa.

[3] This however did not continue long; for when the fate of those whom they had butchered and plundered became known, no one afterwards put in at those ports, but avoiding them as they would the deadly cliffs of Sciron, they coasted along the shores of Cyprus, which lie opposite to the crags of Isauria.

[4] Procedente igitur mox tempore cum adventicium nihil inveniretur, relicta ora maritima, in Lycaoniam annexam Isauriae se contulerunt, ibique densis intersaeipientes itinera praetenturis, provincialium et viatorum opibus pascebantur.

[4] Then presently, as time went on and nothing came their way from abroad, they left the sea-coast and withdrew to that part of Lycaonia that borders on Isauria; and there, blocking the roads with close barricades, they lived on the property of the provincials and of travellers.

[5] Excitavit hic ardor milites per municipia plurima, quae eisdem conterminant, dispositos et castella, et quisque serpentes latius pro viribus repellere moliens, nunc globis confertos, aliquotiens et dispersos, multitudine superabatur vigenti, quae nata et educata inter editos recurvosque ambitus montium, eos ut loca plana persultat et mollia, missilibus obvios eminus lacesens et ululatu truci perterrens.

[5] Anger at this aroused the soldiers quartered in the numerous towns and fortresses which lie near those regions, and each division strove to the best of its power to check the marauders as they ranged more widely, now in solid bodies, sometimes even in isolated bands. But the soldiers were defeated by their strength and numbers; for since the Isaurians were born and brought up amid the steep and winding defiles of the mountains, they bounded over them as if they were a smooth and level plain, attacking the enemy with missiles from a distance and terrifying them with savage howls.

[6] Coactique aliquotiens nostri pedites ad eos persequendos scandere clivos sublimes, etiam si lapsantibus plantis fruticeta prensando vel dumos, ad vertices venerint summos, inter arta tamen et invia, nullas acies explicare permissi, r.ec firmare nisu valido gressus; hoste discursatore rupium abscisa volvente superne, periculose per prona discedunt, aut ex necessitate ultima fortiter dimicantes, ruinis ponderum immanium consternuntur.

[6] And sometimes our infantry in pursuing them were forced to scale lofty slopes, and when they lost their footing, even if they reached the very summits by catching hold of underbrush or briars, the narrow and pathless tracts allowed them neither to take order of battle nor with mighty effort to

keep a firm footing; and while the enemy, running here and there, tore off and hurled down masses of rock from above, they made their perilous way down over steep slopes; or if, compelled by dire necessity, they made a brave fight, they were overwhelmed by falling boulders of enormous weight.

[7] Quam ob rem circumspecta cautela observatum est deinceps, et cum edita montium petere coeperint grassatores, loci iniquitati milites cedunt. Ubi autem in planitie potuerint reperiri, quod contingit assidue, nec exsertare lacertos nec crispare permissi tela quae vehunt bina vel terna, pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur.

[7] Therefore extreme caution was shown after that, and when the marauders began to make for the mountain heights, the soldiers yielded to the unfavourable position. When, however, the Isaurians could be found on level ground, as constantly happened, they were allowed neither to stretch out their right arms nor poise their weapons, of which each carried two or three, but they were slaughtered like defenceless sheep.

[8] Metuentes igitur idem latrones Lycaoniam magna parte campestrum, cum se impares nostris fore congressione stataria documentis frequentibus scirent, tramitibus deviis petivere Pamphyliam, diu quidem intactam, sed timore populationum et caedum, milite per omnia diffuso propinqua, magnis undique praesidiis communitam.

[8] Accordingly these same marauders, distrusting Lycaonia, which is for the most part level, and having learned by repeated experience that they would be no match for our soldiers in a stand-up fight, made their way by retired by-paths into Pamphylia, long unmolested, it is true, but through fear of raids and massacres protected everywhere by strong garrisons, while troops were spread all over the neighbouring country.

[9] Raptim igitur properantes, ut motus sui rumores celeritate nimia praevenirent, vigore corporum ac levitate confisi, per flexuosas semitas ad summities collium tardius evadebant. Et cum, superatis difficultatibus arduis, ad supercilia venissent fluvii Melanis, alti et verticosi, qui pro muro tuetur accolae circumfusus, augente nocte adulta terrorem, quievere paulisper, lucem opperientes. Arbitrabantur enim nullo impediante transgressi, inopino accursu apposita quaeque vastare, sed in cassum labores pertulere gravissimos.

[9] Therefore they made great haste, in order by extreme swiftness to anticipate the reports of their movements, trusting in their bodily strength and activity; but they made their way somewhat slowly to the summits of the hills over winding trails. And when, after overcoming extreme difficulties, they came to the steep banks of the Melas, a deep and eddying stream, which surrounds the inhabitants like a wall and protects them, the lateness of the night increased their alarm, and they halted for a time, waiting for daylight. They thought,

indeed, to cross without opposition and by their unexpected raid to lay waste all before them; but they endured the greatest hardships to no purpose.

[10] Nam sole orto magnitudine angusti gurgitis sed profundi a transitu arcebantur, et dum piscatorios quaerunt lenunculos, vel innare temere contextis cratibus parant, effusae legiones quae hiemabant tunc apud Siden, eisdem impetu occurrere veloci. Et signis prope ripam locatis, ad manus comminus conserendas, denseta scutorum compage, semet scientissime praestuebant, ausos quoque aliquos fiducia nandi, vel cavatis arborum truncis, amnem permeare latenter, facillime trucidarunt.

[10] For when the sun rose, they were prevented from crossing by the size of the stream, which was narrow but deep. And while they were hunting for fishermen's boats or preparing to cross on hastily woven hurdles, the legions that were then wintering at Side poured out and fell upon them in swift attack. And having set up their standards near the river-bank, the legions drew themselves up most skilfully for fighting hand to hand with a close formation of shields; and with perfect ease they slew some, who had even dared to cross the river secretly, trusting to swimming, or in hollowed out tree trunks.

[11] Unde temptatis ad discrimen ultimum artibus militum, cum nihil impetraretur, pavore vique repellente extrusi, et quo tenderent ambigentes, venere prope oppidum Laranda.

[11] From there, after trying the skill of our soldiers even to a final test without gaining anything, dislodged by fear and the strength of the legions, and not knowing what direction to take, they came to the neighbourhood of the town of Laranda.

[12] Ibi victu recreati et quiete, postquam abierat timor, vicos opulentos adorti, equestrium adiumento cohortium, quae casu propinquabant, nec resistere planitie porrecta conati, digressi sunt, retroque cedentes, omne iuventutis robur relictum in sedibus acciverunt.

[12] There they were refreshed with food and rest, and after their fear had left them, they attacked some rich villages; but since these were aided by some cohorts of cavalry, which chanced to come up, the enemy withdrew without attempting any resistance on the level plain; but as they retreated, they summoned all the flower of their youth that had been left at home.

[13] Et quoniam inedia gravi afflictabantur, locum petivere Paleas nomine, vergentem in mare, valido muro firmatum, ubi conduntur nunc usque commeatus, distribui militibus omne latus Isauriae defendentibus assueti. Circumstetere igitur hoc munimentum per triduum et trinoctium, et cum neque acclivitas ipsa sine discrimine posset adiri letali, nec cuniculis quicquam geri, nec procedebat ullam obsidionale commentum, maesti excedunt, postrema vi subigente maiora viribus aggressuri.

[13] And since they were distressed by severe hunger, they made for a place called Palaea, near the sea, which was protected by a strong wall. There supplies are regularly stored even to-day, for distribution to the troops that defend the whole frontier of Isauria. Therefore they invested that fortress for three days and three nights; but since the steep slope itself could not be approached without deadly peril, and nothing could be effected by mines, and no method of siege was successful, they withdrew in dejection, ready, under the pressure of extreme necessity, to undertake even tasks beyond their powers.

[14] Proinde concepta rabie saeviore, quam desperatio incendebat et fames, amplificatis viribus, ardore incohibili in excidium urbium matris Seleuciaefferebantur, quam comes tuebatur Castricius, tresque legiones bellicis sudoribus induratae.

[14] Accordingly, filled with still greater fury, to which despair and famine added fuel, with increased numbers and irresistible energy they rushed on to destroy Seleucia, the metropolis of the province, which Count Castricius was holding with three legions steeled by hard service.

[15] Horum adventum praedocti speculationibus fidis, rectores militum tessera data sollemni, armatos omnes celeri eduxere procursu, et agiliter praeterito Calycadni fluminis ponte, cuius undarum magnitudo murorum alluit turres, in speciem locavere pugnandi. Neque tamen exsiluit quisquam, nec permissus est congregi. Formidabatur enim flagrans vesania manus, et superior numero, et ruitura sine respectu salutis in ferrum.

[15] Warned of their approach by trusty scouts, the officers of the garrison gave the watchword, according to regulations, and in a swift sally led out the entire force; and having quickly crossed the bridge over the river Calycadnus, whose mighty stream washes the towers of the city walls, they drew up their men in order of battle. And yet no one charged or was allowed to fight; for they feared that band on fire with madness, superior in numbers, and ready to rush upon the sword, regardless of their lives.

[16] Viso itaque exercitu procul, auditoque liticinum cantu, represso gradu parumper steterae praedones, exsertantesque minaces gladios postea lentius incedebant.

[16] Consequently, when the army came into view afar off, and the notes of the trumpeters were heard, the marauders stopped and halted for a while; then, drawing their formidable swords, they came on at a slower pace.

[17] Quibus occurrere bene pertinax miles explicatis ordinibus parans, hastisque feriens scuta, qui habitus iram pugnantium concitat et dolorem, proximos iam gestu terrebat. Sed eum in certamen alacriter consurgentem, revocavere ductores, rati intempestivum anceps subire certamen, cum haut

longe muri distant, quorum tutela securitas poterat in solido locari cunctorum.

[17] And when the unperturbed soldiers made ready to meet them, deploying their ranks and striking their shields with their spears, an action which rouses the wrath and resentment of the combatants, they intimidated the nearest of the enemy by their very gestures. But as they were eagerly rushing to the fray, their leaders called them back, thinking it inadvisable to risk a doubtful combat when fortifications were not far distant, under the protection of which the safety of all could be put on a solid foundation.

[18] Hac ita persuasione reducti intra moenia bellatores, obseratis undique portarum aditibus, propugnaculis insistebant et pinnis, congesta undique saxa telaque habentes in promptu, ut si quis se proripuisset citerius, multitudine missilium sterneretur et lapidum.

[18] In this conviction, then, the warriors were led back within the walls, the entrances to the gates on all sides were barred, and they took their place on the battlements and pinnacles with rocks gathered from every hand and weapons in readiness, so that, if anyone should force his way near to the walls, he might be overwhelmed by a shower of spears and stones.

[19] Illud tamen clausos vehementer angebat, quod captis navigiis, quae frumenta vehebant per flumen, Isauri quidem alimentorum copiis affluebant, ipsi vero solitarum rerum cibo iam consumendo, inediae propinquantis aerumnas exitialis horrebant.

[19] Still, the besieged were greatly troubled by the fact that the Isaurians, having captured some boats which were carrying grain on the river, were abundantly supplied with provisions, while they themselves had already exhausted the regular stores and were dreading the deadly pangs of approaching famine.

[20] Haec ubi latius fama vulgasset, missaeque relationes assiduae Gallum Caesarem permovissent, quoniam magister equitum longius ea tempestate distinebatur, iussus comes Orientis Nebridius, contractis undique militaribus copiis, ad eximendam periculo civitatem amplam et opportunam, studio properabat ingenti. Quo cognito abscessere latrones, nulla re amplius memorabili gesta, dispersique (ut solent,) avia montium petiere celsorum. Persarum commentum irritum. Eo adducta re per Isauriam, rege Persarum bellis finitimis illigato, repellenteque a collimitiis suis ferocissimas gentes, quae mente quadam versabili hostiliter eum saepe incessunt, et in nos arma moventem aliquotiens iuvant, Nohodares quidam nomine e numero optimatum, incursare Mesopotamiam quotiens copia dederit ordinatus, explorabat nostra sollicitate, si repperisset usquam locum, vi subita perrupturus.

[20] When the news of this situation spread abroad, and repeated messages

dispatched to Gallus Caesar had roused him to action, since the Master of the Horse was at the time too far removed from the spot, orders were given to Nebridius, Count of the East. He quickly got together troops from every side and with the greatest energy was hastening to rescue this great and strategically important city from danger. On learning this, the freebooters departed without accomplishing anything more of consequence, and scattering (after their usual fashion) made for the trackless wastes of the high mountains.

An unsuccessful plot of the Persians.

When affairs had reached this stage in Isauria, the king of Persia, involved in war with his neighbours, was driving back from his frontiers a number of very wild tribes which, with inconsistent policy, often make hostile raids upon his territories and sometimes aid him when he makes war upon us. One of his grandees, Nohodares by name, having received orders to invade Mesopotamia whenever occasion offered, was carefully reconnoitring our territory, intending a sudden incursion in case he found any opening.

[2] Et quia Mesopotamiae tractus omnes crebro inquietari sueti, praetenturis et stationibus servabantur agrariis, laevorsum flexo itinere, Osdroenae subsederat extimas partes, novum parumque aliquando temptatum commentum aggressus; quod si impetrasset, fulminis modo cuncta vastarat. Erat autem quod cogitabat huius modi.

[2] And as all the districts of Mesopotamia, being exposed to frequent raids, were protected by frontier-guards and country garrisons, Nohodares, having turned his course to the left, had beset the remotest parts of Osdroene, attempting a novel and all but unprecedented manœuvre; and if he had succeeded, he would have devastated the whole region like a thunderbolt. Now what he planned was the following.

[3] Batnae municipium in Anthemusia conditum Macedonum manu priscorum, ab Euphrate flumine brevi spatio disparatur, refertum mercatoribus opulentis, ubi annua sollemnitate prope Septembris initium mensis, ad nundinas magna promiscuae fortunae convenit multitudo, ad commercanda quae Indi mittunt et Seres, aliaque plurima vehi terra marique consueta.

[3] The town of Batne, founded in Anthemusia in early times by a band of Macedonians, is separated by a short space from the river Euphrates; it is filled with wealthy traders when, at the yearly festival, near the beginning of the month of September, a great crowd of every condition gathers for the fair, to traffic in the wares sent from India and China, and in other articles that are regularly brought there in great abundance by land and sea.

[4] Hanc regionem praestitutis celebritati diebus, invadere parans dux ante dictus, per solitudines Aboraeque amnis herbidas ripas, suorum indicio proditus, qui admissi flagitii metu exagitati, ad praesidia descivere Romana,

absque ullo egressus effectu, deinde tabescebat immobilis. Saracenorum irruptiones et mores. Saraceni tamen nec amici nobis umquam nec hostes optandi, ultro citroque discursantes, quicquid inveniri poterat momento temporis parvi vastabant, milvorum rapacium similes, qui si praedam dispererint celsius, volatu rapiunt celeri, ac si impetraverint, non immorantur.

[4] This district the above-mentioned leader made ready to invade, on the days set for this celebration, through the wilderness and the grass-covered banks of the river Abora; but he was betrayed by information given by some of his own soldiers, who, fearing punishment for a crime which they had committed, deserted to the Roman garrison. Therefore, withdrawing without accomplishing anything, he languished thereafter in inaction.

Inroads of the Saracens; their customs.

The Saracens, however, whom we never found desirable either as friends or as enemies, ranging up and down the country, in a brief space of time laid waste whatever they could find, like rapacious kites which, whenever they have caught sight of any prey from on high, seize it with swift swoop, and directly they have seized it make off.

[2] Super quorum moribus licet in actibus principis Marci, et postea aliquotiens memini rettulisse, tamen nunc quoque pauca de eisdem expediam carptim.

[2] Although I recall having told of their customs in my history of the emperor Marcus, and several times after that, yet I will now briefly relate a few more particulars about them.

[3] Apud has gentes, quarum exordiens initium ab Assyriis, ad Nili cataractas porrigitur, et confinia Blemmyarum, omnes pari sorte sunt bellatores, seminudi coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti, equorum adiumento perniciū graciliumque camelorum per diversa reptantes, in tranquillis vel turbidis rebus; nec eorum quisquam aliquando stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva subigendo quaerit victum, sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta, sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus; nec idem perferunt diutius caelum, aut tractus unius sol illis umquam placet.

[3] Among those tribes whose original abode extends from the Assyrians to the cataracts of the Nile and the frontiers of the Blemmyae all alike are warriors of equal rank, half-nude, clad in dyed cloaks as far as the loins, ranging widely with the help of swift horses and slender camels in times of peace or of disorder. No man ever grasps a plough-handle or cultivates a tree, none seeks a living by tilling the soil, but they rove continually over wide and extensive tracts without a home, without fixed abodes or laws; they cannot long endure the same sky, nor does the sun of a single district ever content them.

[4] Vita est illis semper in fuga, uxoresque mercennariae conductae ad tempus

ex pacto, atque (ut sit species matrimonii,) dotis nomine futura coniunx hastam et tabernaculum offert marito, post statum diem (si id elegerit,) discessura, et incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus.

[4] Their life is always on the move, and they have mercenary wives, hired under a temporary contract. But in order that there may be some semblance of matrimony, the future wife, by way of dower, offers her husband a spear and a tent, with the right to leave him after a stipulated time, if she so elect: and it is unbelievable with what ardour both sexes give themselves up to passion.

[5] Ita autem quoad vixerint late palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberosque procul educat, nulla copia quiescendi permissa.

[5] Moreover, they wander so widely as long as they live, that a woman marries in one place, gives birth in another, and rears her children far away, without being allowed any opportunity for rest.

[6] Victus universis caro fe ina est, lactisque abundans copia qua sustentantur, et herbae multiplices, et siquae alites capi per aucupium possint, et plerosque nos vidimus frumenti usum et vini penitus ignorantes.

[6] They all feed upon game and an abundance of milk, which is their main sustenance, on a variety of plants, as well as on such birds as they are able to take by fowling; and I have seen many of them who were wholly unacquainted with grain and wine.

[7] Hactenus de natione perniciosa. Nunc ad textum propositum revertamur. Magnentianorum supplicia. Dum haec in Oriente aguntur, Arelate hiemem agens Constantius, post theatralis ludos atque circenses ambitioso editos apparatu, diem sextum: idus Octobres, qui imperii eius annum tricensimum terminabat, insolentiae pondera gravius librans, siquid dubium deferebatur aut falsum, pro liquido accipiens et comperto, inter alia excarnificatum Gerontium, Magnentianae comitem partis, exsulari maerore multavit.

[7] So much for this dangerous tribe. Let us now return to our original theme.

The torture of the followers of Magnentius.

While this was happening in the East, Constantius was passing the winter at Arelate, where he gave entertainments in the theatre and the circus with ostentatious magnificence. Then, on the 10th of October, which completed the thirtieth year of his reign, giving greater weight to his arrogance and accepting every false or doubtful charge as evident and proven, among other atrocities he tortured Gerontius, a count of the party of Magnentius, and visited him with the sorrow of exile.

[2] Utque aegrum corpus quassari etiam levibus solet offensis, ita animus eius angustus et tener, quicquid increpisset, ad salutis suae dispendium existimans factum aut cogitatum, insontium caedibus fecit victoriam luctuosam.

[2] And, as an ailing body is apt to be affected even by slight annoyances, so his narrow and sensitive mind, thinking that every sound indicated something done or planned at the expense of his safety, made his victory lamentable through the murder of innocent men.

[3] Siquis enim militarium vel honoratorum aut nobilis inter suos, rumore tenus esset insimulatus fovisse partes hostiles, iniecto onere catenarum, in modum beluae trahebatur, et inimico urgente vel nullo, quasi sufficiente hoc solo, quod nominatus esset aut delatus aut postulatus, capite vel multatione bonorum, aut insulari solitudine damnabatur.

[3] For if anyone of the military commanders or ex-officials, or one of high rank in his own community, was accused even by rumour of having favoured the party of the emperor's opponent, he was loaded with chains and dragged about like a wild beast. And whether a personal enemy pressed the charge or no one at all, as though it was enough that he had been named, informed against, or accused, he was condemned to death, or his property confiscated, or he was banished to some desert island.

[4] Accedebant enim eius asperitati, ubi inminuta esse amplitudo imperii dicebatur, et iracundiae suspicionumque vanitati, proximorum cruentae blanditiae, exaggerantium incidentia, et dolere impendio simulantium, si principis petitur vita, a cuius salute velut filo pendere statum orbis terrarum fictis vocibus exclamabant.

[4] Moreover his harsh cruelty, whenever the majesty of the empire was said to be insulted, and his angry passions and unfounded suspicions were increased by the bloodthirsty flattery of his courtiers, who exaggerated everything that happened and pretended to be greatly troubled by the thought of an attempt on the life of a prince on whose safety, as on a thread, they hypocritically declared that the condition of the whole world depended.

[5] Ideoque fertur neminem aliquando ob haec vel similia poenae addictum, oblato de more elogio, revocari iussisse, quod inexorabiles quoque principes factitarunt. Et exitiale hoc vitium, quod in aliis non numquam intepescit, in illo aetatis progressu effervescebat, obstinatum eius propositum accendente adulatorum cohorte.

[5] And he is even said to have given orders that no one who had ever been punished for these or similar offences should be given a new trial after a writ of condemnation had once been presented to him in the usual manner, which even the most inexorable emperors commonly allowed. And this fatal fault of

cruelty, which in others sometimes grew less with advancing age, in his case became more violent, since a group of flatterers intensified his stubborn resolution.

[6] Inter quos Paulus eminebat notarius, ortus in Hispania coluber quidam sub vultu latens, odorandi vias periculorum occultas perquam sagax. Is in Britanniam missus, ut militares quosdam perduceret, ausos conspirasse Magnentio, cum reniti non possent, iussa licentius supergressus, fluminis modo fortunis complurium sese repentinus infudit, et ferebatur per strages multiplices ac ruinas, vinculis membra ingenuorum affligens, et quosdam obterens manicis, crimina scilicet multa consarcinando, a veritate longe discreta. Unde admissum est facinus impium, quod Constanti tempus nota inusserat sempiterna.

[6] Prominent among these was the state secretary Paulus, a native of Spain, a kind of viper, whose countenance concealed his character, but who was extremely clever in scenting out hidden means of danger for others. When he had been sent to Britain to fetch some officers who had dared to conspire with Magnentius, since they could make no resistance he autocratically exceeded his instructions and, like a flood, suddenly overwhelmed the fortunes of many, making his way amid manifold slaughter and destruction, imprisoning freeborn men and even degrading some with handcuffs; as a matter of fact, he patched together many accusations with utter disregard of the truth, and to him was due an impious crime, which fixed an eternal stain upon the time of Constantius.

[7] Martinus agens illas provincias pro praefectis, aerumnas innocentium graviter gemens, saepeque obsecrans, ut ab omni culpa immunibus parceretur, cum non impetraret, minabatur se discessurum; ut saltem id metuens, perquisitor malivolis tandem desineret quieti coalitos homines in aperta pericula proiectare.

[7] Martinus, who was governing those provinces as substitute for the prefects, deeply deplored the woes suffered by innocent men; and after often begging that those who were free from any reproach should be spared, when he failed in his appeal he threatened to retire, in the hope that, at least through fear of this, that malevolent man-hunter might finally cease to expose to open danger men naturally given to peace.

[8] Per hoc minui studium suum existimans Paulus, ut erat in complicandis negotiis artifex dirus, unde ei Catenae indutum est cognomentum, vicarium ipsum eos quibus praeerat adhuc defensantem, ad sortem periculorum communium traxit. Et instabat ut eum quoque cum tribunis et aliis pluribus, ad comitatum imperatoris vinctum perduceret; quo percitus ille, exitio urgente abrupto, ferro eundem adoritur Paulum. Et quia languente dextera letaliter ferire non potuit, iam destructum mucronem in proprium latus impegit. hocque

deformi genere mortis, excessit e vita iustissimus rector, ausus miserabiles casus levare multorum.

[8] Paulus thought that this would interfere with his profession, and being a formidable artist in devising complications, for which reason he was nicknamed “The Chain,” since the substitute continued to defend those whom he was appointed to govern, Paulus involved even him in the common peril, threatening to bring him also in chains to the emperor’s court, along with the tribunes and many others. Thereupon Martinus, alarmed at this threat, and thinking swift death imminent, drew his sword and attacked that same Paulus. But since the weakness of his hand prevented him from dealing a fatal blow, he plunged the sword which he had already drawn into his own side. And by that ignominious death there passed from life a most just ruler, who had dared to lighten the unhappy lot of many.

[9] Quibus ita scelestis patris, Paulus cruore perfusus, reversusque ad principis castra, multos coopertos paene catenis adduxit, in squalorem deiectos atque maestitiam, quorum adventu intendebantur eculi, uncosque parabat carnifex et tormenta. Et ex his proscripti sunt plures, actique in exilium alii, non nullos gladii consumpsere poenales. Nec enim quisquam facile meminit sub Constantio, ubi susurro tenuis haec movebantur, quemquam absolutum. Senatus populi que Romani vitia. Inter haec Orfitus praefecti potestate regebat urbem aeternam, ultra modum delatae dignitatis sese efferens insolenter, vir quidem prudens, et forensium negotiorum oppido gnarus, sed splendore liberalium doctrinarum minus quam nobilem de, uerat institutus. Quo administrante seditiones sunt concitatae graves ob inopiam vini, cuius avidis usibus vulgus intentum, ad motus asperos excitatur et crebros.

[9] After perpetrating these atrocious crimes, Paulus, stained with blood, returned to the emperor’s camp, bringing with him many men almost covered with chains and in a state of pitiful filth and wretchedness. On their arrival, the racks were made ready and the executioner prepared his hooks and other instruments of torture. Many of the prisoners were proscribed, others driven into exile; to some the sword dealt the penalty of death. For no one easily recalls the acquittal of anyone in the time of Constantius when an accusation against him had even been whispered.

The faults of the Roman Senate and People.

Meanwhile Orfitus was governing the eternal city with the rank of Prefect, and with an arrogance beyond the limits of the power that had been conferred upon him. He was a man of wisdom, it is true, and highly skilled in legal practice, but less equipped with the adornment of the liberal arts than became a man of noble rank. During his term of office serious riots broke out because of the scarcity of wine; for the people, eager for an unrestrained use of this

commodity, are roused to frequent and violent disturbances.

[2] Et quoniam mirari posse quosdam peregrinos existimo, haec lecturos forsitan (si contigerit), quam ob rem cum oratio ad ea monstranda deflexerit quae Romae geruntur, nihil praeter seditiones narrator et tabernas et vilitates harum similis alias, summatim causas perstringam, nusquam a veritate sponte propria digressurus.

[2] Now I think that some foreigners who will perhaps read this work (if I shall be so fortunate) may wonder why it is that when the narrative turns to the description of what goes on at Rome, I tell of nothing save dissensions, taverns, and other similar vulgarities. Accordingly, I shall briefly touch upon the reasons, intending nowhere to depart intentionally from the truth.

[3] Tempore quo primis auspiciis in mundanum fulgorem surgeret victura dum erunt homines Roma, ut augetur sublimibus incrementis, foedere pacis aeternae Virtus convenit atque Fortuna, plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisset, ad perfectam non venerat summitatem.

[3] At the time when Rome first began to rise into a position of world-wide splendour, destined to live so long as men shall exist, in order that she might grow to a towering stature, Virtue and Fortune, ordinarily at variance, formed a pact of eternal peace; for if either one of them had failed her, Rome had not come to complete supremacy.

[4] Eius populus ab incunabulis primis ad usque pueritiae tempus extremum, quod annis circumcluditur fere trecentis, circummurana pertulit bella; deinde aetatem ingressus adultam, post multiplices bellorum aerumnas, Alpes transcendit et fretum; in iuvenem erectus et virum, ex omni plaga quam orbis ambit immensus, reportavit laureas et triumphos; iamque vergens in senium, et nomine solo aliquotiens vincens, ad tranquilliora vitae discessit.

[4] Her people, from the very cradle to the end of their childhood, a period of about three hundred years, carried on wars about her walls. Then, entering upon adult life, after many toilsome wars, they crossed the Alps and the sea. Grown to youth and manhood, from every region which the vast globe includes, they brought back laurels and triumphs. And now, declining into old age, and often owing victory to its name alone, it has come to a quieter period of life.

[5] Ideo urbs venerabilis, post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas, latasque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna, velut frugi parens et prudens et dives, Caesaribus tamquam liberis suis regenda patrimonii iura permisit.

[5] Thus the venerable city, after humbling the proud necks of savage nations, and making laws, the everlasting foundations and moorings of liberty, like a

thrifty parent, wise and wealthy, has entrusted the management of her inheritance to the Caesars, as to her children.

[6] Et olim licet otiosae sint tribus, pacataeque centuriae, et nulla suffragiorum certamina, sed Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis, per omnes tamen quot orae sunt partesque terrarum, ut domina suscipitur et regina, et ubique patrum reverenda cum auctoritate canities, populi que Romani nomen circumspectum et verecundum.

[6] And although for some time the tribes have been inactive and the centuries at peace, and there are no contests for votes but the tranquillity of Numa's time has returned, yet throughout all regions and parts of the earth she is accepted as mistress and queen; everywhere the white hair of the senators and their authority are revered and the name of the Roman people is respected and honoured.

[7] Sed laeditur hic coetuum magnificus splendor, levitate paucorum incondita, ubi nati sunt non reputantium, sed tamquam indulta licentia vitiis, ad errores lapsorum atque lasciviam. Ut enim Simonides lyricus docet, beate perfecta ratione victuro, ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam.

[7] But this magnificence and splendour of the assemblies is marred by the rude worthlessness of a few, who do not consider where they were born, but, as if licence were granted to vice, descend to sin and wantonness. For as the lyric poet Simonides tells us, one who is going to live happy and in accord with perfect reason ought above all else to have a glorious fatherland.

[8] Ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas aestimantes, eas ardentem affectant, quasi plus praemii de figmentis aereis sensu carentibus adepturi, quam ex conscientia honeste recteque factorum, easque auro curant inbracteari, quod Acilio Glabrioni delatum est primo, cum consiliis armisque regem superasset Antiochum. Quam autem sit pulchrum, exigua haec spernentem et minima, ad ascensus verae gloriae tendere longos et arduos, ut memorat vates Ascræus, Censorius Cato monstravit. Qui interrogatus quam ob rem inter multos ipse statuam non haberet, 'Malo' inquit 'ambigere bonos, quam ob rem id non meruerim, quam (quod est gravius) cur impetraverim mussitare.'

[8] Some of these men eagerly strive for statues, thinking that by them they can be made immortal, as if they would gain a greater reward from senseless brazen images than from the consciousness of honourable and virtuous conduct. And they take pains to have them overlaid with gold, a fashion first introduced by Acilius Glabrio, after his skill and his arms had overcome King Antiochus. But how noble it is, scorning these slight and trivial honours, to aim to tread the long and steep ascent to true glory, as the bard of Ascræ expresses it, is made clear by Cato the Censor. For when he was asked why he

alone among many did not have a statue, he replied: “I would rather that good men should wonder why I did not deserve one than (which is much worse) should mutter ‘Why was he given one?’”

[9] Alii summum decus in carruchis solito altioribus, et ambitioso vestium cultu ponentes, sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas in collis insertas iugulis ipsis annectunt, nimia subtegminum tenuitate perflabiles, exceptantes eas manu utraque et vexantes crebris agitationibus, maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant, varietate liciorum effigiatae in species animalium multiformes.

[9] Other men, taking great pride in coaches higher than common and in ostentatious finery of apparel, sweat under heavy cloaks, which they fasten about their necks and bind around their very throats, while the air blows through them because of the excessive lightness of the material; and they lift them up with both hands and wave them with many gestures, especially with their left hands, in order that the over-long fringes and the tunics embroidered with party-coloured threads in multiform figures of animals may be conspicuous.

[10] Alii nullo quaerente, vultus severitate assimulata, patrimonium sua in immensum extollunt, cultorum (ut putant) feracium multiplicantes annuos fructus, quae a primo ad ultimum solem se abunde iactitant possidere, ignorantes profecto maiores suos per quos ita magnitudo Romana porrigitur, non divitiis eluxisse, sed per bella saevissima, nec opibus nec victu nec indumentorum vilitate gregariis militibus discrepantes, opposita cuncta superasse virtute.

[10] Others, though no one questions them, assume a grave expression and greatly exaggerate their wealth, doubling the annual yield of their fields, well cultivated (as they think), of which they assert that they possess a great number from the rising to the setting sun; they are clearly unaware that their forefathers, through whom the greatness of Rome was so far flung, gained renown, not by riches, but by fierce wars, and not differing from the common soldiers in wealth, mode of life, or simplicity of attire, overcame all obstacles by valour.

[11] Hac ex causa collaticia stipe Valerius humatur ille Publicola, et subsidiis amicorum mariti, inops cum liberis uxor alitur Reguli, et dotatur ex aerario filia Scipionis, cum nobilitas florem adultae virginis diuturnum absentia pauperis erubesceret patris.

[11] For that reason the eminent Valerius Publicola was buried by a contribution of money, and through the aid of her husband's friends the needy wife of Regulus and her children were supported. And the daughter of Scipio received her dowry from the public treasury, since the nobles blushed to look

upon the beauty of this marriageable maiden long unsought because of the absence of a father of modest means.

[12] At nunc si ad aliquem bene nummatum tumentemque ideo, honestus advena salutatum introieris primitus, tamquam exoptatus suscipieris, et interrogatus multa coactusque mentiri, miraberis numquam antea visus, summam virum tenuem te sic enixius observantem, ut paeniteat ob haec bona tamquam praecipua non vidisse ante decennium Romam.

[12] But now-a-days, if as a stranger of good position you enter for the first time to pay your respects to some man who is well-to-do and therefore puffed up, at first you will be greeted as if you were an eagerly expected friend, and after being asked many questions and forced to lie, you will wonder, since the man never saw you before, that a great personage should pay such marked attention to your humble self as to make you regret, because of such special kindness, that you did not see Rome ten years earlier.

[13] Hacque affabilitate confisus, cum eadem postridie feceris, ut incognitus haerebis et repentinus, hortatore illo hesterno suos enumerando, qui sis vel unde venias diutius ambigente. Agnitus vero tandem et asscitus in amicitiam, si te salutandi assiduitati dederis triennio indiscretus, et per totidem dierum defueris tempus, reverteris ad paria perferenda, nec ubi esses interrogatus, et ni inde miser discesseris, aetatem omnem frustra in stipite conteres summittendo.

[13] When, encouraged by this affability, you make the same call on the following day, you will hang about unknown and unexpected, while the man who the day before urged you to call again counts up his clients, wondering who you are or whence you came. But when you are at last recognized and admitted to his friendship, if you devote yourself to calling upon him for three years without interruption, then are away for the same number of days, and return to go through with a similar course, you will not be asked where you were, and unless you abandon the quest in sorrow, you will waste your whole life to no purpose in paying court to the blockhead.

[14] Cum autem commodis intervallata temporibus, convivium longa et noxia coeperint apparari, vel distributio sollemnium sportularum, anxie deliberatione tractatur, an exceptis his quibus vicissitudo debetur, peregrinum invitari conveniet, et si digesto plene consilio, id placuerit fieri, is adhibetur qui pro domibus excubat aurigarum, aut artem tesserariam profitetur, aut secretiora quaedam se nosse confingit.

[14] And when, after a sufficient interval of time, the preparation of those tedious and unwholesome banquets begins, or the distribution of the customary doles, it is debated with anxious deliberation whether it will be suitable to invite a stranger, with the exception of those to whom a return of

hospitality is due; and if, after full and mature deliberation, the decision is in the affirmative, the man who is invited is one who watches all night before the house of the charioteers, or who is a professional dicer, or who pretends to the knowledge of certain secrets.

[15] *Homines enim eruditos et sobrios, ut infaustos et inutiles vitant, eo quoque accedente, quod et nomenclatores, assueti haec et talia venditare, mercede accepta, lucris quosdam et prandiis inserunt subditicios ignobiles et obscure.*

[15] For they avoid learned and serious people as unlucky and useless, in addition to which the announcers of names, who are wont to traffic in these and similar favours, on receiving a bribe, admit to the doles and the dinners obscure and low-born intruders.

[16] *Mensarum enim voragines et varias voluptatum illecebras, ne longius progrediar, praetermitto, illuc transiturus, quod quidam per ampla spatia urbis, subversasque silices, sine periculi metu properantes equos velut publicos, ignitis quod dicitur calcibus agitant, familiarium agmina tamquam praedatorios globos post terga trahentes, ne Sannione quidem (ut ait comicus) domi relicto. Quos imitatae matronae complures, opertis capitibus et basternis, per latera civitatis cuncta discurrunt.*

[16] But I pass over the gluttonous banquets and the various allurements of pleasures, lest I should go too far, and I shall pass to the fact that certain persons hasten without fear of danger through the broad streets of the city and over the upturned stones of the pavements as if they were driving post-horses with hoofs of fire (as the saying is), dragging after them armies of slaves like bands of brigands and not leaving even Sannio at home, as the comic writer says. And many matrons, imitating them, rush about through all quarters of the city with covered heads and in closed litters.

[17] *Utque proeliorum periti rectores primo catervas densas opponunt et fortes, deinde leves armaturas, post iaculatores ultimasque subsidiales acies (si fors adegerit) iuvaturas, ita praepositis urbanae familiae suspense digerentibus atque sollicite, quos insignes faciunt virgae dexteris aptatae, velut tessera data castrensi, iuxta vehiculi frontem omne textrinum incedit: huic atratum coquinae iungitur ministerium, dein totum promisce servitium, cum otiosis plebeis de vicinitate coniunctis; postrema multitudo spadonum a senibus in pueros desinens, obluridi distortaque lineamentorum compage deformes, ut quaqua incesserit quisquam, cernens mutilorum hominum agmina, detestetur memoriam Samiramidis reginae illius veteris, quae teneros mares castravit omnium prima, velut vim iniectans naturae, eandemque ab instituto cursu retorquens, quae inter ipsa oriundi crepundia, per primigenios seminis fontes, tacita quodam modo lege vias propagandae posteritatis ostendit.*

[17] And as skilful directors of battles place in the van dense throngs of brave

soldiers, then light-armed troops, after them the javelin-throwers, and last of all the reserve forces, to enter the action in case chance makes it needful, just so those who have charge of a city household, made conspicuous by wands grasped in their right hands, carefully and diligently draw up the array; then, as if the signal had been given in camp, close to the front of the carriage all the weavers march; next to these the blackened service of the kitchen, then all the rest of the slaves without distinction, accompanied by the idle plebeians of the neighbourhood; finally, the throng of eunuchs, beginning with the old men and ending with the boys, sallow and disfigured by the distorted form of their members; so that, wherever anyone goes, beholding the troops of mutilated men, he would curse the memory of that Queen Samiramis of old, who was the first of all to castrate young males, thus doing violence, as it were, to Nature and wresting her from her intended course, since she at the very beginning of life, through the primitive founts of the seed, by a kind of secret law, shows the ways to propagate posterity.

[18] *Quod cum ita sit, paucae domus studiorum seriis cultibus antea celebratae, nunc ludibriis ignaviae torpentis exundant, vocabili sonu, perflabili tinnitu fidium resultantes. Denique pro philosopho cantor, et in locum oratoris doctor artium ludicrarum accitur, et bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis, organa fabricantur hydraulica, et lyrae ad speciem carpentorum ingentes, tibiaeque et histrionici gestus instrumenta non levia.*

[18] In consequence of this state of things, the few houses that were formerly famed for devotion to serious pursuits now teem with the sports of sluggish indolence, re-echoing to the sound of singing and the tinkling of flutes and lyres. In short, in place of the philosopher the singer is called in, and in place of the orator the teacher of stagecraft, and while the libraries are shut up forever like tombs, water-organs are manufactured and lyres as large as carriages, and flutes and instruments heavy for gesticulating actors.

[19] *Postremo ad id indignitatis est ventum, ut cum peregrini ob formidatam haud ita dudum alimentorum inopiam pellerentur ab urbe praecipites, sectatoribus disciplinarum liberalium, impendio paucis, sine respiratione ulla extrusis, tenerentur mimarum adseclae veri, quique id simularunt ad tempus, et tria milia saltatricum, ne interpellata quidem, cum choris totidemque remanerent magistris.*

[19] At last we have reached such a state of baseness, that whereas not so very long ago, when there was fear of a scarcity of food, foreigners were driven neck and crop from the city, and those who practised the liberal arts (very few in number) were thrust out without a breathing space, yet the genuine attendants upon actresses of the mimes, and those who for the time pretended to be such, were kept with us, while three thousand dancing girls, without even being questioned, remained here with their choruses, and an equal number of dancing masters.

[20] Et licet, quocumque oculos flexeris, feminas affatim multas spectare cirratas, quibus (si nupsissent) per aetatem ter iam nixus poterat suppetere liberorum, ad usque taedium pedibus pavimenta tergents, iactari volucriter gyris, dum exprimunt innumera simulacra, quae finxere fabulae teatrales.

[20] And, wherever you turn your eyes, you may see a throng of women with curled hair, who might, if they had married, by this time, so far as age goes, have already produced three children, sweeping the pavements with their feet to the point of weariness and whirling in rapid gyrations, while they represent the innumerable figures that the stage-plays have devised.

[21] Illud autem non dubitatur, quod cum esset aliquando virtutum omnium domicilium Roma, ingenuos advenas plerique nobilium, ut Homerici bacarum suavitate Lotophagi, humanitatis multiformibus officiis retentabant.

[21] Furthermore, there is no doubt that when once upon a time Rome was the abode of all the virtues, many of the nobles detained here foreigners of free birth by various kindly attentions, as the Lotuseaters of Homer did by the sweetness of their fruits.

[22] Nunc vero inanes flatus quorundam, vile esse quicquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur aestimant praeter orbos et caelibes, nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae.

[22] But now the vain arrogance of some men regards everything born outside the pomerium of our city as worthless, except the childless and unwedded; and it is beyond belief with what various kinds of obsequiousness men without children are courted at Rome.

[23] Et quoniam apud eos, ut in capite mundi, morborum acerbitates celsius dominantur, ad quos vel sedandos omnis professio medendi torpescit, excogitatum est adminiculum hospitale, nequi amicum perferentem similia videat, additumque est cautioribus paucis remedium aliud satis validum, ut famulos percontatum missos quem ad modum valeant noti hac aegritudine colligati, non ante recipiant domum, quam lavacro purgaverint corpus. Ita etiam alienis oculis visa metuitur labes.

[23] And since among them, as is natural in the capital of the world, cruel disorders gain such heights that all the healing art is powerless even to mitigate them, it has been provided, as a means of safety, that no one shall visit a friend suffering from such a disease, and by a few who are more cautious another sufficiently effective remedy has been added, namely, that servants sent to inquire after the condition of a man's acquaintances who have been attacked by that disorder should not be readmitted to their masters' house until they have purified their persons by a bath. So fearful are they of a contagion seen only by the eyes of others.

[24] Sed tamen haec cum ita tutius observentur, quidam vigore artuum imminuto, rogati ad nuptias, ubi aurum dextris manibus cavatis offertur, impigre vel usque Spoletium pergunt. Haec nobilium sunt instituta.

[24] But yet, although these precautions are so strictly observed, some men, when invited to a wedding, where gold is put into their cupped right hands, although the strength of their limbs is impaired, will run even all the way to Spoletium. Such are the habits of the nobles.

[25] Ex turba vero imae sortis et paupertinae, in tabernis aliqui pernoctant vinariis, non nulli sub velabris umbraculorum theatralium latent, quae, Campanam imitatus lasciviam, Catulus in aedilitate sua suspendit omnium primus; aut pugnaciter aleis certant, turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto spiritu concrepantes; aut quod est studiorum omnium maximum ab ortu lucis ad vesperam sole fatiscunt vel pluviis, per minutias aurigarum equorumque praecipua vel delicta scrutantes.

[25] But of the multitude of lowest condition and greatest poverty some spend the entire night in wineshops, some lurk in the shade of the awnings of the theatres, which Catulus in his aedileship, imitating Campanian wantonness, was the first to spread, or they quarrel with one another in their games at dice, making a disgusting sound by drawing back the breath into their resounding nostrils; or, which is the favourite among all amusements, from sunrise until evening, in sunshine and in rain, they stand open-mouthed, examining minutely the good points or the defects of charioteers and their horses.

[26] Et est admodum mirum videre plebem innumeram, mentibus ardore quodam infuso, e dimicationum curulium eventu pendentem. Haec similiaque memorabile nihil vel serius agi Romae permittunt. Ergo redeundum ad textum. Galli Caesaris immanitas et saevitia. Latius iam disseminata licentia, onerosus bonis omnibus Caesar, nullum post haec adhibens modum, orientis latera cuncta vexabat, nec honoratis parcens nec urbium primatibus nec plebeis.

[26] And it is most remarkable to see an innumerable crowd of plebeians, their minds filled with a kind of eagerness, hanging on the outcome of the chariot races. These and similar things prevent anything memorable or serious from being done in Rome. Accordingly, I must return to my subject.

Atrocities and savagery of Gallus Caesar.

His lawlessness now more widely extended, Caesar became offensive to all good men, and henceforth showing no restraint, he harassed all parts of the East, sparing neither ex-magistrates nor the chief men of the cities, nor even the plebeians.

[2] Denique Antiochensis ordinis vertex sub uno elogio iussit occidi, ideo

effertus, quod ei celerari vilitatem intempestivam urgenti, cum impenderet inopia, gravius rationabili responderunt; et perissent ad unum, ni comes orientis tunc Honoratus fixa constantia restitisset.

[2] Finally, he ordered the death of the leaders of the senate of Antioch in a single writ, enraged because when he urged a prompt introduction of cheap prices at an unseasonable time, since scarcity threatened, they had made a more vigorous reply than was fitting. And they would have perished to a man, had not Honoratus, then count-governor of the East, opposed him with firm resolution.

[3] Erat autem dritatis eius hoc quoque indicium nec obscurum nec latens, quod ludicris cruentis delectabatur, et in circo sex vel septem aliquotiens deditus certaminibus, pugilum vicissim se concidentium, perfusorumque sanguine specie, ut lucratus ingentia, laetabatur.

[3] This also was a sign of his savage nature which was neither obscure nor hidden, that he delighted in cruel sports; and sometimes in the Circus, absorbed in six or seven contests, he exulted in the sight of boxers pounding each other to death and drenched with blood, as if he had made some great gain.

[4] Accenderat super his incitatum propositum ad nocendum aliqua mulier vilis, quae ad palatium (ut poposcerat) intromissa, insidias ei latenter obtendi prodiderat a militibus obscurissimis. Quam Constantina exultans, ut in tuto iam locata mariti salute, muneratam vehiculoque impositam per regiae ianuas emisit in publicum, ut his illecebris alios quoque ad indicanda proliceret paria vel maiora.

[4] Besides this, his propensity for doing harm was inflamed and incited by a worthless woman, who, on being admitted to the palace (as she had demanded) had betrayed a plot that was secretly being made against him by some soldiers of the lowest condition. Whereupon Constantina, exulting as if the safety of her husband were now assured, gave her a reward, and seating her in a carriage, sent her out through the palace gates into the public streets, in order that by such inducements she might tempt others to reveal similar or greater conspiracies.

[5] Post haec Gallus Hierapolim profecturus, ut expeditioni specie tenuis adesset, Antiochensi plebi suppliciter obsecranti, ut inediae dispelleret metum, quae per multas difficilisque causas affore iam sperabatur, non ut mos est principibus, quorum diffusa potestas localibus subinde medetur aerumnis, disponi quicquam statuit, vel ex provinciis alimenta transferri conterminis, sed consularem Syriae Theophilum prope adstantem, ultima metuenti multitudini dedit, id assidue replicando, quod invito rectore, nullus egere poterit victu.

[5] After this, when Gallus was on the point of leaving for Hierapolis,

ostensibly to take part in the campaign, and the commons of Antioch suppliantly besought him to save them from the fear of a famine, which, through many difficulties of circumstance, was then believed to be imminent, he did not, after the manner of princes whose widely extended power sometimes cures local troubles, make any arrangements or command the bringing of supplies from neighbouring provinces; but to the multitude, which was in fear of the direst necessity, he delivered up Theophilus, consular governor of Syria, who was standing near by, constantly repeating the statement, that no one could lack food if the governor did not wish it.

[6] Auxerunt haec vulgi sordidioris audaciam; et cum ingravesceret penuria commeatum, famis et furoris impulsu, Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit, rectoremque ut sibi iudicio imperiali addictum, calcibus incessens et pugnīs, conculcans seminecem laniatu miserando discerpit. Post cuius lacrimosum interitum, in unius exitio quisque imaginem periculi sui considerans, documento recenti similia formidabat.

[6] These words increased the audacity of the lowest classes, and when the lack of provisions became more acute, driven by hunger and rage, they set fire to the pretentious house of a certain Eubulus, a man of distinction among his own people; then, as if the governor had been delivered into their hands by an imperial edict, they assailed him with kicks and blows, and trampling him under foot when he was half-dead, with awful mutilation tore him to pieces. After his wretched death each man saw in the end of one person an image of his own peril and dreaded a fate like that which he had just witnessed.

[7] Eodem tempore Serenianus ex duce, cuius ignavia populatam in Phoenice Celsen ante rettulimus, pulsatae maiestatis imperii reus iure postulatus ac lege, incertum qua potuit suffragatione absolui, aperte convictus, familiarem suum cum pileo quo caput operiebat, incantato vetitis artibus, ad templum misisse fatidicum, quaeritatum praesagia, an ei firmum portenderetur imperium (ut cupiebat) et tutum.

[7] At that same time Serenianus, a former general, through whose inefficiency Celse in Phoenicia had been pillaged, as we have described, was justly and legally tried for high treason, and it was doubtful by what favour he could be acquitted; for it was clearly proved that he had enchanted by forbidden arts a cap which he used to wear, and sent a friend of his with it to a prophetic shrine, to seek for omens as to whether the imperial power was destined to be firmly and safely his, as he desired.

[8] Duplexque eisdem diebus acciderat malum, quod et Theophilum insontem atrox interceperat casus, et Serenianus dignus execratione cunctorum, innoxius, modo non reclamante publico vigore, discessit.

[8] At that time a twofold evil befell, in that an awful fate took off Theophilus, who was innocent, and Serenianus, who was deserving of universal execration, got off scotfree, almost without any strong public protest.

[9] Haec subinde Constantius audiens, et quaedam referente Thalassio doctus, quem obisse iam compererat lege communi, scribens ad Caesarem blandius, adiumenta paulatim illi subtraxit, sollicitari se simulans ne, uti est militare otium fere tumultuosum, in eius perniciem conspiraret, solisque scholis iussit esse contentum palatinis et protectorum, cum Scutariis et Gentilibus, et mandabat Domitiano, ex comite largitionum praefecto provecto, ut cum in Syriam venerit, Gallum quem crebro acciverat, ad Italiam properare blande hortaretur et verecunde.

[9] Constantius, hearing of these events from time to time, and being informed of some things by Thalassius, who, as he had now learned, had died a natural death, wrote in flattering terms to the Caesar, but gradually withdrew from him his means of defence. He pretended to be anxious, since soldiers are apt to be disorderly in times of inaction, lest they might conspire for Gallus' destruction, and bade him be satisfied with the palace troops only and those of the guards, besides the Targeteers and the Household troops. He further ordered Domitianus, a former state treasurer, and now prefect, that when he came into Syria, he should politely and respectfully urge Gallus, whom he had frequently summoned, to hasten to return to Italy.

[10] Qui cum venisset ob haec festinatis itineribus Antiochiam, praestricis palatii ianuis, contempto Caesare quem videri decuerat, ad praetorium cum pompa sollemni perrexit, morbosque diu causatus, nec regiam introiit, nec processit in publicum, sed abditus multa in eius moliebatur exitium, addens quaedam relationibus supervacua, quas subinde mittebat ad principem.

[10] But when Domitianus had quickened his pace because of these instructions and had come to Antioch, passing by the gates of the palace in contempt of the Caesar, on whom he ought to have called, he went to the general's quarters with the usual pomp, and having for a long time pleaded illness, he neither entered the palace nor appeared in public, but remaining in hiding he made many plots for Gallus' ruin, adding some superfluous details to the reports which from time to time he sent to the emperor.

[11] Rogatus ad ultimum, admissusque in consistorium, ambae nulla praegressa, inconsiderate et leviter, 'Proficiscere' inquit (ut praeceptum est) 'Caesar, sciens quod (si cessaveris) et tuas et palatii tui auferri iubebo prope diem annonas.' Hocque solo contumaciter dicto, subiratus abscessit, nec in conspectum eius postea venit, saepius arcessitus.

[11] At last, being invited to the palace and admitted to the council, without any preliminary remarks he said inconsiderately and coolly: "Depart, Caesar and

know that, if you delay, I shall at once order your supplies and those of your palace to be cut off.” Having said only this in an insolent tone, he went off in a passion, and although often sent for, he never afterwards came into Gallus’ presence.

[12] Hinc ille commotus, ut iniusta perferens et indigna, praefecti custodiam protectoribus mandaverat fidis. Quo conperto Montius tune quaestor, acer quidem sed ad lenitatem propensior, consulens in commune, advocatos palatarum primos scholarum allocutus est mollius, docens nec decere haec fieri nec prodesse, addensque vocis obiurgatorio sonu, quod si id placuerit, post statuas Constantii deiectas, super adimenda vita praefecto conveniet securius cogitari.

[12] Caesar, angered at this and feeling that such treatment was unjust and undeserved, ordered his faithful guards to arrest the prefect. When this became known, Montius, who was then quaestor, a spirited man but somewhat inclined to moderate measures, having in view the public welfare, sent for the foremost members of the palace troops and addressed them in mild terms, pointing out that such conduct was neither seemly nor expedient and adding in a tone of reproof that if they approved of this course, it would be fitting first to overthrow the statues of Constantius and then plan with less anxiety for taking the life of the prefect.

[13] His cognitis Gallus ut serpens appetitus telo vel saxo, iamque spes extremas opperiens, et succurrens saluti suae quavis ratione, colligiones iussit armatos, et cum starent attoniti, districta dentium acie stridens, ‘Adeste’ inquit ‘viri fortes mihi periclitanti vobiscum.

[13] On learning this, Gallus, like a serpent attacked by darts or stones, waiting now for a last expedient and trying to save his life by any possible means, ordered all his troops to be assembled under arms, and while they stood in amazement, he said, baring and gnashing his teeth, “Stand by me, my brave men, who are like myself in danger.

[14] Montius nos tumore inusitato quodam et novo, ut rebelles et maiestati recalcitrantes Augustae, per haec quae strepit incusat, iratus nimirum, quod contumacem praefectum, quid rerum ordo postulat ignorare dissimulantem, formidine tenus iusserim custodiri.’

[14] Montius with a kind of strange and unprecedented arrogance in this loud harangue of his accuses us of being rebels and as resisting the majesty of Augustus, no doubt in anger because I ordered an insolent prefect, who presumes to ignore what proper conduct requires, to be imprisoned, merely to frighten him.”

[15] Nihil morati post haec militares avidi saepe turbarum, adorti sunt Montium primum, qui devertebat in proximo, levi corpore senem atque morbosum, et

hirsutis resticulis cruribus eius innexis, divaricatum sine spiramento ullo ad usque praetorium traxere praefecti.

[15] With no further delay the soldiers, as often eager for disturbance, first attacked Montius, who lodged close by, an old man frail of body and ill besides, bound coarse ropes to his legs, and dragged him spread-eagle fashion without any breathing-space all the way to Caesar's headquarters.

[16] Et eodem impetu Domitianum praecipitem per scalas itidem funibus constrinxerunt, eosque coniunctos per ampla spatia civitatis acri raptavere discursu. Iamque artuum et membrorum divulsa compage, superscandentes corpora mortuorum, ad ultimam truncata deformitatem, velut exsaturati mox abiecerunt in flumen.

[16] And in the same access of rage they threw Domitianus down the steps, then bound him also with ropes, and tying the two together, dragged them at full speed through the broad streets of the city. And when finally their joints and limbs were torn asunder, leaping upon their dead bodies, they mutilated them in a horrible manner, and at last, as if glutted, threw them into the river.

[17] Incenderat autem audaces usque ad insaniam homines ad haec quae nefariis egere conatibus, Luscus quidam curator urbis subito visus, eosque ut heiulans baiolorum praecentor, ad expediendum quod orsi sunt, incitans vocibus crebris. Qui haut longe postea ideo vivus exustus est.

[17] Now these men, reckless to the point of madness, were roused to such atrocious deeds as they committed by a certain Luscus, curator of the city. He suddenly appeared and with repeated cries, like a bawling leader of porters, urged them to finish what they had begun. And for that not long afterwards he was burned alive.

[18] Et quia Montius inter dilancinantium manus spiritum efflaturus, Epigonum et Eusebium, nec professionem nec dignitatem ostendens, aliquotiens increpabat, aequisoni his magna quaerebantur industria, et nequid intepesceret, Epigonus e Cilicia philosophus ducitur, et Eusebius ab Emissa Pittacas cognomento, concitatus orator, cum quaestor non hos sed tribunos fabricarum insimulasset, promittentes armorum, si novae res agitari coepissent.

[18] And because Montius, when about to breathe his last in the hands of those who were rending him, cried out upon Epigonus and Eusebius, but without indicating their profession or rank, men of the same name were sought for with great diligence. And in order that the excitement might not cool, a philosopher Epigonus from Cilicia was arrested, and a Eusebius, surnamed Pittacas, a vehement orator, from Edessa, although it was not these that the quaestor had implicated, but some tribunes of forges, who had promised arms in case a revolution should be set on foot.

[19] Eisdem diebus Apollinaris Domitiani gener paulo ante agens palatii Caesaris curam, ad Mesopotamiam missus a socero, per militares numeros immodice scrutabatur, an quaedam altiora meditantis iam Galli secreta susceperint scripta; qui compertis Antiochiae gestis, per minorem Armeniam lapsus, Constantinopolim petit, exindeque per protectores retractus, artissime tenebatur.

[19] In those same days Apollinaris, son-in-law of Domitianus, who a short time before had been in charge of Caesar's palace, being sent to Mesopotamia by his father-in-law, inquired with excessive interest among the companies of soldiers whether they had received any secret messages from Gallus which indicated that he was aiming higher; but when he heard what had happened at Antioch, he slipped off through Lesser Armenia and made for Constantinople, but from there he was brought back by the guards and kept in close confinement.

[20] Quae dum ita struuntur, indicatum est apud Tyrum indumentum regale textum occulte, incertum quo locante vel cuius usibus apparatus. Ideoque rector provinciae tunc pater Apollinaris eiusdem nominis ut conscius ductus est, aliique congregati sunt ex diversis civitatibus multi, qui atrocium criminum ponderibus urgebantur.

[20] Now, while these things were happening, attention was drawn at Tyre to a royal robe that had been made secretly, but it was uncertain who had ordered it or for whose use it was made. Consequently the governor of the province at that time, who was the father of Apollinaris and of the same name, was brought to trial as his accomplice; and many others were gathered together from various cities and were bowed down by the weight of charges of heinous crimes.

[21] Iamque lituis cladium concrepantibus internarum, non celate (ut antea) turbidum saeviebat ingenium, a veri consideratione detortum, et nullo impositorum vel compositorum fidem sollemniter inquirente, nec discernente a societate noxiorum insontes, velut exturbatum e iudiciis fas omne discessit et causarum legitima silente defensione, carnifex rapinarum sequester, et obductio capitem, et bonorum ubique multatio versabatur per orientales provincias; quas recensere puto nunc opportunum, absque Mesopotamia, iam digesta cum bella Parthica narrarentur, et Aegypto, quam necessario aliud reiciemus ad tempus. Orientis provinciarum descriptio. Superatis Tauri montis verticibus, qui ad solis ortum sublimius attolluntur, Cilicia spatiis porrigitur late distentis, dives bonis omnibus terra, eiusque lateri dextro annexa Isauria, pari sorte uberi, palmite viret et frugibus multis, quam mediam navigabile flumen Calycadnus interscindit.

[21] And now, when the clarions of internal disaster were sounding, the disordered mind of Caesar, turned from consideration of the truth, and not

secretly as before, vented its rage; and since no one conducted the usual examination of the charges either made or invented, or distinguished the innocent from association with the guilty, all justice vanished from the courts as though driven out. And while the legitimate defence of cases was put to silence, the executioner (trustee of plunderings), hoodwinking for execution, and confiscation of property ranged everywhere throughout the eastern provinces. These I think it now a suitable time to review, excepting Mesopotamia, which has already been described in connection with the account of the Parthian wars, and Egypt, which we will necessarily postpone to another time.

Description of the Eastern Provinces.

After one passes the summits of Mount Taurus, which on the east rise to a lofty height, Cilicia spreads out in widely extended plains, a land abounding in products of every kind; and adjoining its right side is Isauria, equally blest with fruitful vines and abundant grain, being divided in the middle by the navigable river Calycadnus.

[2] Et hanc quidem praeter oppida multa duae civitates exornant, Seleucia opus Seleuci regis, et Claudiopoliis, quam deduxit coloniam Claudius Caesar. Isaura enim antehac nimium potens, olim subversa ut rebellatrix interneciva, aegre vestigia claritudinis pristinae monstrat admodum pauca.

[2] This province too, in addition to many towns, is adorned by two cities; Seleucia, the work of king Seleucus, and Claudiopoliis, which Claudius Caesar founded as a colony. For Isaura, which was formerly too powerful, was long ago overthrown as a dangerous rebel, and barely shows a few traces of its former glory.

[3] Ciliciam vero, quae Cydno amni exultat, Tarsus nobilitat, urbs perspicabilis — hanc condidisse Perseus memoratur, Iovis filius et Danaes, vel certe ex Aethiopia profectus Sandan quidam nomine vir opulentus et nobilis — et Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens, et Mopsuestia, vatis illius domicilium Mopsi, quem a commilitio Argonautarum, cum aureo vellere direpto redirent, errore abstractum, delatumque ad Africae litus, mors repentina consumpsit, et ex eo caespite punico tecti, manes eius heroici, dolorum varietati medentur plerumque sospitales.

[3] Cilicia, however, which boasts of the river Cydnus, is ennobled by Tarsus, a fair city; this is said to have been founded by Perseus, son of Jupiter, and Danaë, or else by a wealthy and high-born man, Sandan by name, who came from Ethiopia. There is also Anazarbus, bearing the name of its founder, and Mopsuestia, the abode of that famous diviner Mopsus. He, wandering from his fellow-warriors the Argonauts when they were returning after carrying off the golden fleece, and being borne to the coast of Africa, met a sudden death.

Thereafter his heroic remains, covered with Punic sod, have been for the most part effective in healing a variety of diseases.

[4] *Hac duae provinciae, bello quondam piratico catervis mixtae praedonum, a Servilio pro consule missae sub iugum, factae sunt vectigales. Et hae quidem regiones velut in prominenti terrarum lingua positae, ab orbe eoo monte Amano disparantur.*

[4] These two provinces, crowded with bands of brigands, were long ago, during the war with the pirates, sent under the yoke by the proconsul Servilius and made to pay tribute. And these regions indeed, lying, as it were, upon a promontory, are separated from the eastern continent by Mount Amanus.

[5] *Orientis vero limes in longum protentus et rectum, ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili, laeva Saracenis conterminans gentibus, dextra pelagi fragoribus patens, quam plagam Nicator Seleucus occupatam auxit magnum in modum, cum post Alexandri Macedonis obitum successorio iure teneret regna Persidis, efficaciae impetrabilis rex (ut indicat cognomentum).*

[5] But the frontier of the East, extending a long distance in a straight line, reaches from the banks of the Euphrates to the borders of the Nile, being bounded on the left by the Saracenic races and on the right exposed to the waves of the sea. Of this district Nicator Seleucus took possession and greatly increased it in power, when by right of succession he was holding the rule of Persia after the death of Alexander of Macedon; and he was a successful and efficient king, as his surname Nicator indicates.

[6] *Abusus enim multitudine hominum, quam tranquillis in rebus diutius rexit, ex agrestibus habitaculis urbes construxit, multis opibus firmas et viribus, quarum ad praesens pleraeque, licet Graecis nominibus appellentur, quae eisdem ad arbitrium imposita sunt conditoris, primigenia tamen nomina non amittunt, quae eis Assyria lingua institutores veteres indiderunt.*

[6] For by taking advantage of the great number of men whom he ruled for a long time in peace, in place of their rustic dwellings he built cities of great strength and abundant wealth; and many of these, although they are now called by the Greek names which were imposed upon them by the will of their founder, nevertheless have not lost the old appellations in the Assyrian tongue which the original settlers gave them.

[7] *Et prima post Osdroenam quam (ut dictum est) ab hac descriptione discrevimus, Commagena (nunc Euphratensis) clementer assurgit, Hierapoli (vetere Nino) et Samosata civitatibus amplis illustris.*

[7] And first after Osdroene, which, as has been said, I have omitted from this account, Commagene, now called Euphratensis, gradually lifts itself into

eminence; it is famous for the great cities of Hierapolis, the ancient Ninus, and Samosata.

[8] Dein Syria per speciosam interpatet diffusa planitiem. Hanc nobilitat Antiochia, mundo cognita civitas, cui non certaverit alia advecticiis ita affluere copiis et internis, et Laodicia et Apamia, itidemque Seleucia iam inde a primis auspiciis florentissimae.

[8] Next Syria spreads for a distance over a beautiful plain. This is famed for Antioch, a city known to all the world, and without a rival, so rich is it in imported and domestic commodities; likewise for Laodicia, Apamia, and also Seleucia, most flourishing cities from their very origin.

[9] Post hanc acclinis Libano monti Phoenice, regio plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris; in quibus amoenitate celebritateque nominum Tyros excellit, Sidon et Berytus eisdemque pares Emissa et Damascus saeculis condita priscis.

[9] After this comes Phoenicia, lying at the foot of Mount Libanus, a region full of charm and beauty, adorned with many great cities; among these in attractiveness and the renown of their names Tyre, Sidon and Berytus are conspicuous, and equal to these are Emissa and Damascus, founded in days long past.

[10] Has autem provincias, quas Orontes ambiens amnis, imosque pedes Cassii montis illius celsi praetermeans, funditur in Parthenium mare, Gnaeus Pompeius superato Tigrane, regnis Armeniorum abstractas, ditioni Romanae coniunxit.

[10] Now these provinces, encircled by the river Orontes, which, after flowing past the foot of that lofty mountain Cassius, empties into the Parthenian Sea, were taken from the realms of the Armenians by Gnaeus Pompeius, after his defeat of Tigranes, and brought under Roman sway.

[11] Ultima Syriarum est Palaestina, per intervalla magna protenta, cultis abundans terris et nitidis, et civitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem, sed sibi vicissim velut ad perpendicularum aemulas: Caesaream, quam ad honorem Octaviani principis exaedificavit Herodes, et Eleutheropolim et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem Gazam, aevo superiore extructas.

[11] The last region of the Syrias is Palestine, extending over a great extent of territory and abounding in cultivated and well-kept lands; it also has some splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb-line. These are Caesarea, which Herodes built in honour of the emperor Octavianus, Eleutheropolis, and Neapolis, along with Ascalon and Gaza, built in a former age.

[12] In his tractibus navigerum nusquam visitur flumen, et in locis plurimis aquae suapte natura calentes emergunt, ad usus aptae multiplicium medellarum. Verum has quoque regiones pari sorte Pompeius Iudaeis domitis et Hierosolymis captis, in provinciae speciem delata iuris dictione formavit.

[12] In these districts no navigable river is anywhere to be seen, but in numerous places natural warm springs gush forth, adapted to many medicinal uses. But these regions also met with a like fate, being formed into a province by Pompey, after he had defeated the Jews and taken Jerusalem, but left to the jurisdiction of a governor.

[13] Huic Arabia est conserta, ex alio latere Nabataeis contigua, opima varietate commerciorum castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quae ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excursus, sollicitudo pervigil veterum per opportunos saltus erexit et cautos. Haec quoque civitates habet inter oppida quaedam ingentes, Bostram et Gerasam atque Philadelphiam, murorum firmitate cautissimas. Hanc provinciae imposito nomine, rectoreque adtributo, obtemperare legibus nostris Traianus compulit imperator, incolarum tumore saepe contunso, cum glorioso Marte Mediam urget et Parthos.

[13] Adjacent to this region is Arabia, which on one side adjoins the country of the Nabataei, a land producing a rich variety of wares and studded with strong castles and fortresses, which the watchful care of the early inhabitants reared in suitable and readily defended defiles, to check the inroads of neighbouring tribes. This region also has, in addition to some towns, great cities, Bostra, Gerasa and Philadelphia, all strongly defended by mighty walls. It was given the name of a province, assigned a governor, and compelled to obey our laws by the emperor Trajan, who, by frequent victories crushed the arrogance of its inhabitants when he was waging glorious war with Media and the Parthians.

[14] Cyprum itidem insulam procul a continenti discretam et portuosam, inter municipia crebra urbes duae faciunt claram, Salamis et Paphus, altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris temple insignis. Tanta autem tamque multiplici fertilitate abundat rerum omnium eadem Cyprus, ut nullius externi indigens adminiculi, indigenis viribus, a fundamento ipso carinae ad supremos usque carbasos, aedificet onerariam navem, omnibusque armamentis instructam, mari committat.

[14] Cyprus, too, an island far removed from the mainland, and abounding in harbours, besides having numerous towns, is made famous by two cities, Salamis and Paphos, the one celebrated for its shrines of Jupiter, the other for its temple of Venus. This Cyprus is so fertile and so abounds in products of every kind, that without the need of any help from without, by its native resources alone it builds cargo ships from the very keel to the topmast sails, and equipping them completely entrusts them to the deep.

[15] Nec piget dicere avide magis hanc insulam populum Romanum invasisse quam iuste. Ptolomaeo enim rege foederato nobis et socio, ob aerarii nostri angustias iusso sine ulla culpa proscribi, ideoque hausto veneno, voluntaria morte deleto, et tributaria facta est, et velut hostiles eius exuviae classi impositae, in urbem advectae sunt per Catonem. Nunc repetetur ordo gestorum. De Constantio Gallo Caesare. Inter has ruinarum varietates, a Nisibi quam tuebatur accitus Ursicinus, cui nos obsecuturos iunxerat imperiale praeceptum, dispicere litis exitialis crimina cobeatur, abnuens et reclamans, adlляторum oblatrantibus turmis, bellicosus sane milesque semper et militum ductor, sed forensibus iurgiis longe discretus, qui metu sui discriminis. anxius, cum accusatores quaesitoresque subditivos sibi consociatos, ex eisdem foveis cerneret emergentes, quae clam palamve agitabantur occultis Constantium litteris edocebat, implorans subsidia, quorum metu tumor notissimus Caesaris exhalaret.

[15] Nor am I loth to say that the Roman people in invading that island showed more greed than justice; for King Ptolemy, our ally joined to us by a treaty, without any fault of his, merely because of the low state of our treasury was ordered to be proscribed, and in consequence committed suicide by drinking poison; whereupon the island was made tributary and its spoils, as though those of an enemy, were taken aboard our fleet and brought to Rome by Cato. I shall now resume the thread of my narrative.

Of Constantius Gallus Caesar.

Amid this variety of disasters Ursicinus, to whose attendance the imperial command had attached me, was summoned from Nisibis, of which he was in charge, and was compelled, in spite of his reluctance and his opposition to the clamorous troops of flatterers, to investigate the accusations in the deadly strife. He was in fact a warrior, having always been a soldier and a leader of soldiers, but far removed from the wranglings of the forum; accordingly, worried by fear of the danger which threatened him, seeing the corrupt accusers and judges with whom he was associated all coming forth from the same holes, he informed Constantius by secret letters of what was going on furtively or openly, and begged for aid, that through fear of it the well-known arrogance of the Caesar might subside.

[2] Sed cautela nimia in peiores haeserat plagas, ut narrabimus postea, aemulis consarcinantibus insidias graves apud Constantium, cetera medium principem, sed siquid auribus eius huius modi quivis infudisset ignotus, acerbum et implacabilem, et in hoc causarum titulo dissimilem sui.

[2] But by too great caution he had fallen into worse snares, as we shall show later, since his rivals patched up dangerous plots with Constantius, who was in other respects a moderate emperor, but cruel and implacable if anyone, however obscure, had whispered in his ear anything of that kind, and in cases

of that nature unlike himself.

[3] Proinde die funestis interrogationibus praestituto, imaginarius iudex equitum resedit magister, adhibitis allis, iam quae essent agenda praedoctis, et assistebant hinc inde notarii, quid quaesitum esset quidve responsum, cursim ad Caesarem perferentes; cuius imperio truci, stimulis reginae exsertantis ora subinde per aulaeum, nec diluere obiecta permissi nec defensi periere complures.

[3] Accordingly, on the day set for the fatal examinations the master of the horse took his seat, ostensibly as a judge, attended by others who had been told in advance what was to be done; and here and there shorthand writers were stationed who reported every question and every answer posthaste to Caesar; and by his cruel orders, instigated by the queen, who from time to time poked her face through a curtain, many were done to death without being allowed to clear themselves of the charges or to make any defence.

[4] Primi igitur omnium statuuntur Epigonus et Eusebius, ob nominum gentilitatem oppressi. Praediximus enim Montium sub ipso vivendi termino his vocabulis appellatos, fabricarum culpasse tribunos, ut adminicula futurae molitioni pollicitos.

[4] First of all, then, Epigonus and Eusebius were brought before them and ruined by the affinity of their names; for Montius, as I have said, at the very end of his life had accused certain tribunes of forging called by those names of having promised support to some imminent enterprise.

[5] Et Epigonus quidem amictu tenuis philosophus, ut apparuit, prece frustra temptata, sulcatis lateribus, mortisque metu admoto, turpi confessione cogitatorum socium (quae nulla erant) fuisse firmavit, cum nec vidisset quicquam nec audisset, penitus expers forensium rerum; Eusebius vero obiecta fidentius negans, suspensus in eodem gradu constantiae stetit, latrocinium illud esse, non iudicium clamans.

[5] And Epigonus, for his part, was a philosopher only in his attire, as became evident; for when he had tried entreaties to no purpose, when his sides had been furrowed and he was threatened with death, by a shameful confession he declared that he was implicated in plans which never existed, whereas he had neither seen nor heard anything; he was wholly unacquainted with legal matters. Eusebius on the contrary, courageously denied the charges, and although he was put upon the rack, he remained firm in the same degree of constancy, crying out that it was the act of brigands and not of a court of justice.

[6] Cumque pertinacius (ut legum gnarus) accusatorem flagitaret atque sollemnia, doctus id Caesar, libertatemque superbiam ratus, tamquam obtrectatorem audacem excarnificari praecepit, qui ita evisceratus ut

cruciatibus membra deessent, implorans caelo iustitiam, torvum renidens, fundato pectore mansit immobilis, nec se incusare nec quemquam alium passus, et tandem nec confessus nec confutatus, cum abiecto consorte poenali est morte multatus. Et ducebatur intrepidus, temporum iniquitati insultans, imitatus Zenonem illum veterem Stoicum, qui ut mentiretur quaedam laceratus diutius, avulsam sedibus linguam suam cum cruento sputamine, in oculos interrogantis Cyprii regis impexit.

[6] And when, being acquainted with the law, he persistently called for his accuser and the usual formalities, Caesar, being informed of his demand and regarding his freedom of speech as arrogance, ordered that he be tortured as a reckless traducer. And when he had been so disembowelled that he had no parts left to torture, calling on Heaven for justice and smiling sardonically, he remained unshaken, with stout heart, neither deigning to accuse himself nor anyone else; and at last, without having admitted his guilt or been convicted, he was condemned to death along with his abject associate. And he was led off to execution unafraid, railing at the wickedness of the times and imitating the ancient stoic Zeno, who, after being tortured for a long time, to induce him to give false witness, tore his tongue from its roots and hurled it with its blood and spittle into the eyes of the king of Cyprus, who was putting him to the question.

[7] Post haec indumentum regale quaerebatur, et ministris fucandae purpurae tortis, confessisque pectoralem tuniculam sine manicis textam, Maras nomine quidam inductus est (ut appellant Christiani) diaconus; cuius prolatae litterae scriptae Graeco sermone, ad Tyrii textrini praepositum, celerari speciem perurgebant, quam autem non indicabant; denique etiam idem ad usque discrimen vitae vexatus, nihil fateri compulsus est.

[7] After this, the matter of the royal robe was investigated, and when those who were employed in dyeing purple were tortured and had confessed to making a short sleeveless tunic to cover the chest, a man named Maras was brought in, a deacon, as the Christians call them. A letter of his was presented, written in Greek to the foreman of a weaving plant in Tyre, strongly urging him to speed up a piece of work; but what it was the letter did not say. But although finally Maras also was tortured within an inch of his life, he could not be forced to make any confession.

[8] Quaestione igitur per multiplices dilatata fortunas, cum ambigerentur quaedam, non nulla levius actitata constaret, post multorum clades Apollinares ambo pater et filius, in exilium acti, cum ad locum Crateras nomine pervenissent, villam scilicet suam, quae ab Antiochia vicensimo et quarto disiungitur lapide, ut mandatum est, fractis cruribus occiduntur.

[8] So when many men of various conditions had been put to the question, some things were found to be doubtful and others were obviously

unimportant. And after many had been put to death, the two Apollinares, father and son, were exiled; but when they had come to a place called Craterae, namely, a villa of theirs distant twenty-four miles from Antioch, their legs were broken, according to orders, and they were killed.

[9] Post quorum necem nihilo lenius ferociens Gallus, ut leo cadaveribus pastus, multa huius modi scrutabatur. Quae singula narrare non refert, ne professionis modum (quod sane vitandum est) excedamus. Pax Alamannis petentibus datur a Constantio A. Haec dum oriens diu perferret, caeli reserato tepore, Constantius consulatu suo septies et Caesaris iterum, egressus Arelate Valentiam petit, in Gundomadum et Vadomarium fratres Alamannorum reges arma moturus, quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae Gallorum.

[9] After their death Gallus, no whit less ferocious than before, like a lion that had tasted blood, tried many cases of the kind; but of all of these it is not worth while to give an account, for fear that I may exceed the limits which I have set myself, a thing which I certainly ought to avoid. The Alamanni sue for peace, which is granted by Constantius Augustus. While the East was enduring this long tyranny, as soon as the warm season began, Constantius, being in his seventh consulship with Gallus in his second, set out from Arelate for Valentia, to make war upon the brothers Gundomadus and Valomarius, kings of the Alamanni, whose frequent raids were devastating that part of Gaul which adjoined their frontiers.

[2] Dumque ibi diu moratur, commeatus opperiens, quorum translationem ex Aquitania verni imbres solito crebriores prohibebant auctique torrentes, Herculanus advenit protector domesticus, Hermogenis ex magistro equitum filius, apud Constantinopolim (ut supra retulimus) popularium quondam turbela discerpti. Quo verissime referente quae Gallus egerat coniuxque, super praeteritis maerens, et futurorum timore suspensus, angorem animi quam diu potuit emendabat.

[2] And while he delayed there for a long time, waiting for supplies, the transport of which from Aquitania was hindered by spring rains of unusual frequency and by rivers in flood, Herculanus came there, one of his body-guard, the son of Hermogenes, formerly commander of the cavalry and, as we have before related, torn to pieces in a riot of the people at Constantinople. When this man gave a true account of what Gallus and his wife had done, the emperor, grieving over the past disasters and made anxious by fear of those to come, concealed the distress that he felt as long as he could.

[3] Miles tamen interea omnis apud Cabillona collectus, morarum impatiens saeviebat, hoc irritator, quod nec subsidia vivendi suppeterent, alimentis nondum ex usu translatis.

[3] The soldiers, however, who in the meantime had been assembled at Châlon, began to rage with impatience at the delay, being the more incensed because they lacked even the necessities of life, since the usual supplies had not yet been brought.

[4] Unde Rufinus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ad discrimen trusus est ultimum. Ire enim ipse compellebatur ad militem, quem exagitabat inopia simul et feritas, et alioqui coalito more in ordinarias dignitates asperum semper et saevum, ut satisfaceret, atque monstraret, quam ob causam annonae convectio sit impedita.

[4] Therefore Rufinus, who was at that time praetorian prefect, was exposed to extreme danger; for he was forced to go in person before the troops, who were aroused both by the scarcity and by their natural savage temper, and besides were naturally inclined to be harsh and bitter towards men in civil positions, in order to pacify them and explain why the convoy of provisions was interrupted.

[5] Quod opera consulta cogitabatur astute, ut hoc insidiarum genere Galli periret avunculus, ne eum ut praepotens acueret in fiduciam, exitiosa coeptantem. Verum navata est opera diligens, hocque dilato, Eusebius praepositus cubiculi missus est Cabyllona, aurum secum perferens, quo per turbulentos seditionum concitatores occultius distributo, et tumor consenuit militum, et salus est in tuto locata praefecti. Deinde cibo abunde perlato, castra die praedicto sunt mota.

[5] This was a shrewd plan, cunningly devised with set purpose, in order that by a plot of that kind the uncle of Gallus might perish, for fear that so very powerful a man might whet the boldness of his nephew and encourage his dangerous designs. But great precautions were taken, and when the design was postponed, Eusebius, the grand chamberlain, was sent to Châlon taking gold with him; when this had been secretly distributed among the turbulent inciters of rebellion, the rage of the soldiers abated and the safety of the prefect was assured. Then an abundant supply of food arrived and the camp was moved on the appointed day.

[6] Emensis itaque difficultatibus multis, et nive obrutis callibus plurimis, ubi prope Rauracum ventum est ad supercilia fluminis Rheni, resistente multitudine Alamanna, pontem suspendere navium compage Romani vi nimia vetabantur, ritu grandinis undique convolantibus telis; et cum id impossibile videretur, imperator cogitationibus magnis attonitus, quid capesseret ambigebat.

[6] And so, after surmounting many difficulties, over paths many of which were heaped high with snow, they came near to Rauracum on the banks of the river Rhine. There a great force of the Alamanni opposed them, and hurling

weapons from all sides like hail, by their superior numbers prevented the Romans from making a bridge by joining boats together. And when that was obviously impossible, the emperor was consumed with anxious thought and in doubt what course to take.

[7] Ecce autem ex improviso index quidam regionum gnarus advenit, et mercede accepta, vadosum locum nocte monstravit, unde superari potuit flumen. Et potuisset aliorum intentis hostibus exercitus inde transgressus, nullo id opinante, cuncta vastare, nisi pauci ex eadem gente, quibus erat honoratioris militis cura commissa, populares suos haec per nuntios docuissent occultos, ut quidam existimabant.

[7] But lo! a guide acquainted with the region unexpectedly appeared, and, in return for money, pointed out by night a place abounding in shallows, where the river could be crossed. And there the army might have been led over, while the enemy's attention was turned elsewhere, and devastated the whole country without opposition, had not a few men of that same race, who held military positions of high rank, informed their countrymen of the design by secret messengers, as some thought.

[8] Infamabat autem haec suspicio Latinum domesticorum comitem et Agilonem tribunum stabuli atque Scudilonem scutariorum rectorem, qui tunc, ut dextris suis gestantes rem publicam, colebantur.

[8] Now the shame of that suspicion fell upon Latinus, count in command of the bodyguard, Agilo, tribune in charge of the stable, and Scudilo, commander of the targeteers, who were then highly regarded as having in their hands the defence of the state.

[9] At barbari suscepto pro instantium rerum ratione consilio, dirimentibus forte auspiciis, vel congregi prohibente auctoritate sacrorum, mollito rigore, quo fidentius resistebant, optimates misere, delictorum veniam petituros et pacem.

[9] But the savages, taking such counsel as the immediate circumstances demanded, since the obstinacy which inspired a bold resistance was diminished perhaps because the auspices were unfavourable or because the authority of the sacrifices forbade an engagement, sent their chiefs to sue for peace and pardon for their offences.

[10] Tentis igitur regis utriusque legatis, et negotio tectius diu pensato, cum pacem oportere tribui quae iustis condicionibus petebatur, eamque ex re fore sententiarum via concinens approbasset, advocato in contionem exercitu, imperator pro tempore pauca dicturus, tribunali adsistens, circumdatus potestatum coetu celsarum, ad hunc disseruit modum:

[10] Therefore the envoys of both kings were detained and the matter was

discussed for a long time in secret; and since there was general agreement in the opinion that peace which was asked for on reasonable conditions ought to be granted, and that it would be expedient to do so under the present circumstances, the emperor summoned an assembly of the army, intending to say a few words appropriate to the occasion; and taking his place upon a tribunal, surrounded by a staff of high officials, he spoke after this fashion:

[11] 'Nemo (quaeso) miretur, si post exsudatos labores itinerum longos, congestosque adfatim commeatus, fiducia vestri ductante, barbaricos pagos adventans, velut mutato repente consilio, ad placidiora deverti.

[11] "Let no one, I pray, be surprised, if after going through the toil of long marches and getting together great quantities of supplies, I now, when approaching the abode of the savages, with my confidence in you leading the way, as if by a sudden change of plan have turned to milder designs.

[12] Pro suo enim loco et animo, quisque vestrum reputans id inveniet verum, quod miles ubique, licet membris vigentibus firmus, se solum vitamque propriam circumspicit et defendit, imperator vero officiorum, dum aequis omnibus consulit, plenus, alienae custos salutis, nihil non ad sui spectare tutelam rationes populorum cognoscit, et remedia cuncta quae status negotiorum admittit, arripere debet alacriter, secunda numinis voluntate delata.

[12] For each one of you, according to his rank and judgment, upon consideration will find it to be true, that the soldier in all instances, however strong and vigorous of body, regards and defends only himself and his own life. The commander, on the other hand, has manifold duties, since he aims at fairness to all; and being the guardian of others' safety, he realises that the interests of the people look to him wholly for protection and that therefore he ought eagerly to seize upon all remedies which the condition of affairs allows, as though offered to him by the favour of Heaven.

[13] Ut in breve igitur conferam et ostendam qua ex causa omnes vos simul adesse volui, commilitones mei fidissimi, accipite aequis auribus quae succinctius explicabo. Veritatis enim absolutio semper est simplex.

[13] To put the matter, then, in a few words, and to explain why I have wished you all to be present here together, my loyal fellow-soldiers, receive with favourable ears what I shall briefly set forth; for perfect truth is always simple.

[14] Arduos vestrae gloriae gradus, quos fama per plagarum quoque accolae extimarum diffundit, excellenter accrescens, Alamannorum reges et populi formidantes, per oratores quos videtis, summissis cervicibus, concessionem praeteritorum poscunt et pacem. Quam ut cunctator et cautus, utiliumque monitor, (si vestra voluntas adest) tribui debere censeo multa contemplanis. Primo ut Martis ambigua declinentur, dein ut auxiliares pro adversariis

adescamus, quod pollicentur, tum autem ut incruenti mitigemus ferociae flatus, perniciosos saepe provinciis, postremo id reputantes, quod non ille hostis vincitur solus, qui cadit in acie, pondere armorum oppressus et virium, sed multo tutius etiam tuba tacente, sub iugum mittitur voluntarius, qui sentit expertus, nec fortitudinem in rebelles nec lenitatem in supplices animos abesse Romanis.

[14] The kings and peoples of the Alamanni, in dread of the rising progress of your glory, which fame, growing greatly, has spread abroad even among the dwellers in far off lands, through the envoys whom you see with bowed heads ask for peace and indulgence for past offences. This I, being cautious, prudent, and an advisor of what is expedient, think ought to be granted them (if I have your consent), for many reasons. First, to avoid the doubtful issue of war; then, that we may gain friends in place of enemies, as they promise; again, that without bloodshed we may tame their haughty fierceness, which is often destructive to the provinces; finally, bearing in mind this thought, that not only is the enemy vanquished who falls in battle, borne down by weight of arms and strength, but much more safely he who, while the trumpet is silent, of his own accord passes under the yoke and learns by experience that Romans lack neither courage against rebels nor mildness towards suppliants.

[15] In summa tanquam arbitros vos quid suadetis opperior, ut princeps tranquillus, temperanter adhibere modum adlapsa felicitate decernens. Non enim inertiae sed modestiae humanitaeque (mihi credite) hoc quod recte consultum est adsignabitur.'

[15] In short, I await your decision as arbiters, as it were, being myself convinced as a peace-loving prince, that it is best temperately to show moderation while prosperity is with us. For, believe me, such righteous conduct will be attributed, not to lack of spirit, but to discretion and humanity.

[16] Mox dicta finierat, multitudo omnis ad quae imperator voluit promptior, laudato consilio, consensit in pacem, ea ratione maxime percita, quod norat expeditionibus crebris fortunam eius in malis tantum civilibus vigilasse; cum autem bella moverentur externa, accidisse plerumque luctuosa. Icto post haec foedere gentium ritu, perfectaque sollemnitate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna discessit. Constantius Gallus Caesar evocatur a Constantio A. et capite truncatur. Ubi curarum abiectis ponderibus aliis, tamquam nodum et codicem difficillimum, Caesarem convellere nisu valido cogitabat; eique deliberanti cum proximis, clandestinis colloquiis et nocturnis, qua vi quibusve commentis id fieret, antequam effundendis rebus pertinacius incumberet confidentia, acciri mollioribus scriptis, per simulationem tractatus publici nimis urgentis, eundem placuerat Gallum, ut auxilio destitutus, sine ullo interiret obstaculo.

[16] No sooner had he finished speaking than the whole throng, fully in agreement with the emperor's wish, praised his purpose and unanimously

voted for peace. They were influenced especially by the conviction, which they had formed from frequent campaigns, that his fortune watched over him only in civil troubles, but that when foreign wars were undertaken, they had often ended disastrously. After this a treaty was struck in accordance with the rites of the Alamanni, and when the ceremony had been concluded, the emperor withdrew to Mediolanum for his winter quarters. Constantius Gallus Caesar is summoned by Constantius Augustus and executed. There having laid aside the burden of other cares, Constantius began to consider, as his most difficult knot and stumbling-block, how to uproot the Caesar by a mighty effort. And as he deliberated with his closest friends, in secret conferences and by night, by what force or by what devices that might be done before the Caesar's assurance should be more obstinately set upon throwing everything into disorder, it seemed best that Gallus should be summoned by courteous letters, under pretence of very urgent public business, to the end that, being deprived of support, he might be put to death without hindrance.

[2] Huic sententiae versabilium adulatorum refragantibus globis, inter quos erat Arbetio, ad insidiandum acer et flagrans, et Eusebius tunc praepositus cubiculi effusior ad nocendum, id occurrebat, Caesare discedente, Ursicinum in oriente perniciose relinquendum, si nullus esset qui prohiberet altiora meditaturum.

[2] But this view was opposed by the groups of fickle flatterers, among whom was Arbitio, a man keen and eager in plotting treachery, and Eusebius, at that time grand chamberlain, who was sufficiently inclined to mischief, and it occurred to them to say that, if Caesar left the East, it would be dangerous to leave Ursicinus there, since he would be likely to think of a loftier station, if there were on one to restrain him.

[3] Eisdemque residui regii accessere spadones, quorum ea tempestate plus habendi cupiditas ultra mortalem modum adolescebat, inter ministeria vitae secretioris per arcanos susurros nutrimenta fictis criminibus subserentes; qui ponderibus invidiae gravioris virum fortissimum opprimebant, subolescere imperio adultos eius filios mussitantes, decore corporum favorabiles et aetate, per multiplicem armaturae scientiam, agilitatenque membrorum, inter cotidiana prologia exercitus, consulto consilio cognitos: Gallum suoapte ingenio trucem, per suppositos quosdam ad saeva facinora ideo animatum, ut eo digna omnium ordinum detestatione exoso, ad magistri equitum liberos principatus insignia transferantur.

[3] And this faction was supported by the other royal eunuchs, whose love of gain at that time was growing beyond mortal limits. These, while performing duties of an intimate nature, by secret whispers supplied fuel for false accusations. They overwhelmed that most gallant man with the weight of a grave suspicion, muttering that his sons, who were now grown up, were beginning to have imperial hopes, being popular because of their youth and their handsome persons and through their knowledge of many kinds of

weapons, and bodily activity gained amidst daily army exercises, besides being known to be of sound judgment; that Gallus, while naturally savage, had been incited to deeds of cruelty by persons attached to his person, to the end that, when he had incurred the merited detestation of all classes, the emblems of empire might be transferred to the children of the master of the horse.

[4] Cum haec taliaque sollicitas eius aures everberarent, expositas semper eius modi rumoribus et patentes, vario animi motu miscente consilia, tandem id ut optimum factu elegit: et Ursicinum primum ad se venire summo cum honore mandavit, ea specie ut pro rerum tune urgentium captu, disponeretur concordi consilio, quibus virium incrementis, Parthicarum gentium arma minantium impetus frangerentur.

[4] When these and similar charges were dinned into the emperor's anxious ears, which were always attentive and open to such gossip, the turmoil of his mind suggesting many plans, he at last chose the following as the best. First, in the most complimentary terms he directed Ursicinus to come to him, under pretence that, because of the urgent condition of affairs at the time, they might consult together and decide what increase of forces was necessary in order to crush the attacks of the Parthian tribes, which were threatening war.

[5] Et nequid suspicaretur adversi venturus, vicarius eius (dum redit) Prosper missus est comes; acceptisque litteris, et copia rei vehiculariae data, Mediolanum itineribus properavimus magnis.

[5] And that Ursicinus might not suspect any unfriendly action, in case he should come, Count Prosper was sent to be his substitute until his return. So, when the letter was received and abundant transportation facilities were furnished, we hastened at full speed to Mediolanum.

[6] Restabat ut Caesar post haec properaret accitus, et abstergendae causa suspicionis, sororem suam (eius uxorem) Constantius ad se tandem desideratam venire, multis fictisque blanditiis hortabatur. Quae licet ambigeret, metuens saepe cruentum, spe tamen quod eum lenire poterit ut germanum, profecta, cum Bithyniam introisset, in statione quae Caenos Gallicanos appellatur, absumpta est vi februm repentina. Cuius post obitum maritus contemplans cecidisse fiduciam qua se fultum existimabat, anxia cogitatione quid moliretur haerebat.

[6] After this the next thing was to summon Caesar and induce him to make equal haste, and in order to remove suspicion, Constantius with many feigned endearments urged his sister, the Caesar's wife, at last to satisfy his longing and visit him. And although she hesitated, through fear of her brother's habitual cruelty, yet she set forth, hoping that, since he was her own brother, she might be able to pacify him. But after she had entered Bithynia, at the

station called Caeni Gallicani, she was carried off by a sudden attack of fever. After her death the Caesar, considering that the support on which he thought he could rely had failed him, hesitated in anxious deliberation what to do.

[7] Inter res enim impeditas et turbidas, ad hoc unum mentem sollicitam dirigebat, quod Constantius cuncta ad suam sententiam conferens, nec satisfactionem suscipiet aliquam, nec erratis ignoscet, sed ut erat in propinquitatis perniciem inclinior, laqueos ei latenter obtendens, si cepisset incautum, morte multaret.

[7] For in the midst of his embarrassments and troubles his anxious mind dwelt on this one thought, that Constantius, who measured everything by the standard of his own opinion, was not one to accept any excuse or pardon mistakes; but, being especially inclined to the ruin of his kin, would secretly set a snare for him and punish him with death, if he caught him off his guard.

[8] Eo necessitatis adductus, ultimaque ni vigilasset opperiens, principem locum, si copia patuisset, clam affectabat, sed perfidiam proximorum ratione bifaria verebatur, qui eum ut truculentum horrebant et levem, quique altiore Constantii fortunam in discordiis civilibus formidabant.

[8] But in such a critical situation and anticipating the worst if he were not on the watch, he secretly aimed at the highest rank, if any chance should offer; but for a twofold reason he feared treachery on the part of those nearest to his person, both because they stood in dread of him as cruel and untrustworthy, and because they feared the fortune of Constantius which in civil discords usually had the upper hand.

[9] Inter has curarum moles immensas, imperatoris scripta suscipiebat assidua, monentis orantisque ut ad se veniret, et mente monstrantis obliqua, rem publicam nec posse dividi nec debere, sed pro viribus quemque ei ferre suppetias fluctuanti, nimirum Galliarum indicans vastitatem.

[9] Amid this huge mass of anxieties he received constant letters from the emperor, admonishing and begging him to come to him and covertly hinting that the commonwealth could not be divided and ought not to be, but that each ought to the extent of his powers to lend it aid when it was tottering, doubtless referring to the devastation of Gaul.

[10] Quibus subserebat non adeo vetus exemplum, quod Diocletiano et eius collegae, ut apparitores Caesares non residues sed ultro citroque discurrentes, obtemperabant, et in Syria Augusti vehiculum irascentis, per spatium mille passuum fere pedes antegressus est Galerius purpuratus.

[10] To this he added an example of not so very great antiquity, that Diocletian and his colleague were obeyed by their Caesars as by attendants, who did not remain in one place but hastened about hither and thither, and that in Syria

Galerius, clad in purple, walked for nearly a mile before the chariot of his Augustus when the latter was angry with him.

[11] Advenit post multos Scudilo scutariorum tribunus, velamento subagrestis ingenii, persuasionis opifex callidus. Qui eum adulabili sermone periuriis admixto, solus omnium proficisci pellexit, vultu assimulato saepius replicando, quod flagrantibus votis eum videre frater cuperet patruelis, siquid per imprudentiam gestum est, remissurus, ut mitis et clemens, participemque eum suae maiestatis assciscet, futurum laborum quoque socium, quos Arctoae provinciae diu fessae poscebant.

[11] After many other messengers came Scudilo, tribune of the targeteers, a skilled artist in persuasion, under the cloak of a somewhat rough nature. He alone of all, by means of flattering words mingled with false oaths, succeeded in persuading Gallus to set out, constantly repeating with hypocritical expression that his cousin would ardently wish to see him, that being a mild and merciful prince he would overlook anything that was done through inadvertence; that he would make him a sharer in his rank, to be a partner also in the labours which the northern provinces, for a long time wearied, demanded.

[12] Utque solent manum iniectionibus fati, hebetari sensus hominum et obtundi, his illecebris ad meliorum expectationem erectus, egressusque Antiochia numine laevo ductante, prorsus ire tendebat de fumo, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, ad flammam; et ingressus Constantinopolim, tamquam in rebus prosperis et securis, editis equestribus ludis, capiti Thoracis aurigae coronam imposuit, ut victoris.

[12] And since, when the fates lay hands upon men, their senses are apt to be dulled and blunted, Gallus was roused by these blandishments to the hope of a better destiny, and leaving Antioch under the lead of an unpropitious power, he proceeded to go straight from the smoke into the fire, as the old proverb has it; and entering Constantinople as if in the height of prosperity and security, he exhibited horse-races and crowned Thorax the charioteer as victor.

[13] Quo cognito Constantius ultra mortalem modum exarsit; ac nequo casu idem Gallus de futuris incertus, agitare quaedam conducentia saluti suae per itinera conaretur, remoti sunt omnes de industria milites agentes in civitatibus perviis.

[13] On learning this Constantius was enraged beyond all human bounds, and lest by any chance Gallus should become uncertain as to the future and should try in the course of his journey to take measures for his own safety, all the soldiers in the towns through which he would pass were purposely removed.

[14] Eoque tempore Taurus quaestor ad Armeniam missus, confidenter nec

appellate eo nec viso transivit. Venere tamen aliqui iussu imperatoris, administrationum specie diversarum, eundem ne commovere se posset, neve temptaret aliquid occulte custodituri; inter quos Leontius erat, postea urbi praefectus, ut quaestor, et Lucillianus quasi domesticorum comes et scutiarum tribunus nomine Bainobaudes.

[14] And at that time Taurus, who had been sent to Armenia as quaestor, boldly passed that way without addressing him or going to see him. Others, however, visited him by the emperor's orders, under pretext of various matters of business, but really to take care that he should not be able to make any move or indulge in any secret enterprise; among these was Leontius, then quaestor and later prefect of the city, Lucillianus, as count commander of the household troops, and a tribune of the targeteers called Bainobaudes.

[15] Emensis itaque longis intervallis et planis, cum Hadrianopolim introisset, urbem Haemimontanam, Uscudamam antehac appellatam, fessasque labore diebus duodecim recreans vires, comperit Thebaeas legiones in vicinis oppidis hiemantes, consortes suos misisse quosdam, eum ut remaneret promissis fidis hortaturos et firmis, cum animarentur roboris sui fiducia, abunde per stationes locatae confines, sed observante cura pervigili proximorum, nullam videndi vel audiendi quae ferebant, furari potuit facultatem.

[15] Thus, after covering long distances over level country, he had entered Hadrianopolis, a city in the region of Mt. Haemus, formerly called Uscudama, and for twelve days was recovering his strength, exhausted by his exertions. There he learned that certain Theban legions that were passing the winter in near-by towns had sent some of their comrades to encourage him by faithful and sure promises to remain there, since they were full of confidence in their strength and were posted in large numbers in neighbouring encampments; but owing to the watchful care of those about him, he could not steal an opportunity of seeing them or hearing the message that they brought.

[16] Inde aliis super alias urgentibus litteris exire et decem vehiculis publicis, ut praeceptum est, usus, relicto palatio omni, praeter paucos tori ministros et mensae, quos avexerat secum, squalore concretus, celerare gradum compellebatur, adigentibus multis, temeritati suae subinde flebiliter imprecatus, quae eum iam despectum et vilem arbitrio subdiderat infimorum.

[16] Then, as letter followed letter, urging him to leave, making use of ten public vehicles, as was directed, and leaving behind all his attendants with the exception of a few whom he had brought with him to serve in his bedroom and at his table, he was driven to make haste, being without proper care of his person and urged on by many, railing from time to time at the rashness which had reduced him, now mean and abject, to submit to the will of the lowest of mankind.

[17] Inter haec tamen per indutias naturae conquiescentis, sauciabantur eius sensus circumstridentium terrore larvarum, interfectorumque catervae, Domitiano et Montio praevis, correptum eum (ut existimabat in somnis), uncis furialibus obiectabant.

[17] Yet all this time, whenever nature allowed him sleep, his senses were wounded by frightful spectres that shrieked about him, and throngs of those whom he had slain, led by Domitianus and Montius, would seize him and fling him to the claws of the Furies, as he imagined in his dreams.

[18] Solutus enim corporeis nexibus, animus semper vicens motibus indefessis, ex cogitationibus subiectis et curis, quae mortalium sollicitant mentes, colligit visa nocturna, quas φαντασίας nos appellamus.

[18] For the mind, when freed from the bonds of the body, being always filled with tireless movement, from the underlying thoughts and worries which torment the minds of mortals, conjures up the nocturnal visions to which we give the name of phantasies.

[19] Pandente itaque viam fatorum sorte tristissima, qua praestitutum erat eum vita et imperio spoliari, itineribus rectis permutatione iumentorum emensis, venit Petobionem oppidum Noricorum, ubi reseratae sunt insidiarum latebrae omnes, et Barbatio repente apparuit Comes, qui sub eo domesticis praefuit, cum Apodemio agente in rebus, milites ducens, quos beneficiis suis oppigneratos elegerat imperator, certus nec praemiis nec miseratione ulla posse deflecti.

[19] And thus with the way opened by the sad decree of fate, by which it was ordained that he should be stripped of life and rank, he hurried by the most direct way and with relays of horses and came to Petobio, a town of Noricum. There all the secret plots were revealed and Count Barbatio suddenly made his appearance — he had commanded the household troops under Gallus — accompanied by Apodemius, of the secret service, and at the head of soldiers whom Constantius had chosen because they were under obligation to him for favours and could not, he felt sure, be influenced by bribes or any feeling of pity.

[20] Iamque non umbratis fallaciis res agebatur, sed qua palatium est extra muros, armatis Barbatio omne circumdedit. Ingressusque obscuro iam die, ablatis regiis indumentis, Caesarem tunica texit et paludamento communi, eum post haec nihil passurum, velut mandato principis iurandi crebritate confirmans, et ‘Statim’ inquit ‘exsurge,’ et inopinum carpento privato impositum, ad Histriam duxit, prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam preemptum Constantini filium accipimus Crispum.

[20] And now the affair was being carried on with no disguised intrigue, but where the palace stood without the walls Barbatio surrounded it with armed

men. And entering when the light was now dim and removing the Caesar's royal robes, he put upon him a tunic and an ordinary soldier's cloak, assuring him with frequent oaths, as if by the emperor's command, that he would suffer no further harm. Then he said to him: "Get up at once," and having unexpectedly placed him in a private carriage, he took him to Histria, near the town of Pola, where in former times, as we are informed, Constantine's son Crispus was killed.

[21] Et cum ibi servaretur artissime, terrore propinquantis exitii iam praeseputus, accurrit Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, Pentadiusque notarius, et Mallobaudes armaturarum tribunus, iussu imperatoris compulsuri eum singillatim docere, quam ob causam quemque apud Antiochiam necatorum iusserat trucidari.

[21] And while he was kept there in closest confinement, already as good as buried by fear of his approaching end, there hastened to him Eusebius, at that time grand chamberlain, Pentadius, the secretary, and Mallobaudes, tribune of the guard, to compel him by order of the emperor to inform them, case by case, why he had ordered the execution of all those whom he had put to death at Antioch.

[22] Ad quae Adrasteo pallore perfusus, hactenus valuit loqui, quod plerosque incitante coniuge iugulaverit Constantina, ignorans profecto Alexandrum Magnum urgenti matri ut occideret quendam insontem, et dictitanti spe impetrandi postea quae vellet, eum se per novem menses utero portasse praegnantem, ita respondisse prudenter: 'Aliam, parens optima, posce mercedem; hominis enim salus beneficio nullo pensatur.'

[22] At this, o'erspread with the pallor of Adrastus, he was able to say only that he had slain most of them at the instigation of his wife Constantina, assuredly not knowing that when the mother of Alexander the Great urged her son to put an innocent man to death and said again and again, in the hope of later gaining what she desired, that she had carried him for nine months in her womb, the king made this wise answer: "Ask some other reward, dear mother, for a man's life is not to be weighed against any favour."

[23] Quo comperto irrevocabili ira princeps percitus et dolore, fiduciam omnem fundandae securitatis in eodem posuit abolendo. Et misso Sereniano, quem in crimen maiestatis vocatum praestigiis quibusdam absolutum esse supra monstravimus, Pentadio quin etiam notario, et Apodemio agente in rebus, eum capitali supplicio destinavit, et ita colligatis manibus in modum noxii cuiusdam latronis, cervice abscisa, ereptaque vultus et capitis dignitate, cadaver est relictum informe, paulo ante urbibus et provinciis formidatum.

[23] On hearing this the emperor, smitten with implacable anger and resentment, rested all his hopes of securing his safety on destroying Gallus;

and sending Serenianus, who, as I have before shown, had been charged with high treason and acquitted by some jugglery or other, and with him Pentadius the secretary and Apodemius of the secret service, he condemned him to capital punishment. Accordingly his hands were bound, after the fashion of some guilty robber, and he was beheaded. Then his face and head were mutilated, and the man who a little while before had been a terror to cities and provinces was left a disfigured corpse.

[24] *Sed vigilavit utrobique superni numinis aequitas. Nam et Gallum actus oppressere crudeles, et non diu postea ambo cruciabili morte absumpti sunt, qui eum licet nocentem, blandius palpantes periuriis, ad usque plagas perduxere letales. Quorum Scudilo destillatione iecoris pulmones vomitans interiit; Barbatio, qui in eum iam diu falsa composuerat crimina, cum ex magisterio peditum altius niti quorundam susurris incusaretur, damnatus extincti per fallacias Caesaris manibus inlacrimoso obitu parentavit.*

[24] But the justice of the heavenly power was everywhere watchful; for not only did his cruel deeds prove the ruin of Gallus, but not long afterwards a painful death overtook both of those whose false blandishments and perjuries led him, guilty though he was, into the snares of destruction. Of these Scudilo, because of an abscess of the liver, vomited up his lungs and so died; Barbatio, who for a long time had invented false accusations against Gallus, charged by the whispers of certain men of aiming higher than the mastership of the infantry, was found guilty and by an unwept end made atonement to the shades of the Caesar, whom he had treacherously done to death.

[25] *Haec et huius modi quaedam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impiorum, bonorumque praemiatrix, aliquotiens operatur Adrastia, (atque utinam semper!): quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum, vel ut definiunt alii, substantialis tutela generali potentia partilibus praesidens fati, quam theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam, ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena.*

[25] These and innumerable other instances of the kind are sometimes (and would that it were always so!) the work of Adrastia, the chastiser of evil deeds and the rewarder of good actions, whom we also call by the second name of Nemesis. She is, as it were, the sublime jurisdiction of an efficient divine power, dwelling, as men think, above the orbit of the moon; or as others define her, an actual guardian presiding with universal sway over the destinies of individual men. The ancient theologians, regarding her as the daughter of Justice, say that from an unknown eternity she looks down upon all the creatures of earth.

[26] *Haec ut regina causarum, et arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix, urnam sortium temperat, accidentium vices alternans, voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa*

interdum alio quam quo contendebant exitu terminans, multiplices actus permutando convolvit. Eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus, tumentes in cassum, et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versabilis librans (ut novit), nunc erectas eminentium cervices opprimit et enervat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene vivendum extollit. Pinnae autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucris cunctis existimeretur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur.

[26] She, as queen of causes and arbiter and judge of events, controls the urn with its lots and causes the changes of fortune, and sometimes she gives our plans a different result than that at which we aimed, changing and confounding many actions. She too, binding the vainly swelling pride of mortals with the indissoluble bond of fate, and tilting changeably, as she knows how to do, the balance of gain and loss, now bends and weakens the uplifted necks of the proud, and now, raising the good from the lowest estate, lifts them to a happy life. Moreover, the storied past has given her wings in order that she might be thought to come to all with swift speed; and it has given her a helm to hold and has put a wheel beneath her feet, in order that none may fail to know that she runs through all the elements and rules the universe.

[27] Hoc immaturo interitu, ipse quoque sui pertaesus, excessit e vita, aetatis nono anno atque vicensimo, cum quadriennio imperasset. Natus apud Tuscos in Massa Veternensi patre Constantio, Constantini fratre imperatoris, matreque Galla, sorore Rufini et Cerealis, quos trabeae consulares nobilitarunt, et praefecturae.

[27] By this untimely death, although himself weary of his existence, the Caesar passed from life in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a rule of four years. He was born in Etruria at Massa in the district of Veternum, being the son of Constantius, the brother of the emperor Constantine, and Galla, the sister of Rufinus and Cerealis, who were distinguished by the vesture of consul and prefect.

[28] Fuit autem forma conspicuus bona, decente filo corporis membrorumque recta compage, flavo capillo et molli, barba licet recens emergente lanugine tenera, ita tamen ut maturius auctoritas emineret; tantum a temperatis moribus Iuliani differens fratris, quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit Domitianum et Titum.

[28] He was conspicuous for his handsome person, being well proportioned, with well-knit limbs. He had soft golden hair, and although his beard was just appearing in the form of tender down, yet he was conspicuous for the dignity of greater maturity. But he differed as much from the disciplined character of his brother Julian as did Domitian, son of Vespasian, from his brother Titus.

[29] *Assumptus autem in amplissimum fortunae fastigium, versabilis eius motus expertus est, qui ludunt mortalitatem, nunc evehentes quosdam in sidera, nunc ad Cocyti profunda mergentes. Cuius rei cum innumera sint exempla, pauca tactu summo transcurram.*

[29] Raised to the highest rank in Fortune's gift, he experienced her fickle changes, which make sport of mortals, now lifting some to the stars, now plunging them in the depths of Cocytus. But although instances of this are innumerable, I shall make cursory mention of only a few.

[30] *Haec fortuna mutabilis et inconstans fecit Agathoclem Siculum ex figulo regem, et Dionysium, gentium quondam terrorem, Corinthi litterario ludo praefecit.*

[30] It was this mutable and fickle Fortune that changed the Sicilian Agathocles from a potter to a king, and Dionysius, once the terror of nations, to the head of an elementary school, at Corinth.

[31] *Haec Adramytenum Andrisum, in fullonio natum, ad Pseudophilippi nomen evexit, et Persei legitimum filium artem ferrariam ob quaerendum docuit victum.*

[31] She it was that raised Andrisus of Adramyttium, who was born in a fullery, to the title of the Pseudo-Philip, and taught the legitimate son of Perseus the blacksmith's trade as a means of livelihood.

[32] *Eadem Mancinum post imperium dedit Numantinis, Samnitum atrocitati Veturium, et Claudium Corsis, substravitque feritati Carthaginis Regulum; istius iniquitate Pompeius, post quaesitum Magni ex rerum gestarum amplitudine cognomentum, ad spadonum libidinem in Aegypto trucidatur.*

[32] She, too, delivered Mancinus, after his supreme command, to the Numantians, Veturius to the cruelty of the Samnites, and Claudius to the Corsicans, and she subjected Regulus to the savagery of the Carthaginians. Through her injustice Pompey, after he had gained the surname Great by his glorious deeds, was butchered in Egypt to give the eunuchs' pleasure.

[33] *Et Eunus quidam ergastularius servus ductavit in Sicilia fugitivos. Quam multi splendido loco nati Romani, eadem rerum domina conivente, Viriathi genua sunt amplexi vel Spartaci? Quot capita quae horruere gentes funesti carnifices absceiderunt? Alter in vincula ducitur, alter insperatae praeficitur potestati, alius a summo culmine dignitatis excutitur.*

[33] Eunus, too, a workhouse slave, commanded an army of runaways in Sicily. How many Romans of illustrious birth at the nod of that same arbiter of events embraced the knees of a Viriathus or a Spartacus! How many heads dreaded by all nations has the fatal executioner lopped off! One is led to prison, another is elevated to un-looked-for power, a third is cast down from the

highest pinnacle of rank.

[34] Quae omnia si scire quisquam velit quam varia sint et assidua, harenarum numerum idem iam desipiens et montium pondera scrutari putabit.

[34] But if anyone should desire to know all these instances, varied and constantly occurring as they are, he will be mad enough to think of searching out the number of the sands and the weight of the mountains

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LIBER XV — BOOK XV

[1] Mors Galli Caesaris imperatori nuntiatur. Utcumque potui veritatem scrutari, ea quae videre licuit per aetatem, vel perplexe interrogando versatos in medio scire, narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum; residua quae secuturus aperiet textus, pro virium captu limatius absolvemus, nihil obtrectatores longi (ut putant) operis formidantes. Tunc enim laudanda est brevitās, cum moras rumpens intempestivas, nihil subtrahit cognitioni gestorum.

The death of Gallus Caesar is reported to the Emperor. So far as I could investigate the truth, I have, after putting the various events in clear order, related what I myself was allowed to witness in the course of my life, or to learn by meticulous questioning of those directly concerned. The rest, which the text to follow will disclose, we shall set forth to the best of our ability with still greater accuracy, feeling no fear of critics of the prolixity of our work, as they consider it; for conciseness is to be praised only when it breaks off ill-timed discursiveness, without detracting at all from an understanding of the course of events.

[2] Nondum apud Noricum exuto penitus Gallo, Apodemius quoad vixerat igneus turbarum incitor, raptos eius calceos vehens, equorum permutatione veloci, ut nimietate cogendi quosdam exstingeret, praecursorius index Mediolanum advenit ingressusque regiam, ante pedes proiecit Constantii, velut spolia regis occisi Parthorum; et perlato nuntio repentino, docente rem insperatam et arduam ad sententiam totam facilitate completam, hi qui summam aulam tenebant, omni placendi studio in adulationem ex more collato, virtutem felicitatemque imperatoris extollebant in caelum, cuius nutu in modum gregariorum militum (licet diversis temporibus) duo exauctorati sunt principes, Veteranio nimirum et Gallus.

[2] Hardly had Gallus been wholly stripped in Noricum, when Apodemius, a fiery inciter of disorder so long as he lived, seized and carried off Caesar's shoes, and with such swift relays of horses that he killed some of them by over-driving, was the first to arrive in Milan as an advance informer. Entering the palace, he cast the shoes at Constantius' feet, as if they were the spoils of the slain Parthian king. And on the arrival of the sudden tidings, which showed that an apparently hopeless and difficult enterprise had been carried out to their satisfaction with perfect ease, the highest court officials, as usual turning all their desire to please into flattery, extolled to the skies the emperor's valour and good fortune, since at his beck two princes, though at different times, Veteranio to wit and Gallus, had been cashiered like common soldiers.

[3] Quo ille studio blanditiarum exquisite sublatus, immunemque se deinde

fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim a iustitia declinavit ita intemperanter, ut 'Aeternitatem meam' aliquotiens subsereret ipse dictando, scribendoque propria manu orbis totius se dominum appellaret; quod dicentibus aliis, indignanter admodum ferre deberet is qui ad aemulationem civilium principum formare vitam moresque suos, ut praedicabat, diligentia laborabat enixa.

[3] So Constantius, elated by this extravagant passion for flattery, and confidently believing that from now on he would be free from every mortal ill, swerved swiftly aside from just conduct so immoderately that sometimes in dictation he signed himself "My Eternity," and in writing with his own hand called himself lord of the whole world — an expression which, if used by others, ought to have been received with just indignation by one who, as he often asserted, laboured with extreme care to model his life and character in rivalry with those of the constitutional emperors.

[4] Namque etiam si mundorum infinitates Democriti regeret, quos Anaxarcho incitante Magnus somniabat Alexander, id reputasset legens vel audiens, quod (ut docent mathematici concinentes), ambitus terrae totius, quae nobis videtur immensa, ad magnitudinem universitatis instar brevis optinet puncti. Ursicinus, magister equitum per orientem, Julianus, Galli Caesaris frater, et Gorgonius, praepositus Caesariani cubiculi, accusantur maiestatis. Iamque post miserandam deleti Caesaris cladem, sonante periculis iudicialium tuba, in crimen laesae maiestatis arcessebatur Ursicinus, adulescente magis magisque contra eius salutem livore, omnibus bonis infesto.

[4] For even if he ruled the infinity of worlds postulated by Democritus, of which Alexander the Great dreamed under the stimulus of Anaxarchus, yet from reading or hearsay he should have considered that (as the astronomers unanimously teach) the circuit of the whole earth, which to us seems endless, compared with the greatness of the universe has the likeness of a mere tiny point. Ursicinus, commander of the cavalry in the Orient, Julian, brother of Gallus Caesar, and Gorgonius, his grand chamberlain, are accused of treason. And now, after the pitiful downfall of the murdered Caesar, the trumpet of court trials sounded and Ursicinus was arraigned for high treason, since jealousy, the foe of all good men, grew more and more dangerous to his life.

[2] Hac enim superabatur difficultate, quod ad suscipiendas defensiones aequas et probabiles, imperatoris aures oclusae, patebant susurris insidiantium clandestinis, qui Constantii nomine per orientis tractus omnes abolito, ante dictum ducem domi forisque desiderari, ut formidolosum Persicae genti, fingeant.

[2] For he fell victim to this difficulty, that the emperor's ears were closed for

receiving any just and easily proved defence, but were open to the secret whispers of plotters, who alleged that Constantius' name was got rid of throughout all the eastern provinces and that the above-mentioned general was longed for both at home and abroad as being formidable to the Persian nation.

[3] Sed contra accidentia vir magnanimus stabat immobilis, ne se proiceret abiectius cavens, parum tuto loco innocentiam stare medullitus gemens, hocque uno tristior quod amici ante haec frequentes ad potiores desciverant, ut ad successores officiorum, more poscente, solent transire lictores.

[3] Yet in the face of events this high-souled hero stood immovable, taking care not to abase himself too abjectly, but lamenting from his heart that uprightness was so insecure, and the more depressed for the single reason that his friends, who had before been numerous, had deserted him for more powerful men, just as lictors are in the habit of passing, as custom requires, from magistrates to their successors.

[4] Impugnabat autem eum per fictae benignitatis illecebras, collegam et virum fortem propalam saepe appellans Arbetio, ad innectendas letales insidias vitae simplici perquam callens, et ea tempestate nimium potens. Ut enim subterraneus serpens, foramen subsidens occultum, adsultu subito singulos transitores observans incessit, ita ille odio alienae sortis etiam post adeptum summum militiae munus, nec laesus aliquando nec lacessitus, inexplibili quodam laedendi proposito, conscientiam polluebat.

[4] Furthermore, he was attacked with the blandishments of counterfeit courtesy by Arbitio, who kept openly calling him his colleague and a brave man, but who was exceedingly shrewd in devising deadly snares for a straightforward character and was at that time altogether too powerful. For just as an underground serpent, lurking below the hidden entrance to its hole, watches each passer-by and attacks him with a sudden spring, so he, through envy of others' fortune even after reaching the highest military position, without ever being injured or provoked kept staining his conscience from an insatiable determination to do harm.

[5] Igitur paucis arcanorum praesentibus consciis, latenter cum imperatore sententia diu digesta, id sederat, ut nocte ventura, procul a conspectu militarium raptus, Ursicinus indemnatus occideretur, ut quondam Domitius Corbulo dicitur caesus, in colluvione illa Neroniani saeculi provinciarum fidus defensor et cautus.

[5] So, in the presence of a few accomplices in the secret, after long deliberation it was privately arranged with the emperor that on the following night Ursicinus should be carried off far from the sight of the soldiers and slain without a trial, just as in days gone by it is said that Domitius Corbulo was murdered, a man who had been a loyal and prudent defender of the

provinces amid the notorious corruption of Nero's time.

[6] Quibus ita compositis, cum ad hoc destinati praedictum tempus operirentur, consilio in lenitudinem flexo, facinus impium ad deliberationem secundam differri praeceptum est.

[6] When this had been so arranged and the persons appointed for it were awaiting the allotted time, the emperor changed his mind in the direction of mercy, and orders were given to postpone the wicked deed until after a second consultation.

[7] Indequē ad Iulianum, recens perductum, calumniarum vertitur machina, memorabilem postea principem, gemino crimine, ut iniquitas aestimabat, implicitum: quod a Macelli fundo, in Cappadocia posito, ad Asiam demigrarat, liberalium desiderio doctrinarum, et per Constantinopolim transeuntem viderat fratrem.

[7] But then the artillery of slander was turned against Julian, the future famous emperor, lately brought to account, and he was involved, as was unjustly held, in a two-fold accusation: first, that he had moved from the estate of Macellum, situated in Cappadocia, into the province of Asia, in his desire for a liberal education; and, second, that he had visited his brother Gallus as he passed through Constantinople.

[8] Qui cum obiecta dilueret, ostenderetque neutrum sine iussu fecisse, nefando assentatorum coetu perisset urgente, nī adspiratione superni numinis Eusebia suffragante regina, ductus ad Comum oppidum Mediolano vicinum, ibique paulisper moratus, procudendi ingenii causa (ut cupidine flagravī) ad Graeciam ire permissus est.

[8] And although he cleared himself of these implications and showed that he had done neither of these things without warrant, yet he would have perished at the instigation of the accursed crew of flatterers, had not, through the favour of divine power, Queen Eusebia befriended him; so he was brought to the town of Comum, near Milan, and after abiding there for a short time, he was allowed to go to Greece for the sake of perfecting his education, as he earnestly desired.

[9] Nec defuere deinceps ex his emergentia casibus, quae dicerēs secundis avibus contigisse, dum punirentur ex iure, vel tamquam irrita difflebant et vana. Sed accidebat non numquam, ut opulenti pulsantes praesidia potiorum, eisdemque tamquam ederae celsis arboribus adhaerentes, absolutionem pretiis mercarentur immensis; tenues vero, quibus exiguae vires erant ad redimendam salutem aut nullae, damnabantur abrupte. Ideoque et veritas mendaciis velabatur, et valere pro veris aliquotiens falsa.

[9] Nor were there wanting later actions arising from these occurrences which

one might say had a happy issue, since the accusers were justly punished, or their charges came to naught as if void and vain. But it sometimes happened that rich men, knocking at the strongholds of the mighty, and clinging to them as ivy does to lofty trees, bought their acquittal at monstrous prices; but poor men, who had little or no means for purchasing safety, were condemned out of hand. And so both truth was masked by lies and sometimes false passed for true.

[10] Perductus est eisdem diebus et Gorgonius, cui erat thalami Caesariani cura commissa, cumque eum auctorum fuisse participem, concitoremque interdum, ex confesso pateret, conspiratione spadonum iustitia concinnatis mendaciis obumbrata, periculo evolutus abscessit. In Galli Caesaris amicos et ministros animadvertitur. Haec dum Mediolani aguntur, militarium catervae ab oriente perductae sunt Aquileiam, cum aulicis pluribus, membris inter catenas fluentibus, spiritum trahentes exiguum vivendique moras per aerumnas detestati multiplices. Arcessebantur enim ministri fuisse Galli ferocientis, perque eos Domitianus disceptus credebatur et Montius, et alii post eos acti in exitium praeceps.

[10] At that same time Gorgonius also, who had been appointed the Caesar's head chamberlain, was brought to trial; and although it was clear from his own confession that he had been a party in his bold deeds, and sometimes their instigator, yet through a plot of the eunuchs justice was overshadowed with a clever tissue of lies, and he slipped out of danger and went his way.

Punishment is inflicted on the friends and tools of Gallus Caesar.

While these events were taking place at Milan, troops of soldiers were brought from the East to Aquileia together with several courtiers, their limbs wasting in chains as they drew feeble breaths and prayed to be delivered from longer life amid manifold miseries. For they were charged with having been tools of the savagery of Gallus, and it was through them, it was believed, that Domitianus and Montius were torn to pieces and others after them were driven to swift destruction.

[2] Ad quos audiendos Arboreus missus est et Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, ambo inconsideratae iactantiae, iniusti pariter et cruenti. Qui nullo perspicaciter inquisito, sine innocentium sontiumque differentia, alios verberibus vel tormentis afflicto exsulari poena damnarunt, quosdam ad infimam trusere militiam, residuos capitalibus addixere suppliciis. Impletisque funerum bustis, reversi velut ovantes, gesta rettulerunt ad principem, erga haec et similia palam obstinatum et gravem.

[2] To hear their defence were sent Arbetio and Eusebius, then grand chamberlain, both given to inconsiderate boasting, equally unjust and cruel. They, without examining anyone carefully or distinguishing between the

innocent and the guilty, scourged and tortured some and condemned them to banishment, others they thrust down to the lowest military rank, the rest they sentenced to suffer death. And after filling the tombs with corpses, they returned as if in triumph and reported their exploits to the emperor, who in regard to these and similar cases was openly inflexible and severe.

[3] Vehementius hinc et deinde Constantius, quasi praescriptum factorum ordinem convulsurus, recluso pectore patebat insidiantibus multis. Unde rumor aucupes subito exstiterere complures, honorum vertices ipsos ferinis morsibus appetentes, posteaque pauperes et divites indiscrete; non ut Cibyratae illi Verrini, tribunal unius legati lambentes, sed rei publicae membra totius per incidentia mala vexantes.

[3] Thereupon and henceforth Constantius, as if to upset the predestined order of the fates, more eagerly opened his heart and laid it bare to the plotters, many in number. Accordingly, numerous gossip - hunters suddenly arose, snapping with the jaws of wild beasts at even the highest officials, and afterwards at poor and rich indifferently, not like those Cibyrate hounds of Verres fawning upon the tribunal of only one governor, but afflicting the members of the whole commonwealth with a visitation of evils.

[4] Inter quos facile Paulus et Mercurius eminebant: hic origine Persa, ille natus in Dacia: notarius ille, hic a ministro triclinii rationalis. Et Paulo quidem, ut relatum est supra, Catenae inditum est cognomentum, eo quod in complicandis calumniarum nexibus erat indissolubilis, mira inventorum sese varietate dispensans, ut in colluctationibus callere nimis quidam solent artifices palaestritae.

[4] Among these Paulus and Mercurius were easily the leaders, the one a Persian by origin, the other born in Dacia; Paulus was a notary, Mercurius, a former imperial steward, was now a treasurer. And in fact this Paulus, as was told before, was nicknamed "the Chain," because he was invincible in weaving coils of calumny, exerting himself in a wonderful variety of schemes, just as some expert wrestlers are in the habit of showing excessive skill in their contests.

[5] Mercurius vero somniorum appellatus est comes, quod ut clam mordax canis interna saevitia summissius agitans caudam, epulis coetibusque se crebris inserens, si per quietem quisquam, ubi fusius natura vagatur, vidisse aliquid amico narrasset, id venenatis artibus coloratum in peius, patulis imperatoris auribus infundebat, et ob hoc homo tamquam inexpliabili obnoxius culpae, gravi mole criminis pulsabatur.

[5] But Mercurius was dubbed "Count of Dreams," because, like a slinking, biting cur, savage within but peacefully wagging its tail, he would often worm his way into banquets and meetings, and if anyone had told a friend that he

had seen anything in his sleep, when nature roams more freely, Mercurius would give it a worse colour by his venomous skill and pour it into the open ears of the emperor; and on such grounds a man, as though really chargeable with inextinguishable guilt, would be beaten down by a heavy burden of accusation.

[6] *Haec augente vulgatus fama, tantum aberat, ut proderet quisquam visa nocturna, ut contra aegre homines dormisse sese praesentibus faterentur externis, maerebantque docti quidam, quod apud Atlanteos nati non essent, ubi memorantur somnia non videri; quod unde eveniat, rerum scientissimis relinquamus.*

[6] Since rumour exaggerated these reports and gave them wide currency, people were so far from revealing their nightly visions, that on the contrary they would hardly admit in the presence of strangers that they had slept at all, and certain scholars lamented that they had not been born near Mount Atlas, where it is said that dreams are not seen ; but how that happens we may leave to those who are most versed in natural science.

[7] *Inter has quaestionum suppliciorumque species diras, in Illyrico exoritur alia clades, ad multorum pericula ex verborum inanitate progressa. In convivio Africani, Pannoniae secundae rectoris, apud Sirmium poculis amplioribus madefacti quidam, arbitrum adesse nullum existimantes, licenter imperium praesens ut molestissimum incusabant; quibus alii optatam permutationem temporum adventare, veluti e praesagiis affirmabant, non nulli maiorum augurio sibi portendi, incogitabili dementia promittebant.*

[7] Amid these dire aspects of trials and tortures there arose in Illyricum another disaster, which began with idle words and resulted in peril to many. At a dinner-party given by Africanus, governor of Pannonia Secunda, at Sirmium, certain men who were deep in their cups and supposed that no spy was present freely criticized the existing rule as most oppressive; whereupon some assured them, as if from portents, that the desired change of the times was at hand; others with inconceivable folly asserted that through auguries of their forefathers it was meant for them.

[8] *E quorum numero Gaudentius agens in rebus, mente praecipiti stolidus, rem ut seriam detulerat ad Rufinum, apparitionis praefecturae praetorianae tune principem, ultimorum semper avidum hominem, et coalita pravitate famosum.*

[8] One of their number, Gaudentius, of the secret service, a dull man but of a hasty disposition, had reported the occurrence as serious to Rufinus, who was then chief steward of the praetorian prefecture, a man always eager for extreme measures and notorious for his natural depravity.

[9] *Qui confestim quasi pinnis elatus, ad comitatum principis advolavit, eumque ad suspiciones huius modi mollem et penetrabilem, ita acriter inflammavit, ut sine deliberatione ulla Africanus, et omnes letalis mensae*

participes, iuberentur rapi sublimes. Quo facto delator funestus, vetita ex more humano validius cupiens, biennio id quod agebat (ut postularat) continuare praeceptus est.

[9] Rufinus at once, as though upborne on wings, flew to the emperor's court and inflamed him, since he was easily influenced by such suspicions, to such excitement that without any deliberation Africanus and all those present at the fatal table were ordered to be quickly hoisted up and carried out. That done, the dire informer, more strongly desirous of things forbidden, as is the way of mankind, was directed to continue for two years in his present service, as he had requested.

[10] Missus igitur ad eos corripandos Teutomeres protector domesticus cum collega onustos omnes catenis (ut mandatum est) perducebat. Sed ubi ventum est Aquileiam, Marinus tribunus ex campidoctore eo tempore vacans, auctor perniciosi sermonis, et alioqui naturae ferventis, in taberna relictus, dum parantur itineri necessaria, lateri cultrum longiorem casu repertum impegit, statimque extractis vitalibus, interiit.

[10] So Teutomeres, of the emperor's bodyguard, was sent with a colleague to seize them, and loading them with chains, as he had been ordered, he brought them all in. But when they came to Aquileia, Marinus, an ex-drillmaster and now a tribune, who was on furlough at the time, the originator of that mischievous talk and besides a man of hot temper, being left in a tavern while things necessary for their journey were preparing, and chancing upon a long knife, stabbed himself in the side, at once plucked forth his vitals, and so died.

[11] Residui ducti Mediolanum, excruciatique tormentis, et confessi inter epulas petulanter se quaedam locutos, iussi sunt attineri poenalibus claustris, sub absolutionis aliqua spe (licet incerta). Protectores vero pronuntiati vertere solum exilio, ut Marino eisdem consciis mori permissio, veniam Arbetione meruere precante. Lentienses Alamanni a Constantio Aug. pars caesi, pars fugati. Re hoc modo finita, ... et Lentiensibus, Alamannicis pagis, indictum est bellum, collimitia saepe Romana latius irrumpentibus. Ad quem procinctum imperator egressus, in Raetias camposque venit Caninos, et digestis diu consiliis, id visum est honestum et utile, ut eo cum militis parte ibidem opperiente, Arbetio magister equitum cum validiore exercitus manu, relegens margines lacus Brigantiae pergeret, protinus barbaris congressurus. Cuius loci figuram breviter quantum ratio patitur, designabo.

[11] The rest were brought to Milan and cruelly tortured; and since they admitted that while feasting they had uttered some saucy expressions, it was ordered that they be kept in close confinement with some hope (though doubtful) of acquittal. But the members of the emperor's guard, after being sentenced to leave the country for exile, since Marinus with their connivance had been allowed to die, at the suit of Arbetio obtained pardon. Of the

Lentienses, a tribe of the Alamanni, a part were slain and a part put to flight by Constantius Augustus. The affair thus ended, war was declared on the . . . and Lentienses, tribes of the Alamanni, who often made extensive inroads through the Roman frontier defences. On that expedition the emperor himself set out and came to Raetia and the Campi Canini; and after long and careful deliberation it seemed both honorable and expedient that, while he waited there with a part of the soldiers, Arbetio, commander of the cavalry, with the stronger part of the army should march on, skirting the shores of Lake Brigantia, in order to engage at once with the savages. Here I will describe the appearance of this place as briefly as my project allows.

[2] Inter montium celsorum amfractus, immani pulsu Rhenus exoriens, per scopulos extenditur altos, nullos advenas amnes adoptans, ut per cataractas inclinatione praecipiti funditur Nilus. Et navigari ab ortu poterat primigenio copiis exuberans propriis, ni ruenti curreret similis potius quam fluenti lenius amni.

[2] Between the defiles of lofty mountains the Rhine rises and pours with mighty current over high rocks, without receiving tributary streams, just as the Nile with headlong descent pours over the cataracts. And it could be navigated from its very source, since it overflows with waters of its own, did it not run along like a torrent rather than a quietly flowing river.

[3] Iamque ad plana volutus, altaque divortia riparum adradens, lacum invadit rotundum et vastum, quem Brigantiam accola Raetus appellat, perque quadringenta et sexaginta stadia longum, parique paene spatio late diffusum, horrore silvarum squalentium inaccessum, nisi qua vetus illa Romana virtus et sobria iter composuit latum, barbaris et natura locorum et caeli inclementia refragante.

[3] And now rolling to level ground and cutting its way between high and widely separated banks, it enters a vast round lake, which its Raetian neighbour calls Brigantia; this is four hundred and sixty stades long and in breadth spreads over an almost equal space; it is inaccessible through the bristling woods of the gloomy forest except where that old-time practical Roman ability, in spite of the opposition of the savages, the nature of the region, and the rigour of the climate, constructed a broad highroad.

[4] Hanc ergo paludem spumosis strependo verticibus amnis irrumpens, et undarum quietem permeans pigram, mediam velut finali intersecat libramento, et tamquam elementum perenni discordia separatum, nec aucto nec imminuto agmine quod intulit, vocabulo et viribus absolvitur integris, nec contagia deinde ulla perpetiens, oceani gurgitibus intimatur.

[4] Into this pool, then, the river bursts roaring with frothing eddies, and cleaving the sluggish quiet of the waters, cuts through its midst as if with a

boundary line. And as if the element were divided by an everlasting discord, without increasing or diminishing the volume which it carried in, it emerges with name and force unchanged, and without thereafter suffering any contact it mingles with Ocean's flood.

[5] Quodque est impendio mirum, nec stagnum aquarum rapido transcurso movetur, nec limosa subluvie tardatur properans flumen, et confusum misceri non potest corpus; quod, ni ita agi ipse doceret aspectus, nulla vi credebatur posse discerni.

[5] And what is exceeding strange, neither is the lake stirred by the swift passage of the waters nor is the hurrying river stayed by the foul mud of the lake, and though mingled they cannot be blended into one body; but if one's very sight did not prove it to be so, one would not believe it possible for them to be kept apart by any power.

[6] Sic Alpheus oriens in Arcadia, cupidine fontis Arethusae captus, scindens Ionium mare, ut fabulae ferunt, ad usque amatae confinia proruit nymphae.

[6] In the same way the river Alpheus, rising in Arcadia and falling in love with the fountain Arethusa, cleaves the Ionian Sea, as the myth tells us, and hastens to the retreat of the beloved nymph.

[7] Arbetio qui adventus barbarorum nuntiarent non exspectans dum adessent, licet sciret aspera orta bellorum, in occultas delatus insidias, stetit immobilis, malo repentino percussus.

[7] Arbetio did not wait for the coming of messengers to announce the arrival of the savages, although he knew that a dangerous war was on foot, and when he was decoyed into a hidden ambushade, he stood immovable, overwhelmed by the sudden mischance.

[8] Namque improvisi e latebris hostes exsiliunt, et sine parsimonia quicquid offendi poterat telorum genere multiplici configebant; nec enim resistere nostrorum quisquam potuit, nec aliud vitae subsidium, nisi discessu sperare veloci. Quocirca vulneribus declinandis intenti, incomposito agmine milites huc et illuc dispalantes, terga ferienda dederunt. Plerique tamen per angustas semitas sparsi, periculoque praesidio tenebrosae noctis extracti, revoluta iam luce, redintegratis viribus agmini quisque proprio sese consociavit. In quo casu ita tristi et inopino, abundans numerus armatorum, et tribuni desiderati sunt decem.

[8] For the enemy sprang unexpectedly out of their lurking-places and without sparing pierced with many kinds of weapons everything within reach; and in fact not one of our men could resist, nor could they hope for any other means of saving their lives than swift flight. Therefore the soldiers, bent on avoiding wounds, straggled here and there in disorderly march, exposing their backs to

blows. Very many however, scattering by narrow by-paths and saved from danger by the protecting darkness of the night, when daylight returned recovered their strength and rejoined each his own company. In this mischance, so heavy and so unexpected, an excessive number of soldiers and ten tribunes were lost.

[9] Ob quae Alamanni sublati animis ferocius incedentes secuto die prope munimenta Romana, adimente matutina nebula lucem, strictis mucronibus discurrebant, frendendo minas tumidas intentantes. Egressique repente scutarii, cum obiectu turmarum hostilium reperi cussi stetissent, omnes suos conspiratis mentibus ciebant ad pugnam.

[9] As a result the Alamanni, elated in spirit, came on more boldly the following day against the Roman works; and while the morning mist obscured the light they rushed about with drawn swords, gnashing their teeth and giving vent to boastful threats. But the targeteers suddenly sallied forth, and when they were driven back by the opposition of the enemy's battalions, and were at a standstill, with one mind they called out all their comrades to the fight.

[10] Verum cum plerosque recentis aerumnae documenta terrerent, et intuta fore residua credens haereret Arbetio, tres simul exsiluere tribuni, Arintheus agens vicem armaturarum rectoris, et Seniachus qui equestrem turmam comitum tuebatur, et Bappo ducens promotos.

[10] But when the majority were terrified by the evidence of the recent disaster, and Arbetio hesitated, believing that the sequel would be dangerous, three tribunes sallied forth together: Arintheus, lieutenant-commander of the heavy-armed bodyguard, Seniauchus, leader of a squadron of the household cavalry, and Bappo, an officer of the veterans.

[11] Qui cum commissis sibi militibus, pro causa communi se velut propria Deciorum veterum exemplo voventes, more fluminis hostibus superfusi, non iusto proelio sed discursionibus rapidis, universos in fugam coegere foedissimam. Qui dispersi laxatis ordinibus, dumque elabi properant impediti, corpora nudantes intacta, gladiatorum hastarumque densis ictibus truncabantur.

[11] They with the soldiers under their command, devoting themselves on behalf of the common cause, like the Decii of old, poured like a torrent upon the enemy, and not in a pitched battle, but in a series of swift skirmishes, put them all to most shameful flight. And as they scattered with broken ranks and encumbered by their haste to escape, they exposed themselves unprotected, and by many a thrust of swords and spears were cut to pieces.

[12] Multique cum equis interfecti iacentes, etiam tum eorum dorsis videbantur innexi; quo viso omnes e castris effusi, qui prodire in proelium cum sociis ambigebant, cavendi immemores, protrebant barbaram plebem, nisi quos fuga exemerat morte, calcantes cadaverum strues, et perfusi sanie

peremptorum.

[12] And many, as they lay there, slain horse and man together, seemed even then to be sitting fast upon the back of their mounts. On seeing this, all who had been in doubt about going into battle with their comrades poured forth from the camp, and careless of all precaution trod under foot the horde of savages, except those whom flight had saved from death, trampling on heaps of dead bodies and drenched with the blood of the slain.

[13] Hocque exitu proelio terminate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna ovans revertit et laetus. Silvanus Francus, magister peditum per Gallias, Coloniae Augustus adpellatur, et xxviii. Imperi die per insidias opprimitur. Exoritur iam hinc rebus afflictis, haut dispari provinciarum malo calamitatum turbo novarum, extincturus omnia simul, ni Fortuna moderatrix humanorum casuum motum eventu celeri consummavit, impendio formidatum.

[13] The battle thus done and ended, the emperor returned in triumph and joy to Milan, to pass the winter. Silvanus the Frank, commander of the infantry in Gaul, is hailed as Augustus at Cologne, but is treacherously slain on the twenty-eighth day of his reign. Now there arises in this afflicted state of affairs a storm of new calamities, with no less mischief to the provinces; and it would have destroyed everything at once, had not Fortune, arbitress of human chances, brought to an end with speedy issue a most formidable uprising.

[2] Cum diuturna incuria Galliae caedes acerbis rapinasque et incendia, barbaris licenter grassantibus, nullo iuvante perferrent, Silvanus pedestris militiae rector, ut efficax ad haec corrigenda, principis iussu perrexit, Arbetione id maturari modis quibus poterat adigente, ut absenti aemulo quem superesse adhuc gravabatur periculosae molis onus impingeret.

[2] Since through long neglect Gaul was enduring bitter massacres, pillage, and the ravages of fire, as the savages plundered at will and no one helped, Silvanus, an infantry commander thought capable of redressing these outrages, came there at the emperor's order; and Arbetio urged by whatever means he could that this should be hastened, in order that the burden of a perilous undertaking might be imposed upon an absent rival, whose survival even to this time he looked upon as an affliction.

[3] Dynamius quidam actuarius sarcinalium principis iumentorum, commendaticias ab eo petierat litteras ad amicos, ut quasi familiaris eiusdem esset notissimus. Hoc impetrato, cum ille nihil suspicans simpliciter praestitisset, servabat epistulas, ut perniciosum aliquid in tempore moliretur.

[3] A certain Dynamius, superintendent of the emperor's pack-animals, had asked Silvanus for letters of recommendation to his friends, in order to make himself very conspicuous, as if he were one of his intimates. On obtaining this request, for Silvanus, suspecting nothing, had innocently granted it, he kept

the letters, intending to work some mischief at the proper time.

[4] Memorato itaque duce Gallias ex re publica discursante, barbarosque propellente, iam sibi diffidentes et trepidantes, idem Dynamius inquietius agens, ut versutus et in fallendo exercitatus, fraudem comminiscitur impiam, subornatore et conscio, ut iactavere rumores incerti, Lampadio praefecto praetorio, et Eusebio ex comite rei privatae, cui cognomentum erat inditum Mattyocopae, atque Aedesio ex magistro memoriae, quos ad consulatum ut amicos iunctissimos idem curarat rogari praefectus; et peniculo serie litterarum abstersa, solaque incolumi relictis subscriptione, alter multum a vero illo dissonans superscribitur textus: velut Silvano rogante verbis obliquis, hortanteque amicos agentes intra palatium, vel privatos, inter quos et Tuscus erat Albinus, alique plures, ut se altiora coeptantem, et prope diem loci principalis aditum petiturum iuvarent.

[4] So when the abovementioned commander was traversing Gaul in the service of the government and driving forth the savages, who had now lost their confidence and courage, this same Dynamius, being restless in action, like the crafty man he was and practised in deceit, devised a wicked plot. He had as abettors and fellow conspirators, as uncertain rumours declared, Lampadius, the praetorian prefect, and Eusebius, former keeper of the privy purse, who had been nicknamed Mattyocopus, and Aedesius, late master of the rolls, all of whom the said prefect had arranged to have called to the consulship as his nearest friends. With a sponge he effaced the lines of writing, leaving only the signature intact, and wrote above it another text far different from the original, indicating that Silvanus in obscure terms was asking and urging his assistants within the palace or without official position, including both Tuscus Albinus and many more, to help him, aiming as he was at a loftier position and soon to mount to the imperial throne.

[5] Hunc fascem ad arbitrium figmenti compositum, vitam pulsaturum insontis, a Dynamio susceptum praefectus imperatori, avide scrutari haec et similia consueto, secrete obtulit soli, ingressus intimum conclave in tempore, deinde sperans accepturum se a principe praemium, ut pervigilem salutis eius custodem et cautum, lectaque consistorio astu callido consarcinata materia, tribuni iussi sunt custodiri, et de provinciis duci privati, quorum epistulae nomina designabant.

[5] This packet of letters, thus forged at his pleasure to assail the life of an innocent man, the prefect received from Dynamius, and coming into the emperor's private room at an opportune time and finding him alone, secretly handed it to him, accustomed as he was eagerly to investigate these and similar charges. Thereby the prefect hoped that he would be rewarded by the emperor, as a most watchful and careful guardian of his safety. And when these letters, patched together with cunning craft, were read to the consistory, orders were given that those tribunes whose names were mentioned in the

letters should be imprisoned, and that the private individuals should be brought to the capital from the provinces.

[6] *Confestimque iniquitate rei percitus Malarichus, gentilium rector, collegis adhibitis strepebat immaniter, circumveniri homines dicatos imperio per factiones et dolos minime debere proclamans, petebatque ut ipse relictis obsidum loco necessitudinibus suis, Mallobaude armaturarum tribuno spondente quod remeabit, velocius iuberetur ire ducturus Silvanum, aggredi nihil tale conatum, quale insidiatores acerrimi concitarunt; vel contra se paria promittente, Mallobaudem orabat properare permitti, haec quae ipse pollicitus est impleturum.*

[6] But Malarichus, commander of the gentiles, was at once struck with the unfairness of the procedure, and summoning his colleagues, vigorously protested, exclaiming that men devoted to the empire ought not to be made victims of cliques and wiles. And he asked that he himself — leaving as hostages his relatives and having Mallobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard, as surety for his return — might be commissioned to go quickly and fetch Silvanus, who was not entering upon any such attempt as those most bitter plotters had trumped up. Or as an alternative, he asked that he might make a like promise and that Mallobaudes be allowed to hurry there and perform what he himself had promised to do.

[7] *Testabatur enim id se procul dubio scire, quod siqui mitteretur externus, suapte ingenio Silvanus etiam nulla re perterrente timidior, composita forte turbabit.*

[7] For he declared that he knew beyond question that, if any outsider should be sent, Silvanus, being by nature apprehensive, even when there was nothing alarming, would be likely to upset the peace.

[8] *Et quamquam utilia moneret et necessaria, ventis tamen loquebatur incassum. Namque Arbetione auctore, Apodemius ad eum vocandum cum litteris mittitur, inimicus bonorum omnium diuturnus et gravis. Qui incidentia parvi ducens cum venisset in Gallias, dissidens a mandatis, quae proficiscenti sunt data, nec viso Silvano nec oblatis scriptis ut veniret admonito, remansit adscitoque rationali, quasi proscripti iamque necandi magistri peditum clientes et servos hostili tumore vexabat.*

[8] But although his advice was expedient and necessary, yet he was talking vainly to the winds. For by Arbetio's advice Apodemius, an inveterate and bitter enemy of every patriot, was sent with a letter to recall Silvanus. He, caring little for what might happen, on arriving in Gaul, departed from the instructions given him on his setting out and remained there without either interviewing Silvanus or citing him to come to court by delivering the letter; and associating with himself the fiscal agent of the province, as if the said

infantry commander were proscribed and now to be executed, he abused his dependents and slaves with the arrogance of an enemy.

[9] Inter haec tamen dum praesentia Silvani speratur, et Apodemius quietam perturbat, Dynamius ut argumento validiore impie structorum adereret fidem, compositas litteras his concinentes quas obtulerat principi per praefectum, ad tribunum miserat fabricae Cremonensis, nomine Silvani et Malarichi, a quibus ut arcanorum conscius monebatur parare propere cuncta.

[9] In the meantime, however, while Silvanus' presence was awaited and Apodemius was disturbing the peace, Dynamius, in order to maintain the credibility of his wicked inventions with a stronger argument, had made up a letter tallying with the one which he had presented to the emperor through the prefect, and sent it to the tribune of the Cremona armory, in the name of Silvanus and Malarichus; in this letter the tribune, as one privy to their secret designs, was admonished to prepare everything with speed.

[10] Qui cum haec legisset, haerens et ambicens diu quidnam id esset — nec enim meminerat secum aliquando super negotio ullo interiore hos quorum litteras acceperat collocutos — epistulas ipsas per baiulum qui portarat, iuncto milite ad Malarichum remisit, obsecrans ut doceret aperte quae vellet, non ita perplexe; nec enim intellexisse firmabat, ut subagrestem et simplicem, quid significatum esset obscurius.

[10] When the tribune had read this, hesitating for a long time and puzzling as to what in the world it meant (for he did not remember that the men whose letter he had received had ever talked with him about any confidential business), he sent the identical letter back to Malarichus by the carrier who had brought it, and with him a soldier, begging Malarichus to explain openly what he wanted, and not so enigmatically. For he declared that, being a somewhat rude and plain man, he had not understood what had been obscurely intimated.

[11] Haec Malarichus subito nactus, etiam tunc squalens et maestus, suamque et popularis Silvani vicem graviter ingemiscens, adhibitis Francis, quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius iam loquebatur; tumultuando patefactis insidiis reserataque iam fallacia, per quam ex confesso salus eorum appetebatur.

[11] Malarichus, on unexpectedly receiving this, being even then troubled and sad, and grievously lamenting his own lot and that of his fellow-countryman Silvanus, called together the Franks, who at that time were numerous and influential in the palace, and now spoke more boldly, raising an outcry over the disclosure of the plot and the unveiling of the deceit by which their lives were avowedly aimed at.

[12] Hisque cognitis statuit imperator, dispicientibus consistorianis et

militaribus universis, in negotium perspicaciter inquiri. Cumque iudices resedissent, Florentius Nigriniani filius agens tune pro magistro officiorum, contemplans diligentius scripta, apicumque pristinorum quasi quandam umbram repperiens animadvertit (ut factum est) priore textu interpolato longe alia quam dictarat Silvanus, ex libidine consarcinatae falsitatis adscripta.

[12] And on learning this, the emperor decided that the matter should be investigated searchingly through the medium of his council and all his officers. And when the judges had taken their seats, Florentius, son of Nigrinianus, at the time deputy master of the offices, on scrutinizing the script with greater care, and finding a kind of shadow, as it were, of the former letters, perceived what had been done, namely, that the earlier text had been tampered with and other matter added quite different from what Silvanus had dictated, in accordance with the intention of this patched-up forgery.

[13] Proinde fallaciarum nube discussa, imperator doctus gesta relatione fideli, abrogata potestate praefectum statui sub quaestione praecepit, sed absolutus est enixa conspiratione multorum. Suspensus autem Eusebius ex comite privatarum, se conscio haec dixerat concitata.

[13] Accordingly, when this cloud of deceit had broken away, the emperor, learning of the events from a faithful report, deprived the prefect of his powers, and gave orders that he should be put under examination; but he was acquitted through an energetic conspiracy of many persons. Eusebius, however, former count of the privy purse, on being put upon the rack, admitted that this had been set on foot with his cognizance.

[14] Aedesius omnino nescisse quid actum sit pertinaci infitiatione contendens, abiit innoxius, et ita finito negotio, omnes sunt absoluti quos exhiberi delatio compulit criminosa. Dynamius vero ut praeclaris artibus illustratus, cum correctoris dignitate regere iussus est Tuscus et Umbros.

[14] Aedesius, who maintained with stout denial that he had known nothing of what was done, got off scot-free. And so at the close of the business all those were acquitted whom the incriminating report had forced to be produced for trial; in fact Dynamius, as if given distinction by his illustrious conduct, was bidden to govern Etruria and Umbria with the rank of corrector.

[15] Agens inter haec apud Agrippinam Silvanus, assiduisque suorum comperiens nuntiis, quae Apodemius in labem suarum ageret fortunarum, et sciens animum tenerum versabilis principis, timensque ne trucidaretur absens et inauditus, in difficultate positus maxima, barbaricae se fidei committere cogitabat.

[15] Meanwhile Silvanus, stationed at Cologne and learning from his friends' constant messages what Apodemius was undertaking to the ruin of his fortunes, knowing the pliant mind of the fickle emperor, and fearing lest he

should be condemned to death absent and unheard, was put in a most difficult position and thought of entrusting himself to the good faith of the savages.

[16] Sed Laniogaiso vetante (tunc tribuno) quem dum militaret candidatus solum adfuisse morituro Constanti supra rettulimus, docenteque Francos, unde oriebatur, interfectores eum aut accepto praemio prodituros, nihil tutum ex praesentibus ratus, in consilia agitabatur extrema et sensim cum principiorum verticibus erectius collocutus, eisdemque magnitudine promissae mercedis accensis, cultu purpureo a draconum et vexillorum insignibus ad tempus abstracto, ad culmen imperiale surrexit.

[16] But he was prevented by Laniogaisus, at that time a tribune, whom I have earlier stated to have been the sole witness of Constans' death, while he was serving as a subaltern. He assured Silvanus that the Franks, whose fellow-countryman he was, would kill him or on receipt of a bribe betray him. So Silvanus, seeing no safety under present conditions, was driven to extreme measures, and having gradually spoken more boldly with the chief officers, he aroused them by the greatness of the reward he promised; then as a temporary expedient he tore the purple decorations from the standards of the cohorts and the companies, and so mounted to the imperial dignity.

[17] Dumque haec aguntur in Galliis, ad occasum inclinato iam die, perfertur Mediolanum insperabilis nuntius, aperte Silvanum demonstrans, dum ex magisterio peditum altius nititur, sollicitato exercitu ad augustum culmen evectum.

[17] And while this was going on in Gaul, as the day was already drawing to its close, an unexpected messenger reached Milan, openly declaring that Silvanus, aiming higher than the command of the infantry, had won over his army and risen to imperial eminence.

[18] Hac mole casus inopini Constantio icto, quasi fulmine Fati, primates, consilio secunda vigilia convocato, properarunt omnes in regiam. Cumque nulli ad eligendum quid agi deberet, mens suppetere posset aut lingua, submissis verbis perstringebatur Ursicini mentio, ut consiliis rei bellicae praestantissimi, frustra gravi iniuria lacessiti, et per admissionum magistrum — qui mos est honorator — accito eodem, ingresso consistorium offertur purpura multo quam antea placidius. Diocletianus enim Augustus omnium primus, externo et regio more instituit adorari, cum semper antea ad similitudinem iudicum salutatos principes legerimus.

[18] Constantius, struck down by the weight of this unexpected mischance as by a thunderbolt of Fate, called a council at about midnight, and all the chief officials hastened to the palace. And when no one's mind or tongue was equal to showing what ought to be done, mention in subdued tones was made of Ursicinus, as a man conspicuous for his sagacity in the art of war, and one

who had been without reason provoked by serious injustice. And when he had been summoned by the master of ceremonies (which is the more honourable way) and had entered the council chamber, he was offered the purple to kiss much more graciously than ever before. Now it was the emperor Diocletian who was the first to introduce this foreign and royal form of adoration, whereas we have read that always before our emperors were saluted like the higher officials.

[19] Et qui paulo antea cum insectatione malivola, orientis vorago, invadendaeque summae rei per filios affectator compellabatur, tunc dux prudentissimus, et Constantini magnus erat commilito, solusque ad extinguendum, probis quidem sed insidiosis rationibus petebatur. Diligens enim opera navabatur, exstingui Silvanum, ut fortissimum perduellem, aut (si secus accidisset) Ursicinum exulceratum iam penitus aboleri, ne superesset scopulus impendio formidandus.

[19] So the man who shortly before with malicious slander was called the maelstrom of the East and a seeker after acquisition of imperial power through his sons, then became a most politic leader and mighty fellow-soldier of Constantine's, and the only person to extinguish the fire; but he was really being attacked under motives honourable, to be sure, but yet insidious. For great care was being taken that Silvanus should be destroyed as a very brave rebel; or, if that should fail, that Ursicinus, already deeply gangrened, should be utterly annihilated, in order that a rock so greatly to be dreaded should not be left.

[20] Igitur cum de profectione celeranda disponderetur, propulsationem obiectorum criminum eundem ducem parantem praegressus, oratione leni prohibet imperator, non id esse memorans tempus, ut controversa defensio causae susciperetur, cum vicissim restitui in pristinam concordiam partes necessitas subigeret urgentium rerum, antequam cresceret mollienda.

[20] Accordingly, when arrangements were being made for hastening his departure, and the general undertook the refutation of the charges brought against him, the emperor, forestalling him by a mild address, forbade it, declaring that it was not the time for taking up the defence of a disputed case, when the urgency of pressing affairs which should be mitigated before it grew worse, demanded that parties should mutually be restored to their old-time harmony.

[21] Habita igitur deliberatione multiplici, id potissimum tractabatur, quo commento Silvanus gesta etiam tum imperatorem ignorare existimaret. Et probabili argumento ad firmandam fidem reperto monetur honorificis scriptis, ut accepto Ursicino successore cum potestate rediret intacta.

[21] Accordingly, after a many-sided debate, this point was chiefly discussed,

namely, by what device Silvanus might be led to think that the emperor even then had no knowledge of his action. And they invented a plausible means of strengthening his confidence, advising him in a complimentary letter to receive Ursicinus as his successor and return with his dignities unimpaired.

[22] Post haec ita digesta protinus iubetur exire, tribunis et protectoribus domesticis decem, ut postularat, ad iuvandas necessitates publicas ei coniunctis, inter quos ego quoque eram cum Veriniano collega, residui omnes propinqui et familiares.

[22] After this had been thus settled, Ursicinus was ordered to set forth at once, accompanied (as he had requested) by some tribunes and ten of the body-guard, to assist the exigencies of the state. Among these I myself was one, with my colleague Verinianus; all the rest were relatives and friends.

[23] Iamque eum egressum solum de se metuens quisque per longa spatia deducebat. Et quamquam ut bestiarum obiceremur intractabilibus feris, perpendentes tamen hoc bonum habere tristia accidentia, quod in locum suum secunda substituunt, mirabamur illam sententiam Tullianam, ex internis veritatis ipsius promulgatam, quae est talis: ‘Et quamquam optatissimum est perpetuo fortunam quam florentissimam permanere, illa tamen aequalitas vitae non tantum habet sensum, quantum cum ex miseris et perditis rebus ad meliorem statum fortuna revocatur.’

[23] And when he left, each of us attended him for a long distance in fear only for our own safety. But although we were, like gladiators, cast before ravening wild beasts, yet reflecting that melancholy events after all have this good sequel, that they give way to good fortune, we admired that saying of Tully’s, delivered even from the inmost depths of truth itself, which runs as follows: “And although it is most desirable that our fortune always remain wholly favourable, yet that evenness of life does not give so great a sense of satisfaction as when, after wretchedness and disaster, fortune is recalled to a better estate.”

[24] Festinamus itaque itineribus magnis, ut ambitiosus magister armorum, ante allapsum per Italicos de tyrannide ullum Rumorem, in suspectis finibus appareret, verum cursim nos properantes aëria quadam via antevolans prodiderat Fama, et Agrippinam ingressi, invenimus cuncta nostris conatibus altiora.

[24] Accordingly, we hastened by forced marches, since the commander-in-chief of the army, in his zeal, wished to appear in the suspected districts before any report of the usurpation had made its way into Italy. But for all our running haste, Rumour had flown before us by some aerial path and revealed our coming; and on arriving at Cologne we found everything above our reach.

[25] Namque convena undique multitudine trepide coepta fundante, coactisque

copiis multis, pro statu rei praesentis id aptius videbatur, ut ad imperatoris novelli, per ludibriosa auspicia virium accessu firmandi sensum ac voluntatem dux flexibilis verteretur; quo variis assentandi figmentis in mollius vergente securitate, nihil metuens hostile deciperetur.

[25] For since a great crowd assembled from all sides gave a firm foundation to the enterprise so timidly begun, and large forces had been mustered, it seemed, in view of the state of affairs, more fitting that our general should complaisantly favour the upstart emperor's purpose and desire to be strengthened in the growth of his power by deceptive omens; to the end that by means of manifold devices of flattery his feeling of security might be made more complete, and he might be caught off his guard against anything hostile.

[26] Cuius rei finis arduus videbatur; erat enim cautius observandum, ut appetitus opportunitati obtemperarent, nec praecurrentes eam nec deserentes. Qui si eluxissent intempestive, constabat nos omnes sub elogio uno morte multandos.

[26] But the issue of this project seemed difficult; for special care had to be observed that the onsets should take advantage of the right moment, neither anticipating it nor falling short of it. Since if they should break out prematurely, we were all sure to suffer death under a single sentence.

[27] Susceptus tamen idem dux leniter adactusque, inclinante negotio ipso cervices, adorare sollemniter anhelantem celsius purpuratum, ut spectabilis colebatur et intimus: facilitate aditus honoreque mensae regalis adeo antepositus aliis, ut iam secretius de rerum summa consultaretur.

[27] However, our general, being kindly received and forcing himself-since our very commission bent our necks-formally to reverence the high-aiming wearer of the purple, was welcomed as a distinguished and intimate friend. In freedom of access and honourable place at the royal table he was so preferred to others that he came to be confidentially consulted about the most important affairs.

[28] Aegre ferebat Silvanus ad consulatum potestatesque sublimes elatis indignis, se et Ursicinum solos post exsudatos magnos pro re publica labores et crebros, ita fuisse despectos, ut ipse quidem per quaestiones familiarium sub disceptatione ignobili crudeliter agitatus, commisisse in maiestatem arcesseretur, alter vero ab oriente raptus odiis inimicorum addiceretur; et haec assidue clam querebatur et palam.

[28] Silvanus took it ill that while unworthy men were raised to the consulship and to high positions, he and Ursicinus alone, after having toiled through such heavy and repeated tasks for the government, had been so scorned that he himself had been cruelly harassed in an unworthy controversy through the examination of friends of his, and summoned to trial for treason, while

Ursicinus, haled back from the East, was delivered over to the hatred of his enemies; and these continual complaints he made both covertly and openly.

[29] *Terrebant nos tamen, cum dicerentur haec et similia, circumfremientia undique murmura causantis inopiam militis, et rapida celeritate ardentis angustias Alpium perrumpere Cottiarum.*

[29] We however were alarmed, in spite of these and similar speeches, at the uproarious complaints of the soldiers on every hand, pleading their destitution and eager to burst through the passes of the Cottian Alps with all speed.

[30] *In hoc aestu mentis ancipiti, ad effectum tendens consilium occulta scrutabamur indagine, sederatque tandem mutatis prae timore saepe sententiis, ut quaesitis magna industria cautis rei ministris, obstricto religionum consecratione colloquio, Bracchiati sollicitarentur atque Cornuti, fluxioris fidei et ubertate mercedis ad momentum omne versabiles.*

[30] Amid this perplexing distress of spirit we kept casting about in secret investigation for some plan likely to have results; and in the end, after often changing our minds through fear, we resolved to search with the greatest pains for discreet representatives, to bind our communication with solemn oaths, and try to win over the Bracchiati and Cornuti, troops wavering in their allegiance and ready to be swayed by any influence for an ample bribe.

[31] *Firmato itaque negotio per sequestres quosdam gregarios, obscuritate ipsa ad id patrandum idoneos, praemiorum exspectatione accensus solis ortu iam rutilo, subitus armatorum globus erupit, atque ut solet in dubiis rebus, audentior caesis custodibus, regia penetrata, Silvanum extractum aedacula, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Christiani tendentem, densis gladiatorum ictibus trucidarunt.*

[31] Accordingly, the matter was arranged through some common soldiers as go-betweens, men who through their very inconspicuousness were suited to accomplish it; and just as sunrise was reddening the sky, a sudden group of armed men, fired by the expectation of rewards, burst forth; and as usually happens in critical moments, made bolder by slaying the sentinels, they forced their way into the palace, dragged Silvanus from a chapel where he had in breathless fear taken refuge, while on his way to the celebration of a Christian service, and butchered him with repeated sword-thrusts.

[32] *Ita dux haut exsilium meritorum hoc genere appetit mortis, metu calumniarum, quibus factione iniquorum irretitus est absens, ut tueri possit salutem, ad praesidia progressus extrema.*

[32] So fell by this manner of death a general of no slight merits, who through fear due to the slanders in which he was ensnared during his absence by a clique of his enemies, in order to save his life had resorted to the uttermost

measures of defence.

[33] Licet enim ob tempestivam illam cum armaturis prodicionem ante Mursense proelium obligatum gratia retineret Constantium, ut dubium tamen et mutabilem verebatur, licet patris quoque Boniti praetenderet fortia facta, Franci quidem sed pro Constantini partibus in bello civili acriter contra Licinianos saepe versati.

[33] For although he held Constantius under obligation through gratitude for that timely act of coming over to his side with his soldiers before the battle of Mursa, yet he feared him as variable and uncertain, although he could point also to the valiant deeds of his father Bonitus, a Frank it is true, but one who in the civil war often fought vigorously on the side of Constantine against the soldiers of Licinius.

[34] Evenerat autem ut, antequam huius modi aliquid agitaretur in Galliis, Romae in Circo maximo populus, incertum relatione quadam percitus an praesagio, 'Silvanus devictus est' magnis vocibus exclamaret.

[34] Now it had happened that before anything of the kind was set on foot in Gaul, the people at Rome in the Great Circus (whether excited by some story or by some presentiment is uncertain) cried out with a loud voice: "Silvanus is vanquished."

[35] Igitur Silvano Agrippinae (ut relatum est) interfecto, inaestimabili gaudio re cognita princeps, insolentia coalitus et tumore, hoc quoque felicitatis suae prosperis cursibus assignabat, eo more quo semper oderat fortiter facientes, ut quondam Domitianus, superare tamen quacumque arte contraria cupiebat.

[35] Accordingly, when Silvanus had been slain at Cologne, as has been related, the emperor learned of it with inconceivable joy, and swollen with vanity and pride, ascribed this also to the prosperous course of his own good fortune, in accordance with the way in which he always hated brave and energetic men, as Domitian did in times gone by, yet tried to overcome them by every possible scheme of opposition.

[36] Tantumque afuit laudare industrie gesta, ut etiam quaedam scriberet de Gallicanis intercepta thesauris, quos nemo attigerat. Idque scrutari iusserat artius interrogare Remigio, etiam tum rationario apparitionis armorum magistri, cui multo postea Valentiniani temporibus laques vitam in causa Tripolitanae legationis, eripuit.

[36] And so far was he from praising conscientious service, that he actually wrote that Ursicinus had embezzled funds from the Gallic treasury, which no one had touched. And he had ordered the matter to be closely examined, questioning Remigius, who at that time was already auditor of the general's office of infantry supplies, and whose fate it was, long afterwards, in the days

of Valentinian, to take his life with the halter because of the affair of the embassy from Tripoli.

[37] Post quae ita completa, Constantius ut iam caelo contiguus, casibusque imperaturus humanis, magniloquentia sufflabatur adulatorum, quos augebat ipse spernendo proiciendoque id genus parum callentes, ut Croesum legimus ideo regno suo Solonem expulisse praecipitem, quia blandiri nesciebat; et Dionysium intentasse poetae Philoxeno mortem, cum eum recitantem proprios versus absurdos et inconcinnos, laudantibus cunctis, solus audiret immobilis.

[37] After this turn of affairs, Constantius, as one that now touched the skies with his head and would control all human chances, was puffed up by the grandiloquence of his flatterers, whose number he himself increased by scorning and rejecting those who were not adepts in that line; as we read of Croesus, that he drove Solon headlong out of his kingdom for the reason that he did not know how to flatter; and of Dionysius, that he threatened the poet Philoxenus with death, because when the tyrant was reading aloud his own silly and unrhythmical verses, and every one else applauded, the poet alone listened unmoved.

[38] Quae res perniciosa vitiorum est altrix. Ea demum enim laus grata esse potestati debet excelsae, cum interdum et vituperationi secus gestorum pateat locus. Silvani amici et conscii necati. Iamque post securitatem quaestiones agitabantur ex more, et vinctis catenisque plures ut noxii plectebantur. Exsurgebat enim effervens laetitia Paulus, tartareus ille delator, ad venenatas artes suas licentius exercendas, et inquiringibus in negotium consistorianis atque militaribus (ut praeceptum est) Proculus admovetur eculeo, Silvani domesticus, homo gracilis et morbosus, metuentibus cunctis, ne vi nimia tormentorum, levi corpore fatigato, reos atrocium criminum promiscue citari faceret multos. Verum contra quam speratum est contigit.

[38] But this fault is a pernicious nurse of vices. For praise ought to be acceptable in high places only when opportunity is also sometimes given for reproach of things ill done.

The friends and accomplices of Silvanus are put to death.

And now after this relief the usual trials were set on foot, and many men were punished with bonds and chains, as malefactors. For up rose that diabolical informer Paulus, bubbling over with joy, to begin practising his venomous arts more freely; and when the councillors and officers (as was ordered) inquired into the matter, Proculus, Silvanus' adjutant, was put upon the rack. Since he was a puny and sickly man, every one feared that his slight frame would yield to excessive torture, and that he would cause many persons of all conditions to be accused of heinous crimes. But the result was not at all what was expected.

[2] Memor enim somnii quo vetitus erat per quietem (ut ipse firmavit) pulsare quendam insontem, usque ad confinia mortis vexatus, nec nominavit nec prodidit aliquem, sed asserebat factum Silvani constanter, id eum cogitasse quod iniit, non cupiditate sed necessitate compulsus, argumento evidenti demonstrans.

[2] For mindful of a dream, in which he was forbidden while asleep, as he himself declared, to strike a certain innocent person, although tortured to the very brink of death, he neither named nor impeached anyone, but steadfastly defended the action of Silvanus, proving by credible evidence that he had attempted his enterprise, not driven on from ambition, but compelled by necessity.

[3] Causam enim probabilem ponebat in medio, multorum testimoniis claram, quod die quinto antequam infulas susciperet principatus, donatum stipendio militem Constanti nomine allocutus est, fortis esset et fidus. Unde apparebat quod si praesumere fortunae superioris insignia conaretur, auri tam grave pondus largiretur ut suum.

[3] For he brought forward a convincing reason, made clear by the testimony of many persons, namely, that four days before Silvanus assumed the badges of empire, he paid the soldiers and in Constantius' name exhorted them to be brave and loyal. From which it was clear that if he were planning to appropriate the insignia of a higher rank, he would have bestowed so great a quantity of gold as his own gift.

[4] Post hunc damnatorum sorte Poemenius raptus ad supplicium interiit, qui (ut supra rettulimus) cum Treveri civitatem Caesari clausissent Decentio, ad defendendam plebem electus est. Tum Asclepiodotus et Lutto et Maudio comites interempti sunt, aliique plures, haec et similia perplexe temporis obstinatione scrutante. Ab Leontio praefecto urbi populi R. seditiones repressae. Liberius episcopus sede pulsus. Dum has exitiorum communium clades suscitatur turbo feralis, urbem aeternam Leontius regens, multa spectati iudicis documenta praebebat, in audiendo celerior, in disceptando iustissimus, natura benevolus, licet auctoritatis causa servandae acer quibusdam videbatur, et inclinatio ad damnandum.

[4] After him Poemenius, doomed like evil doers, was haled to execution and perished; he was the man (as we have told above) who was chosen to protect his fellow-citizens when Treves closed its gates against Decentius Caesar. Then the counts Asclepiodotus, Lutto and Maudio were put to death, and many others, since the obduracy of the times made an intricate investigation into these and similar charges. Riots of the Roman people are suppressed by Leontius, prefect of the City. The Bishop Liberius is deposed. While the dire confusion was causing these calamities of general destruction, Leontius, governor of the Eternal City, gave many proofs of being an excellent judge;

for he was prompt in hearing cases, most just in his decisions, by nature kindly, although for the sake of maintaining his authority he seemed to some to be severe and too apt to condemn.

[2] Prima igitur causa seditionis in eum concitandae vilissima fuit et levis. Philoromum enim aurigam rapi praeceptum, secuta plebs omnis, velut defensura proprium pignus, terribili impetu praefectum incessebat ut timidum, sed ille stabilis et erectus, immissis apparitoribus, correptos aliquos vexatosque tormentis, nec strepente ullo nec obsistente, insulari poena multavit.

[2] Now the first device for stirring up rebellion against him was very slight and trivial. For when the arrest of the charioteer Philoromus was ordered, all the commons followed, as if to defend their own darling, and with a formidable onslaught set upon the governor, thinking him to be timid. But he, firm and resolute, sent his officers among them-seized some and put them to the torture, and then without anyone protesting or opposing him he punished them with exile to the islands.

[3] Diebusque paucis secutis cum itidem plebs excita calore quo consuevit, vini causando inopiam, ad Septemzodium convenisset, celebrem locum, ubi operis ambitiosi Nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator, illuc de industria pergens praefectus, ab omni toga apparitioneque rogabatur enixius, ne in multitudinem se arrogantem immitteret et minacem, ex commotione pristina saevientem; difficilis ad pavorem, recta tetendit, adeo ut eum obsequentium pars desereret, licet in periculum festinantem abruptum.

[3] And a few days later the people again, excited with their usual passion, and alleging a scarcity of wine, assembled at the Septemzodium, a much frequented spot, where the emperor Marcus Aurelius erected a Nymphaeum of pretentious style. Thither the governor resolutely proceeded, although earnestly entreated by all his legal and official suite not to trust himself to the self-confident and threatening throng, which was still angry from the former disturbance; but he, hard to frighten, kept straight on, so boldly that a part of his following deserted him, though he was hastening into imminent danger.

[4] Insidens itaque vehiculo, cum speciosa fiducia contuebatur acribus oculis tumultuantium undique cuneorum, veluti serpentium vultus, perpessusque multa dici probrosa, agnitum quendam inter alios eminentem vasti corporis rutilique capilli, interrogavit, an ipse esset Petrus Valuomeres (ut audierat) cognomento; eumque cum esse sonu respondisset obiurgatorio, ut seditiosorum antesignanum olim sibi compertum, reclamantibus multis, post terga manibus vinctis, suspendi praecepit.

[4] Then, seated in his carriage, with every appearance of confidence he scanned with keen eyes the faces of the crowds in their tiers, raging on all

sides of him like serpents, and allowed many insults to be hurled at him; but recognising one fellow conspicuous among the rest, of huge stature and redheaded, he asked him if he were not Peter, surnamed Valuomeres, as he had heard. And when the man had replied in insolent tones that he was none other, the governor, who had known him of old as the ringleader of the malcontents, in spite of the outcries of many, gave orders to bind his hands behind him and hang him up.

[5] Quo viso sublimi, tribuliumque adiumentum nequicquam implorante, vulgus omne paulo ante confectum, per varia urbis membra diffusum, ita evanuit ut turbarum acerrimus concitor, tamquam in iudiciali secreto exaratis lateribus, ad Picenum eiceretur, ubi postea ausus eripere virginis non obscurae pudorem, Patruini consularis sententia supplicio est capitali addictus.

[5] On seeing him aloft, vainly begging for the aid of his fellows, the whole mob, until then crowded together, scattered through the various arteries of the city and vanished so completely that this most doughty promoter of riots had his sides well flogged, as if in a secret dungeon, and was banished to Picenum. There later he had the hardihood to offer violence to a maiden of good family, and, under sentence of the governor Patruinus, suffered capital punishment.

[6] Hoc administrante Leontio, Liberius Christianae legis antistes, a Constantio ad comitatum mitti praeceptus est, tamquam imperatoriis iussis et plurimorum sui consortium decretis obsistens, in re quam brevi textu percurram.

[6] During the administration of this Leontius, a priest of the Christian religion, Liberius by name, by order of Constantius was brought before the privy council on the charge of opposing the emperor's commands and the decrees of the majority of his colleagues in an affair which I shall run over briefly.

[7] Athanasium episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam, ultra professionem altius se efferentem, scitarique conatum externa, ut prodidere rumores assidui, coetus in unum quaesitus eiusdem legis cultorum (synodus ut appellant) removit a sacramento quod optinebat.

[7] Athanasius, at that time bishop of Alexandria, was a man who exalted himself above his calling and tried to pry into matters outside his province, as persistent rumours revealed; therefore an assembly which had been convoked of members of that same sect — a synod, as they call it — deposed him from the rank that he held.

[8] Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quaeve augurales portenderent alites, scientissime callens, aliquotiens praedixisse futura; super his intendebantur ei alia quoque, a proposito legis abhorrentia cui praesidebat.

[8] For it was reported that, being highly skilled in the interpretation of prophetic lots or of the omens indicated by birds, he had sometimes foretold

future events; and besides this he was also charged with other practices repugnant to the purposes of the religion over which he presided.

[9] Hunc per subscriptionem abicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens ceteris, iubente principe Liberius monitus, perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum saepe exclamans, aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio.

[9] Liberius, when directed by the emperor's order to depose him from his priesthood by endorsing the official decree, though holding the same opinion as the rest strenuously objected, crying out that it was the height of injustice to condemn a man unseen and unheard, thus, of course, openly defying the emperor's will.

[10] Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, licet sciret impletum, tamen auctoritate quoque potiore aeternae urbis episcopi firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti; quo non impetrato, Liberius aegre populi metu, qui eius amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit asportari. Iulianus, Galli frater, a Constantio Aug. fratre patrueli Caesar creatur, ac praeficitur Galliae. Et haec quidem Romae (ut ostendit textus superior) agebantur. Constantium vero exagitabant assidui nuntii, deploratas iam Gallias indicantes, nullo renitente ad internecionem barbaris vastantibus universa; aestuansque diu qua vi propulsaret aerumnas, ipse in Italia residens, ut cupiebat periculosum enim existimabat se in partem contrudere longe dimotam — repperit tandem consilium rectum, et Iulianum patruelem fratrem haut ita dudum ab Achaico tractu accitum, etiam tum palliatum, in societatem imperii adsciscere cogitabat.

[10] For although Constantius, who was always hostile to Athanasius, knew that the matter had been carried out, yet he strove with eager desire to have it ratified also by the higher power of the bishop of the Eternal City; and since he could not obtain this, Liberius was spirited away, but only with the greatest difficulty and in the middle of the night, for fear of the populace, who were devotedly attached to him. Julian, brother of Gallus, is appointed Caesar by his cousin Constantius Augustus, and given command over Gaul. This, then, was the situation at Rome, as the preceding text has shown. But Constantius was disquieted by frequent messages reporting that Gaul was in desperate case, since the savages were ruinously devastating everything without opposition. And after worrying for a long time how he might forcibly avert these disasters, while himself remaining in Italy as he desired — for he thought it risky to thrust himself into a far — distant region he at length hit upon the right plan and thought of associating with himself in a share of the empire his cousin Julian, who not so very long before had been summoned from the district of Achaia and still wore his student's cloak.

[2] Id ubi, urgente malorum impendentium mole, confessus est proximis,

succumbere tot necessitatibus tamque crebris unum se (quod numquam fecerat) aperte demonstrans, illi in assentationem nimiam eruditi, infatuabant hominem, nihil esse ita asperum dictitantes, quod praepotens eius virtus, fortunaque tam vicina sideribus, non superaret ex more. Addebantque noxarum conscientia stimulante complures, deinceps caveri debere Caesaris nomen, replicantes gesta sub Gallo.

[2] When Constantius, driven by the weight of impending calamities, admitted his purpose to his intimates, openly declaring (what he had never done before) that in his lone state he was giving way before so many and such frequent crises, they, being trained to excessive flattery, tried to cajole him, constantly repeating that there was nothing so difficult that his surpassing ability and a good fortune so nearly celestial could not overcome as usual. And several, since the consciousness of their offences pricked them on, added that the title of Caesar ought henceforth to be avoided, rehearsing what had happened under Gallus.

[3] Quis annitentibus obstinate opponebat se sola regina, incertum migrationem ad longinqua pertimescens, an pro nativa prudentia consulens in commune, omnibusque memorans anteponi debere propinquum. Post multa itaque per deliberationes ambiguas actitata, stetit fixa sententia, abiectisque disputationibus irritis, ad imperium placuit Iulianum assumere.

[3] To them in their obstinate resistance the queen alone opposed herself, whether she dreaded journeying to a far country or with her native intelligence took counsel for the common good, and she declared that a kinsman ought to be preferred to every one else. So, after much bandying the matter to and fro in fruitless deliberations, the emperor's resolution stood firm, and setting aside all bootless discussion, he decided to admit Julian to a share in the imperial power.

[4] Et cum venisset accitus, praedicto die advocato omni quod aderat commilitio, tribunali ad altiorem suggestum erecto, quod aquilae circumdederunt et signa, Augustus insistens eumque manu retinens dextera, haec sermone placido peroravit:

[4] So when he had been summoned and had arrived, on an appointed day all his fellow-soldiers there present were called together, and a platform was erected on a lofty scaffolding, surrounded by the eagles and the standards. On this Augustus stood, and holding Julian by the right hand, in a quiet tone delivered the following address:

[5] ‘Adsistimus apud vos — optimi rei publicae defensores — causae communi uno paene omnium spiritu vindicandae, quam acturus tamquam apud aequos iudices succinctius edocebo.

[5] “We stand before you, valiant defenders of our country, to avenge the

common cause with one all but unanimous spirit; and how I shall accomplish this I shall briefly explain to you, as impartial judges.

[6] Post interitum rebellium tyrannorum, quos ad haec temptanda quae moverunt, rabies egit et furor, velut impiis eorum manibus Romano sanguine parentantes, persultant barbari Gallias, rupta limitum pace; hac animati fiducia, quod nos per disiunctissimas terras arduae necessitates adstringunt.

[6] After the death of those rebellious tyrants whom mad fury drove to attempt the designs which they projected, the savages, as if sacrificing to their wicked Manes with Roman blood, have forced our peaceful frontier and are over-running Gaul, encouraged by the belief that dire straits beset us throughout our far-flung empire.

[7] Huic igitur malo ultra apposita iam proserpenti, si dum patitur tempus, occurrerit nostri vestrique consulti suffragium, et colla superbarum gentium detumescent, et imperii fines erunt intacti. Restat ut venturorum spem quam gero secundo roboretis effectū.

[7] If this evil therefore, which is already creeping on beyond set bounds, is met by the accord of our and your wills while time permits, the necks of these proud tribes will not swell so high, and the frontiers of our empire will remain inviolate. It remains for you to confirm with happy issue the hope of the future which I cherish.

[8] Iulianum hunc fratrem meum patruelem (ut nostis,) verecundia qua nobis ita ut necessitudine carus est, recte spectatum, iamque elucentis industriae iuvenem, in Caesaris adhibere potestatem exopto, coeptis (si videntur utilia) etiam vestra consensione firmandis.’

[8] This Julian, my cousin as you know, rightly honoured for the modesty through which he is as dear to us as through ties of blood, a young man of ability which is already conspicuous, I desire to admit to the rank of Caesar, and that this project, if it seems advantageous, may be confirmed also by your assent.”

[9] Dicere super his plura conantem, interpellans contio lenius prohibebat, arbitrium summi numinis id esse non mentis humanae velut praescia venturi proclamans.

[9] As he was attempting to say more to this effect, the assembly interrupted and gently prevented him, declaring as if with foreknowledge of the future that this was the will of the supreme divinity rather than of any human mind.

[10] Stansque imperator immobilis dum silerent, residua fidentius explicavit: ‘Quia igitur vestrum quoque favorem adesse fremitus indicat laetus, adulescens vigoris tranquilli, cuius temperati mores imitandi sunt potius quam praedicandi, ad honorem prosperante deo delatum exurgat; cuius praeclaram

indolem bonis artibus institutam, hoc ipso plene videor exposuisse quod elegi. Ergo eum, praesente nutu dei caelestis, amictu principali velabo.'

[10] And the emperor, standing motionless until they became silent, went on with the rest of his speech with greater assurance: "Since, then," said he, "your joyful acclaim shows that I have your approval also, let this young man of quiet strength, whose temperate behaviour is rather to be imitated than proclaimed, rise to receive this honour conferred upon him by God's favour. His excellent disposition, trained in all good arts, I seem to have fully described by the very fact that I have chosen him. Therefore with the immediate favour of the God of Heaven I will invest him with the imperial robes."

[11] Dixit moxque indutum avita purpura Iulianum, et Caesarem cum exercitus gaudio declaratum, his alloquitur contractiore vultu submaestum:

[11] This he said and then, after having clothed Julian in the ancestral purple and proclaimed him Caesar to the joy of the army, he thus addressed him, somewhat melancholy in aspect as he was, and with careworn countenance:

[12] 'Recepisti primaevus originis tuae splendidum florem, amantissime mihi omnium frater; aucta gloria mea, confiteor, qui iustius in deferenda suppari potestate nobilitati mihi propinquae, quam ipsa potestate videor esse sublimis.

[12] "My brother, dearest to me of all men, you have received in your prime the glorious flower of your origin; with increase of my own glory, I admit, since I seem to myself more truly great in bestowing almost equal power on a noble prince who is my kinsman, than through that power itself.

[13] Adesto igitur laborum periculorumque particeps, et tutelam ministerii suscipe Galliarum, omni beneficentia partes levaturus afflictae: et si hostilibus congredi sit necesse, fixo gradu consistere inter signiferos ipsos, audendi in tempore consideratus hortator, pugnantes accendens prae-eundo cautissime, turbatosque subsidiis fulciens, modestaeque increpans desides, verissimus testis adfuturus industriis et ignavis.

[13] Come, then, to share in pains and perils, and undertake the charge of defending Gaul, ready to relieve the afflicted regions with every bounty. And if it becomes necessary to engage with the enemy, take your place with sure footing amid the standard-bearers themselves; be a thoughtful advisor of daring in due season, animate the warriors by taking the lead with utmost caution, strengthen them when in disorder with reinforcements, modestly rebuke the slothful, and be present as a most faithful witness at the side of the strong, as well as of the weak.

[14] Proinde urgente rei magnitudine, perge vir fortis, ducturus viros itidem fortes. Aderimus nobis vicissim amoris robusta constantia, militabimus simul,

una orbem pacatum, deus modo velit quod oramus, pari moderatione pietateque recturi. Mecum ubique videberis praesens, et ego tibi quodcumque acturo non deero. Ad summam i, propria sociis omnium votis, velut assignatam tibi ab ipsa re publica, stationem cura pervigili defensurus.'

[14] Therefore, urged by the great crisis, go forth, yourself a brave man, ready to lead men equally brave. We shall stand by each other in turn with firm and steadfast affection, we shall campaign at the same time, and together we shall rule over a pacified world, provided only God grants our prayers, with equal moderation and conscientiousness. You will seem to be present with me everywhere, and I shall not fail you in whatever you undertake. In fine, go, hasten, with the united prayers of all, to defend with sleepless care the post assigned you, as it were, by your country herself."

[15] Nemo post haec finita reticuit, sed militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes (quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum hastis clipei feriuntur, irae documentum est et doloris) immane quo quantoque gaudio praeter paucos Augusti probavere iudicium, Caesaremque admiratione digna suscipiebant, imperatorii muricis fulgore flagrantem.

[15] After this address was ended, no one held his peace, but all the soldiers with fearful din struck their shields against their knees (this is a sign of complete approval; for when, on the contrary, they smite their shields with their spears it is an indication of anger and resentment), and it was wonderful with what great joy all but a few approved Augustus' choice and with due admiration welcomed the Caesar, brilliant with the gleam of the imperial purple.

[16] Cuius oculos cum venustate terribilis, vultumque excitatius gratum, diu multumque contuentes, qui futurus sit colligebant velut scrutatis veteribus libris, quorum lectio per corporum signa pandit animorum interna. Eumque ut potiori reverentia servaretur, nec supra modum laudabant, nec infra quam decebat, atque ideo censorum voces sunt aestimatae, non militum.

[16] Gazing long and earnestly on his eyes, at once terrible and full of charm, and on his face attractive in its unusual animation, they divined what manner of man he would be, as if they had perused those ancient books, the reading of which discloses from bodily signs the inward qualities of the soul. And that he might be regarded with the greater respect, they neither praised him beyond measure nor less than was fitting, and therefore their words were esteemed as those of censors, not of soldiers.

[17] Susceptus denique ad consessum vehiculi, receptusque in regiam, hunc versum ex Homérico carmine susurrabat: ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος φάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή. Haec diem octavum iduum Novembrium gesta sunt, cum Arbetionem consulem annus haberet et Lollianum.

[17] Finally, he was taken up to sit with the emperor in his carriage and conducted to the palace, whispering this verse from the Homeric song :”By purple death I’m seized and fate supreme.”This happened on the sixth of November of the year when Arbetio and Lollianus were consuls.

[18] Deinde diebus paucis Helena virgine, Constanti sorore, eidem Caesari iugali foedere copulata, paratissime universis quae maturitas proficiscendi poscebat, comitatu parvo suscepto, kalendis Decembribus egressus est deductusque ab Augusto ad usque locum duabus columnis insignem, qui Laumellum interiacet et Ticinum, itineribus rectis Taurinos pervenit, ubi nuntio percellitur gravi, qui nuper in comitatum Augusti perlatus, de industria silebatur, ne parata diffunderent.

[18] Then, within a few days, Helena, the maiden sister of Constantius, was joined in the bonds of wedlock to the Caesar; and when everything had been prepared which the imminence of his departure demanded, taking a small suite, he set out on the first of December, escorted by Augustus as far as the spot marked by two columns, lying between Laumello and Pavia, and came by direct marches to Turin. There he was staggered by serious news, which had lately been brought to the emperor’s court but had purposely been kept secret, for fear that the preparations might come to nothing.

[19] Indicabat autem Coloniam Agrippinam, ampli nominis urbem in secunda Germania, pertinaci barbarorum obsidione reseratam magnis viribus et deletam.

[19] The news stated that Cologne, a city of great renown in Lower Germany, after an obstinate siege by the savages in great force, had been stormed and destroyed.

[20] Quo maerore perculsus, velut primo adventantium malorum auspicio, murmurans querulis vocibus saepe audiebatur: nihil se plus assecutum, quam ut occupatio interiret.

[20] Overwhelmed by sorrow at this, the first omen, as it were, of approaching ills, he was often heard to mutter in complaining tones that he had gained nothing, except to die with heavier work.

[21] Cumque Viennam venisset, ingredientem optatum quidem et impetrabilem honorifice susceptura omnis aetas concurrebat et dignitas, proculque visum plebs universa, cum vicinitate finitima, imperatorem clementem appellans et faustum, praevia consonis laudibus celebrabat, avidius pompam regiam in principe legitimo cernens: communiumque remedium aerumnarum in eius locabat adventu, salutarem quendam genium affulsisse conclamatis negotiis arbitrata.

[21] But when he reached Vienne and entered the city, all ages and ranks

flocked together to receive him with honour, as a man both longed for and efficient; and when they saw him afar off, the whole populace with the immediate neighbourhood, saluted him as a commander gracious and fortunate, and marched ahead of him with a chorus of praise, the more eagerly beholding royal pomp in a legitimate prince. And in his coming they placed the redress of their common disasters, thinking that some helpful spirit had shone upon their desperate condition.

[22] tunc anus quaedam orba luminibus, cum percontando quinam esset ingressus, Iulianum Caesarem comperisset, exclamavit hunc deorum templa reparaturum. De origine Gallorum; et unde dicti Celtae ac Galatae; deque eorum doctoribus. Proinde quoniam — ut Mantuanus vates praedixit excelsus — ‘maius opus moveo’ maiorque mihi rerum nascitur ordo, Galliarum tractus et situm ostendere puto nunc tempestivum, ne inter procinctus ardentes, proeliorumque varios casus, ignota quibusdam expediens imitari videar desides nauticos, attrita lintea cum rudentibus, quae licuit parari securius, inter fluctus resarcire coactos et tempestates.

[22] Then an old woman, who had lost her sight, on inquiring who had entered and learning that it was the Caesar Julian, cried out that he would repair the temples of the Gods. Of the origin of the Gauls; and why the Celts and Galatians were so called; and of their learned men. Now, since — as the lofty bard of Mantua said of old — a greater work undertake, a greater train of events ariseth before me, I think now a suitable time to describe the regions and situation of the Gauls, for fear that amid fiery encounters and shifting fortunes of battle I may treat of matters unknown to some and seem to follow the example of slovenly sailors, who are forced amid surges and storms to mend their worn sails and rigging, which might have been put in order with less danger.

[2] Ambigentes super origine prima Gallorum, scriptores veteres notitiam reliquere negotii semiplenam, sed postea Timagenes, et diligentia Graecus et lingua, haec quae diu sunt ignorata collegit ex multiplicibus libris. Cuius fidem secuti, obscuritate dimota, eadem distincte docebimus et aperte.

[2] The ancient writers, in doubt as to the earliest origin of the Gauls, have left an incomplete account of the matter, but later Timagenes, a true Greek in accuracy as well as language, collected out of various books these facts that had been long forgotten; which, following his authority, and avoiding any obscurity, I shall state clearly and plainly.

[3] Aborigines primos in his regionibus quidam visos esse firmarunt, Celtas nomine regis amabilis et matris eius vocabulo Galatas dictos — ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat — alii Dorienses antiquiorem secutos Herculem oceani locos inhabitasse confines.

[3] Some asserted that the people first seen in these regions were Aborigines, called Celts from the name of a beloved king, and Galatae (for so the Greek language terms the Gauls) from the name of his mother. Others stated that the Dorians, following the earlier Hercules, settled in the lands bordering on the Ocean.

[4] Drysidæ memorant re vera fuisse populi partem indigenam, sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis confluisse et tractibus transrhenanis, crebritate bellorum et alluvione fervidi maris sedibus suis expulsos.

[4] The Drysidæ say that a part of the people was in fact indigenous, but that others also poured in from the remote islands and the regions across the Rhine, driven from their homes by continual wars and by the inundation of the stormy sea.

[5] Aiunt quidam paucos post excidium Troiæ fugitantes Graecos ubique dispersos loca hæc occupasse tunc vacua.

[5] Some assert that after the destruction of Troy a few of those who fled from the Greeks and were scattered everywhere occupied those regions, which were then deserted.

[6] Regionum autem incolæ id magis omnibus asseverant, quod etiam nos legimus in monumentis eorum incisum, Amphitryonis filium Herculem ad Geryonis et Taurisci sævum tyrannorum perniciem festinasse, quorum alter Hispanias, alter Gallias infestabat; superatisque ambobus, coisse cum generosis feminis suscepisseque liberos plures, et eos partes quibus imperitabant suis nominibus appellasse.

[6] But the inhabitants of those countries affirm this beyond all else, and I have also read it inscribed upon their monuments, that Hercules, the son of Amphytrion, hastened to destroy the cruel tyrants Geryon and Tauriscus, of whom one oppressed Spain, the other, Gaul; and having overcome them both that he took to wife some high-born women and begat numerous children, who called by their own names the districts which they ruled.

[7] A Phocæa vero Asiaticus populus, Harpali inclementiam vitans, Cyri regis præfecti, Italiam navigio petit. Cuius pars in Lucania Veliam, alia condidit in Viennensi Massiliam: dein secutis ætatibus oppida, aucta virium copia, instituere non pauca. Sed declinanda varietas sæpe satietati coniuncta.

[7] But in fact a people of Asia from Phocæa, to avoid the severity of Harpalus, prefect of king Cyrus, set sail for Italy. A part of them founded Velia in Lucania, the rest, Massilia in the region of Vienne. Then in subsequent ages they established no small number of towns, as their strength and resources increased. But I must not discuss varying opinions, which often causes satiety.

[8] Per haec loca hominibus paulatim excultis, viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum, inchoata per bardos et euhagis et drasidas. Et Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyrae modulis cantitarunt, Euhages vero scrutantes sublimia, leges naturae pandere conabantur internas. Drysidae ingeniis celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagorae decrevit, sodaliciis astricti consortiis, quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt, et despectantes humana, pronuntiarunt animas immortales. De Alpibus Gallicanis; et de variis per eas itineribus. Hanc Galliarum plagam ob suggestus montium arduos, et horrore nivali semper obductos, orbis residui incolis antehac paene ignotam, nisi qua litoribus est vicina, munimina claudunt undique natura velut arte circumdata.

[8] Throughout these regions men gradually grew civilised and the study of the liberal arts flourished, initiated by the Bards, the Euhages and the Druids. Now, the Bards sang to the sweet strains of the lyre the valorous deeds of famous men composed in heroic verse, but the Euhages, investigating the sublime, attempted to explain the secret laws of nature. The Druids, being loftier than the rest in intellect, and bound together in fraternal organisations, as the authority of Pythagoras determined, were elevated by their investigation of obscure and profound subjects, and scorning all things human, pronounced the soul immortal.

Of the Gallic Alps and the various passes through them.

This country of Gaul, because of its lofty chains of mountains always covered with formidable snows, was formerly all but unknown to the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, except where it borders on the coast; and bulwarks enclose it on every side, surrounding it naturally, as if by the art of man.

[2] Et a latere quidem australi, Tyrrheno alluitur et Gallico mari; qua caeleste suspicit plaustrum, a feris gentibus fluentis distinguitur Rheni; ubi occidentali subiecta est sideri, oceano et altitudine Pyrenaea arcetur; unde ad solis ortus attollitur, aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum; quas rex Cottius perdomitis Galliis, solus in angustiis latens, inviaque locorum asperitate confisus, lenito tandem tumore, in amicitiam principis Octaviani receptus molibus magnis exstruxit, ad vicem memorabilis muneris, compendiaras et viantibus opportunas, medias inter alias Alpes vetustas, super quibus comperta paulo postea referemus.

[2] Now on the southern side it is washed by the Tuscan and the Gallic Sea; where it looks up to the heavenly Wain, it is separated from the wild nations by the channels of the Rhine. Where it lies under the west-sloping sun it is bounded by the Ocean and the Pyrenaean heights; and where it rises towards the East it gives place to the bulk of the Cottian Alps. There King Cottius, after the subjugation of Gaul, lay hidden alone in their defiles, trusting to the pathless ruggedness of the region; finally, when his disaffection was allayed,

and he was admitted to the emperor Octavian's friendship, in lieu of a remarkable gift he built with great labour short cuts convenient to travellers, since they were midway between other ancient Alpine passes, about which I shall later tell what I have learned.

[3] In his Alpibus Cottiis, quarum initium a Segusione est oppido, praeclsum erigitur iugum, nulli fere sine discrimine penetrabile.

[3] In these Cottian Alps, which begin at the town of Susa, there rises a lofty ridge, which scarcely anyone can cross without danger.

[4] Est enim e Galliis venientibus prona humilitate devexum, pendentium saxorum alitrinsecus visu terribile praesertim verno tempore, cum liquente gelu nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum, per diruptas utrimque angustias et lacunas, pruinarum congerie latebrosas, descendentes cunctantibus plantis homines et iumenta procidunt et carpenta; idque remedium ad arcendum exitium repertum est solum, quod pleraque vehicula vastis funibus illigata pone cohibente virorum vel boum nisu valido vix gressu reptante, paulo tutius devolvuntur. Et haec (ut diximus) anni verno contingunt.

[4] For as one comes from Gaul it falls off with sheer incline, terrible to look upon because of overhanging cliffs on either side, especially in the season of spring, when the ice melts and the snows thaw under the warmer breath of the wind; then over precipitous ravines on either side and chasms rendered treacherous through the accumulation of ice, men and animals descending with hesitating step slide forward, and waggons as well. And the only expedient that has been devised to ward off destruction is this: they bind together a number of vehicles with heavy ropes and hold them back from behind with powerful efforts of men or oxen at barely a snail's pace; and so they roll down a little more safely. And this, as we have said, happens in the spring of the year.

[5] Hieme vero humus crustata frigoribus et tamquam levigata ideoque labilis incessum praecipitantem impellit; et patulae valles per spatia plana glacie perfidae vorant non numquam transeuntes. Ob quae locorum callidi eminentes ligneos stilos per cautiora loca defigunt, ut eorum series viatorem ducat innoxium; qui si nivibus operti latuerint, aut montanis defluentibus rivis eversi, calles agrestibus praevis difficile pervadunt.

[5] But in winter the ground, caked with ice, and as it were polished and therefore slippery, drives men headlong in their gait and the spreading valleys in level places, made treacherous by ice, sometimes swallow up the traveller. Therefore those that know the country well drive projecting wooden stakes along the safer spots, in order that their line may guide the traveller in safety. But if these are covered with snow and hidden, or are overturned by the streams running down from the mountains, the paths are difficult to traverse

even with natives leading the way.

[6] A summitate autem huius Italici clivi, planities ad usque stationem nomine Martis per septem extenditur milia, et hinc alia celsitudo erectior, aegreque superabilis, ad Matronae porrigitur verticem, cuius vocabulum casus feminae nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter sed expeditius ad usque castellum Brigantiam patet.

[6] But from the peak of this Italian slope a plateau extends for seven miles, as far as the post named from Mars ; from there on another loftier height, equally difficult to surmount, reaches to the peak of the Matrona, so called from an accident to a noble lady. After that a route, steep to be sure, but easier to traverse extends to the fortress of Briançon.

[7] Huius sepulcrum reguli, quem itinera struxisse rettulimus, Segusione est moenibus proximum, manesque eius ratione gemina religiose coluntur, quod iusto moderamine rexerat suos, et asscitus in societatem rei Romanae, quietem genti praestitit sempiternam.

[7] The tomb of the prince, who, as we said, built these roads, is at Susa next to the walls, and his shades are devoutly venerated for a double reason: because he had ruled his subjects with a just government, and when admitted to alliance with the Roman state, procured eternal peace for his nation.

[8] Et licet haec quam diximus viam media sit et compendiaria, magisque celebris, tamen etiam aliae multo antea temporibus sunt constructae diversis.

[8] And although this road which I have described is the middle one, the short cut, and the more frequented, yet there are also others, constructed long before at various times.

[9] Et primam Thebaeus Hercules, ad Geryonem exstinguendum (ut relatum est) et Tauriscum lenius gradiens, prope maritimas composuit Alpes, hisque Graiarum indidit nomen; Monoeci similiter arcem et portum ad perennem sui memoriam consecravit. Deinde emensis postea saeculis multis, hac ex causa sunt Alpes excogitatae Poeninae.

[9] Now the first of these the Theban Hercules, when travelling leisurely to destroy Geryon and Tauriscus, constructed near the Maritime Alps and gave them the name of the Graian Alps. And in like manner he consecrated the castle and harbour of Monaco to his lasting memory. Then, later, after the passage of many centuries, the name Pennine was devised for these Alps for the following reason.

[10] Superioris Africani pater Publius Cornelius Scipio, Saguntinis memorabilibus aerumnis et fide, pertinaci destinatione Afrorum obsessis, iturus auxilio, in Hispaniam traduxit onustam manu valida classem, sed civitate potiore Marte deleta, Hannibalem sequi nequiens, triduo ante transito

Rhodano, ad partes Italiae contendentem, navigatione veloci intercurso spatio maris haut longo, degressurum montibus apud Genuam observabat, Liguria oppidum, ut cum eo (si copiam fors dedisset) viarum asperitate fatigato decerneret in planitie.

[10] Publius Cornelius Scipio, father of the elder Africanus, when the Saguntines, famous both for their catastrophies and their loyalty, were besieged by the Africans with persistent obstinacy, wishing to help them, crossed to Spain with a fleet manned by a strong army. But as the city had been destroyed by a superior force, and he was unable to overtake Hannibal, who had crossed the Rhone three days before and was hastening to the regions of Italy, by swift sailing he crossed the intervening space-which is not great-and watched at Genoa, a town of Liguria, for Hannibal's descent from the mountains, so that if chance should give him the opportunity, he might fight with him in the plain while exhausted by the roughness of the roads.

[11] Consulens tamen rei communi, Cn. Scipionem fratrem ire monuit in Hispanias, ut Hasdrubalem exinde similiter erupturum arceret. Quae Hannibal doctus a perfugis, ut erat expeditae mentis et callidae, Taurinis ducentibus accolis, per Tricasinos et oram Vocontiorum extremam, ad saltus Tricorios venit. Indeque exorsus, aliud iter antehac insuperabile fecit; excisaque rupe in immensum elata, quam cremando vi magna flammaram acetoque infuso dissolvit, per Druentiam flumen, gurgitibus vagis intuitum, regiones occupavit Etruscas. Hactenus super Alpibus. Nunc ad restantia veniamus. Brevis divisio ac descriptio Galliarum; et cursus fluminis Rhodani. Temporibus priscis, cum laterent hae partes ut barbarae, tripertitae fuisse creduntur in Celtas eosdemque Gallos divisae, et Aquitanos et Belgas, lingua institutis legibusque discrepantes.

[11] At the same time, having an eye to the common welfare, he advised his brother, Gnaeus Scipio, to proceed to Spain and hold off Hasdrubal, who was planning to burst forth in like manner from that quarter. But Hannibal learned of this from deserters, and being of a nimble and crafty wit, came, under the guidance of natives from among the Taurini, through the Tricasini and the extreme edge of the Vocontii to the passes of the Tricorii. Starting out from there, he made another road, where it hitherto had been impassable; he hewed out a cliff which rose to a vast height by burning it with flames of immense power and crumbling it by pouring on vinegar; then he marched along the river Druentia, dangerous with its shifting eddies, and seized upon the district of Etruria. So much about the Alps; let us now turn to the rest of the country. A brief description of the various parts of Gaul and of the course of the Rhone. In early times, when these regions lay in darkness as savage, they are thought to have been threefold, divided into Celts (the same as the Gauls), the Aquitanians, and the Belgians, differing in language, habits and laws.

[2] Et Gallos quidem (qui Celtae sunt) ab Aquitanis Garumna disternat

flumen, a Pyrenaeis oriens collibus, postque oppida multa transcurra, in oceano delitescens.

[2] Now the Gauls (who are the Celts) are separated from the Aquitanians by the Garonne river, which rises in the hills of the Pyrenees, and after running past many towns disappears in the Ocean.

[3] Belgis vero eandem gentem Matrona discindit et Sequana, amnes magnitudinis geminae; qui fluentes per Lugdunensem, post circumclausum ambitu insulari Parisiorum castellum, Lutetiam nomine, consociati, meantesque protinus prope astra Constantia funduntur in mare.

[3] But from the Belgians this same nation is separated by the Marne and the Seine, rivers of identical size; they flow through the district of Lyons, and after encircling in the manner of an island a stronghold of the Parisii called Lutetia, they unite in one channel, and flowing on together pour into the sea not far from Castra Constantia.

[4] Horum omnium apud veteres Belgae dicebantur esse fortissimi, ea propter quod ab humaniore cultu longe discreti, nec adventiciis effeminati deliciis, diu cum transrhenanis certare Germanis.

[4] Of all these nations the Belgae had the reputation in the ancient writers of being the most valiant, for the reason that being far removed from civilised life and not made effeminate by imported luxuries, they warred for a long time with the Germans across the Rhine.

[5] Aquitani enim, ad quorum litora ut proxima placidaque, merces adventiciae convehuntur, moribus ad molliem lapsis, facile in dicionem venere Romanam.

[5] The Aquitanians, on the contrary, to whose coasts, as being near at hand and peaceable, imported wares are conveyed, had their characters weakened to effeminacy and easily came under the sway of Rome.

[6] Regebantur autem Galliae omnes, iam inde uti crebritate bellorum urgenti cessere Iulio dictatori, potestate in partes divisa quattuor, quarum Narbonensis una Viennensem intra se continebat et Lugdunensem; altera Aquitanis praeerat universis; superiorem et inferiorem Germaniam Belgasque duae iurisdictiones eisdem rexere temporibus.

[6] All the Gauls, ever since under the perpetual pressure of wars they yielded to the dictator Julius, have been governed by an administration divided into four parts. Of these Gallia Narbonensis by itself comprised the districts of Vienne and Lyons; the second had control of all Aquitania; Upper and Lower Germany, as well as the Belgians, were governed by two administrations at that same time.

[7] At nunc numerantur provinciae per omnem ambitum Galliarum: secunda Germania, prima ab occidentali exordiens cardine, Agrippina et Tungris munita, civitatibus amplis et copiosis.

[7] But now the provinces over the whole extent of Gaul are reckoned as follows: The first province (beginning on the western front) is Lower, or Second, Germany, fortified by the wealthy and populous cities of Cologne and Tongres.

[8] Dein prima Germania, ubi praeter alia municipia Mogontiacus est et Vangiones, et Nemetae et Argentoratus, barbaricis cladibus nota.

[8] Next comes First, or Upper, Germany where besides other free towns are Mayence and Worms and Spire and Strasburg, famous for the disasters of the savages.

[9] Post has Belgica prima Mediomatricos praetendit et Treveros, domicilium principum clarum.

[9] After these the First province of Belgium displays Metz and Treves, splendid abode of the emperors.

[10] Huic annexa secunda est Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alias eminens, et Catelauni et Remi.

[10] Adjoining this is the Second province of Belgium, in which are Amiens, a city eminent above the rest, and Châlons and Rheims.

[11] Apud Sequanos Bisontios videmus et Rauracos, aliis potiores oppidis multis. Lugdunensem primam Lugdunum ornat et Cabillona et Senones et Biturigae et moenium Augustuduni magnitudo vetusta.

[11] In the Seine province we see Besançon and Augst, more important than its many other towns. The first Lyonnese province is made famous by Lyons, Châlon-sur-Saône, Sens, Bourges, and Autun with its huge ancient walls.

[12] Secundam enim Lugdunensem Rotomagi et Turini, Mediolanum ostendunt et Tricasini; Alpes Graiae et Poeninae exceptis obscurioribus habent et Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem sed non ignobilem quondam, ut aedificia semiruta nunc quoque demonstrant. Haec provinciae urbesque sunt splendidae Galliarum.

[12] As for the second Lyonnese province, Rouen and Tours make it distinguished, as well as Evreux and Troyes. The Graian and Pennine Alps, not counting towns of lesser note, have Avenche, a city now abandoned, to be sure, but once of no slight importance, as is even yet evident from its half-ruined buildings. These are the goodly provinces and cities of Gaul.

[13] In Aquitania quae Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem spectat oceani quae

pertinet ad Hispanos, prima provincia est Aquitania, amplitudine civitatum admodum culta omissis aliis multis, Burdigala et Arverni excellunt, et Santones et Pictavi.

[13] In Aquitania, which trends towards the Pyrenees mountains and that part of the Ocean which extends towards Spain, the first province is Aquitania, much adorned by the greatness of its cities; leaving out numerous others, Bordeaux and Clermont are conspicuous, as well as Saintorige and Poitiers.

[14] Novem populos Ausci commendant et Vasatae. In Narbonensi Elusa et Narbona et Tolosa principatum urbium tenent. Viennensis civitatum exsultat decore multarum, e quibus potiores sunt Vienna ipsa et Arelate et Valentia; quibus Massilia iungitur, cuius societate et viribus in discriminibus arduis fultam aliquotiens legimus Romam.

[14] The “Nine Nations” are ennobled by Auch and Bazas. In the Narbonese province Eauze, Narbonne, and Toulouse hold the primacy among the cities. The Viennese province rejoices in the distinction conferred by many cities, of which the most important are Vienne itself, Aries and Valence; and joined to these is Marseilles, by whose alliance and power we read that Rome was several times supported in severe crises.

[15] His prope Salluvii sunt et Nicaea et Antipolis, insulaeque Stoechades.

[15] Near these are Aix-en-Provence, Nice, Antibes, and the Isles d’Hyères.

[16] Et quoniam ad has partes opere contexto pervenimus, silere super Rhodano, maximi nominis flumine, incongruum est et absurdum. A Poeninis Alpibus effusiores copia fontium Rhodanus fluens, et proclivi impetu ad planiora degrediens, proprio agmine ripas occultat, et paludi sese ingurgitat, nomine Lemanno, eamque intermeans, nusquam aquis miscetur externis, sed altrinsecus summitates undae praeterlabens segnioris, quaeritans exitus, viam sibi impetu veloci molitur.

[16] And since we have reached these parts in the course of our work, it would be unfitting and absurd to say nothing of the Rhone, a river of the greatest celebrity. Rising in the Pennine Alps from a plenteous store of springs, the Rhone flows in headlong course towards more level places. It hides its banks with its own stream and bursts into the lagoon called Lake Lemman. This it flows through, nowhere mingling with the water outside, but gliding along the surface of the less active water on either hand, it seeks an outlet and forces a way for itself by its swift onset.

[17] Unde sine iactura rerum per Sapaudiam fertur et Sequanos, longeque progressus, Viennensem latere sinistro perstringit, dextro Lugdunensem, et emensus spatia flexuosa, Ararim quem Sauconnam appellant, inter Germaniam primam fluentem et Sequanos, suum in nomen assciscit, qui locus

exordium est Galliarum. Exindeque non millenis passibus sed leugis itinera metiuntur.

[17] From there without any loss of volume it flows through Savoy and the Seine Province, and, after going on for a long distance, it grazes the Viennese Province on the left side and the Lyonnese on the right side. Next, after describing many meanders, it receives the Arar, which they call the Sauconna, flowing between Upper Germany and the Seine Province, and gives it its own name. This point is the beginning of Gaul, and from there they measure distances, not in miles but in leagues.

[18] Dein Isarae Rhodanus aquis advenis locupletior, vehit grandissimas naves, ventorum difflatu iactari saepius assuetas, finitisque intervallis quae ei natura praescripsit, spumeus Gallico mari concorporatur, per patulum sinum quem vocant Ad gradus, ab Arelate octavo decimo ferme lapide disparatum. Sit satis de situ locorum. Nunc figuras et mores hominum designabo. De moribus Gallorum. Celsioris staturae et candidi paene Galli sunt omnes et rutili, luminumque torvitate terribiles, avidi iurgiorum, et sublatius insolentes. Nec enim eorum quemquam adhibita uxore rixantem, multo se fortiore et glauca, peregrinorum ferre poterit globus, tum maxime cum illa inflata cervice suffrendens, ponderansque niveas ulnas et vastas, admixtis calcibus emitte coeperit pugnos, ut catapultas tortilibus nervis excussas.

[18] After this the Rhone, enriched by the tributary waters of the Isère, carries very large craft, which are frequently wont to be tossed by gales of wind, and having finished the bounds which nature has set for it, its foaming waters are mingled with the Gallic Sea through a broad bay which they call Ad Gradus at about the eighteenth milestone distant from Arles. Let this suffice for the topography of the region; I shall now describe the appearance and manners of its people.

The Manners and Customs of the Gauls.

Almost all the Gauls are of tall stature, fair and ruddy, terrible for the fierceness of their eyes, fond of quarrelling, and of overbearing insolence. In fact, a whole band of foreigners will be unable to cope with one of them in a fight, if he call in his wife, stronger than he by far and with flashing eyes; least of all when she swells her neck and gnashes her teeth, and poisoning her huge white arms, proceeds to rain punches mingled with kicks, like shots discharged by the twisted cords of a catapult.

[2] Metuendae voces complurium et minaces, placatorum iuxta et irascentium, tersi tamen pari diligentia cuncti et mundi, nec in tractibus illis, maximeque apud Aquitanos, vir poterit aliquis videri vel femina, licet perquam pauper, ut alibi frustis squalere pannorum.

[2] The voices of most of them are formidable and threatening, alike when they

are good-natured or angry. But all of them with equal care keep clean and neat, and in those districts, particularly in Aquitania, no man or woman can be seen, be she never so poor, in soiled and ragged clothing, as elsewhere.

[3] Ad militandum omnis aetas aptissima, et pari pectoris robore senex ad procinctum ducitur et adultus, gelu duratis artubus et labore assiduo, multa contempturus et formidanda. Nec eorum aliquando quisquam (ut in Italia) munus Martium pertimescens, pollicem sibi praecidit, quos localiter murcos appellant.

[3] All ages are most fit for military service, and the old man marches out on a campaign with a courage equal to that of the man in the prime of life; since his limbs are toughened by cold and constant toil, and he will make light of many formidable dangers. Nor does anyone of them, for dread of the service of Mars, cut off his thumb, as in Italy : there they call such men “murci,” or cowards.

[4] Vini avidum genus, affectans ad vini similitudinem multiplices potus, et inter eos humiles quidam, obtunsis ebrietate continua sensibus, quam furoris voluntariam speciem esse Catoniana sententia definivit, raptantur discursibus vagis, ut verum illud videatur quod ait defendens Fonteium Tullius: ‘Gallos post haec dilutius esse poturos quod illi venenum esse arbitrabantur.’

[4] It is a race greedy for wine, devising numerous drinks similar to wine, and some among them of the baser sort, with wits dulled by continual drunkenness (which Cato’s saying pronounced a voluntary kind of madness) rush about in aimless revels, so that those words seem true which Cicero spoke when defending Fonteius : “The Gauls henceforth will drink wine mixed with water, which they once thought poison.”

[5] Hae regiones, praecipueque confines Italicis, paulatim levi sudore sub imperium venere Romanum, primo temptatae per Fulvium, deinde proeliis parvis quassatae per Sextium, ad ultimum per Fabium Maximum domitae. Cui negotii plenus effectus, asperiore Allobrogum gente devicta, hoc indidit cognomentum.

[5] These regions, and especially those bordering on Italy, came gradually and with slight effort under the dominion of Rome; they were first essayed by Fulvius, then undermined in petty battles by Sextius, and finally subdued by Fabius Maximus, on whom the full completion of this business (when he had vanquished the formidable tribe of the Allobroges) conferred that surname.

[6] Nam omnes Gallias (nisi qua paludibus inviae fuere, ut Sallustio docetur auctore) post decennalis belli mutuas clades subegit Caesar dictator, societatique nostrae foederibus iunxit aeternis. Evectus sum longius; sed remeabo tandem ad coepta. De Musaniano praefecto praetorio per Orientem. Domitiano crudeli morte consumpto, Musonianus eius successor

orientem praetoriani regebat potestate praefecti, facundia sermonis utriusque clarus. Unde sublimius quam sperabatur eluxit.

[6] Now the whole of Gaul (except where, as the authority of Sallust informs us, it was impassable with marshes), after losses on both sides during ten years of war the dictator Caesar subdued and joined to us in an everlasting covenant of alliance. I have digressed too far, but I shall at last return to my subject.

The doings of the praetorian prefect, Musonianus, in the Orient.

After Domitianus was dispatched by a cruel death, his successor Musonianus governed the East with the rank of pretorian prefect, a man famed for his command of both languages, from which he won higher distinction than was expected.

[2] Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quaereret sectas, Manichaeorum et similium, nec interpret inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit; quem, officio functum perite, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum, et ex eo percursis honorum gradibus multis, ascendit ad praefecturam, prudens alia tolerabilisque provinciis, et mitis et blandus, sed ex qualibet occasione, maximeque ex controversis litibus (quod nefandum est) et in totum lucrandi aviditate sordescens, ut inter alia multa, evidenter apparuit in quaestionibus agitatis super morte Theophili Syriae consularis, proditione Caesaris Galli, impetu plebis promiscuae discerpti, ubi damnatis pauperibus, quos cum haec agerentur, peregre fuisse constabat, auctores diri facinoris exutis patrimoniis absoluti sunt divites.

[2] For when Constantine was closely investigating the different religious sects, Manichaeans and the like, and no suitable interpreter could be found, he chose him, as a person recommended to him as competent; and when he had done that duty skilfully, he wished him to be called Musonianus, whereas he had hitherto had the name of Strategius. From that beginning, having run through many grades of honour, he rose to the prefecture, a man intelligent in other respects and satisfactory to the provinces, mild also and well-spoken, but on any and every occasion, and especially (which is odious) in hard-fought lawsuits and under all circumstances greedily bent upon filthy lucre. This became clearly evident (among many other instances) in the investigations set on foot regarding the death of Theophilus, governor of Syria, who, because of the betrayal of Gallus Caesar, was torn to pieces in an onslaught of the rabble upon him; on which occasion sundry poor men were condemned, although it was known that they had been away when this happened, while the wealthy perpetrators of the foul crime were set free after being stripped of their property.

[3] Hunc Prosper adaequabat, pro magistro equitum agente etiam tum in Galliis, militem regens, abiecte ignavus et (ut ait comicus) arte despecta furtorum rapiens propalam.

[3] He was matched by Prosper, who was at that time still representing the cavalry commander in Gaul and held military authority there, an abject coward and, as the comic poet says, scorning artifice in thieving and plundering openly.

[4] Quis concordantibus, mutuaque commercia vicissim sibi conciliando locupletatis, Persici duces vicini fluminibus, rege in ultimis terrarum suarum terminis occupato, per praedatorios globos nostra vexabant, nunc Armeniam aliquotiens Mesopotamiam confidentius incursantes, Romanis ductoribus ad colligendas oboedientium exuvias occupatis.

[4] While these men were in league and enriching themselves by bringing mutual gain one to the other, the Persian generals stationed by the rivers, while their king was busied in the farthest bounds of his empire, kept raiding our territories with predatory bands, now fearlessly invading Armenia and sometimes Mesopotamia, while the Roman officers were occupied in gathering the spoils of those who paid them obedience

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LIBER XVI — BOOK XVI

[1] Iuliani Caesaris laus. Haec per orbem Romanum factorum ordine contexto versante, Caesar apud Viennam in collegium factorum a consule octiens Augusto adscitus, urgente genuino vigore, pugnarum fragores caedesque barbaricas somniabat, colligere provinciae fragmenta iam parans, si adfuisset fortuna flatu tandem secundo.

Praise of Julianus Caesar. While the linked course of the fates was bringing this to pass in the Roman world, Julian Caesar at Vienne was admitted by Augustus, then consul for the eighth time, into the fellowship of the consular fasti. Urged on by his native energy, he dreamed of the din of battle and the slaughter of savages, already preparing to gather up the broken fragments of the province, if only fortune should at last aid him with her favouring breeze.

[2] Quia igitur res magnae quas per Gallias virtute felicitateque correxit, multis veterum factis fortibus praestant, singula serie progrediente monstrabo, instrumenta omnia mediocris ingenii (si suffecerint) commoturus.

[2] Accordingly, since the great deeds that he had the courage and good fortune to perform in Gaul surpass many valiant achievements of the ancients, I shall describe them one by one in progressive order, endeavouring to put in play all the resources of my modest ability, if only they will suffice.

[3] Quicquid autem narrabitur, quod non falsitas arguta concinnat, sed fides integra rerum absolvit, documentis evidentibus fulta, ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit.

[3] Now whatever I shall tell (and no wordy deceit adorns my tale, but untrammelled faithfulness to fact, based upon clear proofs, composes it) will almost belong to the domain of the panegyric.

[4] Videtur enim lex quaedam vitae melioris hunc invenem a nobilibus cunis ad usque spiritum comitata supremum. Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi forisque colluxit, ut prudentia Vespasiani filius Titus alter aestimaretur, bellorum gloriosis cursibus Traiani simillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectae perfectaeque rationis indigine congruens Marco, ad cuius aemulationem actus suos effingebat et mores.

[4] For some law of a higher life seems to have attended this youth from his noble cradle even to his last breath. For with rapid strides he grew so conspicuous at home and abroad that in his foresight he was esteemed a second Titus, son of Vespasian, in the glorious progress of his wars as very like Trajan, mild as Antoninus Pius, and in searching out the true and perfect reason of things in harmony with Marcus Aurelius, in emulation of whom he moulded his conduct and his character.

[5] Et quoniam (ut Tulliana docet auctoritas) ‘omnium magnarum artium sicut arborum altitudo nos delectat, radices stirpesque non item,’ sic praeclarae huius indolis rudimenta, tunc multis obnubilantibus tegebantur, quae anteferri gestis eius postea multis et miris, hac ratione deberent, quod adulescens primaevus, ut Erechtheus in secessu Minervae nutritus, ex Academiae quietis umbraculis, non e militari tabernaculo, in pulverem Martium tractus, strata Germania, pacatisque rigentis Rheni meatibus, cruenta spirantium regum hic sanguinem fudit, alibi manus catenis afflixit. Iulianus Caesar Alamannos adoritur, caedit, capit, et fugat. Agens itaque negotiosam hiemem apud oppidum ante dictum, inter rumores, qui volitabant assidui, comperit Augustuduni civitatis antiquae muros spatiosi quidem ambitus sed carie vetustatis invalidos, barbarorum impetu repentino insessos, torpente praesentium militum manu, veteranos concursatione pervigili defendisse, ut solet abrupta saepe discrimina salutis ultima desperatio propulsare.

[5] And since (as the authority of Cicero informs us) “we take delight in the loftiness of all noble arts, as we do of trees, but not so much in their roots and stumps,” just so the beginnings of his surpassing ability were then veiled by many overshadowing features. Yet they ought to be preferred to his many admirable later achievements, for the reason that while still in early youth, educated like Erechtheus in Minerva’s retreat, and drawn from the peaceful shades of the Academy, not from a soldier’s tent, to the dust of battle, he vanquished Germany, subdued the meanders of the freezing Rhine, here shed the blood of kings breathing cruel threats, and there loaded their arms with chains. Iulianus Caesar attacks the Alamanni, slaughters, captures, and vanquishes them. Accordingly, while he was passing a busy winter in the above-mentioned town, in the thick of rumours which kept persistently flying about, he learned that the walls of the ancient city of Autun, of wide circuit, to be sure, but weakened by the decay of centuries, had been besieged by a sudden onset of the savages; and then, though the force of soldiers garrisoned there was paralysed, it had been defended by the watchfulness of veterans who hurried together for its aid, as it often happens that the extreme of desperation wards off imminent danger of death.

[2] Nihil itaque remittentibus curis, ancillari adulatione posthabita, qua eum proximi ad amoenitatem flectebant et luxum, satis omnibus comparatis, octavum kalendas Iulias Augustudunum pervenit, velut dux diuturnus viribus eminens et consiliis, per diversa palantes barbaros ubi dedisset fors copiam aggressurus.

[2] Therefore, without putting aside his cares, and disregarding the servile flattery with which his courtiers tried to turn him to pleasure and luxury, after making adequate preparation he reached Autun on the 24th of June, like some experienced general, distinguished for power and policy, intending to fall upon the savages, who were straggling in various directions, whenever chance

should give opportunity.

[3] Habita itaque deliberatione assistentibus locorum peritis, quodnam iter eligeretur ut tutum, multa ultro citroque dicebantur aliis per Arbor ... quibusdam per Sedelaucum et Coram iri debere firmantibus.

[3] Accordingly, when he held a council, with men present who knew the country, to decide what route should be chosen as a safe one, there was much interchange of opinion, some saying that they ought to go by Arbor others by way of Saulieu and Cora.

[4] Sed cum subsererent quidam, Silvanum paulo ante magistrum peditum per compendiosas vias, verum suspectas, quia ramorum tenebris multis umbrantur, cum octo auxiliarium milibus aegre transisse, fidentius Caesar audaciam viri fortis imitari magnopere nitebatur.

[4] But when some remarked that Silvanus, commander of the infantry, with 8000 reserve troops had shortly before passed (though with difficulty) by roads shorter but mistrusted because of the heavy shade of the branches, the Caesar with the greater confidence made a strong resolve to emulate the daring of that hardy man.

[5] Et nequa interveniat mora, adhibitis cataphractariis solis et ballistariis, parum ad tuendum rectorem idoneis, percurso eodem itinere, Autosudorum pervenit.

[5] And to avoid any delay, he took only the cuirassiers and the crossbowmen, who were far from suitable to defend a general, and traversing the same road, he came to Auxerre.

[6] Ubi brevi (sicut solebat) otio cum milite recreatus, ad Tricasinos tendebat, et barbaros in se catervatim ruentes partim, cum timeret ut ampliores, confertis lateribus observabat, alios occupatis habilibus locis, decursu facili proterens, non nullos pavore traditos cepit, residuos in curam celeritatis omne quod poterant conferentes, quia sequi non valebat, gravitate praepeditus armorum, innocuos abire perpessus est.

[6] There with but a short rest (as his custom was) he refreshed himself and his soldiers and kept on towards Troyes; and when troops of savages kept making attacks on him, he sometimes, fearing that they might be in greater force, strengthened his flanks and reconnoitered; sometimes he took advantage of suitable ground, easily ran them down and trampled them under foot, capturing some who in terror gave themselves up, while the remainder exerted all their powers of speed in an effort to escape. These he allowed to get away unscathed, since he was unable to follow them up, encumbered as he was with heavy-armed soldiers.

[7] Proinde certiore iam spe ad resistendum ingruentibus confirmatus, per

multa discrimina venit Tricasas, adeo insperatus, ut eo portas paene pulsante, diffusae multitudinis barbarae metu, aditus urbis non sine anxia panderetur ambage.

[7] So, as he now had firmer hope of success in resisting their attacks, he proceeded among many dangers to Troyes, reaching there so unlooked for, that when he was almost knocking at the gates, the fear of the widespread bands of savages was such, that entrance to the city was vouchsafed only after anxious debate.

[8] Et paulisper moratus, dum fatigato consulit militi, civitatem Remos, nihil prolatandum existimans, petit, ubi in unum congregatum exercitum vehentem unius mensis cibaria iusserat operiri praesentiam suam; cui praesidebat Ursicini successor Marcellus, et ipse Ursicinus, ad usque expeditionis finem agere praeceptus eisdem in locis.

[8] And after staying there a short time, out of consideration for his tired soldiers, he felt that he ought not to delay, and made for the city of Rheims. There he had ordered the whole army to assemble with provisions for a month and to await his coming; the place was commanded by Ursicinus' successor Marcellus, and Ursicinus himself was directed to serve in the same region until the end of the campaign.

[9] Post variatas itaque sententias plures, cum placuisset per Decem pagos Alamannam aggredi plebem densatis agminibus, tendebat illuc solito alacrior miles.

[9] Accordingly, after the expression of many various opinions, it was agreed to attack the Alamannic horde by way of the Ten Cantons with closed ranks; and the soldiers went on in that direction with unusual alacrity.

[10] Et quia dies umectus et decolor, vel contiguum eripiebat aspectum, iuvante locorum gnaritate hostes tramite obliquo discurso, post Caesaris terga legiones duas arma cogentes adorti, paene delessent, ni subito concitus clamor sociorum auxilia coegisset.

[10] And because the day was misty and overcast, so that even objects close at hand could not be seen, the enemy, aided by their acquaintance with the country, went around by way of a crossroad and made an attack on the two legions bringing up the rear of the Caesar's army. And they would nearly have annihilated them, had not the shouts that they suddenly raised brought up the reinforcements of our allies.

[11] Hinc et deinde nec itinera nec flumina transire posse sine insidiis putans, erat providus et cunctator, quod praecipuum bonum in magnis ductoribus, opem ferre solet exercitibus et salutem.

[11] Then and thereafter, thinking that he could cross neither roads nor rivers

without ambushes, Julian was wary and hesitant, which is a special merit in grett commanders, and is wont both to help and to save their armies.

[12] Audiens itaque Argentoratum, Brotomagum, Tabernas, Salisonem, Nemetas et Vangionas et Mogontiacum civitates barbaros possidentes, territoria earum habitare (nam ipsa oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant) primam omnium Brotomagum occupavit, eique iam adventanti Germanorum manus pugnam intentans occurrit.

[12] Hearing therefore that Strasburg, Brumath, Saverne, Seltz, Speyer, Worms, and Mayence were held by the savages, who were living on their lands (for the towns themselves they avoid as if they were tombs surrounded by nets), he first of all seized Brumath, but while he was still approaching it a band of Germans met him and offered battle.

[13] Cumque in bicornem figuram acie divisa, collato pede res agi coepisset, exitioque hostes urgerentur ancipiti, captis non nullis, aliis in ipso proelii fervore truncatis, residui discessere, celeritatis praesidio tecti. Julianus Caesar Coloniam a Francis captum recipit, et pacem ibi cum Francorum regibus facit. Nullo itaque post haec repugnante, ad recuperandam ire placuit Agrippinam, ante Caesaris in Gallias adventum excisam, per quos tractus nec civitas ulla visitur nec castellum, nisi quod apud Confluentes, locum ita cognominatum, ubi amnis Mosella confunditur Rheno, Rigomagum oppidum est et una prope ipsam Coloniam turris.

[13] Julian drew up his forces in the form of a crescent, and when the fight began to come to close quarters, the enemy were overwhelmed by a double danger; some were captured, others were slain in the very heat of the battle, and the rest got away, saved by recourse to speed. Julian recovers Cologne, which had been captured by the Franks, and there makes peace with the kings of the Franks. Accordingly, as after this no one offered resistance, Julian decided to go and recover Cologne, which had been destroyed before his arrival in Gaul. In all that region there is no city to be seen and no stronghold, except that at the Confluence, a place so called because there the river Moselle mingles with the Rhine, there is the town of Remagen and a single tower near Cologne itself.

[2] Igitur Agrippinam ingressus, non ante motus est exinde, quam Francorum regibus furore mitescente perterritis, pacem firmaret rei publicae interim profuturam, et urbem reciperet munitissimam.

[2] So, having entered Cologne, he did not stir from there until he had overawed the Frankish kings and lessened their pugnacity, had made a peace with them which would benefit the state meanwhile, and had recovered that very strongly fortified city.

[3] Quibus vincendi primitiis laetus, per Treveros hiematurus, apud Senonas

oppidum tune opportunum abscessit. Ubi bellorum inundantium molem umeris suis (quod dicitur) vehens, scindebatur in multiplices curas, ut milites qui a solitis descivere praesidiis reducerentur ad loca suspecta, et conspiratas gentes in noxam Romani nominis disiectaret, ac provideret ne alimenta deessent exercitui per varia discursuro. Iulianus Caesar apud Senonas oppidum ab Alemannis obsidetur. Haec sollicite perpensantem, hostilis aggreditur multitudo, oppidi capiundi spe in maius accensa, ideo confidenter quod ei nec scutarios adesse prodentibus perfugis didicerant nec gentiles, per municipia distributos, ut commodius vincerentur quam antea.

[3] Pleased with these first-fruits of victory, he passed through the land of the Treveri, and went to winter at Sens, a town which was then convenient. There, bearing on his shoulders, as the saying is, the burden of a flood of wars, he was distracted by manifold cares — how the soldiers who had abandoned their usual posts might be taken back to danger-points, how he might scatter the tribes that had conspired to the hurt of the Roman cause, and how to see to it that food should not fail his army as it was about to range in different directions.

Julian is besieged by the Alemanni in the town of Sens.

As he was anxiously weighing these problems, a host of the enemy attacked, fired with increased hope of taking the town, and full of confidence because they had learned from the statements of deserters that neither the targeteers nor the gentiles were at hand; for they had been distributed in the towns, so as to be more easily provisioned than before.

[2] Clausa ergo urbe murorumque intuta parte firmata, ipse cum armatis die noctuque inter propugnacula visebatur et pinnas, ira exundante substridens, cum erumpere saepe conatus, paucitate praesentis manus impediretur. Post tricesimum denique diem, abiere barbari tristes, inaniter stulteque cogitasse civitatis obsidium mussitantes.

[2] So, having shut the city gates and strengthened a weak section of the walls, Julian could be seen day and night with his soldiers among the bulwarks and battlements, boiling over with rage and fretting because however often he tried to sally forth, he was hampered by the scanty numbers of the troops at hand. Finally, after a month the savages withdrew crestfallen, muttering that they had been silly and foolish to have contemplated the blockade of the city.

[3] Et (quod indignitati rerum est assignandum) periclitanti Caesari distulit suppetias ferre Marcellus, magister equitum agens in stationibus proximis, cum etiam si civitas absque principe vexaretur, opposita multitudine malis obsidionalibus expediri deberet.

[3] But — a thing to be regarded as a shameful situation — while Caesar was in jeopardy, Marcellus, master of the horse, although he was stationed in

neighbouring posts, postponed sending him reinforcements; whereas even if the city alone was endangered, to say nothing of the prince's presence there, it ought to have been saved from the hardships of blockade by the intervention of a large force.

[4] Hoc metu solutus, efficacissimus Caesar providebat constanti sollicitudine, ut militum diuturno labori quies succederet aliqua licet brevis, ad recreandas tamen sufficiens vires, quamquam ultima squalentes inopia terrae, saepe vastitatae exigua quaedam victui congrua suggerebant.

[4] Once relieved of this fear, Caesar provided with the greatest efficiency and with unfailing solicitude that some rest should follow the long continued toil of the soldiers, a short one perhaps, but enough, at least, to restore their strength; and yet that region, a wilderness in its extreme destitution through having often been ravaged, provided very little suitable for rations.

[5] Verum hoc quoque diligentia curate pervigili, affusa laetiore spe prosperorum, sublata animo ad exsequenda plurima consurgebat. Iuliani Caesaris virtutes. Primum igitur factumque difficile, temperantiam ipse sibi indixit atque retinuit, tamquam adstrictus sumptuariis legibus viveret, quas ex rhetris Lycurgi (id est axibus) Romam translatae, diuque observatas et senescentes, paulatim reparavit Sulla dictator, reputans ex praedictis Democriti, quod ambitiosam mensam fortuna, parcam virtus apponit.

[5] But when this too had been provided for by his ever-watchful care, a happier hope of success was shed upon him, and with spirits revived he rose to the achievement of numerous enterprises.

The merits of Julianus Caesar.

First, then (and a hard thing to accomplish) he imposed moderation on himself, and kept to it, as if he were living bound by the sumptuary laws which were brought to Rome from the Edicts, that is, the wooden tablets, of Lycurgus; and when they had long been observed, but were going out of use, the dictator Sulla gradually renewed them, taking account of one of the sayings of Democritus, that a pretentious table is set by Fortune, a frugal one by Virtue.

[2] Id enim etiam Tusculanus Cato prudenter definiens, cui Censorii cognomentum, castior vitae indidit cultus: 'Magna' inquit 'cura cibi, magna virtutis incuria.'

[2] Furthermore, Cato of Tusculum, whose austere manner of living conferred upon him the surname Censorius, wisely defined that point, saying: "Great care about food implies great neglect of virtue."

[3] Denique cum legeret libellum assidue, quem Constantius, ut privignum ad studia mittens, manu sua conscripserat, praelicenter disponens quid in

convivio Caesaris impendi deberet, phasianum et vulvam et sumen exigi vetuit et inferri, munificis militis vili et fortuito cibo contentus.

[3] Lastly, though he constantly read the booklet which Constantius, as it sending a stepson to the university, had written with his own hand, making lavish provision for what should be spent on Caesar's table, he forbade the ordering and serving of pheasants and of sow's matrix and udders, contenting himself with the coarse and ordinary rations of a common soldier.

[4] Hinc contingebat ut noctes ad officia divideret tripartita, quietis et publicae rei et musarum, quod factitasse Alexandrum legimus Magnum; sed multo hic fortius. Ille namque aenea concha supposita, brachio extra cubile protento pilam tenebat argenteam, ut cum nervorum vigorem sopor laxasset infusus, gestaminis lapsi tinnitus abrumperet somnum.

[4] So it came about that he divided his nights according to a threefold schedule — rest, affairs of state, and the Muses, a course which Alexander the Great, as we read, used to practise; but Julian was far more self-reliant. For Alexander used to set a bronze basin beside his couch and with outstretched arm hold a silver ball over it, so that when the coming of sleep relaxed the tension of his muscles, the clanging of the ball as it fell might break off his nap.

[5] Iulianus vero absque instrumento, quotiens voluit evigilavit, et nocte dimidiata semper exsurgens, non e plumis vel stragulis sericis ambiguo fulgore nitentibus, sed ex tapete et sisyra, quam vulgaris simplicitas susurnam appellat, occulte Mercurio supplicabat, quem mundi velociorem sensum esse motum mentium suscitantem, theologicae prodidere doctrinae; atque in tanto rerum defectu, explore rei publicae munera cuncta curabat.

[5] But Julian could wake up as often as he wished, without any artificial means. And when the night was half over, he always got up, not from a downy couch or silken coverlets glittering with varied hues, but from a rough blanket and rug, which the simple common folk call *susurna*. Then he secretly prayed to Mercury, whom the teaching of the theologians stated to be the swift intelligence of the universe, arousing the activity of men's minds; and in spite of such great lack of material things he paid diligent heed to all his public duties.

[6] Post quae ut ardua et seria terminata, ad procudendum ingenium vertebatur, et incredibile quo quantoque ardore, principalium rerum notitiam celsam indagans, et quasi pabula quaedam animo ad sublimiora scandenti conquirens, per omnia philosophiae membra prudenter disputando currebat.

[6] And after bringing these (as his lofty and serious tasks) to an end, he turned to the exercise of his intellect, and it is unbelievable with what great eagerness he sought out the sublime knowledge of all chiefest things, and as if in search

of some sort of sustenance for a soul soaring to loftier levels, ran through all the departments of philosophy in his learned discussions.

[7] Sed tamen cum haec effecte pleneque colligeret, nec humiliora despexit, poeticam mediocriter et rhetoricam tractans (ut ostendit orationum epistularumque eius cum gravitate comitas incorrupta) et nostrarum externarumque rerum historiam multiformem. Super his aderat Latine quoque disserendi sufficiens sermo.

[7] But yet, though he gained full and exhaustive knowledge in this sphere, he did not neglect more humble subjects, studying poetry to a moderate degree, and rhetoric (as is shown by the undefiled elegance and dignity of his speeches and letters) as well as the varied history of domestic and foreign affairs. Besides all this he had at his command adequate fluency also in Latin conversation.

[8] Si itaque verum est, quod scriptores varii memorant, Cyrum regem et Simonidem lyricum, et Hippian Eleum sophistarum acerrimum, ideo valuisse memoria, quod epotis quibusdam remediis id impetrarunt, credendum est hunc etiam tum adultum totum memoriae dolium (si usquam repperiri potuit) exhausisse. Et haec quidem pudicitiae virtutumque sunt signa nocturna.

[8] If, then, it is true (as divers writers report) that King Cyrus and the lyric poet Simonides, and Hippias of Elis, keenest of the sophists, had such powerful memories because they had acquired that gift by drinking certain potions, we must believe that Julian, when only just arrived at manhood, had drained the entire cask of memory, if such could be found anywhere. These, then, were the nightly evidences of his self-restraint and his virtues.

[9] Diebus vero quae ornate dixerit et facete, quaeve in apparatu vel in ipsis egerit congressibus proeliorum, aut in re civili magnanimitate correxit et libertate, suo quaeque loco singulatim demonstrabuntur.

[9] But how he passed his days in brilliant and witty conversation, in preparation for war or in the actual clash of battle, or in lofty and liberal improvements in civil administration, shall later be shown in detail, each in its proper place.

[10] Cum exercere pro ludia disciplinae castrensis philosophus cogeretur ut princeps, artemque modulatus incedendi per pyrricham concinentibus disceret fistulis, vetus illud proverbium ‘clitellae bovi sunt impositae; plane non est nostrum onus’ Platonem crebro nominans exclamabat.

[10] When this philosopher, being a prince, was forced to practise the rudiments of military training and learn the art of marching rhythmically in pyrrhic measure to the harmony of the pipes, he often used to call on Plato’s name, quoting that famous old saying: “A pack-saddle is put on an ox; that is

surely no burden for me.”

[11] Cum inducti essent iussu eius quadam sollemnitate agentes in rebus in consistorium, ut aurum acciperent inter alios, quidam ex eorum consortio, non (ut moris est) pansa chlamyde, sed utraque manu cavata suscepit. Et imperator ‘rapere’ inquit ‘non accipere sciunt agentes in rebus.’

[11] When the agents had been summoned by his order on a festal day to his council chamber, to receive their gold with the rest, one of the company took it, not (as the custom is) in a fold of his mantle, but in both his open hands. Whereupon the emperor said, “It is seizing, not accepting, that agents understand.”

[12] Aditus a parentibus virginis raptae, eum qui violarat convictum relegari decrevit. Hisque indigna pati querentibus, quod non sit morte multatus, responderat hactenus: ‘Incusent iura clementiam, sed imperatorem mitissimi animi legibus praestare ceteris decet.’

[12] When approached by the parents of a girl who had been assaulted, he ordered that her ravisher, if convicted, should be banished; and when they complained of the indignity suffered in that he was not punished with death, the emperor merely replied: “The laws may censure my clemency, but it is right for an emperor of very merciful disposition to rise above all other laws.”

[13] Egressurum eum ad expeditionem plures interpellabant ut laesi, quos audiendos provinciarum rectoribus commendabat; et reversus, quid egerint singuli quaerens, delictorum vindictas genuina lenitudine mitigabat.

[13] When he was on the point of leaving on a campaign, many persons would appeal to him, as having grievances; but he used to recommend them to the provincial governors for their hearings. On his return he would inquire what had been decided in each case, and with his native kindness would mitigate the punishment of the offences.

[14] Ad ultimum exceptis victoriis, per quas cadentes saepe incolumi contumacia barbaros fudit, quod profuerit anhelantibus extrema penuria Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingressus, pro capitulis singulis tributi nomine vicenos quinos aureos repperit flagitari, discedens vero septenos tantum munera universa complentes: ob quae tamquam solem sibi serenum post squalentes tenebras affulsisse, cum alacritate et tripudiis laetabantur.

[14] Last of all, not to speak of the victories in which he routed the savages, who often fell with spirits unbroken, what good he did to Gaul, labouring as it was in utmost destitution, appears most clearly from this fact: when he first entered those parts, he found that twenty-five pieces of gold were demanded by way of tribute from every one as a poll- and land-tax; but when he left,

seven only for full satisfaction of all duties. And on account of this (as if clear sunshine had beamed upon them after ugly darkness), they expressed their joy in gaiety and dances.

[15] Denique id eum ad usque imperii finem et vitae scimus utiliter observasse, ne per indulgentias (quas appellant) tributariae rei concederet reliqua. Norat enim hoc facto se aliquid locupletibus additurum, cum constet ubique, pauperes inter ipsa indictorum exordia solvere universa sine laxamento compelli.

[15] To conclude, we know that to the very end of his reign, and of his life, he observed this rule profitably, not to remit arrears of tribute by so-called “indulgencies.” For he had learned that by so doing he would somewhat better the condition of the rich, since it is generally known that poor people at the very beginning of the tax-levying are forced to pay in full without easement.

[16] Inter has tamen regendi moderandique vias, bonis principibus aemulandas, barbarica rabies exarserat rursus in maius.

[16] However, in the midst of these courses of wise governing, worthy of the imitation of good emperors, the fury of the savages had blazed forth again more than ever.

[17] Utque bestiae custodum neglegentia raptu vivere solitae, ne his quidem remotis, appositisque fortioribus abscesserunt, sed tumescentes inedia, sine respectu salutis, armenta vel greges incursant, ita etiam illi, cunctis quae diripuerunt consumptis, fame urgente, agebant aliquotiens praedas, interdum antequam contingerent aliquid, oppetebant. Arbetio vir consularis accusatur, et absolvitur. Haec per eum annum spe dubia eventu tamen secundo per Gallias agebantur. In comitatu vero Augusti, circumlatrabat Arbetionem invidia, velut summa mox adepturum, decora cultus imperatorii praestruxisse, instabatque ei strepens immania, comes Verissimus nomine, arguens coram, quod a gregario ad magnum militiae culmen evectus, hoc quoque non contentus (ut parvo) locum appeteret principalem.

[17] And as wild beasts accustomed to live by plundering when their guards are slack do not cease even when these guards are removed and stronger ones put in their place, but ravening with hunger rush upon flocks or herds without regard for their own lives: so they too, when they had used up all that they had seized by pillage, urged on by hunger, were continually driving off booty, and sometimes perishing of want before finding anything.

Arbetio, a man of consular rank, is accused and acquitted.

These were the events in Gaul during that year dubious in prospect, but successful in outcome. But in the court of the Augustus envy kept barking on every side at Arbetio, as one that would soon attain the highest rank and had

already prepared the insignia of imperial dignity; and a certain count, Verissimus by name, assailed him with unbridled outcry, openly charging that although he had risen from the common soldiery to the chief military command, he was not satisfied even with this, but thinking it was a slight thing, was aiming at the imperial position.

[2] Sed specialiter eum insectabatur Dorus quidam ex medico scutariorum, quem nitentium rerum centurionem sub Magnentio Romae provectum, retulimus accusasse Adelphium, urbi praefectum, ut altiora coeptantem.

[2] But in particular one Dorus, ex-surgeon of the targeteers, kept pursuing him; he it was who (as I stated) when promoted under Magnentius to be centurion in charge of works of art at Rome, accused Adelphius, prefect of the city, of aiming at a higher station.

[3] Cumque res in inquisitionem veniret, necessariisque negotio tentis, obiectorum probatio speraretur, tamquam per saturam subito cubiculariis suffragantibus, ut loquebatur pertinax rumor, et vinculis sunt exutae personae quae stringebantur ut consciae, et Dorus evanuit, et Verissimus ilico tacuit, velut aulaeo deposito scenae. Julianus Caesar a praeposito cubiculi sui Eutherio apud imperatorem defenditur adversus Marcellum; et laus Eutherii. Eisdem diebus, allapso rumore Constantius doctus, obsessio apud Senonas Caesari auxilium non tulisse Marcellum, eum sacramento solutum abire iussit in larem. Qui tamquam iniuria gravi percussus, quaedam in Iulianum moliebatur, auribus Augusti confisus, in omne patentibus crimen.

[3] And when the matter came to an investigation, and everything needful for the business was at hand, a proof of the charges was looked for; when suddenly, as if by an irregular vote, at the instance of the chamberlains (as persistent rumour reported) both those persons under restraint as implicated were released from their fetters; Dorus disappeared, and Verissimus at once held his peace, just as when on the stage the curtain is lowered and put away. Julianus Caesar is defended against Marcellus before the emperor by Eutheries, his chief chamberlain; and praise of Eutheries. At that same time Constantius, apprised by approaching rumour that when Caesar was blockaded at Sens, Marcellus had not brought aid, discharged the latter from the army and commanded him to depart to his home. Whereupon Marcellus, as if staggered by a grievous insult, began to contrive a plot against Julian, presuming on Augustus, whose ears were open to every slander.

[2] Ideoque cum discederet, Eutheries praepositus cubiculi mittitur statim post eum, siquid finxerit convicturus. Verum ille hoc nesciens, mox venit Mediolanum, strepens et tumultuans, (ut erat vanidicus et amenti propior); admissus in consistorium, Iulianum ut procacem insinuat, iamque ad evagandum altius validiores sibi pinnas aptare; ita enim cum motu quodam corporis loquebatur ingenti.

[2] And so, when Marcellus was on his way, Eutherius, the head chamberlain, was sent immediately after him, to confute him in case he should trump up anything. But Marcellus, unaware of this, presently came to Milan, blustering and making trouble, being a vain talkative fool and all but mad; and when admitted to the council, he charged Julian with being arrogant and already fitting himself with stronger pinions, so as to soar up higher; for thus he spoke with a mighty movement of his body to match his words.

[3] Haec eo fingente licentius, Eutherius (ut postulavit) inductus, iussusque loqui quod vellet, verecunde et modice docet, velari veritatem mendaciis. Magistro enim armorum, ut credebatur, cessante consulto, industria vigili Caesarem obsessum apud Senonas diu barbaros reppulisse, apparitoremque fidum auctori suo quoad vixerit fore, obligata cervice sua spondebat.

[3] While he was freely forging these accusations, Eutherius (as he requested) was brought in, and being commanded to say what he wished, modestly and in few words showed that the truth was veiled with lies. For while the commander of the heavy-armed infantry (as was believed) deliberately held back, Caesar, who had long been blockaded in Sens, had by his watchful energy driven back the barbarians; and Eutherius staked his own head on the promise that Julian would be a loyal servitor to his superior, so long as he should live.

[4] Res monuit super hoc eodem Eutherio pauca subserere, forsitan non credenda, ea re quod si Numa Pompilius vel Socrates bona quaedam dicerent de spadone, dictisque religionum adderent fidem, a veritate descivisse arguebantur. Sed inter vepres rosae nascuntur, et inter feras non nullae mitescunt, itaque carptim eius praecipua, quae sunt comperta, monstrabo.

[4] The subject prompts me to add a few facts about this same Eutherius, perhaps hardly to be credited, for the reason that if a Numa Pompilius or a Socrates should give any good report of a eunuch, and should back their statements by a solemn oath, they would be charged with having departed from the truth. But among brambles roses spring up, and among savage beasts some are tamed. Accordingly, I shall give a brief summary of the chief facts known about him.

[5] Natus in Armenia sanguine libero, captusque a finitimis hostibus, etiam tum parvulus abstractis geminis Romanis mercatoribus venundatus, ad palatium Constantini deducitur; ubi paulatim adulescens rationem recte vivendi, sollertiamque ostendebat, litteris quantum tali fortunae satis esse poterat eruditus, cogitandi inveniendique dubia et scrupulosa, acumine nimio praestans, immensum quantum memoria vicens, benefaciendi avidus plenusque iusti consilii, quem si Constans imperator olim ex adulto iamque maturum audiret, honesta suadentem et recta, nulla vel venia certe digna peccasset.

[5] He was born in Armenia of free parents, but when still very young he was kidnapped by hostile tribesmen in that neighbourhood, who gelded him and sold him to some Roman traders, who brought him to Constantine's palace. There, as he grew up, he gradually gave evidence of virtuous living and intelligence. He received as much training in letters as might suffice for one of that station; conspicuous for his remarkable keenness in devising and solving difficult and knotty problems, he had extraordinary powers of memory; he was eager to do kindnesses and full of sound counsel. And if the emperor Constans had listened to him in times past, when Eutherius had grown up and was already mature, and urged honourable and upright conduct upon him, he would have been guilty of no faults, or at least of only pardonable ones.

[6] Is praepositus cubiculi etiam Iulianum aliquotiens corripbat, Asiaticis coalitum moribus, ideoque levem. Denique digressus ad otium, asscitusque postea in palatium, semper sobrius et in primis consistens, ita fidem continentiamque virtutes coluit amplas, ut nec prodidisse aliquando arcanum, nisi tuendae causa alienae salutis, nec exarsisse cupidine plus habendi accerseretur, ut ceteri.

[6] When he had become head chamberlain, he would sometimes criticise even Julian, as trained in the manners of Asia and therefore inconstant. Finally going into retirement, but afterwards summoned to the palace, always temperate and especially consistent, he so cultivated the noble virtues of loyalty and self-restraint that he was never charged, as the rest have been, with having disclosed a secret, unless it were to save another's life, or to have been kindled with a desire to increase his wealth.

[7] Unde factum est ut subinde Romam secedens, ibique fixo domicilio consenesens, comitem circumferens conscientiam bonam, colatur a cunctis ordinibus et ametur, cum soleant id genus homines post partas ex iniquitate divitias latebras captare secretas, ut lucifugae vitantes multitudinis laesae conspectus.

[7] The result was, that when he presently retired to Rome and grew old there in a permanent home, he carried about with him a good conscience as his companion; he was honoured and loved by all classes, whereas that type of man, after amassing wealth by iniquitous means, usually seeks out secret lurking-places, like creatures of darkness shunning the sight of the multitude they have wronged.

[8] Cui spadonum veterum hunc comparare debeam, antiquitates replicando complures invenire non potui. Fuerunt enim apud veteres (licet oppido pauci) fideles et frugi, sed ob quaedam vitia maculosi. Inter praecipua enim, quae eorum quisque studio possederat vel ingenio, aut rapax aut feritate contemptior fuit, aut propensior ad laedendum, vel regentibus nimium blandus, aut potentiae fastu superbior; ex omni latere autem ita paratum,

neque legisse me neque audisse confiteor, aetatis nostrae testimonio locupleti confisus.

[8] In unrolling many records of the past, to see to which of the eunuchs of old I ought to compare him, I could find none. True, there were in times gone by those that were loyal and virtuous (although very few), but they were stained with some vice or other. For along with the excellent qualities which anyone of them had acquired by studious endeavour or natural ability he was either extortionate or despicable for his cruelty, or prone to do mischief, or too subservient to the rulers, or insolent through pride of power; but of one so well equipped in every direction I confess I have neither read nor heard, although I have relied on the abundant testimony of our age.

[9] Verum si forte scrupulosus quidam lector antiquitatum, Menophilum Mithridatis Pontici regis eunuchum, nobis opponat, hoc monitu recordetur, nihil super eo relatum praeter id solum, quod in supremo discrimine gloriose monstravit.

[9] But if haply any curious student of ancient history should confront me with Menophilus, the eunuch of Mithridates, king of Pontus, let this reminder recall to him that nothing was recorded of Menophilus save this one fact, that in the supreme crisis he made a glorious showing.

[10] Ingenti proelio superatus a Romanis et Pompeio rex praedictus, fugiensque ad regna Colchorum, adultam filiam nomine Drypetinam, vexatam asperitate morborum, in castello Sinhorio huic Menophilo commissam reliquit. Qui virginem omni remediorum solacio plene curatam, patri tutissime servans, cum a Mallio Prisco, imperatoris legato, munimentum quo claudebatur obsideri coepisset, defensoresque eius deditionem meditari sentiret, veritus ne parentis opprobrio puella nobilis captiva superesset et violata, interfecta illa mox gladium in viscera sua compegit. Nunc redeam unde diverti. Delationes et calumniae in castris Constantii Augusti, et aulicorum rapacitas. Superato ut dixi Marcello, reversoque Serdicam, unde oriebatur, in castris Augusti per simulationem tuendae maiestatis imperatoriae, multa et nefanda perpetrabantur.

[10] The aforesaid king, after having been defeated in a mighty battle by Pompey and the Romans, fled to the kingdom of Colchis; he left his grown daughter, Dryptina by name, who was afflicted with a grievous disease, in the fortress of Sinhorium under the charge of this Menophilus. He, resorting to every healing remedy, entirely cured the girl and was guarding her in complete security for her father, when the fortress in which he was beleaguered began to be blockaded by Mallius Priscus, the Roman commander's lieutenant-general; and when Menophilus learned that its defenders were thinking of surrender, fearing lest, to her father's reproach, the high-born girl might be taken alive and suffer outrage, he killed her and then plunged the

sword into his own vitals. Now let me return to the point from which I digressed. Slanders and calumnies in the camp of Constantius Augustus, and the greed of the courtiers. After Marcellus had been worsted, as I have said, and had returned to Serdica, his native place, in the camp of Augustus, under pretext of upholding his imperial majesty, many abominable acts were committed.

[2] *Nam si super occentu soricis vel occursu mustelae, vel similis signi gratia consulisset quisquam peritum, aut anile incantamentum ad leniendum adhibuisset dolorem, quod medicinae quoque admittit auctoritas, reus unde non poterat opinari delatus, raptusque in iudicium, poenaliter interibat.*

[2] For if anyone consulted a soothsayer about the squeaking of a shrew-mouse, the meeting with a weasel on the way, or any like portent, or used some old wife's charm to relieve pain (a thing which even medical authority allows), he was indicted (from what source he could not guess), was haled into court, and suffered death as the penalty.

[3] *Per id tempus fere servum quendam, nomine Danum, terrore tenus uxorum levium incusarat: hanc incertum unde notam Rufinus subsedit, — quo indicante quaedam cognita per Gaudentium, agentem in rebus, consularem Pannoniae tunc Africanum, cum convivis rettulimus interfectum — apparitionis praefecturae praetorianae tum etiam princeps ob devotionem.*

[3] At about that time a certain slave, Danus by name, was accused by his wife on trifling charges merely to intimidate him; this woman was approached by Rufinus, who had come to know her in some way or other. He was the man who had given certain information that he had learned through Gaudentius, one of the agents, and had caused the death of Africanus, then governor-general of Pannonia, along with his guests, as I have related; he was even then, because of his obsequiousness, chief steward of the praetorian prefecture.

[4] *Is (ut loquebatur iactantius) versabilem feminam, post nefandum concubitus, in periculosam fraudem illexit; suasit consarcinatis mendacis laesae maiestatis arcessere maritum insontem, et fingere quod velamen purpureum, a Diocletiani sepulcro furatus, quibusdam consciis occultabat.*

[4] This Rufinus (as he kept boastfully saying) led the fickle woman, first into shameful relations with him, and then into a dangerous deceit; he induced her by a tissue of lies to charge her guiltless husband with high treason, and to allege that he had stolen a purple robe from Diocletian's tomb and with several accomplices was concealing it.

[5] *Hisque ad multorum exitium ita formatis, ipse spe potiorum ad imperatoris pervolat castra, excitaturus calumnias consuetas. Reque comperta, iubetur Mavortius, tunc praefectus praetorio, vir sublimis constantiae, crimen acri*

inquisitione spectare, iuncto ad audiendi societatem Ursulo (largitionum comite) severitatis itidem non improbandae.

[5] And having thus framed these matters to the destruction of many persons, Rufinus himself, in hope of greater profit, flies to the emperor's camp, to stir up his customary scandals. And when the fact was divulged, Mavortius, then praetorian prefect, a man of high resolution, was bidden to look into the charge with a keen investigation, having associated with him, to hear the case in common, Ursulus, count of the largesses, likewise a man of praiseworthy severity.

[6] Exaggerato itaque negotio ad arbitrium temporum, cum nihil post tormenta multorum inveniretur, iudicesque haerent ambigui, tandem veritas respiravit oppressa, et in abrupto necessitatis mulier Rufinum totius machinae confitetur auctorem, nec adulterii foeditate suppressa; statimque legibus contemplatis, illi amore recti concordēs et iusti, ambos sententia damnare letali.

[6] So when the affair had been exaggerated, after the standard of the times, and after the torture of many persons nothing was discovered, and the judges were hesitating in perplexity, at last truth, crushed to earth, breathed again, and at the point of necessity the woman confessed that Rufinus was the contriver of the whole plot, and did not even keep back the shame of her adultery. And at once the laws were consulted and the judges, unanimous in their love of right and justice, condemned them both to death.

[7] Quo cognito Constantius fremens, et tamquam vindicem salutis suae lugens extinctum, missis equitibus citis, Ursulum redire ad comitatum minaciter iussit. Qui cum eo venisset adireque principem vellet, ab aulicis arcebatur, ne defendendae posset assistere veritati; sed ille spretis qui prohibebant, perrupit intrepidus, ingressusque consistorium, ore et pectore libero docuit gesta; hacque fiducia linguis adulatorum ocllusis, et praefectum et se discrimine gravi subtrahit.

[7] Constantius, on learning this, raged and lamented, as if the defender of his own life had perished; he sent fast horsemen and commanded Ursulus in threatening terms to return to the court. And when he had come there and wished to approach the emperor, the courtiers tried to keep him from being able to appear in defence of the truth. But he, scorning those who would hold him back, burst through fearlessly and, entering the council-chamber, with frank speech and bold heart told what had been done; and by this confidence having stopped the mouths of the flatterers, he delivered both the prefect and himself from a grave danger.

[8] Tune illud apud Aquitanos evenit, quod latior fama vulgarat. Veterator quidam ad lautum convivium rogatus et mundum, qualia sunt in his regionibus plurima, cum vidisset linteorum toralium purpureos clavos ita

latissimos, ut sibi vicissim arte ministrantium cohaerent, mensamque operimentis paribus tectam, anteriorem chlamydis partem utraque manu vehens intrinsecus, structuram omnem ut amictus adornaverat principalis; quae res patrimonium dives evertit.

[8] Then a thing happened in Aquitania which fame bruited more widely abroad. A crafty old fellow who was invited to a sumptuous and elegant banquet, such as are very frequent in that country, noticed that the purple borders of the linen couch-covers were so very broad that the skill of the attendants made them seem all one piece, and that the table was covered with similar cloths; and by turning the front part of his cloak inward with both hands, he so adorned its whole structure, that it resembled an emperor's garment ; and this action ruined a rich estate.

[9] Malignitate simili quidam agens in rebus in Hispania ad cenam itidem invitatus, cum inferentes vespertina lumina pueros exclamasse audisset ex usu 'vincamus,' verbum sollemne interpretatum atrociter delevit nobilem domum.

[9] With like malice a certain member of the secret service in Spain, who also was invited to a dinner, when he heard the slaves who were bringing in the evening lights cry (as the manner is): "May we conquer," gave the expression a serious meaning, and wickedly destroyed a noble house.

[10] Haec taliaque ideo magis magisque crescebant, quod Constantius impendio timidus et de vita sollicitus, semper se ferro peti sperabat, ut Dionysius tyrannus ille Siciliae, qui ob hoc idem vitium et tonstrices docuit filias, necui alieno ora committeret leviganda, aedemque brevem, ubi cubitare sueverat, alta circumdedit fossa eamque ponte solubili superstravit, cuius disiectos asseres et axiculos secum in somnum abiens transferebat, eosdemque compaginabat, lucis initio processurus.

[10] These and similar actions kept growing more and more common, for the reason that Constantius, who was excessively timid and fearful for his life, always anticipated that a knife was at his throat, like that famous Sicilian despot, Dionysius, who because of that same infirmity actually taught his daughters to be barbers, in order that he might not trust the shaving of his cheeks to an outsider; and he surrounded the little house in which he used to sleep, with a deep trench and spanned it with a knockdown bridge, the planks and pins of which he took apart and carried with him when he went off to bed; and reassembled them at daybreak, when he was on his way out.

[11] Inflabant itidem has malorum civilium bucinas potentes in regia, ea re ut damnatorum petita bona suis accorporarent, essetque materia per vicinitates eorum late grassandi.

[11] These trumpet-blasts of internal revolt were likewise increased by powerful courtiers, to the end that they might lay claim to the property of

condemned persons and incorporate it with their own, and thus have the means of encroaching widely on their neighbours.

[12] Namque ut documenta liquida prodiderunt, proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus, sed eos medullis provinciarum saginavit Constantius.

[12] For as clear proofs bore witness, the first of all to open the jaws of those nearest to him was Constantine, but it was Constantius who fattened them with the marrow of the provinces.

[13] Sub hoc enim ordinum singulorum auctores, infinita cupidine divitiarum arserunt, sine iustitiae distinctione vel recti, inter ordinarios iudices Rufinus primus praefectus praetorio, et inter militares equitum magister Arbetio, praepositusque cubiculi Eusebius, ... anus quaestor, et in urbe Anicii, quorum ad avorum aemulationem posteritas tendens, satiari numquam potuit cum possessione multo maiore. Agitur de pace cum Persis. At Persae in oriente per furta et latrocinia potius quam (ut solebant antea) per concursatorias pugnas, hominum praedas agitabant et pecorum, quas non numquam lucrabantur ut repentini, aliquotiens superati multitudine militum amittebant, interdum nihil conspiciere prorsus quod poterat rapi permittebantur.

[13] For under him the leading men of every rank were inflamed with a boundless eagerness for riches, without consideration for justice or right; among the civil functionaries first came Rufinus, the praetorian prefect; among the military, Arbetio, master of the horse, and the head-chamberlain Eusebius, . . . anus, the quaestor, and in Rome itself the members of the Anician family, whose younger generation, striving to outdo their forefathers, could never be satisfied with even much greater possessions.

Negotiations for peace with the Persians.

But the Persians in the East, rather by thieving and robbery than (as their former manner was) in set battles, kept driving off booty of men and animals; sometimes they got away with their loot, being unexpected; often they lost it, over-marched by the great number of our soldiers; occasionally they were not allowed to see anything at all which could be carried off.

[2] Musonianus tamen praefectus praetorio, multis (ut ante diximus) bonis artibus eruditus, sed venalis et flecti a veritate pecunia facilis, per emissarios quosdam, fallendi perstringendique gnaros, Persarum scitabatur consilia, assumpto in deliberationes huius modi Cassiano Mesopotamiae duce, stipendiis et discriminibus indurato diversis.

[2] None the less, Musonianus, the praetorian prefect, a man (as I have said before) gifted with many excellent accomplishments, but corrupt and easy to turn from the truth by a bribe, inquired into the designs of the Persians

through emissaries of his who were adepts in deceit and incrimination; and he took into his counsels on this subject Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, who had been toughened by various campaigns and dangers.

[3] Qui cum fide concinente speculatorum aperte cognosset Saporem in extremis regni limitibus, suorum sanguine fuso multiplici, aegre propulsare gentes infestas, Tamsaporem ducem parti nostrae contiguum, occultis per ignotos milites temptavere colloquiis, ut si copiam fors dedisset, suaderet regi per litteras pacem tandem aliquando cum principe Romano firmare, ut hoc facto ab occidentali latere omni securus, perduelles involaret assiduos.

[3] When the two had certain knowledge from the unanimous reports of their scouts that Sapor, on the remotest frontiers of his realm, was with difficulty and with great bloodshed of his troops driving back hostile tribesmen, they made trial of Tamsapor, the commander nearest to our territory, in secret interviews through obscure soldiers, their idea being that, if chance gave an opportunity, he should by letter advise the king finally to make peace with the Roman emperor, in order that by so doing he might be secure on his whole western frontier and could rush upon his persistent enemies.

[4] Paruit Tamsapor, hisque fretus refert ad regem, quod bellis acerrimis Constantius implicatus, pacem postulat precativam. Dumque ad Chionitas et Eusenos haec scripta mittuntur, in quorum confiniis agebat hiemem Sapor, tempus interstitit longum. Constantii Aug. militaris ac velut triumphalis in urbem Romam adventus. Haec dum per eas partes et Gallias pro captu temporum disponuntur, Constantius quasi cluso Iani templo stratisque hostibus cunctis, Romam visere gestiebat, post Magnenti exitium absque nomine ex sanguine Romano triumphaturus.

[4] Tamsapor consented and relying on this information, reported to the king that Constantius, being involved in very serious wars, entreated and begged for peace. But while these communications were being sent to the Chionitae and Euseni, in whose territories Sapor was passing the winter, a long time elapsed. Constantius Augustus in military attire and like a triumphator arrives in Rome. While these events were so being arranged in the Orient and in Gaul in accordance with the times, Constantius, as if the temple of Janus had been closed and all his enemies overthrown, was eager to visit Rome and after the death of Magnentius to celebrate, without a title, a triumph over Roman blood.

[2] Nec enim gentem ullam bella cientem per se superavit, aut victam fortitudine suorum comperit ducum, vel addidit quaedam imperio, aut usquam in necessitatibus summis primus vel inter primos est visus, sed ut pompam nimis extentam, rigentiaque auro vexilla, et pulcritudinem stipatorum ostenderet agenti tranquillius populo, haec vel simile quicquam videre nec speranti umquam nec optanti.

[2] For neither in person did he vanquish any nation that made war upon him, nor learn of any conquered by the valour of his generals; nor did he add anything to his empire; nor at critical moments was he ever seen to be foremost, or among the foremost; but he desired to display an inordinately long procession, banners stiff with gold work, and the splendour of his retinue, to a populace living in perfect peace and neither expecting nor desiring to see this or anything like it.

[3] Ignorans fortasse, quosdam veterum principum in pace quidem lictoribus fuisse contentos, ubi vero proeliorum ardor nihil perpeti poterat segne, alium anhelante rabido flatu ventorum lenunculo se commisisse piscantis, alium ad Deciorum exempla vovisse pro re publica spiritum, alium hostilia castra per semet ipsum cum militibus infimis explorasse, diversos denique actibus inclaruisset magnificis, ut glorias suas posteritatis celebri memoriae commendarent.

[3] Perhaps he did not know that some of our ancient commanders in time of peace were satisfied with the attendance of their lictors; but when the heat of battle could tolerate no inaction, one, with the mad blast of the winds shrieking, entrusted himself to a fisherman's skiff; another, after the example of the Decii, vowed his life for the commonwealth; a third in his own person together with common soldiers explored the enemy's camp; in short, various among them became famous through splendid deeds, so that they commended their glories to the frequent remembrance of posterity.

[4] Ut igitur multa quaeque consumpta sunt in apparatu regio, pro meritis cuilibet munera reddita, secunda Orfiti praefectura, transcurso Ocriculo, elatus honoribus magnis, stipatusque agminibus formidandis, tamquam acie ducebatur instructa, omnium oculis in eum contuitu pertinaci intentis.

[4] So soon, then, as much had been disbursed in regal preparation, and every sort of man had been rewarded according to his services, in the second prefecture of Orfitus he passed through Ocriculi, elated with his great honours and escorted by formidable troops; he was conducted, so to speak, in battle array and everyone's eyes were riveted upon him with fixed gaze.

[5] Cumque urbi propinquaret, senatus officia, reverendasque patriciae stirpis effigies, ore sereno contemplans, non ut Cineas ille Pyrri legatus, in unum coactam multitudinem regum, sed asylum mundi totius adesse existimabat.

[5] And when he was nearing the city, as he beheld with calm countenance the dutiful attendance of the senate and the august likenesses of the patrician stock, he thought, not like Cineas, the famous envoy of Pyrrhus, that a throng of kings was assembled together, but that the sanctuary of the whole world was present before him.

[6] Unde cum se vertisset ad plebem, stupebat qua celebritate omne quod

ubique est hominum genus confluerit Romam. Et tamquam Euphraten armorum specie territorus aut Rhenum, altrinsecus praeceuntibus signis, insidebat aureo solus ipse carpento, fulgenti claritudine lapidum variorum, quo micante lux quaedam misceri videbatur alterna.

[6] And when he turned from them to the populace, he was amazed to see in what crowds men of every type had flocked from all quarters to Rome. And as if he were planning to overawe the Euphrates with a show of arms, or the Rhine, while the standards preceded him on each side, he himself sat alone upon a golden car in the resplendent blaze of shimmering precious stones, whose mingled glitter seemed to form a sort of shifting light.

[7] Eumque post antegressos multiplices alios, purpureis subtegminibus texti, circumdedere dracones, hastarum aureis gemmatisque summitatibus illigati, hiatu vasto perflabiles, et ideo velut ira perciti sibilantes, caudarumque volumina relinquentes in ventum.

[7] And behind the manifold others that preceded him he was surrounded by dragons, woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused by anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind.

[8] Et incedebat hinc inde ordo geminus armatorum, clipeatus atque cristatus, corusco lumine radians, nitidis loricis indutus, sparsique cataphracti equites (quos *clibanarios* dictitant) personati thoracum muniti tegminibus, et limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non viros; quos laminarum circuli tenues, apti corporis flexibus ambiebant, per omnia membra diducti, ut quocumque artus necessitas commovisset, vestitus congrueret, iunctura cohaerenter aptata.

[8] And there marched on either side twin lines of infantrymen with shields and crests gleaming with glittering rays, clad in shining mail; and scattered among them were the full-armoured cavalry (whom they call *clibanarii*), all masked, furnished with protecting breastplates and girt with iron belts, so that you might have supposed them statues polished by the hand of Praxiteles, not men. Thin circles of iron plates, fitted to the curves of their bodies, completely covered their limbs; so that whichever way they had to move their members, their garment fitted, so skilfully were the joinings made.

[9] Augustus itaque faustis vocibus appellatus, non montium litorumque intonante fragore cohorrui, talem se tamque immobilem, qualis in provinciis suis visebatur, ostendens.

[9] Accordingly, being saluted as Augustus with favouring shouts, while hills and shores thundered out the roar, he never stirred, but showed himself as calm and imperturbable as he was commonly seen in his provinces.

[10] Nam et corpus perhumile curvabat portas ingrediens celsas, et velut collo munito, rectam aciem luminum tendens, nec dextra vultum nec laeva flectebat et (tamquam figmentum hominis) nec cum rota concuteret nutans, nec spuens, aut os aut nasum tergens vel fricans, manumve agitans visus est umquam.

[10] For he both stooped when passing through lofty gates (although he was very short), and as if his neck were in a vice, he kept the gaze of his eyes straight ahead, and turned his face neither to right nor to left, but (as if he were a lay figure) neither did he nod when the wheel jolted nor was he ever seen to spit, or to wipe or rub his face or nose, or move his hands about.

[11] Quae licet affectabat, erant tamen haec et alia quaedam in citeriore vita, patientiae non mediocris indicia, ut existimari dabatur, uni illi concessae.

[11] And although this was affectation on his part, yet these and various other features of his more intimate life were tokens of no slight endurance, granted to him alone, as was given to be understood.

[12] Quod autem per omne tempus imperil, nec in consessum vehiculi quemquam susceperat, nec in trabea socium privatum asscivit, ut fecere principes consecrati, et similia multa elatus in arduum supercilium, tamquam leges aequissimas observavit, praetereo, memor ea me rettulisse cum incidissent.

[12] Furthermore, that during the entire period of his reign he neither took up anyone to sit beside him in his car, nor admitted any private person to be his colleague in the insignia of the consulship, as other anointed princes did, and many like habits which in his pride of lofty conceit he observed as though they were most just laws, I pass by, remembering that I set them down when they occurred.

[13] Proinde Romam ingressus imperil virtutumque omnium larem, cum venisset ad rostra, perspectissimum priscoe potentiae forum, obstipuit, perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent, miraculorum densitate praestrictus, allocutus nobilitatem in curia, populumque e tribunali, in palatium receptus favore multiplici, laetitia fruebatur optata, et saepe, cum equestres ederet ludos, dicacitate plebis oblectabatur, nec superbae nec a libertate coalita desciscantis, reverenter modum ipse quoque debitum servans.

[13] So then he entered Rome, the home of empire and of every virtue, and when he had come to the Rostra, the most renowned forum of ancient dominion, he stood amazed; and on every side on which his eyes rested he was dazzled by the array of marvellous sights. He addressed the nobles in the senate-house and the populace from the tribunal, and being welcomed to the palace with manifold attentions, he enjoyed a longed-for pleasure; and on several occasions, when holding equestrian games, he took delight in the sallies of the commons, who were neither presumptuous nor regardless of

their old-time freedom, while he himself also respectfully observed the due mean.

[14] Non enim (ut per civitates alias) ad arbitrium suum certamina finire patiebatur, sed (ut mos est) variis casibus permittebat. Deinde intra septem montium culmina, per acclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra collustrans et suburbana, quicquid viderat primum, id eminere inter alia cuncta sperabat: Iovis Tarpei delubra, quantum terrenis divina praecellunt; lavacra in modum provinciarum exstructa; amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cuius summitatem aegre visio humana conscendit; Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam; elatosque vertices qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes, et Urbis templum forumque Pacis, et Pompei theatrum et Odeum et Stadium, aliaque inter haec decora urbis aeternae.

[14] For he did not (as in the case of other cities) permit the contests to be terminated at his own discretion, but left them (as the custom is) to various chances. Then, as he surveyed the sections of the city and its suburbs, lying within the summits of the seven hills, along their slopes, or on level ground, he thought that whatever first met his gaze towered above all the rest: the sanctuaries of Tarpeian Jove so far surpassing as things divine excel those of earth; the baths built up to the measure of provinces; the huge bulk of the amphitheatre, strengthened by its framework of Tiburtine stone, to whose top human eyesight barely ascends; the Pantheon like a rounded city-district, vaulted over in lofty beauty; and the exalted heights which rise with platforms to which one may mount, and bear the likenesses of former emperors; the Temple of the City, the Forum of Peace, the Theatre of Pompey, the Oleum, the Stadium, and amongst these the other adornments of the Eternal City.

[15] Verum cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni caelo structuram, ut opinamur, etiam numinum assensione mirabilem, haerebat attonitus, per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem, nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos. Omni itaque spe huius modi quicquam conandi depulsa, Traiani equum solum, locatum in atrii medio, qui ipsum principem vehit, imitari se velle dicebat et posse.

[15] But when he came to the Forum of Trajan, a construction unique under the heavens, as we believe, and admirable even in the unanimous opinion of the gods, he stood fast in amazement, turning his attention to the gigantic complex about him, begging description and never again to be imitated by mortal men. Therefore abandoning all hope of attempting anything like it, he said that he would and could copy Trajan's steed alone, which stands in the centre of the vestibule, carrying the emperor himself.

[16] Cui prope adstans regalis Ormisda, cuius e Perside discessum supra monstravimus, respondit astu gentili: 'Ante' inquit 'imperator, stabulum tale

condi iubeto, si vales; equus quem fabricare disponis, ita late succedat, ut iste quem videmus.’ Is ipse interrogatus quid de Roma sentiret, id tantum sibi placuisse aiebat, quod didicisset ibi quoque homines mori.

[16] To this prince Ormisda, who was standing near him, and whose departure from Persia I have described above, replied with native wit: “First, Sire,” said he, “command a like stable to be built, if you can; let the steed which you propose to create range as widely as this which we see.” When Ormisda was asked directly what he thought of Rome, he said that he took comfort in this fact alone, that he had learned that even there men were mortal.

[17] Multis igitur cum stupore visis horrendo, imperator de fama querebatur, ut invalida vel maligna, quod augens omnia semper in maius, erga haec explicanda quae Romae sunt obsolescit, deliberansque diu quid ibi ageret, urbis addere statuit ornamentis, ut in maximo circo erigeret obeliscum, cuius originem formamque loco competenti monstrabo.

[17] So then, when the emperor had viewed many objects with awe and amazement, he complained of Fame as either incapable or spiteful, because while always exaggerating everything, in describing what there is in Rome, she becomes shabby. And after long deliberation what he should do there, he determined to add to the adornments of the city by erecting in the Circus Maximus an obelisk, the provenance and figure of which I shall describe in the proper place.

[18] Inter haec Helenae sorori Constanti, Iuliani coniugi Caesaris, Romam affectionis specie ductae, regina tunc insidiabatur Eusebia, ipsa quoad vixerat sterilis, quaesitumque venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotienscumque concepisset, immaturum abiceret partum.

[18] Meanwhile Constantius’ sister Helena, wife of Julian Caesar, had been brought to Rome under pretence of affection, but the reigning queen, Eusebia, was plotting against her; she herself had been childless all her life, and by her wiles she coaxed Helena to drink a rare potion, so that as often as she was with child she should have a miscarriage.

[19] Nam et pridem in Galliis, cum marem genuisset infantem, hoc perdidit dolo, quod obstetrix corrupta mercede, mox natum, praesecto plus quam convenerat umbilico, necavit; tanta tamque diligens opera navabatur, ne fortissimi viri soboles appareret.

[19] For once before, in Gaul, when she had borne a baby boy, she lost it through this machination: a midwife had been bribed with a sum of money, and as soon as the child was born cut the umbilical cord more than was right, and so killed it; such great pains and so much thought were taken that this most valiant man might have no heir.

[20] Cupiens itaque augustissima omnium sede morari diutius imperator, ut otio puriore frueretur et voluptate, assiduīs nuntiis terrebat̄ur et certis, indicantibus Suebos Raetias incursare, Quadosque Valeriam, et Sarmatas, latrocinandi peritissimum genus, superiorem Moesiam et secundam populari Pannoniam; quibus percitus tricensimo postquam ingressus est die, quartum kal. Iulias ab urbe profectus, per Tridentum iter in Illyricum festinavit.

[20] Now the emperor desired to remain longer in this most majestic abode of all the world, to enjoy freer repose and pleasure; but he was alarmed by constant trustworthy reports, stating that the Suebi were raiding Raetia and the Quadi Valeria, while the Sarmatians, a tribe most accomplished in brigandage, were laying waste Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia. Excited by this news, on the thirtieth day after entering Rome he left the city on May 29th, and marched rapidly into Illyricum by way of Tridentum.

[21] Unde misso in locum Marcelli Severo, bellorum usu et maturitate firmato, Ursicinum ad se venire praecepit. Et ille litteris gratanter acceptis, Sirmium venit, comitantibus sociis, libratisque diu super pace consiliis, quam fundari posse cum Persis Musonianus rettulerat, in orientem cum magisterii remittitur potestate, provectis e consortio nostro ad regendos milites natu maioribus, adulescentes eum sequi iubemur, quicquid pro re publica mandaverit impleturi. Iulianus Caesar Alamannos in insulis Rheni, quo se et sua receperant, aggreditur, et Tres Tabernas adversus eos reparat. At Caesar exacta apud Senonas hieme turbulenta, Augusto novies seque iterum consule, Germanicis undique circumfremtentibus minis, secundis ominibus motus, Remos properavit alacrior, magisque laetus quod exercitum regebat Severus, nec discors nec arrogans, sed longa militiae frugalitate compertus, et eum recta prae-euntem secutus, ut ductorem morigerus miles.

[21] From there he sent Severus, a general toughened by long military experience, to succeed Marcellus, and ordered Ursicinus to come to him. The latter received the letter with joy and came to Sirmium with his companions; and after long deliberations about the peace which Musonianus had reported might be established with the Persians, Ursicinus was sent back to the Orient with the powers of commander-in-chief; the elder members of our company were promoted to the command of his soldiers, while we younger men were directed to escort him and be ready to perform whatever he should direct on behalf of the commonwealth. Iulianus Caesar attacks the Alamanni on the islands of the Rhine, to which they had fled with their belongings, and refits Tres Tabernae against them. But Iulianus Caesar, after having passed a troubled winter at Sens, in the year when the emperor was consul for the ninth time and he for the second, with the threats from the Germans thundering on every side, stirred by favourable omens hastened to Rheims. He felt the greater eagerness and pleasure because Severus was commanding the army, a man neither insubordinate nor overbearing but well known for his long

excellent record in the army, who had followed Julian as he advanced straight ahead, as an obedient soldier follows his general.

[2] Parte alia Barbatio, post Silvani interitum promotus ad peditum magisterium, ex Italia iussu principis cum XXV milibus armatorum Rauracos venit.

[2] From another direction Barbatio, who had been promoted after Silvanus' death to the command of the infantry, came from Italy at the emperor's order with twenty-five thousand soldiers to Augst.

[3] Cogitatum est enim, solliciteque praestructum, ut saevientes ultra solitum Alamanni vagantesque fusius, multitudine geminata nostrorum, forcipis specie, trusi in angustias caederentur.

[3] For it was planned and carefully arranged beforehand that the Alamanni, who were raging beyond their customary manner and ranging more afield, should be driven into straits as if with a pair of pliers by twin forces of our soldiers, and cut to pieces.

[4] Dum haec tamen rite disposita celerantur, Laeti barbari ad tempestiva furta sollertes, inter utriusque exercitus castra occulte transgressi, invasere Lugdunum incautam, eamque populatam vi subita concremassent, ni clausis aditibus reperiussi, quicquid extra oppidum potuit inveniri vastassent.

[4] But while these well-laid plans were being hurried on, the Laeti, a savage tribe skilled in seasonable raids, passed secretly between the encampments of both armies and made an unlooked for attack on Lyons; and with their sudden onset they would have sacked and burned the town, had they not been driven back from the closed gates but made havoc of whatever they could find outside the town.

[5] Qua clade cognita, agili studio Caesar missis cuneis tribus equitum expeditorum et fortium, tria observavit itinera, sciens per ea erupturos procul dubio grassatores; nec conatus ei insidianti irritus fuit.

[5] This disaster was no sooner known than Caesar, with quick grasp of the situation, sent three squadrons of brave light cavalry and watched three roads, knowing that the raiders would doubtless burst forth by them; and his ambushade was not in vain.

[6] Cunctis enim qui per eos tramites exiere truncatis, receptaque praeda omni intacta, hi soli innoxii absoluti sunt, qui per vallum Barbationis transiere securi, ideo labi permissi, quod Bainobaudes tribunus, et Valentinianus postea imperator, cum equestribus turmis quas regebant, ad exsequendum id ordinati, a Cella tribuno scutariorum, qui Barbationi sociatus venerat ad procinctum, iter observare sunt vetiti, unde redituros didicere Germanos.

[6] For all who passed out by those roads were butchered and all their booty recovered intact, and only those escaped unharmed who made their way undisturbed past the rampart of Barbatio; being allowed so to slip by because Bainobaudes, the tribune, and Valentinian, afterwards emperor, who with the cavalry troops they commanded had been ordered to attend to that matter, were forbidden by Cella, tribune of the targeteers, who had come to the campaign as Barbatio's colleague, to watch the road over which they were informed that the Germans would return.

[7] Quo non contentus, magister peditum ignavus et gloriarum Iuliani pervicax obtrectator, sciens se id contra utilitatem Romanae rei iussisse — hoc enim cum argueretur, Cella confessus est — relatione fefellit Constantium, finxitque hos eosdem tribunos, ad sollicitandos milites quos duxerat per speciem venisse negotii publici; qua causa abrogata potestate ad lares rediere privati.

[7] And not content with that, the infantry commander, who was a coward and a persistent detractor of Julian's reputation, knowing that what he had ordered was against the interests of the Roman cause (for when Cella was charged with this, he confessed it), deceived Constantius in his report and pretended that these same tribunes had come, under the pretext of public business, to tamper with the soldiers whom he had been commanding; and for that reason they were cashiered and returned to their homes in a private capacity.

[8] Eisdem diebus, exercituum adventu perterriti barbari, qui domicilia fixere cis Rhenum, partim difficiles vias et suapte natura clivosas, concaedibus clausere solleter, arboribus immensi roboris caesis; alii occupatis insulis sparsis crebro per flumen Rhenum, ferum ululantes et lugubre, conviciis Romanos incessebant et Caesarem; qui graviore motu animi percitus, ad corripiendos aliquos septem a Barbatione petierat naves, ex his quas velut transiturus amnem ad compaginandos paraverat pontes; qui, nequid per eum impetraretur, omnes incendit.

[8] At that same time the savages who had established their homes on our side of the Rhine, were alarmed by the approach of our armies, and some of them skilfully blocked the roads (which are difficult and naturally of heavy grades) by barricades of felled trees of huge size; others, taking possession of the islands which are scattered in numbers along the course of the Rhine, with wild and mournful cries heaped insults upon the Romans and Caesar. Whereupon he was inflamed with a mighty outburst of anger, and in order to catch some of them, asked Barbatio for seven of the ships which he had got ready for building bridges with the intention of crossing the river; but Barbatio burned them all, in order that he might be unable to give any help.

[9] Doctus denique exploratorum delatione recens captorum, aestate iam torrida fluvium vado posse transiri, hortatus auxiliares velites cum

Bainobaude Cornutorum misit tribuno, facinus memorabile si iuvisset fors patraturos, qui nunc incedendo per brevia, aliquotiens scutis in modum alveorum suppositis, nando ad insulam venere propinquam, egressique promiscue virile et muliebre secus sine aetatis ullo discrimine trucidabant ut pecudes, nantique vacuas lintres, per eas licet vacillantes evecti, huius modi loca plurima perruperunt, et ubi caedendi satias cepit, opimitate praedarum onusti, cuius partem vi fluminis amiserunt, rediere omnes incolumes.

[9] Finally Julian, learning from the report of some scouts just captured, that now in the heat of summer the river could be forded, with words of encouragement sent the light-armed auxiliaries with Bainobaudes, tribune of the Cornuti, to perform a memorable feat, if fortune would favour them; and they, now wading through the shallows, now swimming on their shields, which they put under them like canoes, came to a neighbouring island and landing there they butchered everyone they found, men and women alike, without distinction of age, like so many sheep. Then, finding some empty boats, they rowed on in these, unsteady as they were, and raided a large number of such places; and when they were sated with slaughter, loaded down with a wealth of booty (a part of which they lost through the force of the current) they all came back safe and sound.

[10] Hocque comperto, residui Germani, ut infido praesidio insularum relicto, ad ulteriora necessitudines et fruges opesque barbaricas contulerunt.

[10] And the rest of the Germans, on learning of this, abandoned the islands as an unsafe refuge and carried off into the interior their families, their grain, and their rude treasures.

[11] Conversus hinc Iulianus ad reparandas Tres Tabernas (munimentum ita cognominatum,) haut ita dudum obstinatione subversum hostili, quo aedificato constabat ad intima Galliarum (ut consueverant) adire Germanos arceri, et opus spe celerius consummavit, et victum defensoribus ibi locandis, ex barbaricis messibus non sine discriminis metu collectum militis manu, condidit ad usus anni totius.

[11] From here Julian turned aside to repair the fortress called Tres Tabernae, destroyed not long before by the enemy's obstinate assault, the rebuilding of which ensured that the Germans could not approach the interior of Gaul, as they had been wont to do. And he both finished this work sooner than was expected and, for the garrison that was to be stationed there, he stored up food for the needs of a whole year, gathered together by the hands of the soldiers, not without fear of danger, from the savages' crops.

[12] Nec sane hoc solo contentus, sibi quoque viginti dierum alimenta parata collegit. Libentius enim bellatores quaesito dexteris propriis utebantur, admodum indignati, quoniam ex commeatu, qui eis recens advectus est, ideo

nihil sumere potuerunt, quod partem eius Barbatio, cum transiret iuxta, superbe praesumpsit; residuumque quod superfuit congestum in acervum exussit, quae utrum ut vanus gerebat et demens, an mandatu principis confidenter nefanda multa temptabat, usque in id temporis latuit.

[12] And not content with that alone, he gathered for himself also rations to serve for twenty days. For the warriors the more willingly made use of what they had won by their own right hands, being greatly incensed because from the supplies which had just been brought them they could get nothing, since Barbatio had arrogantly appropriated a part of them, when they were passing near him; and piled in a heap what remained over and burned it. Whether he did this like an empty-headed fool, or at the emperor's bidding brazenly perpetrated his many abominable acts, has remained obscure up to this time.

[13] Illud tamen rumore tenus ubique iactabatur, quod Iulianus non levaturus incommoda Galliarum electus est, sed ut possit per bella deleri saevissima, rudis etiam tum ut existimabatur, et ne sonitum quidem duraturus armorum.

[13] However, it was current rumour everywhere, that Julian was not chosen to relieve the distress of Gaul, but that he might meet his death in the cruellest of wars, being even then (as it was thought) inexperienced and one who could not stand even the clash of arms.

[14] Dum castrorum opera mature consurgunt, militisque pars stationes praetendit agrarias, alia frumenta insidiarum metu colligit caute, multitudo barbarica rumorem nimia velocitate praeversa, Barbationem cum exercitu quem regebat (ut praedictum est) Gallico vallo discretum impetu repentino aggressa, sequensque fugientes ad usque Rauracos et ultra quoad potuit, rapta sarcinarum et iumentorum cum calonibus parte maxima redit ad suos.

[14] While the fortifications of the camp were rapidly rising and part of the soldiers were garrisoning the country posts, part gathering in grain warily for fear of ambush, a horde of savages, outstripping by their extraordinary speed any rumour of their coming, with a sudden attack set upon Barbatio and the army he commanded, which was (as has been said) separated from the Gallic camp; and they followed them in their flight as far as Augst, and as much farther as they could; then, after seizing the greater part of his baggage and pack-animals, together with the camp-followers, they returned home again.

[15] Et ille tamquam expeditione eventu prospero terminata, milite disperso per stationes hibernas, ad comitatum imperatoris revertit, crimen compositurus in Caesarem (ut solebat). Iulianus C. vii Alamannorum reges Galliam incubantes aggreditur, et barbaros apud Argentoratum acie fundit. Quo dispalato foedo terrore, Alamannorum reges Chonodomarius et Vestralpus, Urius quin etiam et Ursicinus, cum Serapione et Suomario et Hortario, in unum robore virium suarum omni collecto, bellicumque canere bucinis iussis, venerunt prope urbem

Argentoratum, extrema metuentem Caesarem arbitrati retrocessisse, cum ille tum etiam perficiendi munimenti studio stringeretur.

[15] And Barbatio, as if he had ended the campaign successfully, distributed his soldiers in winter quarters and returned to the emperor's court, to frame some charge against Caesar, as was his custom. Julianus Caesar attacks the seven kings of the Alamanni, who were oppressing the Gauls, and routs the savages in a battle at Argentoratum (Strasbourg). When this disgraceful panic had been spread abroad, the kings of the Alamanni, Chonodomarius and Vestralpus, as well as Urius and Ursicinus, together with Serapio and Suomarius and Hortarius, collected all the flower of their forces in one spot and having ordered the horns to sound the war note, approached the city of Strasbourg, thinking that Caesar had retired through fear of the worst, whereas he was even then busily employed in his project of completing the fort.

[2] *Erexit autem confidentiam caput altius attollentum scutarius perfuga, qui commissi criminis metuens poenam, transgressus ad eos post ducis fugati discessum, armatorum tredecim milia tantum remansisse cum Iuliano docebat — is enim numerus eum sequebatur — barbara feritate certaminum rabiem undique concitante.*

[2] Moreover, as they tossed their heads proudly, their confidence was increased by a deserter from the targeteers; who, in fear of punishment for a crime he had committed, went over to them after the departure of his defeated leader, and informed them that only thirteen thousand soldiers had stayed with Julian; and in fact that was the number of his followers, while savage ferocity was arousing the frenzy of battle on every side.

[3] *Cuius asseveratione eadem subinde replicantis, ad maiora stimulati fiducia, missis legatis, satis pro imperio Caesari mandaverunt, ut terris abscederet virtute sibi quaesitis et ferro; qui ignarus pavendi, nec ira nec dolore percussus, sed fastus barbaricos ridens, tentis legatis ad usque perfectum opus castrorum, in eodem gradu constantiae stetit immobilis.*

[3] Through this deserter's frequent repetition of that statement their confidence was raised still higher; they sent delegates to Caesar and imperiously enough commanded him to depart from the lands which they had won by valour and the sword. But he, a stranger to fear, neither lost his temper nor felt aggrieved, but laughing at the presumption of the savages, he detained the envoys until the work of fortification was ended and remained steadfast in the same attitude of resolution.

[4] *Agitabat autem miscebatque omnia, sine modo ubique sese diffunditans, et princeps audendi periculosa, rex Chonodomarius, ardua subrigens supercilia, ut saepe secundis rebus elatus.*

[4] Now King Chonodomarius was raising general disturbance and confusion,

making his presence felt everywhere without limit, a leader in dangerous enterprises, lifting up his brows in pride, being as he was conceited over frequent successes.

[5] Nam et Decentium Caesarem superavit, aequo Marte congressus, et civitates erutas multas vastavit et opulentas, licentiusque diu nullo refragante Gallias persultavit. Ad cuius roborandam fiduciam, recens quoque fuga ducis accessit, numero praestantis et viribus.

[5] For he both met Decentius Caesar on equal terms and defeated him, and had destroyed and sacked many wealthy cities, and for a long time freely overran Gaul without opposition. To strengthen his confidence, there was added besides the recent rout of a general superior in numbers and strength.

[6] Alamanni enim scutorum insignia contuentes, norant eos milites permisisse paucis suorum latronibus terrain, quorum metu aliquotiens, antequam gradum conferrent, amissis pluribus abiire dispersi. Quae anxie ferebat sollicitus Caesar, quod trudente ipsa necessitate, digresso periculi socio, cum paucis (licet fortibus) populosis gentibus occurrere cogeatur.

[6] For the Alamanni, on seeing the devices of their shields, realised that these soldiers, who had given ground before a few of their brigands, were the men in fear of whom they had at times in the past scattered and fled with heavy losses, before coming to close quarters. All this caused Julian worry and anxiety, because at the instance of urgent necessity, with the partner of his danger gone, he was forced with only a few (though brave) troops to meet swarming tribes.

[7] Iamque solis radiis rutilantibus, tubarumque concinente clangore, pedestres copiae lentis incessibus educuntur, earumque lateri equestres iunctae sunt turmae, inter quas cataphractarii erant et sagittarii, formidabile genus armorum.

[7] Already the beams of the sun were reddening the sky, and the blare of the trumpets was sounding in unison, when the infantry forces were led out at a moderate pace, and to their flank were joined the squadrons of cavalry, among whom were the cuirassiers and the archers, a formidable branch of the service.

[8] Et quoniam a loco, unde Romana promota sunt signa, ad usque vallum barbaricum quarta leuga signabatur et decima, id est unum et viginti milia passuum, utilitati securitatisque recte consulens Caesar, revocatis procursatoribus iam antegressis, indictaque solitis vocibus quiete, cuneatim circumsistentes alloquitur, genuina placiditate sermonis:

[8] And since from the place where the Roman standards had begun advancing, the distance to the enemy's camp was figured to be fourteen leagues — that is, twenty-one miles — Caesar had proper regard for both advantage and

security, and having recalled his outposts, who had already gone ahead, and having proclaimed silence by the usual announcements, with his native calmness of speech he addressed the soldiers, who stood about him in companies, as follows:

[9] ‘Urget ratio salutis tuendae communis, ut parcissime dicam, non iacentis animi Caesarem hortari vos et orare, commilitones mei — ut adulta robustaque virtute confisi, cautiorem viam potius eligamus, ad toleranda vel ad depellenda quae sperantur, non praeproperam et ancipitem.

[9] “Regard for maintaining our common safety (to speak most sparingly) urges me, a Caesar far from pusillanimous, to urge and entreat you, fellow soldiers, to have confidence in our mature and sturdy courage, and to choose for all of us rather the path of caution, not the over-hasty and doubtful one, if we are to withstand or to repulse what we have to expect.

[10] Ut enim in periculis iuventutem impigram esse convenit et audacem, ita (cum res postulat) regibilem et consultam. Quid igitur censeo, si arbitrium affuerit vestrum, iustaque sustinet indignatio, paucis absolvam.

[10] For in the midst of peril, while it is proper that young men should be energetic and daring, they should also (when occasion requires) be docile and circumspect. Let me therefore in few words detail what my opinion is and see if you will give me leave, and your just anger upholds it.

[11] Iam dies in meridiem vergit, lassitudine nos itineris fatigatos, scrupulosi tramites excipient et obscuri, nox senescente luna nullis sideribus adiuvanda, terrae protinus aestu flagrant, nullis aquarum subsidiis fultae; quae si dederit quisquam commode posse transiri, ruentibus hostium examinibus post otium cibique refectionem et potus, quid nos agamus? Quo vigore inedia siti laboreque membris marcentibus occurramus?

[11] The day is already nearing noon; we are exhausted by the fatigue of the march; steep and blind paths will receive us; the moon is waning and the night will be relieved by no stars; the country is fairly ablaze with heat and relieved by no supply of water. If anyone should grant us the ability to pass through all this comfortably, what are we to do when the enemy’s swarms rush upon us, refreshed as they will be with rest and food and drink? What strength can we have, when our limbs are enfeebled with hunger, thirst and toil, to offer resistance?

[12] Ergo quoniam negotiis difficillimis quoque saepe dispositio tempestiva prospexit, et statum nutantium rerum, recto consilio in bonam partem accepto, aliquotiens divina remedia repararunt, hic quaeso vallo fossaque circumdati, divisis vigiliis, quiescamus, somnoque et victu congruis potiti pro tempore, pace dei sit dictum, triumphaturas aquilas et vexilla victricia primo lucis moveamus exordio.’

[12] Therefore, since even the most difficult situations have often been met by timely arrangement, and when suitable advice has been taken in good part, heaven-sent remedies have frequently restored the condition of affairs which threatened ruin, here, I ask of you, protected by a rampart and a trench and with our sentinels picketed, let us rest and for the present enjoy sleep and food suitable to the occasion; and then (with God's leave be it spoken) let us advance our triumphant eagles and victorious standards at the first break of day."

[13] Nec finiri perpassi quae dicebantur, stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta monstrantes, in hostem se duciam conspicuum exorabant, caelestis dei favore, fiduciaque sui, et fortunati rectoris expertis virtutibus freti, atque (ut exitus docuit) salutaris quidam genius praesens ad dimicandum eos (dum adesse potuit), incitabat.

[13] The soldiers did not allow him to finish what he was saying, but gnashed and ground their teeth and showed their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together, and besought him that they might be led against an enemy who was already in sight, trusting in the favour of God in Heaven, in their own self-confidence, and in the tried valour of their lucky general; and (as the event showed) a sort of helpful guardian spirit was urging them to the fray, so long as he could be at hand.

[14] Accessit huic alacritati plenus celsarum potestatum assensus, maximeque Florenti praefecti praetorio, periculose quidem sed ratione secunda pugnandum esse censentis, dum starent barbari conglobati, qui si diffluxissent, motum militis in seditiones nativo calore propensioris ferri non posse aiebat, extortam sibi victoriam (ut putavit) non sine ultimorum conatu graviter toleraturi.

[14] To add to this eagerness there was the full approval of the high command and especially of Florentius, the praetorian prefect, who judged that though it was risky, they must none the less fight with hope of success while the savages were standing massed together; but if they scattered, the resentment of our soldiers, who, he said, are inclined by their native hotness of temper towards insubordination, would be impossible to withstand; for that victory (as they thought) should be wrested from their hands they would hardly endure without recourse to the last extremity.

[15] Addiderat autem fiduciam nostris consideratio gemina, recordantibus quod anno nuper emenso, Romanis per transrhenana spatia fusius volitantibus, nec visus est quisquam laris sui defensor, nec obvius stetit, sed concaede arborum densa undique semitis clausis, sidere urente brumali, aegre vixere barbari longius amendati, quodque imperatore terras eorum ingresso, nec resistere ausi, nec apparere, pacem impetraverunt, suppliciter obsecrantes.

[15] Furthermore, our men's confidence had been increased by a twofold consideration, since they recalled that during the year just elapsed, when the Romans were ranging freely all through the country beyond the Rhine, not a man was seen to defend his own home or to make a stand against them; but after blocking the paths everywhere with a thick barricade of felled trees, the savages, frost-bitten by winter climate, had much ado to live, moving far out of the way; and once the emperor had entered into their country they did not dare either to resist or show themselves, and obtained peace by suppliant entreaties.

[16] Sed nullus mutatam rationem temporis advertebat, quod tunc tripertito exitio premebantur, imperatore urgente per Raetias, Caesare proximo nusquam elabi permittente, finitimis, quos hostes fecere discordiae, modo non occipitia conculcantibus hinc indeque cinctorum. Postea vero pace data discesserat imperator, et sedata iurgiorum materia, vicinae gentes iam concordabant, et turpissimus ducis Romani digressus ferociam natura conceptam auxit in maius.

[16] But no one noticed that now the state of the case was changed, since then they were threatened with ruin from three sides; the emperor was menacing them by way of Raetia, Caesar was near at hand and would not allow them to slip out anywhere, and their neighbours (whom civil strife had made their enemies) were all but treading on their necks while they were hemmed in on all sides. But later, peace was granted and the emperor had departed; the source of their quarrels having disappeared, the border tribes were now in agreement; and the shameful departure of the Roman commander had greatly increased the savageness implanted in them by nature.

[17] Alio itidem modo res est aggravata Romana, ex negotio tali. Regii duo fratres vinculo pacis adstricti, quam anno praeterito impetraverant a Constantio, nec tumultuare nec commoveri sunt ausi. Sed paulo postea uno ex his Gundomado, qui potior erat, fideique firmioris, per insidias interempto, omnis eius populus cum nostris hostibus conspiravit et confestim Vadomarii plebs (ipso invito, ut asserebat) agminibus bella cientium barbarorum sese coniunxit.

[17] In another way also the Roman situation was made worse in consequence of the following occurrence: there were two brothers of royal blood, who, bound by the obligation of the peace which they had obtained from Constantius the year before, dared neither to raise a disturbance nor to make any move; but a little later, when one of them, Gundomadus, who was the stronger of the two and truer to his promise, had been treacherously murdered, all his tribe made common cause with our enemies, and at once the subjects of Vadomarius (against his will, as he insisted) united with the armies of the savages who were clamouring for war.

[18] Cunctis igitur summis infimisque approbantibus tune opportune congregiendum, nec de rigore animorum quicquam remittentibus, exclamavit subito signifer 'Perge, felicissime omnium Caesar, quo te fortuna prosperior ducit; tandem per te virtutem et consilia militare sentimus. Praevius ut faustus antesignanus et fortis, experieris quid miles sub conspectu bellicosi ductoris testisque individui gerendorum, modo adsit superum numen, viribus efficiet excitatis.'

[18] So, since the whole army, from the highest to the lowest, agreed that then was the suitable time to fight, and did not in the least abate their inflexibility of spirit, one of the standard bearers suddenly cried: "Forward, most fortunate of all Caesars, whither your lucky star guides you; in you at last we feel that both valour and good counsel are in the field. Leading the way for us like a lucky and valiant commander, you will find what the soldier will accomplish when his strength is called out to the full, under the eyes of a warlike general, the immediate witness of his achievements, if only the favour of the supreme deity be present."

[19] His auditis cum nullae laxarentur indutiae, promotus exercitus prope collem advenit molliter editum, opertum segetibus iam maturis, a superciliis Rheni haut longo intervallo distantem; ex cuius summitate speculatores hostium tres equites exciti, subito nuntiaturi Romanum exercitum adventare, festinarunt ad suos, unus vero pedes qui sequi non potuit, captus agilitate nostrorum, indicavit per triduum et trinoctium flumen transisse Germanos.

[19] On hearing this no delay was permitted, but the army moved forward and approached a hill of gentle slope, covered with grain already ripe, and not far distant from the banks of the Rhine. From its top three of the enemy's cavalry scouts galloped off and hastened to their troops, to bring speedy word of the Roman army's approach. But one infantryman, who could not keep up with them, was caught through the quickness of our men, and reported that the Germans had been crossing the river for three days and three nights.

[20] Quos cum iam prope densantes semet in cuneos nostrorum conspexere ductores, steterunt vestigiis fixis, antepilanis hastisque et ordinum primis, velut insolubili muro fundatis, et pari cautela hostes stetero cuneati.

[20] When our leading officers espied them, now near at hand, taking their places in close wedge-formation, they halted and stood fast, making a solid line, like an impregnable wall, of the vanguard, the standard bearers, and the staff-officers; and with like wariness the enemy held their ground in wedge-formation.

[21] Cumque ita ut ante dictus docuerat perfuga, equitatum omnem a dextro latere sibi vidissent oppositum, quicquid apud eos per equestres copias praepollebat, in laevo cornu locavere confertum. Eisdemque sparsim pedites

miscuere discursatores et leves, profecto ratione tuta poscente.

[21] And when (just as the above mentioned deserter had told us) they saw all our cavalry opposite them on the right flank, they put all their strongest cavalry forces on their left flank in close order. And among them here and there they intermingled skirmishers and light-armed infantry, as safe policy certainly demanded.

[22] Norant enim licet prudentem ex equo bellatorem cum clibanario nostro congressum, frena retinentem et scutum, hasta una manu vibrata, tegminibus ferreis abscondito bellatori nocere non posse, peditem vero inter ipsos discriminum vertices, cum nihil caveri solet praeter id quod occurrit, humiliter et occulte reptantem, latere forato iumentum, incautum rectorem praecipitem agere, levi negotio trucidandum.

[22] For they realised that one of their warriors on horseback, no matter how skilful, in meeting one of our cavalry in coat-of-mail, must hold bridle and shield in one hand and brandish his spear with the other, and would thus be able to do no harm to a soldier hidden in iron armour; whereas the infantry soldier in the very hottest of the fight, when nothing is apt to be guarded against except what is straight before one, can creep about low and unseen, and by piercing a horse's side throw its unsuspecting rider headlong, whereupon he can be slain with little trouble.

[23] Hoc itaque disposito, dextrum sui latus struxere clandestinis insidiis et obscuris. Ductabant autem populos omnes pugnaces et saevos Chonodomarius et Serapio, potestate excelsiores ante alios reges.

[23] Having made this arrangement, they provided their right flank with secret and puzzling ambushes. Now all these warlike and savage tribes were led by Chonodomarius and Serapio, kings higher than all the rest in authority.

[24] Et Chonodomarius quidem nefarius turbinis totius incentor, cuius vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur, anteibat cornu sinistrum, audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor proelii sperabatur, immanis, equo spumante sublimior, erectus in iaculum formidandae vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus ante alios, et strenuus miles et utilis praeter ceteros ductor.

[24] And Chonodomarius, who was in fact the infamous instigator of the whole disturbance, rode before the left wing with a flame-coloured plume on his helmet, a bold man, who relied upon his mighty muscular strength, a huge figure wherever the heat of battle was looked for; erect on his foaming steed, he towered with a lance of formidable size; made conspicuous above others by the gleam of his armour, he was both a doughty soldier and a skilful general beyond all the rest.

[25] Latus vero dextrum Serapio agebat etiam tum adultae lanuginis iuvenis,

efficacia praecurrens aetatem; Mederichi fratris Chonodomarii filius, hominis quoad vixerat perfidissimi; ideo sic appellatus, quod pater eius diu obsidatus pignore tentus in Galliis, doctusque Graeca quaedam arcana, hunc filium suum, Agenarichum genitali vocabulo dictitatum, ad Serapionis transtulit nomen.

[25] But the right wing was led by Serapio, who was still a young man with downy cheeks, but his ability outran his years; he was the son of Mederichus, Chonodomarius' brother, a man of the utmost treachery all his life; and he was so named because his father, who had for a long time been kept as a hostage in Gaul and had been taught certain Greek mysteries, changed his son's original native name of Agenarichus to that of Serapio.

[26] Hos sequebantur potestate proximi reges, numero quinque, regalesque decem, et optimatum series magna, armatorumque milia triginta et quinque, ex variis nationibus partim mercede, partim pacto vicissitudinis reddendae quaesita.

[26] These were followed by the kings next in power, five in number, by ten princes, with a long train of nobles, and 35,000 troops levied from various nations, partly for pay and partly under agreement to return the service.

[27] Iamque torvum concrepantibus tubis, Severus dux Romanorum, aciem dirigens laevam, cum prope fossas armatorum refertas venisset, unde dispositum erat ut abditis repente exorti cuncta turbarent, stetit impavidus, suspectiorque de obscuris, nec referre gradum nec ulterius ire temptavit.

[27] And now as the trumpets blared ominously, Severus, the Roman general in command of the left wing, on coming near the trenches filled with soldiers, from which it had been arranged that the men in concealment should rise up suddenly and throw everything into confusion, halted fearlessly, and being somewhat suspicious of ambushes, made no attempt either to draw back or to go further.

[28] Quo viso, animosus contra labores maximos Caesar, ducentis equitibus saeptus, ut ardor negotii flagitabat, agmina peditum impetu veloci discurrent, verbis hortabatur et gestu.

[28] On seeing this, Caesar, who was courageous in the face of the greatest dangers, surrounded himself with an escort of two hundred horsemen, as the violence of this affair demanded, and with word and action urged the lines of infantry to deploy with swift speed.

[29] Et quoniam alloqui pariter omnes nec longitude spatiorum extenta, nec in unum coactae multitudinis permetteret crebritas, (et alioqui vitabat gravioris invidiae pondus, ne videretur id affectasse quod soli sibi deberi Augustus existimabat) incautior sui hostium tela praetervolans, his et similibus notos

pariter et ignotos ad faciendum fortiter accendebat.

[29] And since to address them all at once was impossible, both on account of the wide extent of the field and the great numbers of the multitude that had been brought together (and besides he avoided the heavy burden of jealousy, for fear of seeming to have affected that which the emperor supposed to be due to himself alone) without thought of his own safety he flew past the enemy's weapons and by these and similar speeches animated the soldiers, strangers as well as acquaintances, to deeds of valour.

[30] 'Advenit — o socii — iustum pugnandi iam tempus, olim exoptatum mihi vobiscum, quod antehac arcessentes, arma inquietis motibus poscebatis.'

[30] "There has come now, comrades, the real time for fighting, which you and I have long since desired, and which you were just now demanding, when you were tumultuously calling for your weapons."

[31] Item cum ad alios postsignanos, in acie locatos extrema, venisset, 'En' inquit 'commilitones, diu speratus praesto est dies, compellens nos omnes, elutis pristinis maculis, Romanae maiestati reddere proprium decus. Hi sunt barbari quos rabies et immodicus furor ad perniciem rerum suarum coegit occurrere, nostris viribus opprimendos.'

[31] Also, when he had come to others, who were stationed behind the standards and in the extreme rear, he said: "Behold, fellow-soldiers, the long-hoped-for day is now here, forcing us all to wash away the old-time stains and restore its due honour to the majesty of Rome. These are the savages whom madness and excessive folly have driven on to the ruin of their fortunes, doomed as they are to be overwhelmed by our might."

[32] Alios itidem bellandi usu diutino callentes, aptius ordinans, his exhortationibus adiuvabat: 'Exsurgamus — viri fortes — propulsemus fortitudine congrua illisa nostris partibus probra, quae contemplans Caesaris nomen cunctando suscepi.'

[32] In the same way, as he arranged in better order others who were experienced by long practice in warfare, he cheered them with with such words of encouragement as these: "Let us bestir ourselves, brave soldiers, and by seasonable valour do away with the reproaches inflicted upon our cause, in consideration of which I have hesitatingly accepted the title of Caesar."

[33] Quoscumque autem pugnae signum inconsulte poscentes, rupturosque imperium irrequietis motibus praevideret, 'Quaeso' inquit 'ne hostes vertendos in fugam sequentes avidius, futurae victoriae gloriam violetis, neu quis ante necessitatem ultimam cedat. Nam fugituros procul dubio deseram, hostium terga caesuris adero indiscretus, si hoc pensatione moderata fiat et cauta.'

[33] But whenever he saw any soldiers who were calling for the battle-signal out of season, and foresaw that they would by their riotous actions break discipline, he said: "I beg of you, do not mar the glory of our coming victory by following too eagerly the enemy whom you are about to put to flight; and let none yield ground before the extremity of need. For I shall surely abandon those who are likely to flee, but I shall be inseparably present with those who shall wound their foemen's backs, provided that it be done with regard for judgment and caution.

[34] Haec aliaque in eundem modum saepius replicando, maiorem exercitus partem primae barbarorum opposuit fronti, et subito Alamannorum peditum fremitus, indignationi mixtus auditus est, unanimi conspiratione vociferantium, relictis equis secum oportere versari regales, ne siquid contigisset adversum, deserta miserabili plebe, facilem discedendi copiam reperirent.

[34] While he kept often repeating these and other words to the same effect, he placed the greater part of his army opposite the forefront of the savages, and suddenly there was heard the outcry of the German infantry, mingled with indignation, as they shouted with one accord that their princes ought to leave their horses and keep company with them, for fear that they, if anything adverse should occur, abandoning the wretched herd, would easily make shift to escape.

[35] Hocque comperto, Chonodomarius iumento statim desiluit, et secuti eum residui idem fecere, nihil morati; nec enim eorum quisquam ambigebat partem suam fore victricem.

[35] On learning of this, Chonodomarius at once sprang down from his horse, and the rest, following his example, did the same without delay; for not one of them doubted that their side would be victorious.

[36] Dato igitur aeneatorum accentu sollemniter signo ad pugnandum utrimque, magnis concursum est viribus. Paulisper praepilabantur missilia, et properantes concito quam considerato cursu Germani, telaque dextris explicantes, involavere nostrorum equitum turmas, frendentes immania, eorumque ultra solitum saevientium, comae fluentes horrebant, et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor, quos contra pertinax miles, scutorum obicibus vertex tegens, eiectansque gladios, vel tela concrispsans, mortem minitantiā perterrebat.

[36] So, when the call to battle had been regularly given on both sides by the notes of the trumpeters, they began the fight with might and main; for a time missiles were hurled, and then the Germans, running forward with more haste than discretion, and wielding their weapons in their right hands, flew upon our cavalry squadrons; and as they gnashed their teeth hideously and raged

beyond their usual manner, their flowing hair made a terrible sight, and a kind of madness shone from their eyes. Against them our soldiers resolutely protected their heads with the barriers of their shields, and with sword thrusts or by hurling darts threatened them with death and greatly terrified them.

[37] Cumque in ipso proeliorum articulo eques se fortiter conturmaret, et muniret latera sua firmius pedes, frontem artissimis conserens parmis, erigebantur crassi pulveris nubes, variique fuere discursus, nunc resistantibus, nunc cedentibus nostris, et obnixa genibus quidam barbari peritissimi bellatores, hostem propellere laborabant, sed destinatione nimia dexteræ dexteris miscebantur et umbo trudebat umbonem, caelumque exsultantium cadentiumque resonabat a vocibus magnis, et cum cornu sinistrum artius gradiens, urgentium tot agmina Germanorum vi nimia pepulisset, iretque in barbaros fremens, equites nostri cornu tenentes dextrum, præter spem incondite discesserunt, dumque primi fugientium postremos impediunt, gremio legionum protecti, fixerunt integrate proelio gradum.

[37] And when in the very crisis of the battle the cavalry formed massed squadrons valiantly and the infantry stoutly protected their flanks by making a front of their bucklers joined fast together, clouds of thick dust arose. Then there were various manœuvres, as our men now stood fast and now gave ground, and some of the most skilful warriors among the savages by the pressure of their knees tried to force their enemy back; but with extreme determination they came to hand-to-hand fighting, shield-boss pushed against shield, and the sky re-echoed with the loud cries of the victors or of the falling. And although our left wing, marching in close formation had driven back by main force the onrushing hordes of Germans and was advancing with shouts into the midst of the savages, our cavalry, which held the right wing, unexpectedly broke ranks and fled; but while the foremost of these fugitives hindered the hindmost, finding themselves sheltered in the bosom of the legions, they halted, and renewed the battle.

[38] Hoc autem exinde acciderat, quod dum ordinum restituitur series, cataphracti equites viso rectore suo leviter vulnerato, et consorte quodam per cervicem equi labente, pondere armorum oppressi, dilapsi qua quisque poterat, peditesque calcando cuncta turbassent, ni conferti illi sibique vicissim innexi stetissent immobiles. Igitur cum equites nihil præter fugae circumspectantes praesidia, vidisset longius Caesar, concito equo, eos velut repagulum quoddam cohibuit.

[38] Now that had happened for the reason that while the order of their lines was being re-established, the cavalry in coat-of-mail, seeing their leader slightly wounded and one of their companions slipping over the neck of his horse, which had collapsed under the weight of his armour, scattered in whatever direction they could; the cavalry would have caused complete confusion by trampling the infantry under foot, had not the latter, who were

packed close together and intertwined one with the other, held their ground without stirring. So, when Caesar had seen from a distance that the cavalry were looking for nothing except safety in flight, he spurred on his horse and held them back like a kind of barrier.

[39] Quo agnito per purpureum signum draconis, summitati hastae longioris aptatum, velut senectutis pandentis exuvias, stetit unius turmae tribunus, et pallore timoreque perculsus, ad aciem integrandam recurrit.

[39] On recognising him by the purple ensign of a dragon, fitted to the top of a very long lance and spreading out like the slough of a serpent, the tribune of one of the squadrons stopped, and pale and struck with fear rode back to renew the battle.

[40] Utque in rebus amat fieri dubiis, eosdem lenius increpans Caesar, ‘Quo’ inquit ‘cedimus, viri fortissimi? an ignoratis, fugam quae salutem numquam repperit, irriti conatus stultitiam indicare? Redeamus ad nostros, saltem gloriae futuri participes, si eos pro re publica dimicantes reliquimus inconsulte.’

[40] Whereupon Caesar, as is the custom to do in times of panic, rebuked them mildly and said: “Whither are we fleeing, my most valiant men? Do you know not that flight never leads to safety, but shows the folly of a useless effort? Let us return to our companions, to be at least sharers in their coming glory, if it is without consideration that we are abandoning them as they fight for their country.”

[41] Haec reverenter dicendo, reduxit omnes ad munia subeunda bellandi, imitatus salva differentia veterem Sullam, qui cum contra Archelaum (Mithridatis ducem)educta acie proelio fatigabatur ardenti, relictus a militibus cunctis, cucurrit in ordinem primum, raptoque et coniecto vexillo in partem hostilem, ‘Ite’ dixerat ‘socii periculorum electi, et scitantibus ubi relictus sim imperator, respondete nihil fallentes: ‘ solus in Boeotia pro omnibus nobis cum dispendio sanguinis sui decernens.”

[41] By his tactful way of saying this he recalled them all to perform their duty as soldiers, following (though with some difference) the example of Sulla of old. For when he had led out his forces against Mithradates’ general Archelaus and was being exhausted by the heat of battle and deserted by all his men, he rushed to the front rank, caught up a standard, flung it towards the enemy, and cried: “Go your way, you who were chosen to be companions of my dangers, and to those who ask you where I, your general, was left, answer truthfully: ‘ Fighting alone in Boeotia, and shedding his blood for all of us.”

[42] Proinde Alamanni, pulsus disiectisque equitibus nostris, primam aciem peditum incesse, earn abiecta resistendi animositate pulsuri.

[42] Then the Alamanni, having beaten and scattered our cavalry, charged upon

the front line of the infantry, supposing that their courage to resist was now lost and that they would therefore drive them back.

[43] Sed postquam comminus ventum est, pugnabatur paribus diu momentis. Cornuti enim et Bracchiati, usu proeliorum diuturno firmati, eos iam gestu terrentes, barritum ciere vel maximum: qui clamor ipso fervore certaminum, a tenui susurro exoriens, paulatimque adulescens ritu extollitur fluctuum, cautibus illisorum; iaculorum deinde stridentium crebritate, hinc indeque convolante, pulvis aequali motu adsurgens, et prospectum eripiens arma armis corporaque corporibus obtrudebat.

[43] But as soon as they came to close quarters, the contest continued a long time on equal terms. For the Cornuti and the Bracchiati, toughened by long experience in fighting, at once intimidated them by their gestures, and raised their mighty battle-cry. This shout in the very heat of combat rises from a low murmur and gradually grows louder, like waves dashing against the cliffs. Then a cloud of hissing javelins flew hither and thither, the dust arose with steady motion on both sides and hid the view, so that weapon struck blindly on weapon and body against body.

[44] Sed violentia iraque incompressi, barbari in modum exarsere flammarum, nexamque scutorum compagem, quae nostros in modum testudinis tuebatur, scindebant ictibus gladiatorum assiduis.

[44] But the savages, thrown into disorder by their violence and anger, flamed up like fire, and hacked with repeated strokes of their swords at the close-jointed array of shields, which protected our men like a tortoise-formation.

[45] Quo cognito opitulatum conturmalibus suis celeri cursu Batavi venere cum Regibus, formidabilis manus, extremae necessitatis articulo circumventos, (si iuvisset fors) ereptura, torvumque canentibus classicis, adultis viribus certabatur.

[45] On learning this, the Batavians, with the “Kings” (a formidable band) came at the double quick to aid their comrades and (if fate would assist) to rescue them, girt about as they were, from the instant of dire need; and as their trumpets pealed savagely, they fought with all their powers.

[46] Verum Alamanni bella alacriter ineuntes, altius anhelabant, velut quodam furoris afflatu, opposita omnia deleturi. Spicula tamen verrutaeque missilia non cessabant, ferrataeque arundines fundebantur, quamquam etiam comminus mucro feriebat contra mucronem, et loricae gladiis findebantur, et vulnerati nondum effuso cruore ad audendum exsertius consurgebant.

[46] But the Alamanni, who enter eagerly into wars, made all the greater effort, as if to destroy utterly everything in their way by a kind of fit of rage. Yet darts and javelins did not cease to fly, with showers of iron-tipped arrows,

although at close quarters also blade clashed on blade and breastplates were cleft with the sword; the wounded too, before all their blood was shed, rose up to some more conspicuous deed of daring.

[47] Pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti.

[47] For in a way the combatants were evenly matched; the Alamanni were stronger and taller, our soldiers disciplined by long practice; they were savage and uncontrollable, our men quiet and wary, these relying on their courage, while the Germans presumed upon their huge size.

[48] Resurgebat tamen aliquotiens armorum pondere pulsus loco Romanus, lassatisque impressus genibus laevum reflectens poplitem barbarus subsidebat, hostem ultro lacessens, quod indicium est obstinationis extremae.

[48] Yet frequently the Roman, seem to have been a select body of household troops. The Batavians had no kings at this time. driven from his post by the weight of armed men, rose up again; and the savage, with his legs giving way from fatigue, would drop on his bended left knee and even thus attack his foe, a proof of extreme resolution.

[49] Exsiluit itaque subito ardens optimatum globus, inter quos decernebant et reges, et sequente vulgo ante alios agmina nostrorum irrupit, et iter sibi aperiendo, ad usque Primanorum legionem pervenit locatam in medio — quae confirmatio castra praetoria dictitatur, -ubi densior et ordinibus frequens, miles instar turrium fixa firmitate consistens, proelium maiore spiritu repetivit, et vulneribus declinandis intentus, seque in modum mirmillonis operiens, hostium latera, quae nudabat ira flagrantior, districtis gladiis perforabat.

[49] And so there suddenly leaped forth a fiery band of nobles, among whom even the kings fought, and with the common soldiers following they burst in upon our lines before the rest; and opening up a path for themselves they got as far as the legion of the Primani, which was stationed in the centre a strong feature called praetorian camp; there our soldiers, closely packed and in fully-manned lines. stood their ground fast and firm, like towers, and renewed the battle with greater vigour; and being intent upon avoiding wounds, they protected themselves like mirmillos, and with drawn swords pierced the enemy's sides, left bare by their frenzied rage.

[50] At illi prodigere vitam pro victoria contententes, temptabant agminis nostri laxare compagem. Sed continuata serie peremptorum, quos Romanus iam fidentior stravit, succedebant barbari superstites interfectis, auditoque occumbentium gemitu crebro, pavore perfusi torpebant.

[50] But the enemy strove to lavish their lives for victory and kept trying to

break the fabric of our line. But as they fell in uninterrupted succession, and the Romans now laid them low with greater confidence, fresh savages took the places of the slain; but when they heard the frequent groans of the dying, they were overcome with panic and lost their courage.

[51] Fessi denique tot aerumnis, et ad solam deinceps strenui fugam, per diversos tramites tota celeritate digredi festinabant, ut e mediis saevientis pelagi fluctibus, quocumque avexerit ventus, eici nautici properant et vectores; quod voti magis quam spei fuisse fatebitur quilibet tunc praesens.

[51] Worn out at last by so many calamities, and now being eager for flight alone, over various paths they made haste with all speed to get away, just as sailors and passengers hurry to be cast up on land out of the midst of the billows of a raging sea, no matter where the wind has carried them; and anyone there present will admit that it was a means of escape more prayed for than expected.

[52] Aderatque propitiati numinis arbitrium clemens, et secans terga cedentium miles cum interdum flexis ensibus ferendi non suppeterent instrumenta, erepta ipsis barbaris tela eorum vitalibus immergebat, nec quisquam vulnerantium sanguine iram explevit nec satiavit caede multiplici dexteram, vel miseratus supplicantem abscessit.

[52] Moreover, the gracious will of an appeased deity was on our side, and our soldiers slashed the backs of the fugitives; when sometimes their swords were bent, and no weapons were at hand for dealing blows, they seized their javelins from the savages themselves and sank them into their vitals; and not one of those who dealt these wounds could with their blood glut his rage or satiate his right hand by continual slaughter, or take pity on a suppliant and leave him.

[53] Iacebant itaque plurimi transfixi letaliter, remedia mortis compendio postulantes, alii semineces, labente iam spiritu, lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant, quorundam capita discissa trabalibus telis, et pendentia iugulis cohaerebant, pars per limosum et lubricum solum, in sociorum cruore relapsi, intactis ferro corporibus, acervis superruentium obruti necabantur.

[53] And so a great number of them lay there pierced with mortal wounds, begging for death as a speedy relief; others half-dead, with their spirit already slipping away, sought with dying eyes for longer enjoyment of the light; some had their heads severed by pikes heavy as beams, so that they hung down, connected only by their throats; some had fallen in their comrades' blood on the miry, slippery ground, and although their persons were untouched by the steel, they were perishing, buried beneath the heaps of those who kept falling above them.

[54] Quae ubi satis evenere prosperrime, validius instante victore, acumina densis ictibus hebescebant, splendentesque galeae sub pedibusolvebantur et scuta, ultimo denique trudente discrimine, barbari, cum elati cadaverum aggeres exitus impedirent, ad subsidia fluminis petivere, quae sola restabant, eorum terga iam perstringentis.

[54] When all this had turned out so very successfully, our victorious troops pressed on with greater vigour, blunting the edges of their swords with stroke after stroke, while gleaming helms and shields rolled about under foot. At last the savages, driven on by the utmost extremity, since the heaps of corpses were so high as to block their passage, made for the only recourse left, that of the river, which now almost grazed their backs.

[55] Et quia cursu sub armis concito, fugientes miles indefessus urgebat, quidam nandi peritia eximi se posse discriminibus arbitrati, animas fluctibus commiserunt. Qua causa celeri corde futura praevidens Caesar, cum tribunis et ducibus clamore obiurgatorio prohibebat, ne hostem avidius sequens, nostrorum quisquam se gurgitibus committeret verticosis.

[55] And since our indefatigable soldiers, running fast even under their armour, pressed upon them as they fled, some of them, thinking that by their skill in swimming they could save themselves from the dangers, committed their lives to the waves. Whereupon Caesar, with swift intelligence foreseeing what might happen, joined with the tribunes and higher officers in restraining shouts, forbidding any of our men in their over-eager pursuit of the enemy to entrust themselves to the eddying flood.

[56] Unde id observatum est, ut marginibus insistentes, confoderent telorum varietate Germanos, quorum siquidem morti velocitas subtraxisset, iacti corporis pondere ad ima fluminis subsidebat.

[56] As a result it was seen that they stood on the banks and transfixed the Germans with various kinds of darts; and if any of them by his speed escaped this death, he would sink to the bottom of the river through the weight of his struggling body.

[57] Et velut in quodam theatriali spectaculo, aulaeis miranda monstrantibus multa, licebat iam sine metu videre nandi strenuis quosdam nescios adhaerentes, fluitantes alios cum expeditioribus linquerentur ut stipites, et velut luctante amnis violentia vorari quosdam fluctibus involutos, non nullos clipeis vectos, praeruptas undarum occurrentium molis, obliquatis meatibus declinantes, ad ripas ultiores post multa discrimina pervenire. Spumans denique cruore barbarico, decolor alveus insueta stupebat augmenta.

[57] And just as in some theatrical scene, when the curtain displays many wonderful sights, so now one could without apprehension see how some who did not know how to swim clung fast to good swimmers; how others floated

like logs when they were left behind by those who swam faster; and some were swept into the currents and swallowed up, so to speak, by the struggling violence of the stream; some were carried along on their shields, and by frequently changing their direction avoided the steep masses of the onrushing waves, and so after many a risk reached the further shores. And at last the reddened river's bed, foaming with the savages' blood, was itself amazed at these strange additions to its waters.

[57] *Dum haec ita aguntur, rex Chonodomarius reperta copia discedendi, lapsus per funerum strues, cum satellitibus paucis, celeritate rapida properabat ad castra, quae prope Tribuncos et Concordiam munimenta Romana, fixit intrepidus, ut escensis navigiis, dudum paratis ad casus ancipites, in secretis secessibus se amendaret.*

[58] While this was thus going on, King Chonodomarius found means to get away by slipping through the heaps of corpses with a few of his attendants, and hastened at top speed towards the camp which he had boldly pitched near the Roman fortifications of Tribunci and Concordia, his purpose being to embark in some boats which he had sometime before got ready for any emergency, and hide himself away in some secret retreat.

[59] *Et quia non nisi Rheno transito ad territoria sua poterat pervenire, vultum ne agnosceretur operiens, sensim retulit pedem. Cumque propinquaret iam ripis, lacunam palustribus aquis interfusam circumgrediens ut transiret, calcata mollitie glutinosa, equo est evolutus, et confestim licet obeso corpore gravior, ad subsidium vicini collis evasit, quem agnitum (nec enim potuit celare qui fuerit, fortunae prioris magnitudine proditus), statim anhelu cursu cohors cum tribuno secuta, armis circumdatum aggerem nemorosum, cautius obsidebat, perrumpere verita, ne fraude latenti inter ramorum tenebras exciperetur occultas.*

[59] And since he could not reach his own territories except by crossing the Rhine, he covered his face for fear of being recognised and slowly retired. But when he was already nearing the river-bank and was skirting a lagoon which had been flooded with marsh water, in order to get by, his horse stumbled on the muddy and sticky ground and he was thrown off; but although he was fat and heavy, he quickly escaped to the refuge of a neighbouring hill. But he was recognised (for he could not conceal his identity, being betrayed by the greatness of his former estate); and immediately a cohort with its tribune followed him with breathless haste and surrounded the wooded height with their troops and cautiously invested it, afraid to break in for fear that some hidden ambush might meet them among the dark shadows of the branches.

[60] *Quibus visis, compulsus ad ultimos metus, ultro se dedit solus egressus, comitesque eius ducenti numero et tres amici iunctissimi, flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, si ita tulerit casus, tradidere se*

vinciendos.

[60] On seeing them he was driven to the utmost fear and surrendered of his own accord, coming out alone; and his attendants, two hundred in number, with three of his closest friends, thinking it a disgrace to survive their king, or not to die for their king if an emergency required it, gave themselves up to be made prisoners.

[61] Utque nativo more sunt barbari humiles in adversis, dispaesque in secundis, servus alienae voluntatis trahebatur pallore confusus, claudente noxarum conscientia linguam, immensum quantum ab eo differens, qui post feros lugubresque terrores, cineribus Galliarum insultans, multa minabatur et saeva.

[61] And as the savages are by nature humble in adversity and overbearing in success, subservient as he now was to another's will he was dragged along pale and abashed, tongue-tied by the consciousness of his crimes — how vastly different from the man who, after savage and woeful outrages, trampled upon the ashes of Gaul and threatened many dire deeds.

[62] Quibus ita favore superni numinis terminatis, post exactum iam diem, occidente liticine revocatus invitissimus miles, prope supercilia Rheni tendebat, scutorumque ordine multiplicato vallatus, victu fruebatur et somno.

[62] So the battle was thus finished by the favour of the supreme deity; the day had already ended and the trumpet sounded; the soldiers, very reluctant to be recalled, encamped near the banks of the Rhine, protected themselves by numerous rows of shields, and enjoyed food and sleep.

[63] Ceciderunt autem in hac pugna Romani quidem CCXL et III, rectores vero III: Bainobaudes Cornutorum tribunus, adaeque Laipso et Innocentius cataphractarios ducens, et vacans quidam tribunus, cuius non suppetit nomen; ex Alamannis vero sex milia corporum numerata sunt, in campo constrata, et alii inestimabiles mortuorum acervi per undas fluminis ferebantur.

[63] Now there fell in this battle on the Roman side two hundred and forty-three soldiers and four high officers: Bainobaudes, tribune of the Cornuti, and also Laipso; and Innocentius, commander of the mailed cavalry, and one unattached tribune, whose name is not available to me. But of the Alamanni there were counted six thousand corpses lying on the field, and heaps of dead, impossible to reckon, were carried off by the waves of the river.

[64] Tunc Iulianus, ut erat fortuna sui spectatior, meritisque magis quam imperio potens, Augustus acclamatione concordii totius exercitus appellatus, ut agentes petulantius milites increpabat, id se nec sperare nec adipisci velle iurando confirmans.

[64] Thereupon, since Julian was a man of greater mark than his position, and

more powerful in his deserts than in his command, he was hailed as Augustus by the unanimous acclamation of the entire army; but he rebuked the soldiers for their thoughtless action, and declared with an oath that he neither expected nor desired to attain that honour.

[65] Et ut augeret eventus secundi laetitiam, concilio convocato propositisque praemiis, propitio ore Chonodomarium sibi iussit offerri. Qui primo curvatus, deinde humi suppliciter fusus, gentilique prece veniam poscens, bono animo esse est iussus.

[65] And to enhance their rejoicing over their success, he called an assembly and offered rewards, and then courteously gave orders that Chonodomarius should be brought before him; the king at first bowed down and then humbly prostrated himself on the ground; and when he begged for forgiveness in his native tongue, he was told to be of good courage.

[66] Et diebus postea paucis ductus ad comitatum imperatoris, missusque exinde Romam, in castris peregrinis, quae in monte sunt Caelio, morbo veterni consumptus est.

[66] And a few days later he was conducted to the emperor's court and thence sent to Rome; there in the Castra Peregrina, which is on the Caelian Hill, he died from senile decay.

[67] His tot ac talibus prospero peractis eventu, in palatio Constanti quidam Iulianum culpantes, ut princeps ipse delectaretur, irrisive Victorinum ideo nominabant, quod verecunde referens quotiens imperaret, superatos indicabat saepe Germanos.

[67] On the successful outcome of these exploits, so numerous and so important, some of the courtiers in Constantius' palace found fault with Julian, in order to please the emperor himself, or facetiously called him Victorinus, on the ground that, although he was modest in making reports whenever he led the army in battle, he often mentioned defeats of the Germans.

[68] Interque exaggerationem inanium laudum, ostentationemque aperte lucentium, inflabant ex usu imperatorem, suoapte ingenio nimium, quicquid per omnem terrae ambitum agebatur, felicibus eius auspiciis assignantes.

[68] And between piling on empty praise, and pointing to what was clearly evident, they as usual puffed up the emperor, who was naturally conceited, by ascribing whatever was done anywhere in the world to his favourable auspices.

[69] Quocirca magniloquentia elatus adulatorum, tune et deinde edictis propositis, arroganter satis multa mentiebatur, se solum (cum gestis non adfuisset) et dimicasse et vicisse et supplices reges gentium erexisse

aliquotiens scribens, et si verbi gratia eo agente tune in Italia, dux quidam egisset fortiter contra Persas, nulla eius mentione per textum longissimum facta, laureatas litteras ad provinciarum damna mittebat, se inter primores versatum cum odiosa sui iactatione significans.

[69] As a consequence, he was elated by the grandiloquence of his sycophants, and then and later in his published edicts he arrogantly lied about a great many matters, frequently writing that he alone (although he had not been present at the action) had both fought and conquered, and had raised up the suppliant kings of foreign nations. If, for example, when he himself was then in Italy, one of his generals had fought bravely against the Persians, he would make no mention of him in the course of a very long account, but would send out letters wreathed in laurel to the detriment of the provinces, indicating with odious self-praise that he had fought in the front ranks.

[70] Exstant denique eius dicta, in tabulariis principis publicis condita, in quibus ambitiose delata narrandi extollendique semet in caelum. Ab Argentorato cum pugnaretur, mansione quadragesima disparatus, describens proelium aciem ordinasse, et stetisse inter signiferos, et barbaros fugasse praecipites, sibi oblatum falso indicat Chonodomarium (pro rerum indignitas) super Iuliani gloriosis actibus conticescens, quos sepelierat penitus, ni fama res maximas, vel obumbrantibus plurimis, silere nesciret.

[70] In short, there are extant statements filed among the public records of this emperor, in which ostentatious reports are given, of his boasting and exalting himself to the sky. When this battle was fought near Strasburg, although he was distant forty days' march, in his description of the fight he falsely asserts that he arranged the order of battle, and stood among the standard-bearers, and drove the barbarians headlong, and that Chonodomarius was brought to him, saying nothing (Oh, shameful indignity!) of the glorious deeds of Julian, which he would have buried in oblivion, had not fame been unable to suppress his splendid exploits, however much many people would have obscured them

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LIBER XVII — BOOK XVII

[1] Iulianus C. transito Rheno Alamannorum vicos diripit ac incendit; ibi munimentum Traiani reparat, et decimestres indutias barbaris concedit. Hac rerum varietate, quam iam digessimus, ita conclusa, Martius iuvenis, Rheno post Argentoratensem pugnam otiose fluente, securus, sollicitusque idem ne dirae volucres consumerent corpora peremptorum, sine discretione cunctos humari mandavit, absolutisque legatis, quos ante certamen superba quaedam portasse praediximus, ad Tres Tabernas revertit.

Julianus Caesar, having crossed the Rhine, sacks and burns the villages of the Alamanni; he repairs a fortress of Trajan and grants the barbarians a truce of ten months. After this conclusion of the variety of events which I have now summarised the young warrior, with mind at ease, since the Rhine flowed on peacefully after the battle of Strasburg, took care to keep birds of prey from devouring the bodies of the slain; and he gave orders that they should all be buried without distinction. Then, having dismissed the envoys, who (as we have related) had brought some insolent messages before the battle, he returned to Savernes.

[2] Unde cum captivis omnibus praedam Mediomatricos servandam ad reditum usque suum duci praecipit, et petiturus ipse Mogontiacum, ut ponte compacto transgressus, in suis regionibus requireret barbaros, cum nullum reliquisset in nostris, refragante vetabatur exercitu; verum facundia iucunditateque sermonum allectum, in voluntatem traduxerat suam. Amor enim post documenta flagrantior, sequi libenter hortatus est omnis operae contumalem, auctoritate magnificum ducem, plus laboris indicere sibi quam militi, sicut perspicue contigit, assuetum. Moxque ad locum praedictum est ventum, flumine pontibus constratis transmisso, occupavere terras hostiles.

[2] From there he ordered the booty, with all the captives, to be taken to Metz and kept there until his return; he was himself planning to go to Mayence with the purpose of building a bridge, crossing the Rhine, and searching out the savages on their own ground, since he had left none of them in our territory; but he was opposed by the protests of the army. However, by his eloquence and the charm of his language he won them over and converted them to his will. For their affection, warmer after their experiences with him, prompted them to follow willingly one who was a fellow-soldier in every task, a leader brilliant in his prestige, and accustomed to prescribe more drudgery for himself than for a common soldier, as was clearly evident. And as soon as they came to the place above mentioned, crossing the river on the bridges which they made, they possessed themselves of the enemy's country.

[3] At barbari perstricti negotii magnitudine, qui se in tranquillo positos otio, tunc parum inquietari posse sperabant, aliorum exitio quid fortunis suis

immineret anxie cogitantes, simulata pacis petitione, ut primae vertiginis impetum declinarent, misere legatos cum verbis compositis, quae denuntiarent concordem foederum firmitatem; incertumque quo consilio statim instituto, mutata voluntate, per alios cursu celeri venire compulsos, acerrimum nostris minati sunt bellum, ni eorum regionibus excessissent.

[3] But the savages, thunderstruck at the vastness of the feat, since they little expected that they could be molested, settled as they were amid undisturbed peace, gave anxious thought to what might threaten their own fortunes, in view of the destruction of the others; and so under pretence of a prayer for peace, with the purpose of avoiding the brunt of the first onslaught, they sent envoys with set speeches, to declare the harmonious validity of the treaties with them; but for some unknown design that they suddenly formed they changed their minds, and by other messengers whom they forced to come post haste, they threatened our men with most bitter warfare, unless they should withdraw from their territory.

[4] Quibus clara fide compertis, Caesar noctis prima quiete, navigiis modicis et velocibus octingentos imposuit milites, ut spatio stadiorum xx sursum versum decurso egressi, quicquid invenire potuerint, ferro violarent et flammis.

[4] On learning this from a sure source, Caesar at the first quiet of nightfall embarked eight hundred soldiers on small, swift boats, so that they might go up the Rhine for a distance of twenty stadia, disembark, and with fire and sword lay waste whatever they could find.

[5] Quo ita disposito, solis primo exortu, visis per montium vertices barbaris, ad celsiora ducebatur alacrior miles, nulloque invento (hoc si quidem opinati discessere confestim) eminus ingentia fumi volumina visebantur, indicantia nostros perruptas populari terras hostiles.

[5] This arrangement thus made, at the very break of day the savages were seen drawn up along the hill-tops, and the soldiers in high spirits were led up to the higher ground; but they found no one there (since the enemy, suspecting this, had hastily decamped), and then great columns of smoke were seen at a distance, revealing that our men had burst in and were devastating the enemy's territory.

[6] Quae res Germanorum perculit animos, atque desertis insidiis, quas per arcta loca et latebrosa struxerant nostris, trans Menum nomine fluvium ad opitulandum suis necessitudinibus avolarunt.

[6] This action broke the Germans' spirit, and abandoning the ambuscades which they had laid for our men in narrow and dangerous places, they fled across the river, Menus by name, to bear aid to their kinsfolk.

[7] Ut enim in rebus amat fieri dubiis et turbatis, hinc equitum nostrorum

accursu, inde navigiis vectorum militum impetu repentino perterrefacti, evadendi subsidium velox locorum invenere prudentes, quorum digressu miles libere gradiens, opulentas pecore villas et frugibus rapiebat, nulli parcendo, extractisque captivis, domicilia cuncta, curatius ritu Romano constructa, flammis subditis exurebat.

[7] For, as is apt to happen in times of doubt and confusion, they were panic-stricken by the raid of our cavalry on the one side, and on the other by the sudden onset of our infantry, who had rowed up the river in their boats; and with their knowledge of the ground they had quick recourse to flight. Upon their departure our soldiers marched on undisturbed and plundered farms rich in cattle and crops, sparing none; and having dragged out the captives, they set fire to and burned down all the houses, which were built quite carefully in Roman fashion.

[8] Emensaque aestimatione decimi lapidis, cum prope silvam venisset squalore tenebrarum horrendam, stetit dux diu cunctando, indicio perfugae doctus per subterranea quaedam occulta, fossasque multifidas, latere hostium plurimos, ubi habile visum fuerit erupturos.

[8] After having advanced approximately ten miles, they came to a forest formidable with its forbidding shade and their general stood in hesitation for some time, being informed by the report of a deserter that large forces were lurking in some hidden underground passages and wide-branching trenches, ready to burst forth when they saw an opportunity.

[9] Ausi tamen omnes accedere fidentissime, ilicibus incisis et fraxinis, roboreque abietum magno, semitas invenere constratas. Ideoque gradientes cautius retro, non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse, vix indignationem capientibus animis, advertebant.

[9] Yet they all ventured to draw near with the greatest confidence, but found the paths heaped with felled oak and ash-trees and a great quantity of fir. And so they warily retreated, their minds hardly containing their indignation, as they realised that they could not advance farther except by long and difficult detours.

[10] Et quoniam aeris urente saevitia cum discriminibus ultimis laboratur in cassum (aequinotio quippe autumnali exacto, per eos tractus superfusae nives opplevire montes simul et campos) opus arreptum est memorabile.

[10] And since the rigorous climate was trying to them and they struggled in vain with extreme difficulties (for the autumnal equinox had passed, and in those regions the fallen snows covered mountains and plains alike) they took in hand a memorable piece of work.

[11] Et dum nullus obsisteret, munimentum quod in Alamannorum solo

conditum Traianus suo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario studio reparatum est; locatisque ibi pro tempore defensoribus, ex barbarorum visceribus alimenta congesta sunt.

[11] And while there was no one to withstand them, with eager haste they repaired a fortress which Trajan had built in the territory of the Alamanni and wished to be called by his name, and which had of late been very forcibly assaulted. There a temporary garrison was established and provisions were brought thither from the heart of the savages' country.

[12] Quae illi maturata ad suam perniciem contemplantes, metuque rei peractae volucriter congregati, precibus et humilitate suprema, petiere missis oratoribus pacem; quam Caesar omni consiliorum via firmatam, causatus veri similia plurima, per decem mensium tribuit intervallum; id nimirum sollerti colligens mente, quod castra supra quam optari potuit occupata sine obstaculo, tormentis muralibus et apparatu deberent valido communiri.

[12] When the enemy saw these preparations rapidly made for their destruction, they quickly assembled, dreading the completion of the work, and with prayers and extreme abasement sent envoys and sued for peace. And Caesar granted this for the space of ten months, since it was recommended by every kind of consideration, and he could allege very many plausible reasons for it; for doubtless he appreciated with his keen mind that the stronghold which, beyond any possible hope, he had seized without opposition, ought to be fortified with artillery on the walls and powerful appliances of war.

[13] Hac fiducia tres immanissimi reges venerunt tandem aliquando iam trepidi, ex his qui misere victis apud Argentoratum auxilia, iurantes conceptis ritu patrio verbis nihil inquietum acturos, sed foedera ad praestitutum usque diem, quia id nostris placuerat, cum munimento servaturos intacto, frugesque portaturos humeris suis, si defuisse sibi docuerint defensores. Quod utrumque, metu perfidiam frenante, fecerunt.

[13] Confiding in this peace, three very savage kings finally appeared, though still somewhat apprehensive since they were of the number of those who had sent aid to the vanquished at Strasburg; and they took oath in words formally drawn up after the native manner that they would not disturb the peace, but would keep the agreement up to the appointed day, since that was our pleasure, and leave the fortress untouched; and they would even bring grain in on their shoulders, in case the defenders would let them know that they needed any; both of which things they did, since fear curbed their treacherous disposition.

[14] Hoc memorabili bello, comparando quidem Punicis et Teutonicis, sed dispendiis rei Romanae peracto levissimis, ut faustus Caesar exultabat et felix; credique obtrectatoribus potuit, ideo fortiter eum ubique fecisse fingentibus,

quod oppetere dimicando gloriose magis optabat, quam damnatorum sorte (sicut sperabat,) ut frater Gallus occidi, ni pari proposito post excessum quoque Constanti actibus mirandis inclaruisset. Iulianus Caesar DC Francos, Germaniam II vastantes obsidet, et ad deditionem fame compellit. Quibus ut in tali re compositis firmiter, ad sedes revertens hibernas, sudorum reliquias repperit tales. Remos Severus magister equitum per Agrippinam petens et Iuliacum, Francorum validissimos cuneos, in sexcentis velitibus (ut postea claruit,) vacua praesidiis loca vastantes, offendit; hac opportunitate in scelus audaciam erigente, quod Caesare in Alamannorum secessibus occupato, nulloque vetante, expleri se posse praedarum opimitate sunt arbitrati. Sed metu iam reversi exercitus, munimentis duobus, quae olim exinanita sunt, occupatis, se quoad fieri poterat, tuebantur.

[14] In this memorable war, which in fact deserves to be compared with those against the Carthaginians and the Teutons, but was achieved with very slight losses to the Roman commonwealth, Caesar took pride as a fortunate and successful general. And one might well believe his detractors, who pretended that he had acted so courageously on all occasions because he chose rather to perish fighting gloriously than to be put to death like a condemned criminal (as he expected), after the manner of his brother Gallus-had he not with equal resolution, even after Constantius' death, increased his renown by marvellous exploits. Iulianus Caesar besieges six hundred Franks, who were devastating Second Germany, and starves them into surrender. Matters thus being firmly settled, so far as circumstances would permit, he returned to winter quarters and found the following sequel to his exertions. Severus, master of the horse, while on his way to Rheims by way of Cologne and Juliers, fell in with some very strong companies of Franks, to the number (as appeared later) of six hundred light-armed skirmishers, who were plundering the districts unprotected by garrisons; the favourable opportunity that had roused their boldness to the point of action was this, that they thought that while Caesar was busily employed among the retreats of the Alamanni, and there was no one to prevent them, they could load themselves with a wealth of booty. But in fear of the army, which had now returned, they possessed themselves of two strongholds, which had long since been left empty, and there defended themselves as well as they could.

[2] Hac Iulianus rei novitate perculsus, et coniciens quorsum erumperet, si eisdem transisset intactis, retento milite circumvallare disposuit castella munita, quae Mosa fluvius praeterlambit, et ad usque quartum et quinquagesimum diem, Decembri scilicet et Ianuario mense, obsidionales tractae sunt morae, destinatis barbarorum animis incredibili pertinacia reluctantibus.

[2] Julian, disturbed by the novelty of the act, and guessing what might come of it if he passed by leaving them unmolested, halted his army and made his

plans to surround the strongholds, which the river Meuse flows past; and for fifty-four days (namely in the months of December and January) the delays of the siege were dragged out, while the savages with stout hearts and incredible resolution withstood him.

[3] tunc pertimescens sollertissimus Caesar, ne observata nocte inluni, barbari gelu vinctum amnem pervaderent, cotidie a sole in vesperam flexo, ad usque lucis principium, lusoriis navibus discurrere flumen ultro citroque milites ordinavit, ut crustis pruinarum diffractis, nullus ad erumpendi copiam facile perveniret. Hocque commento, inedia et vigiliis et desperatione postrema lassati, sponte se propria dederunt, statimque ad comitatum Augusti sunt missi.

[3] Then Caesar, being very shrewd and fearing that the savages might take advantage of some moonless night and cross the frozen river, gave orders that every day, from near sunset to the break of dawn, soldiers should row up and down stream in scouting vessels, so as to break up the cakes of ice and let no one get an opportunity of easy escape. And because of this device, since they were worn out by hunger, sleeplessness, and extreme desperation, they surrendered of their own accord and were sent at once to Augustus' court.

[4] Ad quos eximendos periculo, multitudo Francorum egressa, cum captos comperisset et asportatos, nihil amplius ausa, repedavit ad sua, hisque perfectis, acturus hiemem revertit Parisios Caesar. Iulianus C. Gallos tributis oppresses levare conatur. Quia igitur plurimae gentes vi maiore collaturae capita sperabantur, dubia bellorum coniectans, sobrius rector magnis curarum molibus stringebatur. Dumque per indutias, licet negotiosas et breves, aerumnosis possessorum damnis mederi posse credebat, tributi ratiocinia dispensavit.

[4] A large troop of Franks had set out to rescue them from their danger; but on learning that they had been captured and carried off, without venturing on anything further they retired to their strongholds. And Caesar after these successes returned to Paris to pass the winter.

Julianus Caesar tries to relieve the Gauls of oppressive tributes.

Now since it was expected that a great number of tribes with greater forces would make head together, our cautious commander, weighing the doubtful issue of wars, was perplexed with great burdens of anxiety. So, thinking that during the truce, short though it was and full of business, some remedy might be found for the calamitous losses incurred by the land-holders, he set in order the system of taxation.

[2] Cumque Florentius praefectus praetorio, cuncta permensus (ut contendebat,) quicquid in capitatione deesset, ex conquisitis se supplere firmaret, talium gnarus, animam prius amittere quam hoc sinere fieri

memorabat.

[2] And whereas Florentius, the praetorian prefect, after having reviewed the whole matter (as he asserted) stated that whatever was lacking in the poll-tax and land-tax accounts he supplied out of special levies, Julian, knowing about such measures, declared that he would rather lose his life than allow it to be done.

[3] *Norat enim huius modi provisionum, immo eversionum, ut verius dixerim, insanabilia vulnera, saepe ad ultimam egestatem provincias contrusisse, quae res (ut docebitur postea,) penitus evertit Illyricum.*

[3] For he knew that the incurable wounds of such arrangements, or rather derangements (to speak more truly) had often driven provinces to extreme poverty — a thing which (as will be shown later) was the complete ruin of Illyricum.

[4] *Ob quae praefecto praetorio ferri non posse clamante, se repente factum infidum, cui Augustus summam commiserit rerum, Iulianus eum sedatius leniens, scrupulose computando et vere, docuit non sufficere solum, verum etiam exuberare capitationis calculum ad com meatuum necessarios apparatus.*

[4] For this reason, though the praetorian prefect exclaimed that it was unbearable that he should suddenly become distrusted, when Augustus had conferred upon him the supreme charge of the state; Julian calmed him by his quiet manner, and by an exact and accurate computation proved that the amount of the poll-tax and land-tax was not only sufficient, but actually in excess of the inevitable requirements for government provisions.

[5] *Nihilo minus tamen, diu postea indictionale augmentum oblatum sibi nec recitare nec subnotare perpessus, humi proiecit. Litterisque Augusti monitus ex relatione praefecti, non agere ita perplexe, ut videretur parum Florentio credi, rescripsit, gratandum esse si provincialis, hinc inde vastatus, saltem sollemnia praebeat nedum incrementa quae nulla supplicia egenis possent hominibus extorquere. Factumque est tunc et deinde, unius animi firmitate, ut praeter solita nemo Gallis quicquam exprimere conaretur.*

[5] But when long afterwards an increase of taxation was nevertheless proposed to him, he could not bring himself to read it or sign it, but threw it on the ground. And when he was advised by a letter of Augustus, after the prefect's report, not to act so meticulously as to seem to discredit Florentius, he wrote back that it would be a cause for rejoicing if the provincials, harried as they were on every side, might at least have to furnish only the prescribed taxes, not the additional amounts, which no tortures could wring from the poverty-stricken. And so it came to pass then and thereafter, that through the resolution of one courageous spirit no one tried to extort from the Gauls anything beyond the normal tax.

[6] Denique, inusitato exemplo, id petendo Caesar impetraverat a praefecto, ut secundae Belgicae multiformibus malis oppressae, dispositio sibi committeretur, ea videlicet lege, ut nec praefectianus nec praesidialis apparitor ad solvendum quemquam urgeret. Quo levati solatio cuncti, quos in curam susceperat suam, nec interpellati, ante praestitutum tempus debita contulerunt. Iussu Constantii Aug. obeliscus Romae in Circo Maximo subrectus constituitur; et de obeliscis ac de notis hieroglyphicis. Inter haec recreandarum exordia Galliarum, administrante secundam adhuc Orfito praefecturam, obeliscus Romae in circo erectus est maximo. Super quo nunc (quia tempestivum est) pauca discurram.

[6] Finally, contrary to precedent, Caesar by entreaty had obtained this favour from the prefect, that he should be entrusted with the administration of the province of Second Belgium, which was overwhelmed by many kinds of calamities, and indeed with the proviso that no agent either of the prefect or of the governor should force anyone to pay the tax. So every one whom he had taken under his charge was relieved by this comforting news, and without being dunned they brought in their dues before the appointed date. By order of Constantius Augustus an obelisk is set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus; also an account of obelisks and hieroglyphics. During these first steps towards the rehabilitation of Gaul, and while Orfitus was still conducting his second praefecture, an obelisk was set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus; and of it, since this is a suitable place, I shall give a brief account.

[2] Urbem priscis saeculis conditam, ambitiosa moenium strue et portarum centum quondam aditibus celebrem, hecatompylos Thebas, institutores ex facto cognominarunt, cuius vocabulo provincia nunc usque Thebais appellatur.

[2] The city of Thebes, founded in primitive times and once famous for the stately structure of its walls and for the hundred approaches formed by its gates, was called by its builders from that feature Hecatompylos, or Hundred-gated Thebes; and from this name the province is to this day called the Thebaid.

[3] Hanc inter exordia pendentis se late Carthaginis, improvise excursu duces oppressere Poenorum, posteaque reparatam, Persarum rex ille Cambyses, quoad vixerat alieni cupidus et immanis, Aegypto perrupta aggressus est, ut opes exinde raperet invidendas, ne deorum quidem donariis parcens.

[3] When Carthage was in its early career of wide expansion, Punic generals destroyed Thebes by an unexpected attack; and when it was afterwards rebuilt, Cambyses, that renowned king of Persia, all his life covetous of others' possessions, and cruel, overran Egypt and attacked Thebes, in the hope of carrying off therefrom its enviable wealth, since he did not spare even gifts made to the gods.

[4] Qui dum inter praedatores turbulente concursat, laxitate praepeditus indumentorum, concidit pronus, ac suomet pugione, quem aptatum femori dextro gestabat, subita vi ruinae nudato, vulneratus paene letaliter interisset.

[4] But while he was excitedly running about among the plundering troops, tripped by the looseness of his garments he fell headlong; and his own dagger, which he wore fastened to his right thigh, was unsheathed by the sudden force of the fall and wounded him almost mortally.

[5] Longe autem postea Cornelius Gallus Octaviano res tenente Romanas, Aegypti procurator, exhausit civitatem plurimis interceptis, reversusque cum furtorum arcesseretur, et populatae provinciae, metu nobilitatis acriter indignatae, cui negotium spectandum dederat imperator, stricto incubuit ferro. Is est (si recte existimo) Gallus poeta, quem flens quodam modo in postrema Bucolicorum parte Vergilius carmine leni decantat.

[5] Again, long afterwards, when Octavian was ruling Rome, Cornelius Gallus, procurator of Egypt, drained the city by extensive embezzlements; and when on his return he was accused of peculation and the robbery of the province, in his fear of the bitterly exasperated nobility, to whom the emperor had committed the investigation of the case, he drew his sword and fell upon it. He was (if I am right in so thinking) the poet Gallus, whom Vergil laments in a way in the latter part of the *Bucolics* and celebrates in gentle verse.

[6] In hac urbe inter delubra ingentia, diversasque moles, figmenta Aegyptiorum numinum exprimentes, obeliscos vidimus plures, aliosque iacentes et comminutos, quos antiqui reges bello domitis gentibus, aut prosperitatibus summarum rerum elati, montium venis vel apud extremos orbis incolas perscrutatis excisos, et erectos dis superis in religione dicarunt.

[6] In this city, amid mighty shrines and colossal works of various kinds, which depict the likenesses of the Egyptian deities, we have seen many obelisks, and others prostrate and broken, which kings of long ago, when they had subdued foreign nations in war or were proud of the prosperous condition of their realms, hewed out of the veins of the mountains which they sought for even among the remotest dwellers on the globe, set up, and in their religious devotion dedicated to the gods of heaven.

[7] Est autem obeliscus asperrimus lapis, in figuram metae cuiusdam sensim ad proceritatem consurgens excelsam, utque radium imitetur, gracilescens paulatim, specie quadrata in verticem productus angustum, manu levigatus artificii.

[7] Now an obelisk is a very hard stone, rising gradually somewhat in the form of a turning-post to a lofty height; little by little it grows slenderer, to imitate a sunbeam; it is four-sided, tapers to a narrow point, and is polished by the workman's hand.

[8] Formarum autem innumeras notas, hieroglyphicas appellatas, quas ei undique videmus incisas, initialis sapientiae vetus insignivit auctoritas.

[8] Now the infinite carvings of characters called hieroglyphics, which we see cut into it on every side, have been made known by an ancient authority of primeval wisdom.

[9] Volucrum enim ferarumque etiam alieni mundi genera multa sculpenes, ut ad aevi quoque sequentis aetates, impetratorum vulgatus perveniret memoria, promissa vel soluta regum vota monstrabant.

[9] For by engraving many kinds of birds and beasts, even of another world, in order that the memory of their achievements might the more widely reach generations of a subsequent age, they registered the vows of kings, either promised or performed.

[10] Non enim ut nunc litterarum numerus praestitutus et facilis exprimit, quicquid humana mens concipere potest, ita prisci quoque scriptitarunt Aegyptii, sed singulae litterae singulis nominibus serviebant et verbis; non numquam significabant integros sensus.

[10] For not as nowadays, when a fixed and easy series of letters expresses whatever the mind of man may conceive, did the ancient Egyptians also write; but individual characters stood for individual nouns and verbs; and sometimes they meant whole phrases.

[11] Cuius rei scientiam his interim duobus exemplis monstrari sufficet: per vulturem naturae vocabulum pandunt, quia mares nullos posse inter has alites inveniri, rationes memorant physicae, perque speciem apis mella conficientis, indicant regem, moderatori cum iucunditate aculeos quoque innaschi debere his rerum insignibus ostendentes. Et similia plurima.

[11] The principle of this thing for the time it will suffice to illustrate with these two examples: by a vulture they represent the word “nature,” because, as natural history records, no males can be found among these birds; and under the figure of a bee making honey they designate “a king,” showing by this imagery that in a ruler sweetness should be combined with a sting as well; and there are many similar instances.

[12] Et quia sufflantes adulescentes ex more Constantium id sine modo strepabant, quod cum Octavianus Augustus obeliscos duos ab Heliopolitana civitate transtulisset Aegyptia, quorum unus in Circo Maximo alter in Campo locatus est Martio, hunc recens advectum, difficultate magnitudinis territus, nec contrectare ausus est nec movere, discant qui ignorant, veterem principem translatis aliquibus hunc intactum ideo praeterisse, quod Deo Soli speciali munere dedicatus, fixusque intra ambitiosi templi delubra, quae contingi non poterant, tamquam apex omnium eminebat.

[12] And because sycophants, after their fashion, kept puffing up Constantius and endlessly dinning it into his ears that, whereas Octavianus Augustus had brought over two obelisks from the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, one of which was set up in the Circus Maximus, the other in the Campus Martius, as for this one recently brought in, he neither ventured to meddle with it nor move it, overawed by the difficulties caused by its size-let me inform those who do not know it that that early emperor, after bringing over several obelisks, passed by this one and left it untouched because it was consecrated as a special gift to the Sun God, and because being placed in the sacred part of his sumptuous temple, which might not be profaned, there it towered aloft like the peak of the world.

[13] Verum Constantinus id parvi ducens, avulsam hanc molem sedibus suis, nihilque committere in religionem recte existimans, si ablatum uno templo miraculum Romae sacraret, id est in templo mundi totius, iacere diu perpressus est, dum translationi pararentur utilia. Quo convecto per alveum Nili, proiectoque Alexandriae, navis amplitudinis antehac inusitatae aedificata est, sub trecentis remigibus agitanda.

[13] But Constantine, making little account of that, tore the huge mass from its foundations; and since he rightly thought that he was committing no sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world, he let it lie for a long time, while the things necessary for its transfer were being provided. And when it had been conveyed down the channel of the Nile and landed at Alexandria, a ship of a size hitherto unknown was constructed, to be rowed by three hundred oarsmen.

[14] Quibus ita provisus, digressoque vita principe memorato, urgens effectus intepuit, tandemque sero impositus navi, per maria fluentaque Tibridis, velut paventis, ne quod paene ignotus miserat Nilus, ipse parum sub emeatus sui discrimine moenibus alumnis inferret, defertur in vicum Alexandri, tertio lapide ab urbe seiunctum. Unde chamulcis impositus, tractusque lenius per Ostiensem portam piscinamque publicam, Circo illatus est Maximo.

[14] After these provisions, the aforesaid emperor departed this life and the urgency of the enterprise waned, but at last the obelisk was loaded on the ship, after long delay, and brought over the sea and up the channel of the Tiber, which seemed to fear that it could hardly forward over the difficulties of its outward course to the walls of its foster-child the gift which the almost unknown Nile had sent. But it was brought to the vicus Alexandri distant three miles from the city. There it was put on cradles and carefully drawn through the Ostian Gate and by the Piscina Publica and brought into the Circus Maximus.

[15] Sola post haec restabat erectio, quae vix aut ne vix quidem sperabatur

posse compleri. At ea ita est facta: aggestis erectisque digestisque ad perpendicularum altis trabibus (ut machinarum cerneret nemo) innectuntur vasti funes et longi, ad speciem multiplicium liciorum, caelum densitate nimia subtexentes. Quibus colligatus mons ipse effigiatus scriptilibus elementis, paulatimque in arduum per inane protentus, diu pensilis, hominum milibus multis tamquam molendinarias rotantibus metas, cavea locatur in media, eique sphaera superponitur ahenea, aureis lamminis nitens, qua confestim vi ignis divini contacta, ideoque sublata, facis imitamentum infigitur aereum, itidem auro imbracteatum, velut abundanti flamma candentis.

[15] After this there remained only the raising, which it was thought could be accomplished only with great difficulty, perhaps not at all. But it was done in the following manner: to tall beams which were brought and raised on end (so that you would see a very grove of derricks) were fastened long and heavy ropes in the likeness of a manifold web hiding the sky with their excessive numbers. To these was attached that veritable mountain engraved over with written characters, and it was gradually drawn up on high through the empty air, and after hanging for a long time, while many thousand men turned wheels resembling millstones, it was finally placed in the middle of the circus and capped by a bronze globe gleaming with gold-leaf; this was immediately struck by a bolt of the divine fire and therefore removed and replaced by a bronze figure of a torch, likewise overlaid with gold-foil and glowing like a mass of flame.

[16] Secutaeque aetates alios transtulerunt, quorum unus in Vaticano, alter in hortis Sallusti, duo in Augusti monumento erecti sunt.

[16] And subsequent generations have brought over other obelisks, of which one was set up on the Vatican, another in the gardens of Sallust, and two at the mausoleum of Augustus.

[17] Qui autem notarum textus obelisco incisus est veteri, quem videmus in Circo, Hermapionis librum secuti interpretatum litteris subiecimus Graecis.
αρχην απο του νοτιου διερμηνευμενα εχει στιχος πρωτος ταδε λεγει

[17] Now the text of the characters cut upon the ancient obelisk which we see in the Circus I add below in its Greek translation, following the work of Hermapion. The translation of the first line, beginning on the South side, reads as follows:

[18] "ἡλιος βασιλεῖ 'παμέστη : δεδώρημαι σοι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην μετὰ χαρᾶς βασιλεῦειν, ὃν "ἡλιος φιλεῖ. — [καὶ] 'απόλλων κρατερὸς φιλαλήθης υἱὸς "ἥρωνος, θεογέννητος κτιστὴς τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃν "ἡλιος προέκρινεν, ἄλκιμος "αρεως βασιλεὺς 'παμέστης. ὧ πᾶσα ὑποτέτακται ἢ γῇ μετὰ ἀλκῆς καὶ θάρσους. βασιλεὺς 'παμέστης 'ἡλίου παῖς αἰωνόβιος. στιχος δευτερος

[18] "The Sun speaks to King Ramestes. I have granted to thee that thou

shouldst with joy rule over the whole earth, thou whom the Sun loveth — and powerful Apollo, lover of truth, son of Heron, god-born, creator of the world, whom the Sun hath chosen, the doughty son of Mars, King Ramestes. Unto him the whole earth is made subject through his valour and boldness. King Ramestes, eternal child of the Sun.”SECOND LINE.

[19] 'απόλλων κρατερὸς, ὃ ἐστὼς ἐπ' ἀληθείας, δεσπότης διαδήματος, τὴν αἴγυπτον δοξάσας κεκτημένος, ὃ ἀγλαοποιήσας ἡλίου πόλιν, καὶ κτίσας τὴν λοιπὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ πολυτιμήσας τοὺς ἐν ἡλίου πόλει θεοὺς ἀνιδρυμένους, ὃν ἡλῖος φιλεῖ.τρίτος στίχος

[19] “Mighty Apollo, seated upon truth, Lord of the Diadem, who hath gloriously honoured Egypt as his peculiar possession, who hath beautified Heliopolis, created the rest of the world, and adorned with manifold honours the Gods erected in Heliopolis — he whom the Sun loveth.”THIRD LINE.

[20] 'απόλλων κρατερὸς ἡλίου παῖς παμφεγγής, ὃν ἡλῖος προέκρινεν καὶ ἄρης ἄλκιμος ἐδωρήσατο. οὗ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν παντὶ διαμένει καιρῷ. ὃν ἄμμων ἀγαπᾷ, πληρώσας τὸν νέων τοῦ φοῖνικος ἀγαθῶν. ὧ οἱ θεοὶ ζωῆς χρόνον ἐδωρήσαντο. ἀπόλλων κρατερὸς υἱὸς ἡρῶνος βασιλεὺς οἰκουμένης ῥαμέστης, ὃς ἐφύλαξεν αἴγυπτον τοὺς ἄλλοεθνεῖς νικήσας, ὃν ἡλῖος φιλεῖ, ὧ πολὺν χρόνον ζωῆς ἐδωρήσαντο θεοὶ. δεσπότης οἰκουμένης ῥαμέστης αἰωνόβιος. λιβος στίχος δευτερος

[20] “Mighty Apollo, child of the Sun, all-radiant, whom the Sun hath chosen and valiant Mars endowed; whose blessings shall endure forever; whom Ammon loveth, as having filled his temple with the good fruits of the date palm; unto whom the Gods have given length of life.”Apollo, mighty son of Heron, Ramestes, king of the world, who hath preserved Egypt by conquering other nations; whom the Sun loveth; to whom the Gods have granted length of life; Lord of the world, Ramestes ever-living.”WEST SIDE, SECOND LINE.

[21] ἡλῖος φεῶς μέγας δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ. δεδῶρημαί σοι βίον ἀπρόσκοπον. ἄπολλων κρατερὸς κύριος διαδήματος ἀνείκαστος, ὃς τῶν φεῶν ἀνδριάντας ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βασιλείᾳ, δεσπότης αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἡλίου πόλιν ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸν ἡλῖον δεσπότην οὐρανοῦ. συνετελεύτησεν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡλίου παῖς βασιλεὺς αἰωνόβιος.τρίτος στίχος

[21] “The Sun, great God, Lord of Heaven; I have granted to thee life hitherto unforeseen. Apollo the mighty, Lord incomparable of the Diadem, who hath set up statues of the Gods in this kingdom, ruler of Egypt, and he adorned Heliopolis just as he did the Sun himself, Ruler of Heaven; he finished a good work, child of the Sun, the king ever-living.”THIRD LINE.

[22] ἡλῖος θεὸς δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ ἡπαμέστη βασιλεῖ. δεδῶρημαί τὸ κράτος καὶ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν. ὃν ἄπολλων φιλαλήθης δεσπότης χρόνων καὶ ἡφαιστος ὃ τῶν φεῶν πατὴρ προέκρινεν διὰ τὸν ἄρεα. βασιλεὺς

παγχαρής ἡλίου παῖς, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡλίου φιλούμενος.αφηλιωτης. πρωτος στιχος

[22] “The God Sun, Lord of Heaven, to Ramestes the king. I have granted to thee the rule and the authority over all men; whom Apollo, lover of truth, Lord of seasons, and Vulcan, father of the Gods, hath chosen for Mars. King all-gladdening, child of the Sun and beloved of the Sun.”EAST SIDE, FIRST LINE.

[23] ‘ο ἄφ’ ἡλίου πόλεως μέγας θεὸς ἐνουράνιος ’απόλλων κρατερός, ἥρωνος υἱὸς, ὃν ἥλιος ἡγάπησεν, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ ἐτίμησαν, ὁ πάσης γῆς βασιλεύων, ὃν ἥλιος προέκρινεν, ὁ ἄλκιμος διὰ τὸν ἄρεα βασιλεὺς, ὃν ἄμμων φιλεῖ. καὶ ὁ παμφεγγῆς συγκρίνας αἰώνιον βασιλέα et reliqua.Constantius Aug. et Sapor Persarum rex frustra de pace per litteras et legatos agunt.Datiano et Cereali consulibus, cum universa per Gallias studio cautiore disponentur, formidoque praeteritorum barbaricos hebetaret excursus, rex Persarum in confiniis agens adhuc gentium extimarum, iamque cum Chionitis et Gelanis, omnium acerrimis bellatoribus, pignore icto societatis, rediturus ad sua, Tamsaporis scripta suscepit, pacem Romanum principem nuntiantis poscere precativam.

[23] “The great God of Heliopolis, heavenly, mighty Apollo, son of Heron, whom the Sun hath loved, whom the Gods hath honoured, the ruler over all the earth, whom the Sun hath chosen, a king valiant for Mars, whom Ammon loveth, and he that is all-radiant, having set apart the king eternal”; and so on.Constantius Augustus and Sapor, king of the Persians, negotiate for peace through letters and envoys; but to no purpose.In the consulship of Datianus and Cerealis, while all provisions in Gaul were being made with very careful endeavour, and dismay due to past losses halted the raids of the savages, the king of Persia was still encamped in the confines of the frontier tribes; and having now made a treaty of alliance with the Chionitae and Gelani, the fiercest warriors of all, he was on the point of returning to his own territories, when he received Tamsapor’s letter, stating that the Roman emperor begged and entreated for peace.

[2] Ideoque non nisi infirmato imperii robore temptari talia suspicatus, latius semet extentans, pacis amplectitur nomen, et condiciones proposuit graves, missoque cum muneribus Narseo quodam legato, litteras ad Constantium dedit nusquam a genuino fastu declinans, quarum hunc fuisse accepimus sensum:

[2] Therefore, imagining that such a step would not be attempted unless the fabric of the empire were weakened, he swelled with still greater pride, embraced the name of peace, and proposed hard conditions; and dispatching one Narseus with gifts as his envoy, he sent a letter to Constantius, in no wise deviating from his native haughtiness, the tenor of which, as we have learned, was as follows: —

[3] Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae, Constantio Caesari fratri meo salutem plurimam dico. Gaudeo tandemque mihi placet, ad optimam viam te revertisse, et incorruptum aequitatis agnovisse suffragium, rebus ipsis expertum pertinax alieni cupiditas quas aliquotiens ediderit strages.

[3] "I Sapor, King of Kings, partner with the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon, to my brother Constantius Caesar offer most ample greeting." I rejoice and at last take pleasure that you have returned to the best course and acknowledged the inviolable sanction of justice, having learned from actual experience what havoc has been caused at various times by obstinate covetousness of what belongs to others.

[4] Quia igitur veritatis ratio soluta esse debet et libera, et celsiores fortunas idem loqui decet atque sentire, propositum meum in pauca conferam reminiscens, haec quae dicturus sum me saepius replicasse.

[4] Since therefore the consideration of truth ought to be free and untrammelled, and it befits those in high station to speak as they feel, I shall state my proposal in brief terms, recalling that what I am about to say I have often repeated.

[5] Ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines tenuisse maiores imperium meos, antiquitates quoque vestrae testantur; haec me convenit flagitare (ne sit arrogans quod affirmo) splendore virtutumque insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem. Sed ubique mihi cordi est recta ratio, cui coalitus ab adolescentia prima, nihil umquam paenitendum admisi.

[5] That my forefathers' empire reached as far as the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia even your own ancient records bear witness; these lands it is fitting that I should demand, since (and may what I say not seem arrogant) I surpass the kings of old in magnificence and array of conspicuous virtues. But at all times right reason is dear to me, and trained in it from my earliest youth, I have never allowed myself to do anything for which I had cause to repent.

[6] Ideoque Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo, avo meo composita fraude praereptam. Illud apud nos numquam in acceptum feretur, quod asseritis vos exsultantes, nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli, prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus.

[6] And therefore it is my duty to recover Armenia with Mesopotamia, which double-dealing wrested from my grandfather. That principle shall never be brought to acceptance among us which you exultantly maintain, that without any distinction between virtue and deceit all successful events of war should be approved.

[7] Postremo si morem gerere suadenti volueris recte, contemne partem

exiguam, semper luctificam et cruentam, ut cetera regas securus, prudenter reputans medellarum quoque artifices urere non numquam et secare et partes corporum amputare, ut reliquis uti liceat integris, hocque bestias factitare: quae cum advertant cur maximo opere capiantur, illud propria sponte amittunt, ut vivere deinde possint impavidae.

[7] Finally, if you wish to follow my sound advice, disregard this small tract, always a source of woe and bloodshed, so that you may rule the rest in security, wisely recalling that even expert physicians sometimes cauterize, lance, and even cut away some parts of the body, in order to save the rest sound for use; and that even wild beasts do this: for when they observe for what possession they are being relentlessly hunted, they give that up of their own accord, so as afterwards to live free from fear.

[8] Id sane pronuntio, quod si haec mea legatio redierit irrita, post tempus hiemalis quietis exemptum, viribus totis accinctus, fortuna condicionumque aequitate spem successus secundi fundante, venire, quoad ratio siverit, festinabo.

[8] This assuredly I declare, that if this embassy of mine returns unsuccessful, after the time of the winter reat is past I shall gird myself with all my strength and with fortune and the justice of my terms upholding my hope of a successful issue, I shall hasten to come on, so far as reason permits.”

[9] His litteris diu libratīs, recto pectore (quod dicitur) considerateque responsum est, hoc modo:

[9] After this letter had long been pondered, answer was made with upright heart, as they say, and circumspectly, as follows: —

[10] ‘Victor terra marique Constantius, semper Augustus, fratri meo Saporī regi salutem plurimam dico. Sospitati quidem tuae gratulor ut futurus (si velis,) amicus, cupiditatem vero semper indeflexam fusiusque vagantem, vehementer insimulo.

[10] “I, Constantius, victor by land and sea, perpetual Augustus, to my brother King Sapor, offer most ample greeting.” I rejoice in your health, and if you will, I shall be your friend hereafter; but this covetousness of yours, always unbending and more widely encroaching, I vehemently reprobate.

[11] Mesopotamiam poscis ut tuam, perindeque Armeniam, et suades integro corpori adimere membra quaedam, ut salus eius deinceps locetur in solido, quod infindendum est potius quam ulla consensione firmandum. Accipe igitur veritatem, non obtectam praestigiis, sed perspicuam, nullisque minis inanibus perterrendam.

[11] You demand Mesopotamia as your own and likewise Armenia, and you recommend lopping off some members of a sound body, so that its health may

afterwards be put upon a firm footing — advice which is rather to be refuted than to be confirmed by any agreement. Therefore listen to the truth, not obscured by any juggling, but transparent and not to be intimidated by any empty threats.

[12] Praefectus praetorio meus, opinatus aggredi negotium publicae utilitati conducens, cum duce tuo per quosdam ignobiles, me inconsulto, sermones conseruit super pace. Non refutamus hanc nec repellimus: adsit modo cum decore et honestate, nihil pudori nostro praereptura vel maiestati.

[12] My praetorian prefect, thinking to undertake an enterprise conducing to the public weal, entered into conversations with a general of yours, through the agency of some individuals of little worth and without consulting me, on the subject of peace. This we neither reject nor refuse, if only it take place with dignity and honour, without at all prejudicing our self-respect or our majesty.

[13] Est enim absonum et insipiens nunc cum gestarum rerum ordines (placatae sint aurae invidiae!) nobis multipliciter illuxerunt, cum deletis tyrannis, totus orbis Romanus nobis obtemperat, ea prodere, quae contrusi in orientales angustias, diu servavimus inlibata.

[13] For at this time, when the sequence of events (may envy's breezes be placated!) has beamed in manifold form upon us, when with the overthrow of the usurpers the whole Roman world is subject to us, it is absurd and silly to surrender what we long preserved unmolested when we were still confined within the bounds of the Orient.

[14] Cessent autem quaeso formidines, quae nobis intentantur ex more, cum ambigi nequeat, non inertia nos sed modestia, pugnas interdum excepsisse potius quam intulisse, et nostra quotiens lacessimur, fortissimo bonae conscientiae spiritu defensare, id experiendo legendoque scientes, in proeliis quibusdam raro rem titubasse Romanam, in summa vero bellorum numquam ad deteriora prolapsam.

[14] Furthermore, pray make an end of those intimidations which (as usual) are directed against us, since there can be no doubt that it was not through slackness, but through self-restraint that we have sometimes accepted battle rather than offered it, and that when we are set upon, we defend our territories with the most valiant spirit of a good conscience; for we know both by experience and by reading that while in some battles, though rarely, the Roman cause has stumbled, yet in the main issue of our wars it has never succumbed to defeat."

[15] Hanc legationem nullo impetrato remissam, — nec enim effrenatae regis cupiditati responderi amplius quicquam potuit — post paucissimos dies secutus est Prosper comes et Spectatus tribunus, et notarius itemque Eustathius, Musoniano suggerente philosophus, ut opifex suadendi;

imperatoris scripta perferentes et munera, enisuri apparatus interim Saporis arte quadam suspendere, ne supra humanum modum provinciae munirentur arctoae. Iuthungi, gens Alamannica, in Raetiis quas populabantur, a Romanis caesi fugatique. Inter quae ita ambigua, Iuthungi Alamannorum pars Italicis conterminans tractibus, obliti pacis et foederum, quae adepti sunt obsecrando, Raetias turbulente vastabant, adeo ut etiam oppidorum temptarent obsidia praeter solitum.

[15] This embassy having been sent back without obtaining anything — for no fuller answer could be made to the king's unbridled greed — after a very few days it was followed by Count Prosper, Spectatus, tribune and secretary, and likewise, at the suggestion of Musonianus, the philosopher Eustathius, as a master of persuasion; they carried with them letters of the emperor and gifts, and meanwhile planned by some craft or other to stay Sapor's preparations, so that his northern provinces might not be fortified beyond the possibility of attack. The Juthungi, a tribe of the Alamanni, who were devastating Raetia, were defeated and put to flight by the Romans. In the midst of these uncertainties the Juthungi, a branch of the Alamanni bordering on Italian territory, forgetful of the peace and the treaty which they had obtained by their prayers, were laying waste Raetia with such violence as even to attempt the besieging of towns, contrary to their habit.

[2] Ad quos repellendos cum valida manu missus Barbatio, in locum Silvani peditum promotus magister, ignavus sed verbis effusior, alacritate militum vehementer erecta, prostravit acerrime multos, ita ut exigua portio, quae periculi metu se dedit in fugam, aegre dilapsa, lares suos non sine lacrimis reviseret et lamentis.

[2] To drive them back Barbatio was sent with a strong force; he had been promoted in place of Silvanus to be infantry commander. He was a coward but a fluent speaker, and having thoroughly roused the enthusiasm of the soldiers he utterly defeated a large number of the foe, so that only a small remnant, who for fear of danger had taken to flight, barely escaped and returned to their homes, not without tears and lamentations.

[3] Huic pugnae Nevitta, postea consul, equestris praepositus turmae, et adfuisse et fortiter fecisse firmatur. Nicomedia terrae motu prostrata; et quot modis terra quatitur. Eisdem diebus terrae motus horrendi, per Macedoniam Asiamque et Pontum, assiduus pulsibus oppida multa concusserunt et montes. Inter monumenta tamen multiforum aerumnarum, eminere Nicomediae clades, Bithyniae urbium matris, cuius ruinarum eventum vere breviterque absolvam.

[3] In this battle, we are assured, Nevitta, commander of a troop of cavalry and afterwards consul, was present and conducted himself manfully. Nicomedia is destroyed by an earthquake; the different ways in which the earth is shaken. At

that same time fearful earthquakes throughout Asia, Macedonia, and Pontus with their repeated shocks shattered numerous cities and mountains. Now among the instances of manifold disaster was pre-eminent the collapse of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia; and of the misfortune of its destruction I shall give a true and concise account.

[2] *Primo lucis exortu, diem nonum kal. Septembrium, concreti nubium globi nigrantium, laetam paulo ante caeli speciem confuderunt, et amendato solis splendore, nec contigua vel apposita cernebantur; ita oculorum obtutu praestricto, humo involutus crassae caliginis squalor insedit.*

[2] On the twenty-fourth of August, at the first break of day, thick masses of darkling clouds overcast the face of the sky, which had just before been brilliant; the sun's splendour was dimmed, and not even objects near at hand or close by could be discerned, so restricted was the range of vision, as a foul, dense mist rolled up and settled over the ground.

[3] *Dein velut numine summo fatales contorquente manubias, ventosque ab ipsis excitante cardinibus, magnitudo furentium incubuit procellarum, cuius impetu pulsorum auditus est montium gemitus, et elisi litoris fragor, haecque secuti typhones atque presteres, cum horrifico tremore terrarum, civitatem et suburbana funditus everterunt.*

[3] Then, as if the supreme deity were hurling his fateful bolts and raising the winds from their very quarters, a mighty tempest of raging gales burst forth; and at its onslaught were heard the groans of the smitten mountains and the crash of the wave-lashed shore; these were followed by whirlwinds and waterspouts, which, together with a terrific earthquake, completely overturned the city and its suburbs.

[4] *Et quoniam acclivitate collium aedes pleraeque vehebantur, aliae super alias concidebant, reclangentibus cunctis sonitu ruinarum immenso. Inter quae clamoribus variis celsa culmina resultabant, quaeritantium coniugium liberosque, et siquid necessitudines artae constringunt.*

[4] And since most of the houses were carried down the slopes of the hills, they fell one upon another, while everything resounded with the vast roar of their destruction. Meanwhile the highest points re-echoed all manner of outcries, of those seeking their wives, their children, and whatever near kinsfolk belonged to them.

[5] *Post horam denique secundam (multo ante tertiam) aer iam sudus et liquidus latentes rexit funereas strages. Non nulli enim superruentium rudum vi nimia constipati, sub ipsis interiere ponderibus; quidam collo tenus aggeribus obruti, cum superesse possent siqui iuissent, auxiliorum inopia necabantur; alii lignorum exstantium acuminibus fixi pendebant.*

[5] Finally, after the second hour, but well before the third, the air, which was now bright and clear, revealed the fatal ravages that lay concealed. For some who had been crushed by the huge bulk of the debris falling upon them perished under its very weight; some were buried up to their necks in the heaps of rubbish, and might have survived had anyone helped them, but died for want of assistance; others hung impaled upon the sharp points of projecting timbers.

[6] Uno ictu caesi complures, paulo ante homines tunc promiscuae strages cadaverum cernebantur. Quosdam domorum inclinata fastigia intrinsecus servabant intactos, angore et inedia consumendos. Inter quos Aristaenetus affectatam recens dioecensin curans vicaria potestate, quam Constantius ad honorem uxoris Eusebiae, Pietatis cognominarat, animam hoc casu cruciatam diutius exhalavit.

[6] The greater number were killed at one blow, and where there were just now human beings, were then seen confused piles of corpses. Some were imprisoned unhurt within slanting houseroofs, to be consumed by the agony of starvation. Among these was Aristaenetus, vice-governor of the recently created diocese which Constantius, in honour of his wife, Eusebia, had named Pietas; by this kind of mishap he slowly panted out his life amid torments.

[7] Alii subita magnitudine ruinae oppressi, eisdem adhuc molibus conteguntur. Collis is quidam capitibus, vel umeris praeseectis aut cruribus, inter vitae mortisque confinia, aliorum adiumenta paria perferentium implorantes, cum obtestatione magna deserebantur.

[7] Others, who were overwhelmed by the sudden magnitude of the disaster, are still hidden under the same ruins; some who with fractured skulls or amputated arms or legs hovered between life and death, imploring the aid of others in the same case, were abandoned, despite their pleas and protestations.

[8] Et superesse potuit aedium sacrarum et privatarum, hominumque pars maior, ni palantes abrupti flammaram ardores per quinque dies et noctes, quicquid consumi poterat exussissent.

[8] And, the greater part of the temples and private houses might have been saved, and of the population as well, had not a sudden onrush of flames, sweeping over them for five days and nights, burned up whatever could be consumed.

[9] Adesse tempus existimo, pauca dicere quae de terrae pulsibus coniectura veteres collegerunt. Ad ipsius enim veritatis arcana, non modo haec nostra vulgaris inscitia, sed ne sempiterna quidem lucubrationibus longis nondum exhausta, physicorum iurgia penetrarunt.

[9] I think the time has come to say a few words about the theories which the

men of old have brought together about earthquakes; for the hidden depths of the truth itself have neither been sounded by this general ignorance of ours, nor even by the everlasting controversies of the natural philosophers, which are not yet ended after long study.

[10] Unde et in ritualibus et pontificio sacerdotio obtemperantibus libris super auctore motus terrae nihil dicitur caute, ne alio deo pro alio nominato, cum qui eorum terram concutiat, sit in abstruse, piacula committantur.

[10] Hence in the books of ritual and in those which are in conformity with the pontifical priesthood, nothing is said about the god that causes earthquakes, and this with due caution, for fear that by naming one deity instead of another, since it is not clear which of them thus shakes the earth, impieties may be perpetrated.

[11] Accidunt autem, (ut opiniones aestimant inter quas Aristoteles aestuat et laborat), aut in cavernis minutis terrarum, quas Graece σὺβριγγας appellamus, impulsu crebriore aquis undabundis; aut certe (ut Anaxagoras affirmat,) ventorum vi subeuntium ima terrarum; qui cum soliditatibus con crustatis inciderint, eruptiones nullas reperientes, eas partes soli convibrant, quas subrepererint tumidi. Unde plerumque observatur, terra tremente, ventorum apud nos spiramina nulla sentiri, quod in ultimis eius secessibus occupantur.

[11] Now earthquakes take place (as the theories state, and among them Aristotle is perplexed and troubled) either in the tiny recesses of the earth, which in Greek we call σὺβριγγαι, under the excessive pressure of surging waters; or at any rate (as Anaxagoras asserts) through the force of the winds, which penetrate the innermost parts of the earth; for when these strike the solidly cemented walls and find no outlet, they violently shake those stretches of land under which they crept when swollen. Hence it is generally observed that during an earthquake not a breath of wind is felt where we are, because the winds are busied in the remotest recesses of the earth.

[12] Anaximander ait, arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate, aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetrat supernus aer violentus et nimius, ac per eas vehementi spiritu quassatam, cieri propriis sedibus. Qua de causa terrores huius modi, vaporatis temporibus, aut nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione, contingunt. Ideoque Neptunum, umentis substantiae potestatem, Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncuparunt.

[12] Anaximander says that when the earth dries up after excessive summer drought, or after soaking rainstorms, great clefts open, through which the upper air enters with excessive violence; and the earth, shaken by the mighty draft of air through these, is stirred from its very foundations. Accordingly such terrible disasters happen either in seasons of stifling heat or after

excessive precipitation of water from heaven. And that is why the ancient poets and theologians call Neptune (the power of the watery element) Ennosigaeos and Sisichthon.

[13] Fiunt autem terrarum motus modis quattuor: aut enim *brasmatiae* sunt, qui humum more aestus imitus suscitantes, sursum propellunt immanissimas moles, ut in Asia Delos emerit, et Hiera et Anaphe et Rhodus, Ophiusa et Pelagia, prioribus saeculis dictitata, aureo quondam imbri perfusa, et Eleusin in Boeotia, et apud Tyrenos Vulcanus, insulaeque plures; aut *climatiae* qui limes ruentes atque obliqui, urbes aedificia montesque complanant; aut *chasmatae* qui grandiore motu patefactis subito voratrinis, terrarum partes absorbent, ut in Atlantico mari, Europaeo orbe spatiosior insula, et in Crisaeo sinu Helice et Bura, et in Ciminia Italiae parte, oppidum Saccumum, ad Erebi profundos hiatus abactae, aeternis tenebris occultantur.

[13] Now earthquakes take place in four ways; for they are either *brasmatiae*, or upheavings, which lift up the ground from far within, like a tide and force upward huge masses, as in Asia Delos came to the surface, and Hiera, Anaphe, and Rhodes, called in former ages Ophiusa and Pelagia, and once drenched with a shower of gold; also Eleusis in Boeotia, Vulcanus in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and many more islands. Or they are *climatiae* which rush along to one side and obliquely, levelling cities, buildings, and mountains. Or they are *chasmatae*, or gaping, which with their intensive movement suddenly open abysses and swallow up parts of the earth; as in the Atlantic Ocean an island more extensive than all Europe, and in the Crisaean Gulf, Helice and Bura; and in the Ciminian district of Italy the town of Saccumum; these were all sunk into the deep abysses of Erebus, and lie hidden in eternal darkness.

[14] Inter haec tria genera terrae motuum, *mycematae* sonitu audiuntur minaci, cum dissolutis elementa compagibus, ultro assiliunt, vel relabuntur considentibus terris. Tunc enim necesse est velut taurinis reboare mugitibus, fragores fremitusque terrenos. Sed hinc ad exorsa. Iulianus C. Salios, gentem Francicam, in deditionem accipit; Chamavorum alios caedit, alios capit, reliquis pacem tribuit. At Caesar hiemem apud Parisios agens, Alamannos praevenire studio maturabat ingenti, nondum in unum coactos, sed ad insaniam post Argentoratum audaces omnes et saevos, opperiensque Iulium mensem, unde sumunt Gallicani procinctus exordia, diutius angebatur. Nec enim egredi poterat, antequam ex Aquitania aestatis remissione, solutis frigoribus et pruinis, veheretur annona.

[14] Among these three sorts of earthquakes the *mycematae* are heard with a threatening roar, when the elements break up into their component parts and clash of their own accord, or slide back when the ground settles. For then of necessity the crashing and rumbling of the earth must resound like the bellowing of a bull. But to return to the episode which we began. Iulianus

Caesar receives the surrender of the Salii, a Frankish people; he kills apart of the Chamavi, captures others, and grants peace to the rest. Now Caesar, while wintering in Paris, hastened with the greatest diligence to forestall the Alamanni, who were not yet assembled in one body, but were all venturesome and cruel to the point of madness after the battle of Strasburg; and while waiting for the month of July, when the campaigns in Gaul begin, he was for a long time in much anxiety. For he could not leave until the grain supply was brought up from Aquitania during the mild summer season, after the breaking up of the cold weather and frost.

[2] Sed ut est difficultatum paene omnium diligens ratio victrix, multa mente versans et varia, id tandem repperit solum, ut anni maturitate non exspectata, barbaris occurreret insperatus, firmatoque consilio, XX dierum frumentum, ex eo quod erat in sedibus consumendum, ad usus diuturnitatem excoctum, buccellatum (ut vulgo appellant,) umeris imposuit libentium militum, hocque subsidio fretus, secundis (ut ante,) auspiciis profectus est, intra mensem quintum vel sextum, duas expeditiones consummari posse urgentes et necessarias arbitratus.

[2] But as careful planning is victorious over nearly all difficulties, he turned over in his mind many various possibilities; and this at last he found to be the only one, namely, without waiting for the height of the season, to fall upon the savages before he was looked for. And having settled on this plan, he had the grain allowance for twenty days taken from what was to be consumed in the winter quarters, and baked up to serve for some time; he put this hard-tack (as they commonly call it) on the backs of his willing soldiers, and relying on this supply he set out under favourable auspices (as he did before), thinking that within the fifth or sixth month two urgent and inevitable campaigns might be brought to completion.

[3] Quibus paratis, petit primos omnium Francos, eos videlicet quos consuetudo Salios appellavit, ausos olim in Romano solo apud Toxandriam locum habitacula sibi figere praelicenter. Cui cum Tungros venisset, occurrit legatio praedictorum, opinantium reperiri imperatorem etiam tum in hibernis, pacem sub hac lege praetendens, ut quiescentes eos tamquam in suis, nec lacesseret quisquam nec vexaret. Hos legatos negotio plene digesto, oppositaeque condicionum perplexitate, ut in eisdem tractibus moraturus, dum redeunt, muneratos absolvit.

[3] After these preparations he first of all aimed at the Franks, those namely whom custom calls the Salii, who once had the great assurance to venture to fix their abodes on Roman soil at Toxiandria. But when he had reached Tongres, a deputation of the aforesaid people met him, expecting to find the commander even then in winter quarters; and they offered peace on these terms, that while they remained quiet, as in their own territories, no one should attack or molest them. After having fully discussed the matter and

proposed in reply some puzzling conditions, as if intending to remain in the same district until they returned, he gave these envoys gifts and dismissed them.

[4] Dictoque citius secutus profectos, Severo duce misso per ripam, subito cunctos aggressus, tamquam fulminis turbo percussit, iamque precantes potius quam resistentes, in opportunam clementiae partem effectu victoriae flexo, dedentes se cum opibus liberisque suscepit.

[4] But quicker than a flash he followed them up after their departure, and sending his general Severus along the river bank, fell upon the whole troop suddenly and smote them like a thunderstorm; at once they took to entreaties rather than to resistance, and he turned the outcome of his victory into the timely direction of mercy by receiving them in surrender with their property and their children.

[5] Chamavos itidem ausos similia adortus, eadem celeritate partim cecidit, partim acriter repugnantes, vivosque captos, compegit in vincula, alios praecipiti fuga repedantes ad sua, ne militem spatio longo defatigaret, abire interim permisit innocuos; quorum legatis paulo postea missis precatum consultumque rebus suis, humi prostratis sub obtutibus eius, pacem hoc tribuit pacto, ut ad sua redirent incolumes. Julianus C. tria munimenta ad Mosam eversa a barbaris instaurat, et a milite famem patiente probris ac minis incessitur. Cunctis igitur ex voto currentibus, studio pervigili properans, modis omnibus utilitatem fundare provinciarum, munimenta tria recta serie superciliis imposita fluminis Mosae, subversa dudum obstinatione barbarica, reparare pro tempore cogitabat, et ilico sunt instaurata, procinctu paulisper omisso.

[5] The Chamavi also had ventured to make a similar attempt; with the same rapidity he attacked these, killed a part of them, and a part, who resisted stoutly and were taken alive, he put in irons; others, who made tracks for home in headlong flight, he allowed for the time to get away unharmed, in order not to tire his soldiers by a long chase. A little later they sent delegates to make supplication and to provide for their safety, and as they lay prostrate on the ground before his eyes he granted them peace on condition that they should return unmolested to their homes. Julianus Caesar rebuilds three fortresses on the Meuse that had been destroyed by the savages, and is assailed with insults and threats by the soldiers, who are suffering from hunger. So, as everything was proceeding in accordance with his prayers, he made haste with watchful solicitude to put the well-being of the provinces in every way on a firm footing; and he planned to repair (as time would permit) three forts situated in a straight line along the banks overhanging the river Meuse, which had long since been overthrown by the obstinate assaults of the savages; and they were immediately restored, the campaign being interrupted for a short time.

[2] Atque ut consilium prudens celeritas faceret tutum, ex annona decem dierum et septem, quam in expeditionem pergens vehebat cervicibus miles, portionem subtractam in eisdem condidit castris, sperans ex Chamavorum segetibus id suppleri posse quod ablatum est.

[2] And to the end that speed might make his wise policy safe, he took a part of the seventeen days' provisions, which the soldiers, when they marched forward on their expedition carried about their necks, and stored it in those same forts, hoping that what had been deducted might be replaced from the harvests of the Chamavi.

[3] Longe autem aliter accidit. Frugibus enim nondum etiam maturis, miles, expensis quae portabat, nusquam reperiens victus, extrema minitans Iulianum compellationibus incessebat et probris, Asianum appellans Graeculum et fallacem, et specie sapientiae stolidum. Utque inveniri solent quidam inter armatos verborum volubilitate conspicui, haec et similia multa strepebant:

[3] But it turned out far otherwise; for the crops were not yet even ripe, and the soldiers, after using up what they carried, could find no food anywhere; and resorting to outrageous threats, they assailed Julian with foul names and opprobrious language, calling him an Asiatic, a Greekling and a deceiver, and a fool with a show of wisdom. And as some are usually to be found among the soldiers who are noteworthy for their volubility, they kept bawling out such words as these and many others to the same purport:

[4] 'Quo trahimur spe meliorum abolita, olim quidem dura et perpessu asperissima per nives tolerantes et acumina crudelium pruinarum? Sed nunc (pro nefas!) cum ultimis hostium fatis instamus, fame, ignavissimo mortis genere tabescentes.

[4] "Where are we being dragged, robbed of the hope of a better lot? We have long endured hardships of the bitterest kind to bear, in the midst of snows and the pinch of cruel frosts; but now (Oh shameful indignity!), when we are pressing on to the final destruction of the enemy it is by hunger, the most despicable form of death, that we are wasting away.

[5] Et nequi nos turbarum existimet concitores, pro vita loqui sola testamur, non aurum neque argentum petentes, quae olim nec contrectare potuimus nec videre, ita nobis negata, velut contra rem publicam, tot suscepisse labores et pericula confutatis.'

[5] And let no man imagine us incitors to mutiny; we protest that we are speaking for our lives alone, asking for neither gold nor silver, which we have not been able to handle or even look upon for a long time, and which are denied us just as if it were against our country that we had been convicted of having undertaken so much toil and danger."

[6] Et erat ratio iusta querellarum. Inter tot enim rerum probabilium cursus, articulosque necessitatum ancipites, sudoribus Gallicanis miles exhaustus, nec donativum meruit nec stipendium, iam inde ut Iulianus illo est missus, ea re quod nec ipsi quod daret suppetere poterat usquam, nec Constantius erogari more solito permittebat.

[6] And they had good reason for their complaints. For through all their career of laudable achievements, and the critical moments of hazard, the soldiers, though worn out by their labours in Gaul, had received neither donative nor pay from the very day that Julian was sent there, for the reason that he himself had no funds available anywhere from which to give, nor did Constantius allow any to be expended in the usual manner.

[7] Hocque exinde claruit fraude potius quam tenacitate committi, quod cum idem Caesar petenti ex usu gregario cuidam, ut barbas detonderet, dedisset aliquid vile, contumeliosis calumniis appetitus est a Gaudentio tunc notario, ad explorandos eius actus diu morato per Gallias, quem postea ipse interfici iusserat, ut loco monstrabitur competenti. Suomarius et Hortarius, Alamannorum reges, captivis redditis, ab Iuliano Caes. pacem impetrant. Lenito tandem tumultu, non sine blanditiarum genere vario, contextoque navali ponte transito Rheno, terris Alamannorum calcatis, Severus magister equitum, bellicosus ante haec et industrius, repente conmarcuit.

[7] And it was evident that this was done through malice rather than through niggardliness, from the fact that when this same Julian was asked by a common soldier, as they often do, for money for a shave, and had given him some small coin, he was assailed for it with slanderous speeches by Gaudentius, who was then a secretary. He had remained in Gaul for a long time to watch Julian's actions, and Caesar afterwards ordered that he be put to death, as will be shown in the proper place. Suomarius and Hortarius, kings of the Alamanni, on giving back their prisoners are granted peace by Julianus Caesar. At length, after the mutiny had been quelled, not without various sorts of fair words, they built a pontoon bridge and crossed the Rhine; but when they set foot in the lands of the Alamanni, Severus, master of the horse, who had previously been a warlike and energetic officer, suddenly lost heart.

[2] Et qui saepe universos ad fortiter faciendum hortabatur et singulos, tunc dissuasor pugnandi, contemptus videbatur et timidus, mortem fortasse metuens adventantem, ut in Tageticis libris legitur vel Vegonicis fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari, ut nec tonitruum nec maiores aliquos possint audire fragores. Et iter ignaviter egerat praeter solitum, ut ductores, viarum praeaeuntes alacri gradu, ultima minitendo terreret, ni omnes conspirantes in unum, se loca penitus ignorare firmarent. Qui interdicti, metuentes auctoritatem, nusquam deinde sunt progressi.

[2] And he that had often encouraged one and all to brave deeds, now advised against fighting and seemed despicable and timid — perhaps through fear of his coming death, as we read in the books of Tages or of Vegoe that those who are shortly to be struck by lightning are so dulled in their senses that they can hear neither thunder nor any louder crashes whatsoever. And contrary to his usual custom, he had marched so lazily that he intimidated the guides, who were leading the way rapidly, and threatened them with death unless they would all agree, and unanimously make a statement, that they were wholly ignorant of the region. So they, being thus forbidden, and in fear of his authority, on no occasion went ahead after that.

[3] *Inter has tamen moras, Alamannorum rex Suomarius ultro cum suis improvisus occurrit, ferox ante saeviensque in damna Romana, sed tum lucrum existimans insperatum, si propria retinere permetteretur. Et quia vultus incessusque supplicem indicabat, susceptus bonoque animo esse iussus et placido, nihil arbitrio suo relinquens, pacem genibus curvatis oravit.*

[3] Now in the midst of these delays Suomarius, king of the Alamanni, of his own initiative met the Romans unexpectedly with his troops, and although he had previously been haughty and cruelly bent upon harming the Romans, at that time on the contrary he thought it an unlooked-for gain if he were allowed to keep what belonged to him. And inasmuch as his looks and his gait showed him to be a suppliant, he was received and told to be of good cheer and set his mind at rest; whereupon he completely abandoned his own independence and begged for peace on bended knee.

[4] *Et eam cum concessione praeteritorum sub hac meruit lege, ut captivos redderet nostros, et quotiens sit necesse, militibus alimenta praeberet, susceptorum vilium more securitates accipiens pro illatis: quas si non ostendisset in tempore, sciret se rursus eadem flagitandum.*

[4] And he obtained it, with pardon for all that was past, on these terms: that he should deliver up his Roman captives and supply the soldiers with food as often as it should be needed, receiving security for what he brought in just like any ordinary contractor. And if he did not present it on time, he was to know that the same amount would again be demanded of him.

[5] *Quod ita recte dispositum est, impraepedite completo, Hortari nomine petendus erat regis alterius pagus, et quia nihil videbatur deesse praeter ductores, Nesticae tribuno scutariorum, et Chariettoni viro fortitudinis mirae, imperaverat Caesar, ut magna quaesitum industria, comprehensumque offerrent sibi captivum, et correptus velociter, adulescens ducitur Alamannus, pacto obtinendae salutis pollicitus itinera se monstraturum.*

[5] When this, which was properly arranged, had been carried out without a hitch, since the territory of a second king, Hortarius by name, was to be

attacked and nothing seemed to be lacking but guides, Caesar had given orders to Nestica, a tribune of the targeteers, and Charietto, a man of extraordinary bravery, to take great pains to seek out and catch one and bring him in captive. Quickly a young Alamann was seized and led in, and on condition of having his life spared he promised to show the way.

[6] Hoc progresso secutus exercitus, celsarum arborum obsistente concaede, ire protinus vetabatur. Verum per circuitus longos et flexuosos ubi ventum est tandem ad loca, ira quisque percitus armorum urebat agros et peoora diripiebat et homines, resistentesque sine ulla parsimonia contruncabant.

[6] He led and the army followed, but it was prevented from going forward by a barricade of tall felled trees. But when they finally, by long and circuitous detours, reached the spot, every man in the army, wild with anger, joined in setting the fields on fire and raiding flocks and men; and if they resisted, they butchered them, without compunction.

[7] His malis percussus, rex cum multiplices legiones, vicorumque reliquias cerneret exustorum, ultimas fortunarum iacturas adesse iam contemplatus, oravit ipse quoque veniam, facturum se imperanda iurandi exsecratione promisit. Captivos restituere universos — id enim cura agebatur impensiore — iussus fidem non praestitit. Detentisque plurimis reddidit paucos.

[7] The king was overwhelmed by these calamities, and when he saw the numerous legions and the ruins of his villages which they had burned down, now fully convinced that the final wreck of his fortunes was at hand, he too begged for pardon and under the solemn sanction of an oath promised that he would do what might be ordered. Being bidden to restore all prisoners — for that was insisted on with special earnestness — he did not keep faith but held back a large number and gave up only a few.

[8] Quo cognito ad indignationem iustam Iulianus erectus, cum munerandus venisset ex more, quattuor comites eius, quorum ope et fide maxime nitebatur, non ante absolvit, dum omnes rediere captivi.

[8] On learning this, Julian was roused to righteous indignation, and when the king came to receive presents, as was usual, he would not release his four attendants, on whose aid and loyalty he chiefly relied, until all the captives returned.

[9] Ad colloquium tandem accitus a Caesare, trementibus oculis adorato, victorisque superatus aspectu, condicione difficili premebatur, hac scilicet ut quoniam consentaneum erat, post tot secundos eventus, civitates quoque reparari, vi barbarorum excisas, carpenta et materias ex opibus suis suorumque praeberet; et haec pollicitus imprecatusque (si perfidum quicquam egisset,) luenda sibi cruore supplicia, ad propria remeare permissus est. Annonam enim transferre, ita ut Suomarius, ea re compelli non potuit, quod

ad internicionem regione eius vastata, nihil inveniri poterat quod daretur.

[9] Finally the king was summoned by Caesar to an interview and revered him with trembling eyes; and overcome at the sight of the conqueror, he was forced to accept these hard terms, namely, that inasmuch as it was fitting that after so many successes the cities also should be rebuilt which the violence of the savages had destroyed, the king should furnish carts and timber from his own supplies and those of his subjects. And when he had promised this and taken oath that if he did any disloyal act, he should expiate it with his heart's blood, he was allowed to return to his own domains. For as to supplying grain, as Suomarius did, he could not be coerced, for the reason that his country had been ravaged to the point of ruin, and nothing to give to us could be found.

[10] Ita reges illi tumentes quondam immaniter, rapinisque ditescere assueti nostrorum, Romanae potentiae iugo subdidere colla iam domita, et velut inter tributarios nati et educati, obsecundabant imperiis ingravate. Quibus hoc modo peractis, disperso per stationes milite consuetas, ad hiberna regressus est Caesar. Iulianus Caes., post res in Gallia bene gestas, in aula Constantii Aug. ab invidis deridetur, segnisque et timidus appellatur. Haec cum in comitatu Constantii subinde noscerentur — erat enim necesse, tamquam apparitorem, Caesarem super omnibus gestis ad Augusti referre scientiam — omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores iam docti, recte consulta prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum, talia sine modo strepentes insulse: 'In odium venit cum victoriis suis capella, non homo,' ut hirsutum Iulianum carpentes, appellantesque 'loquacem talpam' et 'purpuratam simiam' et 'litterionem Graecum,' et his congruentia plurima. Atque ut tintinnabula principi resonantes, audire haec taliaque gestienti, virtutes eius obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaue secus verbis comptioribus exornantem; quod non tunc primitus accidit.

[10] So those kings, who in times past were inordinately puffed up with pride, and accustomed to enrich themselves with the spoils of our subjects, put their necks, now bowed down, under the yoke of Roman dominion, and ungrudgingly obeyed our commander, as if born and brought up among our tributaries. And after this conclusion of events the soldiers were distributed among their usual posts and Caesar returned to winter quarters. Iulianus Caesar, after these successful campaigns in Gaul, is derided by envious courtiers at the palace of Constantius, and called slothful and timid. Presently, when all this became known at Constantius' court — for it was necessary that Caesar, like any subordinate, should render an account to Augustus of all his acts — all those who had the chief influence in the palace and were now past masters in flattery turned Julian's well-devised and successful achievements into mere mockery by endless silly jests of this sort: "This fellow, a nanny-goat and no man, is getting insufferable with his victories," jibing at him for

being hairy, and calling him a “chattering mole” and “an ape in purple,” and “a Greekish pedant,” and other names like these; and by ringing bells, so to speak, in the ears of an emperor eager to hear these and similar things, they tried to bury his merits with shameless speeches, railing at him as a lazy, timid, unpractical person, and one who embellished his ill success with fine words; all of which did not take place then for the first time.

[2] *Namque ut solet amplissima quaeque gloria obiecta esse semper invidiae, legimus in veteres quoque magnificos duces vitia criminaque, etiam si inveniri non poterant, finxisse malignitatem, spectatissimis actibus eorum offensam.*

[2] For as the greatest glory is always habitually subject to envy, we read that even against the renowned leaders of ancient days faults and charges were trumped up, even if none could be discovered, by spiteful persons incensed by their brilliant exploits.

[3] *Ut Cimonem Miltiadis filium, insimulatum incesti, qui saepe ante et prope Eurymedonta Pamphylium flumen Persarum populum delevit innumerum, coegitque gentem insolentia semper elatam obsecrare suppliciter pacem; Aemilianum itidem Scipionem ut somniculosum aemulorum incusari malivolentia, cuius impetrabili vigilantia, obstinatae in perniciem Romae, duae potentissimae sunt urbes excisae.*

[3] As, for example, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was accused of incest, although often before and particularly near the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia he annihilated a countless host of the Persians, and compelled a nation always swollen with pride to sue humbly for peace. Likewise Scipio Aemilianus was accused of inactivity by the malice of his rivals, although by his effective vigilance two most powerful cities, bent on the destruction of Rome, were razed to the ground.

[4] *Nec non etiam in Pompeium obtrectatores iniqui, multa scrutantes, cum nihil unde vituperari deberet, inveniretur, duo haec observarunt ludibriosa et irrita: quod genuino quodam more caput digito uno scalpebat, quodque aliquandiu tegendi ulceris causa deformis fasciola candida crus colligatum gestabat: quorum alterum factitare ut dissolutum, alterum ut novarum rerum cupidum asserebant; nihil interesse oblatrantes argumento subfrigido, quam partem corporis redimiret regiae maiestatis insigni; eum virum, quo nec fortior nec autem cautior quisquam patriae fuit, ut documenta praeclara testantur.*

[4] And also even in the case of Pompey, some malevolent critics, who after much search found nothing for which he could be blamed, noted these two laughable and silly facts: that in a certain characteristic way he used to scratch his head with one finger, and that for some time, to cover up an ugly ulcer, he wore a white bandage tied around his leg; the one of these things he did, they

affirmed, because he was dissipated, the other because he planned a revolution, snarling at him with the somewhat pointless reason, that it mattered not what part of his body he bound with the emblem of kingly majesty — and this to a man than whom, as the clearest of proofs show; none was more valiant or circumspect with regard to his country.

[5] Dum haec ita aguntur, Romae Artemius curans vicariam praefecturam, pro Basso quoque agebat, qui recens promotus urbi praefectus, fatali decesserat sorte, cuius administratio seditiones perpessa est turbulentas, nec memorabile quicquam habuit quod narrari sit dignum. Constantius Aug. Sarmatas dominos olim, tum exules, et Quados, Pannoniarum et Moesiae vastatores, ad obsides dandos et captivos reddendos compellit; atque exulibus Sarmatis, in libertatem avitasque sedes restitutis, regem imposuit. Augusto inter haec quiescenti per hiemem apud Sirmium, indicabant nuntii graves et crebri, permixtos Sarmatas et Quados, vicinitate et similitudine morum armaturaeque concordēs, Pannonias Moesiarumque alteram cuneis incursare dispersis.

[5] While these things were thus happening, at Rome Artemius, who held the office of vice-prefect, also succeeded Bassus, who a short time after he had been promoted to be prefect of the city had died a natural death. His administration suffered from mutinous disturbances, but had no remarkable incident which is worth relating. Constantius Augustus compels the Sarmatians, formerly rulers, but now exiles, and the Quadi, who were laying waste Pannonia and Moesia, to give hostages and return their prisoners; and over the exiled Sarmatians, whom he restored to freedom and their ancestral abode, he appointed a king. As Augustus meanwhile was taking his winter rest at Sirmium, frequent serious reports showed that the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who were in agreement because they were neighbours and had like customs and armour, had united and were raiding the Pannonias and Second Moesia in detached bands.

[2] Quibus ad latrocinia magis quam aperto habilibus Marti, hastae sunt longiores et loricae ex cornibus rasis et laevigatis, plumarum specie linteis indumentis innexae; equorumque plurimi ex usu castrati, ne aut feminarum visu exagitati, raptentur, aut in subsidiis ferocientes, prodant hinnitu densiore vectores.

[2] These people, better fitted for brigandage than for open warfare, have very long spears and cuirasses made from smooth and polished pieces of horn, fastened like scales to linen shirts; most of their horses are made serviceable by gelding, in order that they may not at sight of mares become excited and run away, or when in ambush become unruly and betray their riders by loud neighing.

[3] Et per spatia discurrunt amplissima, sequentes alios vel ipsi terga vertentes, insidendo velocibus equis et morigeris, trahentesque singulos, interdum et

binos, uti permutatio vires foveat iumentorum, vigorque otio integretur alterno.

[3] And they run over very great distances, pursuing others or themselves turning their backs, being mounted on swift and obedient horses and leading one, or sometimes even two, to the end that an exchange may keep up the strength of their mounts and that their freshness may be renewed by alternate periods of rest.

[4] Aequinoctio itaque temporis verni confecto, imperator coacta militum valida manu, ductu laetioris fortunae profectus, cum ad locum aptissimum pervenisset, flumen Histrum exundantem pruinarum iam resoluta congerie, super navium foros ponte contexto transgressus, populandis barbarorum incubuit terris. Qui itinere festinato praeventi, catervasque bellatoris exercitus iugulis suis imminere cernentes, quem nondum per anni tempus colligi posse rebantur, nec spirare ausi nec stare, sed vitantes exitium insperatum, semet omnes effuderunt in fugam.

[4] And so, when the spring equinox was past, the emperor mustered a strong force of soldiers and set out under the guidance of a more propitious fortune; and although the river Ister was in flood since the masses of snow and ice were now melted, having come to the most suitable place, he crossed it on a bridge built over the decks of ships and invaded the savages' lands with intent to lay them waste. They were outwitted by his rapid march, and on seeing already at their throats the troops of a fighting army, which they supposed could not yet be assembled owing to the time of year, they ventured neither to take breath nor make a stand, but to avoid unlooked-for destruction all took to precipitate flight.

[5] Stratisque plurimis, quorum gressus vinxerat timor, si quos exemit celeritas morti, inter latebrosas convalles montium occultati, videbant patriam ferro pereuntem, quam vindicassent profecto, si vigore quo discesserant restitissent.

[5] The greater number, since fear clogged their steps, were cut down; if speed saved any from death, they hid in the obscure mountain gorges and saw their country perishing by the sword; and they might undoubtedly have protected her, had they resisted with the same vigour that had marked their flight.

[6] Gerebantur haec in ea parte Sarmatiae, quae secundam prospectat Pannoniam, parique fortitudine circa Valeriam opes barbaras urendo rapiendoque occurrentia militaris turbo vastabat.

[6] This took place in that part of Sarmatia which faces Second Pannonia, and with equal courage our soldiers, like a tempest, laid waste the enemies possessions round about Valeria, burning and plundering everything before them.

[7] Cuius cladis immensitate permoti, posthabito latendi consilio, Sarmatae petendae specie pacis, agmine tripartito agentes, securius nostros aggredi cogitarunt ut nec expedire tela nec vim vulnere declinare, nec quod est in rebus artissimis ultimum, verti possent in fugam.

[7] Greatly disturbed by the vastness of this disaster, the Sarmatians abandoned their plan of hiding, and forming in three divisions, under pretence of suing for peace they planned to attack our soldiers with little danger, so that they could neither get their weapons ready nor parry the force of wounds, nor turn to flight, which is the last recourse in times of stress.

[8] Aderant autem ilico Sarmatis periculorum Quadi participes, qui noxarum saepe socii fuerant indiscreti, sed ne eos quidem prompta iuvit audacia, in discrimina ruentes aperta.

[8] Furthermore the Quadi, who had often been their inseparable companions in raids, came at once to share the perils of the Sarmatians; but their ready boldness did not help them either, rushing as they were upon evident hazards.

[9] Caesis enim compluribus, pars quae potuit superesse, per notos calles evasis; quo eventu vires et animos incitante, iunctis densius cuneis, ad Quadorum regna properabat exercitus, qui ex praeterito casu impendentia formidantes, rogaturi suppliciter pacem, fidentes ad principis venere conspectum, erga haec et similia lenioris, dictoque die statuendis condicionibus pari modo Zizais quoque etiam tum regalis, ardui corporis iuvenis, ordines Sarmatarum more certaminis instruxit ad preces; visoque imperatore, abiectis armis pectore toto procubuit, exanimis stratus. Et amisso vocis officio prae timore, tum cum orare deberet, maiorem misericordiam movit, conatus aliquotiens, parumque impediende singultu, permissus explicare quae poscebat.

[9] For after very many of them had been cut down, the part that could save themselves escaped by paths familiar to them, and our army, their strength and courage aroused by this success, formed in closer order and hastened to the domain of the Quadi. They, dreading from their past disaster what impended, planned to sue suppliantly for peace and confidently presented themselves before the emperor, who was somewhat too lenient towards those and similar offences; and on the day named for settling the terms in like fashion, Zizais, a tall young man who was even then a royal prince, drew up the ranks of the Sarmatians in battle array to make their petition. And on seeing the emperor he threw aside his weapons and fell flat on his breast, as if lying lifeless. And since the use of his voice failed him from fear at the very time when he should have made his plea, he excited all the greater compassion; but after several attempts, interrupted by sobbing, he was able to set forth only a little of what he tried to ask.

[10] *Recreatus denique tandem, iussusque exsurgere, genibus nixus, usu linguae recuperate, concessionem delictorum sibi tribui supplicavit et veniam, eoque ad precandum admissa multitudo, cuius ora formido muta clauderat, periculo adhuc praestantioris ambiguo, ubi ille solo iussus attolli orandi signum exspectantibus diu monstravit, omnes clipeis telisque proiectis, manus precibus dederunt plura excogitantes, ut vincerent humilitate supplicandi regalem.*

[10] At last, however, he was reassured and bidden to rise, and getting up on his knees and recovering the use of his voice, he begged that indulgence for his offences, and pardon, be granted him. Upon this the throng was admitted to make its entreaties, but mute terror closed their lips, so long as the fate of their superior was uncertain. But when he was told to get up from the ground and gave the long awaited signal for their petition, all threw down their shields and spears, stretched out their hands with prayers, and succeeded in many ways in outdoing their prince in lowly supplication.

[11] *Duxerat potior cum ceteris Sarmatis etiam Rumonem et Zinafrum et Fragiledum subregulos, plurimosque optimates, cum impetrandi spe similia petituros. Qui, licet elati gaudio salutis indultae, condicionum sarcina compensare inimice facta pollicebantur, seque cum facultatibus et liberis et coniugibus terrarumque suarum ambitu Romanae potentiae libenter offerrent. Praevaluit tamen aequitati iuncta benignitas, iussique obtinere sedes impavidi, nostros reddidere captivos. Duxeruntque obsides postulos, et obedire praeceptis deinde promptissime sponponderunt.*

[11] Their superior had also brought with therest of the Sarmatians Rumo, Zinafer and Fragiledus, who were petty kings, and a number of nobles, to make like requests, which they hoped would be granted. They, though overjoyed that their lives were spared, offered to make up for their hostile acts by burdensome conditions, and would have willingly submitted themselves with their possessions, their children, their wives, and the whole of their territories to the power of the Romans. However, kindness combined with equity prevailed, and when they were told to retain their homes without fear, they returned all their Roman prisoners. They also brought in the hostages that were demanded and promised from that time on to obey orders with the utmost promptness.

[12] *Hortante hoc exemplo clementiae, advolarunt regalis cum suis omnibus Araharius, et Usafer inter optimates excellens, agminum gentilium duces, quorum alter Transiugitanorum Quadorumque parti, alter quibusdam Sarmatis praeerat, locorum confiniis et feritate iunctissimis; quorum plebem veritus imperator, ne ferire foedera simulans, in arma repente consurgeret, discreto consortio, pro Sarmatis obsecrantes iussit paulisper abscedere, dum Araharii et Quadorum negotium spectaretur.*

[12] Encouraged by this instance of mercy, there hastened to the spot with all their subjects the prince Araharius, and Usafer, a prominent noble, who were leaders of the armies of their countrymen; one of them ruled a part of the Transiugitani and the Quadi, the other some of the Sarmatians, peoples closely united by the same frontiers and like savagery. Since the emperor feared their people, lest under pretence of striking a treaty they might suddenly rise to arms, he separated the united divisions and bade those who were interceding for the Sarmatians to withdraw for a time, while the case of Araharius and the Quadi was being considered.

[13] Qui cum reorum ritu oblati, stantes curvatis corporibus, facinora gravia purgare non possent, ultimae sortis infortunia metuentes, dederunt obsides imperatos, numquam antea pignora foederis exhibere compulsi.

[13] When these presented themselves in the manner of criminals, standing with bended bodies, and were unable to clear themselves of serious misdeeds, in fear of calamities of the worst kind they gave the hostages which were demanded, although never before had they been forced to present pledges for a treaty.

[14] His ex aequo bonoque compositis Usafer in preces admissus est, Arahario pertinaciter obstrepente, firmanteque pacem quam ipse meruit, ei quoque debere proficere, ut participi licet inferiori, et obtemperare suis imperiis consueto.

[14] When they had been justly and fairly disposed of, Usafer was admitted to make supplication, although Araharius stoutly objected and insisted that the terms which he himself had obtained ought to be valid also for the other as his partner, although Usafer was of inferior rank and accustomed to obey his commands.

[15] Verum quaestione discussa, aliena potestate eripi Sarmatae iussi (ut semper Romanorum clientes,) offerre obsides quietis vincula conservandae, gratanter amplexi sunt.

[15] But after a discussion of the question, orders were given that the Sarmatians (as permanent dependents of the Romans) should be freed from the domination of others and should present hostages as bonds for keeping the peace; an offer which they gladly accepted.

[16] Ingerebat autem se post haec maximus numerus catervarum confluentium nationum et regum, suspendi a iugulis suis gladios obsecrantium, postquam Araharium impune compererat abscessisse; et pari modo ipsi quoque adepti pacem quam poscebant, accitos ex intimis regni procerum filios obsidatus sorte opinione celerius obtulerunt, itidemque captivos (ut placuerat) nostros, quos haut minore gemitu perdidere quam suos.

[16] Moreover, after this there offered themselves a very great number of kings and nations, coming together in companies, and begged that swords be poised at their very throats, as soon as they learned that Araharius had got off scot-free. And they too in the same way gained the peace which they sought, and sooner than was expected they summoned from the innermost parts of the kingdom and brought in as hostages the sons of eminent men, and also our prisoners (as had been stipulated), from whom they parted with as deep sighs as they did from their own countrymen.

[17] Quibus ordinatis translata est in Sarmatas cura, miseratione dignos potius quam similitudine. Quibus incredibile quantum prosperitatis haec attulit causa: ut verum illud aestimaretur, quod opinantur quidam, fatum vinci principis potestate vel fieri.

[17] These affairs once set in order, his attention was turned to the Sarmatians, who were deserving rather of pity than of anger; and to them this situation brought an incredible degree of prosperity; so that the opinion of some might well be deemed true, that fortune is either mastered or made by the power of a prince

[18] Potentes olim ac nobiles erant huius indigenae regni, sed coniuratio clandestina servos armavit in facinus. Atque ut barbaris esse omne ius in viribus adsuevit, vicerunt dominos ferocia pares, et numero praeminentes.

[18] The natives of this realm were once powerful and noble, but a secret conspiracy armed their slaves for rebellion; and since with savages all right is commonly might, they vanquished their masters, being their equals in courage and far superior in number.

[19] Qui confundente metu consilia, ad Victohalos discretos longius confugerunt, obsequi defensoribus, (ut in malis) optabile, quam servire mancipiis arbitrati; quae deplorantes, post impetratam veniam recepti in fidem, poscebant praesidia libertati, eosque iniquitate rei permotus, inspectante omni exercitu, convocatos allocutus verbis mollioribus imperator, nulli nisi sibi ducibusque Romanis parere praecepit.

[19] The defeated, since fear prevented deliberation, fled to the Victohali, who dwelt afar off, thinking that to submit to protectors (considering their evil plight) was preferable to serving slaves. Bewailing this situation, after they had gained pardon and been assured of protection they asked that their freedom be guaranteed; whereupon the emperor, deeply moved by the injustice of their condition, in the presence of the whole army called them together, and addressing them in gracious terms, bade them yield obedience to none save himself and the Roman generals.

[20] Atque ut restitutio libertatis haberet dignitatis augmentum, Zizaim regem eisdem praefecit, conspicuae fortunae tum insignibus aptum profecto, (ut res

docuit) et fidelem, nec discedere quisquam post haec gloriose gesta permissus est, antequam (ut placuerat) remearent nostri captivi.

[20] And to give their restoration to freedom an increase of dignity, he set over them as their king Zizais, a man even then surely suited for the honours of a conspicuous fortune and (as the result showed) loyal; but no one was allowed, after these glorious achievements, to leave the place, until (as had been agreed) the Roman prisoners should come back.

[21] His in barbarico gestis, Bregetionem castra commota sunt, ut etiam ibi belli Quadorum reliquias, circa illos agitantium tractus, lacrimae vel sanguis exstingeret. Quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, alique optimates et iudices, variis populis praesidentes, viso exercitu in gremio regni solique genitalis, sub gressibus militum iacuerunt, et adepti veniam iussa fecerunt, sobolemque suam obsidatus pignore (ut obsecuturi condicionibus impositis) tradiderunt, eductisque mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide. Constantius Aug. Limigantes Sarmatas servos, post magnam ipsorum caedem factam, cogit sedibus suis emigrare, ac milites suos alloquitur. His (ut narratum est) secundo finitis eventu, ad Limigantes, Sarmatas servos, ocius signa transferri utilitas publica flagitabat, quos erat admodum nefas, impune multa et nefaria perpetrasse. Nam velut oblitum priorum, tunc erumpentibus Liberis, ipsi quoque tempus aptissimum nacti, limitem percurrere Romanum, ad hanc solam fraudem dominis suis hostibusque concordem.

[21] After these achievements in the savages' country, the camp was moved to Bregetio, to the end that there also tears or blood might quench what was left of the war of the Quadi, who were astir in those regions. Then their prince Vitrodorus, son of King Viduarius, and Agilimundus, his vassal, along with other nobles and officials governing various nations, seeing the army in the heart of their kingdom and native soil, prostrated themselves before the marching soldiers, and having gained pardon, did what was ordered, giving their children as hostages by way of pledge that they would fulfil the conditions imposed upon them. Then, drawing their swords, which they venerate as gods, they swore that they would remain loyal. Constantius Augustus compels the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians, after inflicting great bloodshed upon them, to leave their abodes; then he addresses his soldiers. When these events had been brought to a successful issue, as has been told, the public welfare required that the standards quickly be transported to the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians, for it was most shameful that they had with impunity committed many infamous outrages. For as if forgetting the past, when the free Sarmatians rebelled, those others also found the opportunity most favourable and broke over the Roman frontier, for this outrage alone making common cause with their masters and enemies.

[2] Deliberatum est tamen, id quoque lenius vindicari, quam criminum

magnitudo poscebat, hactenus ultione porrecta, ut ad longinqua translati, amitterent copiam nostra vexandi, quos pericula formidare monebat scelerum conscientia diutius commissorum.

[2] Nevertheless, it was determined after driving out their former masters; according to others, the Limigantes were a tribe of the Sarmatians. after deliberation that this act also should be punished less severely than the heinousness of their crimes demanded, and vengeance was confined to transferring them to remote places, where they would lose the opportunity of molesting our territories; yet the consciousness of their long series of misdeeds warned them to fear danger.

[3] Ideoque in se pugnae molem suspicati vertendam, dolos parabant et ferrum et preces. Verum aspectu primo exercitus tamquam fulminis ictu perculsi, ultimaque cogitantes, vitam precati, tributum annuum delectumque validae iuventutis et servitium sponponderunt, abnuere parati si iuberentur aliorum migrare, ut gestibus indicabant et vultibus, locorum confisi praesidio, ubi lares post exactos dominos fixere securi.

[3] Accordingly, suspecting that the weight of war would be directed against them, they got ready wiles and arms and entreaties. But at the first sight of our army, as if smitten by a stroke of lightning and anticipating the utmost, after having pleaded for life they promised a yearly tribute, a levy of their able youth, and slavery; but they were ready, as they showed by gestures and expression, to refuse if they should be ordered to move elsewhere, trusting to the protection of the situation in which they had established themselves in security, after driving out their masters.

[4] Has enim terras Parthiscus irruens obliquatis meatibus, Histro miscetur. Sed dum solus licentius fluit, spatia longa et lata sensim praelabens, et ea coartans prope exitum in angustias, accolas ab impetu Romanorum alveo Danubii defendit, a barbaricis vero excursibus suo tutos praestat obstaculo, ubi pleraque umidioris soli natura, et incrementis fluminum redundantia, stagnosa sunt et referta salicibus, ideoque invia, nisi perquam gnaris; et super his insularem anfractum, aditu Parthisci paene contiguum, amnis potior ambiens, terrae consortio separavit.

[4] For the Parthiscus rushing into those lands with winding course, mingles with the Hister. But while it flows alone and unconfined, it slowly traverses a long expanse of broad plain; near its mouth, however, it compresses this into a narrow tract, thus protecting those who dwell there from a Roman attack by the channel of the Danube, and making them safe from the inroads of other savages by the opposition of its own stream; for the greater part of the country is of a marshy nature, and since it is flooded when the rivers rise, is full of pools and overgrown with willows, and therefore impassable except for those well acquainted with the region. Besides this the larger river, enclosing the

winding circuit of an island, which almost reaches the mouth of the Parthiscus, separates it from connection with the land.

[5] Hortante igitur principe, cum genuino fastu ad citeriorem venere fluminis ripam, ut exitus docuit, non iussa facturi, sed ne viderentur militis praesentiam formidasse, stabantque contumaciter, ideoque propinquasse monstrantes, ut iubenda repudiarent.

[5] So, at the emperor's request, they came with their native arrogance to their bank of the river, not, as the event proved, intending to do what they were bidden, but in order not to appear to have feared the presence of the soldiers; and there they stood defiantly, thus giving the impression that they had come there to reject any orders that might be given.

[6] Quae imperator accidere posse contemplans, in agmina plurima clam distributo exercitu, celeritate volucris morantes intra suorum acies clausit. Stansque in aggere celsiore cum paucis, et stipatorum praesidio tectus, eos ne ferocirent lenius admonebat.

[6] But the emperor, suspecting that this might happen, had secretly divided his army into several bands, and with swift speed enclosed them, while they were delaying, within the lines of his own soldiers; then standing with a few followers on a loftier mound, protected by the defence of his guards, in mild terms he admonished them not to be unruly.

[7] Sed fluctuantes ambiguitate mentium in diversa rapiebantur, et furori mixta versutia, temptabant cum precibus proelium, vicinumque sibi in nostros parantes excursum, proiecere consulto longius scuta, ut ad ea recuperanda sensim progressi, sine ullo fraudis indicio spatia furarentur.

[7] But they, wavering in uncertainty of mind, were distracted different ways, and with mingled craft and fury they thought both of entreaties and of battle; and preparing to sally out on our men where we lay near to them, they purposely threw forward their shields a long way, so that by advancing step by step to recover them they might without any show of treachery gain ground by stealth.

[8] Iamque vergente in vesperum die, cum moras rumpere lux moneret excedens, erectis vexillis in eos igneo miles impetu ferebatur. Qui conferti acieque densiore contracta, adversus ipsum principem stantem (ut dictum est) altius, omnem impetum contulerunt, eum oculis incessentes et vocibus truculentis.

[8] When the day was now declining to evening and the waning light warned them to do away with delay, the soldiers lifted up their standards and rushed upon them in a fiery attack. Thereupon the foe massed themselves together, and, huddled in close order, directed all their attack against the emperor

himself, who, as was said, stood on higher ground, charging upon him with fierce looks and savage cries.

[9] Cuius furoris amentiam exercitus ira ferre non potuit, eosque imperatori (ut dictum est) acriter imminentes, desinente in angustum fronte (quem habitum caput porci simplicitas militaris appellat,) impetu disiecit ardenti, et dextra pedites catervas peditum obtruncabant, equites laeva equitum se turmis agilibus infuderunt.

[9] The furious madness of this onset so angered our army that it could not brook it, and as the savages hotly menaced the emperor (as was said), they took the form of a wedge (an order which the soldier's naive parlance calls "the pig's head,") and scattered them with a hot charge; then on the right our infantry slaughtered the bands of their infantry, while on the left our cavalry poured into the nimble squadrons of their cavalry.

[10] Cohors praetoria ex adverso Augustum cautius stipans, resistentium pectora moxque terga fugientium incidebat, et cadentes insuperabili contumacia barbari non tam mortem dolere, quam nostrorum laetitiam, horrendo stridore monstrabant, et iacentes absque mortuis plurimi, succisis poplitibus ideoque adempto fugiendi subsidio, alii dexteris amputatis, non nulli ferro quidem intacti, sed superruentium collisi ponderibus, cruciatus alto silentio perferebant.

[10] The praetorian cohort, which stood before Augustus and was carefully guarding him, fell upon the breasts of the resisting foe, and then upon their backs as they took flight. And the savages with invincible stubbornness showed as they fell, by their awful shrieking, that they did not so much resent death as the triumph of our soldiers; and besides the dead many lay about hamstrung and thus deprived of the means of flight, others had their right hands cut off, some were untouched by any steel but crushed by the weight of those who rushed over them; but all bore their anguish in deep silence.

[11] Nec eorum quisquam inter diversa supplicia veniam petit aut ferrum proiecit, aut exoravit celerem mortem, sed arma iugiter retinentes, licet afflicti, minus criminis aestimabant, alienis viribus potius quam conscientiae suae iudicio vinci; mussantesque audiebantur interdum, fortunae non meriti fuisse quod evenit. Ita in semihorae curriculo discrimine proeliorum emenso, tot procubuere subito barbari, ut pugnam fuisse sola victoria declararet.

[11] And amid their varied torments not a single man asked for pardon or threw down his weapon, or even prayed for a speedy death, but they tightly grasped their weapons, although defeated, and thought it less shameful to be overcome by an enemy's strength than by the judgement of their own conscience, while sometimes they were heard to mutter that what befell them was due to fortune, not to their deserts. Thus in the course of half an hour the decision of this

battle was reached, and so many savages met a sudden death that the victory alone showed that there had been a fight.

[12] *Vix dum populis hostilibus stratis, gregatim peremptorum necessitudines ducebantur, humilibus extractae tuguriis, aetatis sexusque promiscui, et fastu vitae prioris abolito, ad infimitatem obsequiorum venere servilium, et exiguo temporis intervallo decurso, caesorum aggeres et captivorum agmina cernebantur.*

[12] Hardly yet had the hordes of the enemy been laid low, when the kinsfolk of the slain, dragged from their humble cots, were led forth in droves without regard to age or sex, and abandoning the haughtiness of their former life, were reduced to the abjectness of servile submission; and only a brief space of time had elapsed, when heaps of slain and throngs of captives were to be seen.

[13] *Incitante itaque fervore certaminum, fructuque vincendi, consurrectum est in perniciem eorum qui deseruerant proelia, vel in tuguriis latitantes occultabantur. Hos, cum ad loca venisset avidus barbarici sanguinis miles, disiectis culmis levibus obruncabant, nec quemquam casa, vel trabibus compacta firmissimis, periculo mortis extraxit.*

[13] Then, excited by the heat of battle and the fruits of victory, our soldiers roused themselves to destroy those who had deserted the battle or were lurking in concealment in their huts. And these, when the soldiers had come to the spot thirsting for the blood of the savages, they butchered after tearing to pieces the light straw; and no house, even though built with the stoutest of timbers, saved a single one from the danger of death.

[14] *Denique cum inflammarentur omnia nullusque latere iam posset, cunctis vitae praesidiis circumcisis, aut obstinate igni peribat absumptus, aut incendium vitans, egressusque uno supplicio declinato, ferro sternebatur hostili.*

[14] Finally, when everything was in flames and none could longer hide, since every means of saving their lives was cut off, they either fell victims to fire in their obstinacy, or, fleeing the flames and coming out to avoid one torture, fell by the enemy's steel.

[15] *Fugientes tamen aliqui tela, incendiorumque magnitudinem, amnis vicini se commisere gurgitibus, peritia nandi ripas ultiores occupare posse sperantes, quorum plerique summersi necati sunt, alii iaculis periere confixi, adeo ut abunde cruore diffuso, meatus fluminis spumaret immensi; ita per elementum utrumque, Sarmatas vincentium ira virtusque delevit.*

[15] Yet some escaped the weapons and the fires, great as they were, and plunged into the depths of the neighbouring river, hoping through skill in swimming to be able to reach the opposite banks; of these the most lost their

lives by drowning, others were pierced by darts and perished, in such numbers that the whole course of the immense river foamed with the blood that flowed everywhere in abundance. Thus with the aid of two elements the wrath and valour of the victors annihilated the Sarmatians.

[16] *Placuerat igitur post hunc rerum ordinem cunctis adimi spem omnem vitaeque solacium. Et post lares incensos, raptasque familias, navigia iussa sunt colligi, ad indagandos eos quos a nostrorum acie ulterior discreverat ripa.*

[16] Then it was decided, after this course of events, that every hope and comfort of life should be taken from all, and after their homes had been burned and their families carried off, orders were given that boats should be brought together, for the purpose of hunting down those whom the opposite bank had kept aloof from our army.

[17] *Statimque ne alacritas intepesceret pugnatorum, impositi lintribus, per abdita ducti, velites expediti occuparunt latibula Sarmatarum, quos repentinus fefellit aspectus, gentiles lembos et nota remigia conspicantes.*

[17] And at once, for fear that the ardour of the warriors might cool, light-armed troops were put into skiffs, and taking the course which offered the greatest secrecy, came upon the lurking-places of the Sarmatians; and the enemy were deceived as they suddenly came in sight, seeing their native boats and the manner of rowing of their own country.

[18] *Ubi vero procul micantibus telis, quod verebantur, propinquare senserunt, ad suffugia locorum palustrium se contulerunt, eosque secutus infestius miles, caesis plurimis ibi victoriam repperit, ubi nec caute posse consistere, nec audere aliquid credebatur.*

[18] But when from the glittering of the weapons afar off they perceived that what they feared was approaching, they took refuge in marshy places; but the soldiers, following them still more mercilessly, slew great numbers of them, and gained a victory in a place where it seemed impossible to keep a firm footing or venture upon any action.

[19] *Post absumptos paene diffusosque Amicenses, petiti sunt sine mora Picenses, ita ex regionibus appellati conterminis; quos tutiores fecere sociorum aerumnae, rumorum assiduitate compertae. Ad quos opprimendos, (erat enim arduum sequi per diversa conspersos, imprudentia viarum arcente,) Taifalorum auxilium et Liberorum adaeque Sarmatarum assumptum est.*

[19] After the Amicenses had been scattered and all but wholly destroyed, the army immediately attacked the Picenses, so named from the adjoining regions, who had been put on their guard by the disasters to their allies, which were known from persistent rumours. To subdue these (for it was hard to pursue them, since they were scattered in divers places, and unfamiliarity with

the roads was a hindrance) they resorted to the help of the Taifali and likewise of the free Sarmatians.

[20] Cumque auxiliorum agmina locorum ratio separaret, tractus contiguos Moesiae sibi miles elegit, Taifali proxima suis sedibus obtinebant, Liberi terras occupaverant e regione sibi oppositas.

[20] And as consideration of the terrain made it desirable to separate the troops of the allies, our soldiers chose the tracts near Moesia, the Taifali undertook those next to their own homes, and the free Sarmatians occupied the lands directly opposite to them.

[21] Quae perpassi Limigantes territique subactorum exemplis et subitum prostratorum, diu haesitabant ambiguis mentibus, utrum oppeterent an rogarent, cum utriusque rei suppetere documenta non levia. Vicit tamen ad ultimum coetu seniorum urgente, dedendi sese consilium. Variaequae palmae victoriarum accessit eorum quoque supplicatio, qui armis libertatem invaserant, et reliqui eorum cum precibus, ut superatos et imbelles dominos aspernati, fortioribus visis inclinavere cervices.

[21] The Limigantes having now suffered this fate, and terrified by the example of those who had been conquered and suddenly slain, hesitated long with wavering minds whether to die or plead, since for either course they had lessons of no slight weight; finally, however, the urgency of an assembly of the older men prevailed, and the resolve to surrender. Thus to the laurels of various victories there was added also the entreaties of those who had usurped freedom by arms; and such of them as survived bowed their necks with prayers before their former masters, whom they had despised as vanquished and weak, but now saw to be the stronger.

[22] Accepta itaque publica fide, deserto montium propugnaculo, ad castra Romana convolvavit eorum pars maior, diffusa per spatia ampla camporum, cum parentibus et natis atque coniugibus, opumque vilitate, quam eis celeritatis ratio furari permisit.

[22] And so, having received a safe-conduct, the greater number of them forsook the defence of the mountains and hastened to the Roman camp, pouring forth over the broad and spacious plains with their parents, their children and wives, and as many of their poor possessions as haste allowed them to snatch up in time.

[23] Et qui animas amittere potius, quam cogi solum vertere putabantur, dum licentem amentiam libertatem existimarent, parere imperiis, et sedes alias suscipere sunt assensi, tranquillae et fidae, ut nec bellis vexari, nec mutari seditionibus possint. Eisdemque ex sententia (ut credebatur,) acceptis, quiescere paulisper, post feritate nativa in exitiale scelus erecti, ut congruo docebitur textu.

[23] And those who (as it was supposed) would rather lose their lives than be compelled to change their country, since they believed mad licence to be freedom, now consented to obey orders and take other quiet and safe abodes, where they could neither be harried by wars nor affected by rebellions. And these men, being taken under protection according to their own wish (as was believed) remained quiet for a short time; later, through their inborn savagery they were aroused to an outrage which brought them destruction, as will be shown in the proper place.

[24] Hoc rerum prospero currente successu, tutela Illyrico competens gemina est ratione firmata, cuius negotii duplicem magnitudinem imperator aggressus utramque perfecit. Infidis attritis stratisque, exsules populos (licet mobilitate suppare) acturos tamen paulo verecundius, tandem reductos in avitis sedibus collocavit. Eisdemque ad gratiae cumulum, non ignobilem quempiam regem, sed quem ipsi antea sibi praeferere regalem, imposuit, bonis animi corporisque praestantem.

[24] Through this successful sequel of events adequate protection was provided for Illyricum in a twofold manner; and the emperor having in hand the greatness of this task fulfilled it in both ways. The unfaithful were laid low and trodden under foot, but exiled peoples (although equally unstable) who yet seemed likely to act with somewhat more respect, were at length recalled and settled in their ancestral homes. And as a crowning favour, he set over them, not some low-born king, but one whom they themselves had previously chosen as their ruler, a man eminent for his mental and physical gifts.

[25] Tali textu recte factorum, Constantius iam metuente sublimior, militarique consensu, secundo Sarmaticus appellatus, ex vocabulo subactorum, iamque discessurus, convocatis cohortibus, et centuriis, et manipulis omnibus, tribunal insistens, signisque ambitus et aquilis, et agmine multiplicium potestatum, his exercitum allocutus est, ore omnium favorabilis, (ut solebat).

[25] After such a series of successes Constantius, now raised above any fear, by the unanimous voice of the soldiers was hailed a second time as Sarmaticus, after the name of the conquered people; and now, on the point of departure, he called together all the cohorts, centuries, and maniples, and standing on a tribunal, surrounded by standards, eagles and a throng of many officers of high rank, he addressed the army with these words, being greeted (as usual) with the acclaim of all:

[26] ‘Hortatur recordatio rerum gloriose gestarum, omni iucunditate viris fortibus gravior, ea ad modum verecundiae replicare, quae divinitus delata sorte vincendi, et ante proelia et in ipso correximus fervore pugnarum, Romanae rei fidissimi defensores. Quid enim tam pulchrum tamque posteritatis memoriae iusta ratione mandandum, quam ut miles strenue factis, ductor prudenter consultis exultet?

[26] “The recollection of our glorious deeds, more grateful to brave men than any pleasure, moves me to rehearse to you, with due modesty, what abuses we most faithful defenders of the Roman state have corrected by the fortune of victory vouchsafed us by Providence both before our battles and in the very heat of combat. For what is so noble, or so justly worthy to be commended to the memory of posterity, as that the soldier should rejoice in his valiant deeds, and the leader in the sagacity of his plans.

[27] Persultabat Illyricum furor hostilis, absentiam nostram inanitate tumentis despiciens, dum Italos tueremur et Gallos, variisque discursibus vastabat extrema limitum, nunc cavatis roboribus, aliquotiens peragrans pedibus flumina, non congressibus nec armis fretus aut viribus, sed latrociniiis assuetus occultis, astu et ludificandi varietate, iam inde ab instituta gente nostris quoque maioribus formidatus; quae longius disparati, qua ferri poterant tulimus, saeviores iacturas efficacia ducum vitari posse sperantes.

[27] Our enemies in their madness were overrunning all Illyricum, with arrogant folly despising us in our absence, while we were defending Italy and Gaul, and in successive raids were laying waste our farthest frontiers, crossing the rivers now in dug-out canoes and sometimes on foot; they did not trust to engagements nor to arms and strength, but, as is their custom, to lurking brigandage, with the craft and various methods of deceit dreaded also by our forefathers from our very first knowledge of the race. These outrages we, being far away, endured as well as they could be borne, hoping that any more serious losses could be obviated by the efficiency of our generals.

[28] Ubi vero per licentiam scandens in maius, ad funestas provinciarum clades erepsit et crebras, communitis aditibus Raeticis, tutelaque pervigili Galliarum securitate fundata, terrore nullo relicto post terga, venimus in Pannonias, si placuerit numini sempiterno, labentia firmaturi; cunctisque paratis (ut nostis,) vere adulto egressi, arripuimus negotiorum maximas moles: primum ne struendo textis compagibus ponti, telorum officeret multitudo, quo opera levi perfecto, visis terris hostilibus et calcatis, obstinatis ad mortem animis conatos resistere Sarmatas, absque nostrorum dispendio stravimus, parique petulantia ruentes in agmina nobilium legionum, Quados Sarmatis adiumenta ferentes attrivimus. Qui post aerumnosa dispendia, inter discursus et repugnandi minaces anhelitus, quid nostra valeat virtus experti, manus ad dimicandum aptatas, armorum abiecto munimine, pone terga vinxerunt, restareque solam salutem contemplantes in precibus, affusi sunt vestigiis Augusti clementis, cuius proelia saepe compererant exitus habuisse felices.

[28] But when, encouraged by impunity, they mounted higher and burst forth in destructive and repeated attacks upon our provinces, after securing the approaches to Raetia and by vigilant guard ensuring the safety of Gaul, leaving no cause of fear behind us, we came into Pannonia, intending, if it should please eternal God, to strengthen whatever was tottering. And sallying

forth when all was ready (as you know) and spring was well advanced, we took in hand a mighty burden of tasks: first, to build a close-jointed bridge, without being overwhelmed by a shower of missiles, a work which was easily completed; and when we had seen and set foot upon the enemy's territories, without any loss of our men we laid low the Sarmatians who, with spirits regardless of death attempted to resist us. And when with like impudence the Quadi bore aid to the Sarmatians and rushed upon the ranks of our noble legions, we trod them under foot. The latter, after grievous losses, having learned amid their raids and menacing efforts at resistance what our valour could effect, cast aside the protection of arms and offered hands that had been equipped for battle to be bound behind their backs; and seeing that their only safety lay in entreaties, they prostrated themselves at the feet of a merciful Augustus, whose battles they had often learned to have come to a happy issue.

[29] *His sequestratis Limigantes quoque fortitudine superavimus pari, interfectisque pluribus, alios periculi declinatio adegit suffugia petere latebrarum palustrium.*

[29] These barely disposed of, we vanquished the Limigantes as well with equal valour, and after many of them had been slain, avoidance of danger forced the rest to seek the protection of their lairs in the marshes.

[30] *Hisque secundo finitis eventu, lenitatis tempus aderat tempestivae. Limigantes ad loca migrare compulimus longe discreta, ne in perniciem nostrorum se commovere possent ulterius et pepercimus plurimis, et Zizaim praefecimus Liberis, dicatum nobis futurum et fidum, plus aestimantes creare quam auferre barbaris regem, hoc decore augente sollemnitatem, quod eisdem quoque rector tributus antehac electus est et acceptus.*

[30] When these enterprises were brought to a successful issue, the time for seasonable mildness was at hand. The Limigantes we forced to move to remote places, so that they could make no further attempts to destroy our subjects, and very many of them we spared. And over the free Sarmatians we set Zizais, knowing that he would be devoted and loyal to us, and thinking it better to appoint a king for the savages than to take one from them; and it added to the happiness of the occasion, that a ruler was assigned them whom they had previously chosen and accepted.

[31] *Quadruplex igitur praemium, quod unus procinctus absolvit, nos quaesivimus et res publica, primo ultione parta de grassatoribus noxiis, deinde quod vobis abunde sufficient ex hostibus capta. His enim virtutem oportet esse contentam, quae sudore quaesivit et dexteris.*

[31] Hence a fourfold prize, the fruit of a single campaign, was won by us and by our country: first, by taking vengeance on wicked robbers; then, in that you will have abundant booty taken from the enemy; for valour ought to be

content with what it has won by toil and a strong arm.

[32] Nobis amplae facultates opumque sunt magni thesauri, si integra omnium patrimonia nostri labores et fortitudo servarint. Hoc enim boni principis menti, hoc successibus congruit prosperis.

[32] We ourselves have ample wealth and great store of riches, if our labours and courage have preserved safe and sound the patrimonies of all; for this it is that beseems the mind of a good prince, this accords with prosperous successes.

[33] Postremo ego quoque hostilis vocabuli spoliū prae me fero, secundo Sarmatici cognomentum, quod vos unum idemque sentientes, mihi (ne sit arrogans dicere,) merito tribuistis. Post hunc dicendi finem contio omnis alacrior solito, aucta spe potiorum et lucris, vocibus festis in laudes imperatoris adsurgens, deumque ex usu testata non posse Constantium vinci, tentoria repetit laeta. Et reductus imperator ad regiam, otioque bidui recreatus, Sirmium cum pompa triumphali regressus est, et militares numeri destinatas remearunt ad sedes. Romani legati de pace, re infecta revertuntur ex Perside, Sapore Armeniam et Mesopotamiam repetente. Hisce eisdem diebus, Prosper et Spectatus atque Eustathius, legati ad Persas (ut supra docuimus) missi, Ctesiphonta reversum regem adiere, litteras perferentes imperatoris et munera, poscebantque rebus integris pacem, et mandatorum principis memores, nusquam ab utilitate Romanae rei maiestateque discedebant, amicitiae foedus sub hac lege firmari debere adseverantes, ne super turbando Armeniae vel Mesopotamiae statu quicquam moveretur.

[33] Lastly, I also display the spoil of an enemy's name, surnamed as I am Sarmaticus for the second time, a title not undeserved (without arrogance be it said), which you have with one accord bestowed upon me." After this speech was thus ended, the entire assembly with more enthusiasm than common, since the hope of betterment and gains had been increased, broke out into festal cries in praise of the emperor, and in customary fashion calling God to witness that Constantius was invincible, went back to their tents rejoicing. And when the emperor had been escorted to his palace and refreshed by two days' rest, he returned in triumphal pomp to Sirmium, and the companies of soldiers went back to the quarters assigned them. The Roman envoys about peace return from Persia without result, since Sapor was bent on recovering Armenia and Mesopotamia. On these very same days Prosper, Spectatus, and Eustathius, who had been sent as envoys to the Persians (as we have shown above), approached the king on his return to Ctesiphon, bearing letters and gifts from the emperor, and demanded peace with no change in the present status. Mindful of the emperor's instructions, they sacrificed no whit of the advantage and majesty of Rome, insisting that a treaty of friendship ought to be established with the condition that no move should be made to disturb the position of Armenia or Mesopotamia.

[2] Diu igitur ibi morati, cum obstinatissimum regem, nisi harum regionum dominio sibi adiudicato, obdurescentem ad suscipiendam cernerent pacem, negotio redierunt infecto.

[2] Having therefore tarried there for a long time, since they saw that the king was most obstinately hardened against accepting peace, unless the dominion over those regions should be made over to him, they returned without fulfilling their mission.

[3] Post quod id ipsum condicionum robore pari impetraturi, Lucillianus missus est comes, et Procopius tunc notarius, qui postea nodo quodam violentae necessitatis adstrictus, ad res consurrexerat novas.

[3] Afterwards Count Lucillianus was despatched, together with Procopius, at that time state secretary, to accomplish the self-same thing with like insistence on the conditions; the latter afterwards, bound as it were by a knot of stern necessity, rose in revolution.

LIBER XVIII — BOOK XVIII

[1] Iulianus Caesar Gallorum commodis consulit, et ubique ab omnibus ius servandum curat. Haec per orbis varias partes uno eodemque anno sunt gesta. At in Galliis cum in meliore statu res essent, et Eusebium atque Hypatium fratres sublimarent vocabula consulum, Iulianus contextis successibus clarus, apud Parisios hibernans, sequestratis interim sollicitudinibus bellicis, haut minore cura provinciarum fortunis multa conducentia disponebat, diligenter observans nequem tributorum sarcina praegravaret, neve potentia praesumeret aliena, aut hi versarentur in medio, quorum patrimonial publicae clades augebant, vel iudicum quisquam ab aequitate deviare impune.

Julianus Caesar looks out for the welfare of Gaul, and sees to it that justice be observed everywhere by every one. Such are the events of one and the same year in various parts of the world. But in Gaul, now that affairs were in a better condition and the brothers Eusebius and Hypatius had been honoured with the high title of consul, Julian, famed for his series of successes and in winter quarters at Paris, laid aside for a time the cares of war and with no less regard made many arrangements leading to the well-being of the provinces, diligently providing that no one should be overloaded with a burden of tribute; that the powerful should not grasp the property of others, or those hold positions of authority whose private estates were being increased by public disasters; and that no official should with impunity swerve from equity.

[2] Idque ea re levi labore correxit, quod ipse iurgia dirimens, ubi causarum cogeat magnitudine vel personarum, erat indeclinabilis iustorum iniustorumque distinctor.

[2] And this last abuse he reformed with slight difficulty, for the reason that he settled controversies himself whenever the importance of the cases or of the persons required, and distinguished inflexibly between right and wrong.

[3] Et licet multa sint eius laudanda in huius modi controversiis, unum tamen sufficit poni, ad cuius similitudinem acta vel dicta sunt.

[3] And although there are many praiseworthy instances of his conduct in such cases, yet it will suffice to cite one, as a sample of his acts and words.

[4] Numerium Narbonensis paulo ante rectorem, accusatum ut furem, inusitato censorio vigore, pro tribunali palam admissis volentibus audiebat, qui cum infitiatione defenderet obiecta, nec posset in quoquam confutari, Delphidius orator acerrimus, vehementer eum impugnans, documentorum inopia percitus, exclamavit: 'Ecquis, florentissime Caesar, nocens esse poterit usquam, si negare sufficiet?' Contra quem Iulianus prudenter motus ex tempore, 'Ecquis' ait 'innocens esse poterit, si accusasse sufficiet?' Et haec quidem et huius

modi multa civilia. Iulianus C. castellorum ad Rhenum quae receperat moenia reparat; Rhenum transit, et hostili Alamanniae parte vastata, V Alamannorum reges ad pacem petendam et captivos reddendos compellit. Egressurus autem ad procinctum urgentem, cum Alamannorum pagos aliquos esse reputaret hostiles, et ausuros immania, ni ipsi quoque ad ceterorum sternerentur exempla, haerebat anxius qua vi qua celeritate, cum primum ratio copiam tribuisset, rumore praecurso, terras eorum invaderet repentinus.

[4] Numerius, shortly before governor of Gallia Narbonensis, was accused of embezzlement, and Julian examined him with unusual judicial strictness before his tribunal publicly, admitting all who wished to attend. And when the accused defended himself by denying the charge, and could not be confuted on any point, Delphidius, a very vigorous speaker, assailing him violently and, exasperated by the lack of proofs, cried: "Can anyone, most mighty Caesar, ever be found guilty, if it be enough to deny the charge?" And Julian was inspired at once to reply to him wisely: "Can anyone be proved innocent, if it be enough to have accused him?" And this was one of many like instances of humanity. Iulianus Caesar repairs the walls of the fortresses on the Rhine which he had recovered. He crosses the Rhine, and after laying waste the hostile part of Alamannia compels five of their kings to sue for peace and return their prisoners. But being on the point of entering upon an urgent campaign, since he considered that some districts of the Alamanni were hostile and would venture on outrages unless they also were overthrown after the example of the rest, he was anxious and doubtful with what force and with what speed (as soon as prudence gave an opportunity) he might anticipate the news of his coming and invade their territories unexpected.

[2] Seditque tandem multa et varia cogitanti, id temptare quod utile probavit eventus. Hariobaudem vacantem tribunum, fidei fortitudinisque notae, nullo conscio legationis specie ad Hortarium miserat regem iam pacatum, ut exinde facile ad collimitia progressus eorum, in quos erant arma protinus commovenda, scitari possit quid molirentur, sermonis barbarici perquam gnarus.

[2] And after thinking over many varied plans he at last decided to try the one which the outcome proved to be expedient. Without anyone's knowledge he had sent Hariobaudes, an unattached tribune of tried fidelity and courage, ostensibly as an envoy to Hortarius, a king already subdued, with the idea that he could easily go on from there to the frontiers of those against whom war was presently to be made, and find out what they were plotting; for he was thoroughly acquainted with the language of the savages.

[3] Quo fidenter ad haec patranda digresso, ipse anni tempore opportuno, ad expeditionem undique milite convocato, profectus, id inter potissima mature duxit implendum, ut ante proeliorum fervorem, civitates multo ante excisas ac vacuas introiret, receptasque communiret, horrea quin etiam exstrueret pro

incensis, ubi condi possit annona, a Britannis sueta transferri.

[3] When the tribune had fearlessly set out to execute these orders, Julian, since the season of the year was favourable, called together his soldiers from all quarters for a campaign, and set forth; and he thought that above all things he ought betimes to attend to this, namely, before the heat of battle to enter the cities long since destroyed and abandoned, regain and fortify them, and even build granaries in place of those that had been burned, in which he could store the grain which was regularly brought over from Britain; and both things were accomplished sooner than anyone expected.

[4] Et utrumque perfectum est spe omnium citius. Nam et horrea veloci opere surrexerunt, alimentorumque in eisdem satias condita, et civitates occupatae sunt septem: Castra Herculis Quadriburgium Tricensima et Novesium, Bonna Antennacum et Vingo, ubi laeto quodam eventu, etiam Florentius praefectus apparuit subito, partem militum ducens, et commeatum perferens copiam, sufficientem usibus longis.

[4] For not only did the granaries quickly rise, but a sufficiency of food was stored in them; and the cities were seized, to the number of seven: Castra Herculis, Quadriburgium, Tricensima and Novesium, Bonna, Antennacum and Vingo, where by a happy stroke of fortune the prefect Florentius also appeared unexpectedly, leading a part of the forces and bringing a store of provisions sufficient to last a long time.

[5] Post haec impetrata, restabat adigente necessitatum articulo, receptarum urbium moenia reparari, nullo etiam tum inturbante; idque claris indicibus apparet, ea tempestate utilitati publicae metu barbaros oboedisce, rectoris amore Romanos.

[5] After this had been accomplished, one pressing necessity remained, namely, to repair the walls of the recovered cities, since even then no one hindered; and it is evident from clear indications that the savages through fear, and the Romans through love for their commander, at that time served the public welfare.

[6] Reges ex pacto superioris anni aedificiis habilia multa suis misere carpentis, et auxiliarii milites semper munia spernentes huius modi, ad obsequendi sedulitatem Iuliani blanditiis deflexi, quinquagenarias longioresque materias vexere cervicibus ingravate, et fabricandi ministeriis opem maximam contulerunt.

[6] The kings, according to the compact of the preceding year, sent in their wagons an abundance of building material, and the auxiliary soldiers, who always disdain such tasks, induced to diligent compliance by Julian's fair words, willingly carried on their shoulders timbers fifty feet or more in length, and in the work of building rendered the greatest service.

[7] Quae dum diligenti maturantur effectu, Hariobaudes exploratis omnibus rediit, docuitque comperta. Post cuius adventum incitatis viribus omnes venerunt Mogontiacum, ubi Florentio et Lupicino (Severi successore) destinate certantibus, per pontem illic constitutum transiri debere, renitebatur firmissime Caesar, asserens pacatorum terras non debere calcari, ne (ut saepe contigit) per incivilitatem militis occurrentia vastitantis, abrupte foedera frangerentur.

[7] While these works were being pushed on with diligence and success, Hariobaudes returned after examining into everything, and reported what he had learned. After his arrival all came at top speed to Mayence; and there, when Florentius and Lupicinus (successor to Severus) strongly insisted that they ought to build a bridge at that place and cross the river, Caesar stoutly opposed, declaring that they ought not to set foot in the lands of those who had submitted, for fear that (as often happens) through the rudeness of the soldiers, destroying everything in their way, the treaties might be abruptly broken.

[8] Alamanni tamen omnes quos petebat exercitus, confine periculum cogitantes, Suomarium regem amicum nobis ex pactione praeterita monuerunt minaciter, ut a transitu Romanos arceret. Eius enim pagi Rheni ripis ulterioribus adhaerebant. Quo testante resistere solum non posse, in unum coacta barbara multitudo venit prope Mogontiacum, prohibitura viribus magnis exercitum, ne transmitteret flumen.

[8] However, the Alamanni as a whole, against whom our army was marching, thinking danger to be close at hand, with threats warned king Soumarus, a friend of ours through a previous treaty, to debar the Romans from passing over; for his territories adjoined the opposite bank of the Rhine. And when he declared that he could not resist single-handed, the savages united their forces and came to the neighbourhood of Mayence, intending with might and main to prevent our army from crossing the river.

[9] Gemina itaque ratione visum est habile quod suaserat Caesar, ne pacatorum terrae corrumperentur, neve renitente pugnacissima plebe, pons cum multorum discrimine iungeretur iri in locum ad compaginandum pontem aptissimum.

[9] Therefore for a twofold reason what Caesar had advised seemed fitting, namely, that they should not ravage the lands of peaceful natives, nor against the opposition of a most warlike people construct the bridge with loss of life to many of our men, but should go to the place best suited for building a bridge.

[10] Quod hostes sollertissime contemplati, per contrarias ripas leniter incedentes, ubi nostros figere tentoria, procul cernebant, ipsi quoque noctes

agebant exsomnes, custodientes pervigili studio, ne transitus temptaretur.

[10] This step the enemy observed with the greatest care, slowly marching along the opposite bank; and when from afar they saw our men pitching their tents, they themselves also passed sleepless nights, keeping guard with watchful diligence to prevent an attempt at crossing.

[11] Verum cum nostri locum adventarent provisum, vallo fossaque quievire circumdati, et asscito Lupicino in consilium, Caesar certis imperavit tribunis, ut trecentenos pararent cum sudibus milites expedites, quid agi quove iri deberet penitus ignorantes.

[11] Our soldiers, however, on coming to the appointed place rested, protected by a rampart and a trench, and Caesar, after taking counsel with Lupicinus, ordered trusty tribunes to provide with stakes three hundred light-armed troops, who as yet were wholly unaware what was to be done or where they were to go.

[12] Et collecti nocte provecta, impositique omnes quos lusoriae naves quadraginta quae tunc aderant solae, ceperunt, decurrere iubentur per flumen, adeo taciti, ut etiam remi suspenderentur, ne barbaros sonitus excitaret undarum, atque mentis agilitate et corporum, dum hostes nostrorum ignes observant, adversas perrumpere milites ripas.

[12] And having been brought together when night was well advanced, all were embarked whom forty scouting boats (as many as were available at the time) would hold, and ordered to go down stream so quietly that they were even to keep their oars lifted for fear that the sound of the waters might arouse the savages; and while the enemy were watching our campfires, the soldiers were ordered with nimbleness of mind and body to force the opposite bank.

[13] Dum haec celerantur, Hortarius rex nobis antea foederatus, non novaturus quaedam, sed amicus finitimis quoque suis, reges omnes et regales et regulos ad convivium corrogatos retinuit, epulis ad usque vigiliam tertiam gentili more extentis; quos discedentes inde casu nostri ex improvise adorti, nec interficere nec corripere ullo genere potuerunt, tenebrarum equorumque adiumento, quo dubius impetus trusit, abreptos; lixas vero vel servos, qui eos pedibus sequebantur, (nisi quos exemit discrimine temporis obscuritas) occiderunt.

[13] While this was being done with all haste, Hortarius, a king previously allied with us, not intending any disloyalty but being a friend also to his neighbours, invited all the kings, princes, and kinglets to a banquet and detained them until the third watch, prolonging the feasting after the native fashion. And as they were leaving the feast, it chanced that our men unexpectedly attacked them, but were in no way able to kill or take any of them, aided as they were by the darkness and their horses, which carried them

off wherever panic haste drove them; they did, however, slay the lackeys or slaves, who followed their masters on foot, except such as the darkness of the hour saved from danger.

[14] Cognito denique transitu Romanorum, qui tunc perque expeditiones praeteritas, ibi levamen sumere laborum opinabantur, ubi hostem contingeret inveniri, perculsi reges eorumque populi, qui pontem ne strueretur, studio servabant intento, metu exhorrescentes diffuse vertuntur in pedes; et indomito furore sedato, necessitudines opesque suas transferre longius festinabant. Statimque difficultate omni depulsa, ponte constrato, sollicitarum gentium opinione praeventa, visus in barbarico miles per Hortarii regna transibat intacta.

[14] When word at last came of the crossing of the Romans, who then, as in former campaigns, expected to find rest from their labours wherever they should succeed in finding the enemy, the panic-stricken kings and their peoples, who were watching with eager intentness and dreading the building of the bridge, shuddering with fear, took to their heels in all directions; and their unbridled anger now laid aside, they hastened to transport their kindred and their possessions to a greater distance. And at once every difficulty was removed, the bridge was built, and before the anxious nations expected it our soldiers appeared in the land of the savages, and were passing through the realms of Hortarius without doing any damage.

[15] Ubi vero terras infestorum etiam tum tetigit regum, urens omnia rapiensque, per medium rebellium solum grassabatur intrepidus. Postque saepimenta fragilium penatium inflammata, et obtruncatam hominum multitudinem, visosque cadentes multos aliosque supplicantes, cum ventum fuisset ad regionem (cui Capillacii vel Palas nomen est) ubi terminales lapides Alamannorum et Burgundiorum confinia distinguebant, castra sunt posita, ea propter ut Macrianus et Hariobaudus, germani fratres et reges, susciperentur impavidi, qui propinquare sibi perniciem sentientes, venerant pacem anxiiis animis precaturi.

[15] But when they reached the territories of kings that were still hostile, they burned and pillaged everything, ranging without fear through the midst of the rebel country. After firing the fragile huts that sheltered them, killing a great number of men, and seeing many falling and others begging for mercy, our soldiers reached the region called Capillacii or Palas where boundary stones marked the frontiers of the Alamanni and the Burgundians. There they encamped with the design of capturing Macrianus and Hariobaudus, kings and own brothers, before they took alarm; for they, perceiving the ruin that threatened them, had come with anxious minds to sue for peace.

[16] Post quos statim rex quoque Vadomarius venit, cuius erat domicilium contra Rauracos, scriptisque Constantii principis, quibus commendatus est

artius, allegatis, leniter susceptus est (ut decebat), olim ab Augusto in clientelam rei Romanae susceptus.

[16] The kings were at once followed also by Vadomarius, whose abode was over against the Rauraci, and since he presented a letter of the emperor Constantius, in which he was strongly commended, he was received kindly (as was fitting), since he had long before been taken by Augustus under the protection of the Roman empire.

[17] Et Macrianus quidem cum fratre inter aquilas admissus et signa, stupebat armorum viriumque varium decus, visa tune primitus, proque suis orabat. Vadomarius vero nostris coalitus (utpote vicinus limiti) mirabatur quidem apparatus ambitiosi procinctus, sed vidisse se talia saepe ab adolescentia meminerat prima.

[17] And Macrianus indeed, when admitted with his brother among the eagles and ensigns, was amazed at the variety and splendour of the arms and the forces, things which he saw then for the first time, and pleaded for his subjects. But Vadomarius, who was familiar with our affairs (since he lived near the frontier) did indeed admire the equipment of the splendid array, but remembered that he had often seen the like from early youth.

[18] Libratis denique diu consiliis, concordii assensione cunctorum, Macriano quidem et Hariobauda pax est attributa, Vadomario vero, qui suam locaturus securitatem in tuto, et legationis nomine precator venerat, pro Urio et Ursicino et Vestralpo regibus pacem itidem obsecrans, interim responderi non poterat, ne (ut sunt fluxioris fidei barbari) post abitum recreati nostrorum, parum acquiescerent per alios impetratis.

[18] Finally, after long deliberation, by the unanimous consent of all, peace was indeed granted to Macrianus and Hariobaudus; but to Vadomarius, who had come to secure his own safety, but at the same time as an envoy and intercessor, begging for peace in behalf of the kings Urius, Ursicinus and Vestralpus, no immediate reply could be given, for fear that (since savages are of unstable loyalty) they might take courage after the departure of our army and not abide by a peace secured through others.

[19] Sed cum ipsi quoque missis legatis, post messes incensas et habitacula, captosque plures et interfectos, ita supplicarent tamquam ipsi haec deliquissent in nostros, pacem condicionum similitudine meruerunt. Inter quas id festinatum est maxime, ut captives restituerent omnes, quos rapuerant excursibus crebris. Barbationi magistro peditum et uxori eius cur capita abscissa sint iussu Constantii Aug. Haec dum in Galliis caelestis corrigit cura, in comitatu Augusti turbo novarum exoritur rerum, a primordiis levibus ad luctus et lamenta progressus. In domo Barbationis, pedestris militiae tunc rectoris, examen apes fecere perspicuum. Superque hoc ei prodigiorum gnaros

sollicite consulenti, discrimen magnum portendi responsum est, coniectura videlicet tali, quod hae volucres post compositas sedes, opesque congestas, fumo pelluntur, et turbulento sonitu cymbalorum.

[19] But when they themselves also, after the burning of their harvests and homes and the capture or death of many men, sent envoys and made supplication as if they too had committed these sins against our people, they won peace on the same terms; and among these conditions it was especially stressed that they should give up all the prisoners whom they had taken in their frequent raids. Why Barbatio, commander of the infantry, and his wife were beheaded by order of Constantius. While in Gaul the providence of Heaven was reforming these abuses, in the court of Augustus a tempest of sedition arose, which from small beginnings proceeded to grief and lamentation. In the house of Barbatio, then commander of the infantry forces, bees made a conspicuous swarm; and when he anxiously consulted men skilled in prodigies about this, they replied that it portended great danger, obviously inferring this from the belief, that when these insects have made their homes and gathered their treasures, they are only driven out by smoke and the wild clashing of cymbals.

[2] Huic uxor erat Assyria nomine, nec taciturna nec prudens, quae eo ad expeditionem profecto, et multiplici metu suspenso, ob ea quae meminerat sibi praedicta, perculsa vanitate muliebri, ancilla asscita notarum perita, quam e patrimonio Silvani possederat, ad maritum scripsit intempestive, velut flens obtestans ne post obitum Constanti propinquantem, in imperium ipse ut sperabat admissus, despecta se anteponeret Eusebiae matrimonium tune reginae, decore corporis inter multas feminas excellentis.

[2] Barbatio had a wife, Assyria by name, who was talkative and indiscreet. She, when her husband had gone forth on a campaign and was worried by many fears because of what he remembered had been foretold him, overcome by a woman's folly, confided in a maidservant skilled in cryptic writing, whom she had acquired from the estate of Silvanus. Through her Assyria wrote at this untimely moment to her husband, entreating him in tearful accents that when, after Constantius' approaching death, he himself had become emperor, as he hoped, he should not cast her off and prefer marriage with Eusebia, who was then queen and was conspicuous among many women for the beauty of her person.

[3] Quibus litteris occulte quantum fieri potuit missis, ancilla, quae domina dictante perscripserat, reversis omnibus e procinctu, exemplum ferens ad Arbationem noctis prima quiete confugit, avideque suscepta, chartulam prodidit.

[3] After this letter had been sent with all possible secrecy, the maidservant, who had written it at her mistress' dictation, as soon as all had returned from

the campaign took a copy of it and ran off to Arbetio in the first quiet of the night; and being eagerly received, she handed over the note.

[4] Hocque indicio ille confisus, ut erat ad criminandum aptissimus, principi detulit, atque ex usu, nec mora ulla negotio tributa nec quiete, Barbatio epistulam suscepisse confessus, et mulier scripsisse documento convicta non levi, cervicibus interiire praecisis.

[4] Arbetio, who was of all men most clever in framing an accusation, trusting to this evidence reported the matter to the emperor. The affair was investigated, as usual, without delay or rest, and when Barbatio admitted that he had received the letter, and strong evidence proved that the woman had written it, both were beheaded.

[5] Hisque punitis, quaestiones longe serpebant, vexatique multi nocentes sunt et innocentissimi. Inter quos etiam Valentinus ex primicerio protectorum tribunus, ut conscius inter complures alios tortus aliquotiens supervixit, penitus quid erat gestum ignorans. Ideoque ad iniuriae periculique compensationem, ducis in Illyrico meruit potestatem.

[5] When they had been executed, far-reaching inquisitions followed, and many suffered, the most innocent as well as the guilty. Among these also Valentinus, formerly captain of the guard and then a tribune, was suspected with many others of being implicated and, although wholly ignorant of what had been done, was tortured several times, but survived. And so, as compensation for his wrongs and his peril, he gained the position of a general in Illyricum.

[6] Erat autem idem Barbatio subagrestis, arrogantisque propositi, ea re multis exosus, quod et dum domesticos protectores sub Gallo regeret Caesare, proditor erat et perfidus, et post eius excessum, nobilioris militiae fastu elatus, in Iulianum itidem Caesarem paria confingebat, crebroque detestantibus bonis, sub Augusti patulis auribus multa garriabat et saeva.

[6] Now the aforesaid Barbatio was a somewhat boorish fellow, of arrogant intentions, who was hated by many for the reason that, while he commanded the household troops under Gallus Caesar, he was a perfidious traitor; and after Gallus' death, puffed up with pride in his higher military rank, he made like plots against Julian, when he became Caesar; and to the disgust of all good men he chattered into the open ears of the Augustus many cruel accusations.

[7] Ignorans profecto veteris Aristotelis sapiens dictum, qui Callisthenem sectatorem et propinquum suum ad regem Alexandrum mittens, ei saepe mandabat, ut quam rarissime et iucunde apud hominem loqueretur, vitae potestatem et necis in acie linguae portantem.

[7] He surely was unaware of the wise saying of Aristotle of old, who, on sending his disciple and relative Callisthenes to King Alexander, charged him repeatedly to speak as seldom and as pleasantly as possible in the presence of a man who had at the tip of his tongue the power of life and death.

[8] Ne sit hoc mirum, homines profutura discernere non numquam et nocentia, quorum mentes cognatas caelestibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia salutem suam interdum alto tueri silentio solent, ut exemplum est hoc perquam notum.

[8] And it should not cause surprise that men, whose minds we regard as akin to the gods, sometimes distinguish what is advantageous from what is harmful; for even unreasoning animals are at times wont to protect their lives by deep silence, as appears from this well-known fact.

[9] Linquentes orientem anseres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occiduam, cum montem penetrare coeperint Taurum, aquilis abundantem, timentes fortissimas volucres, rostra lapillis occludunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem, eisdemque collibus agiliore volatu transcurtis, proiciunt calculos, atque ita securius pergunt. Rex Persarum Sapor Romanos totis viribus aggredi parat. Dum apud Sirmium haec diligentia quaeruntur impensa, Orientis fortuna periculorum terribiles tubas reflabat. Rex enim Persidis, ferarum gentium quas placarat adiumentis accinctus, augendique regni cupiditate supra homines flagrans, arma viresque parabat et commeatus, consilia tartareis manibus miscens, et superstitiones omnes consulens de futuris; hisque satis collectis, pervadere cuncta prima verni temperie cogitabat.

[9] The geese, when leaving the east because of heat and flying westward, no sooner begin to traverse Mount Taurus, which abounds in eagles, than in fear of those mighty birds they close their beaks with little stones, so that even extreme necessity may not call forth a clamour from them; and after they have passed over those same hills in speedier flight, they cast out the pebbles and so go on with greater peace of mind. Sapor, king of the Persians, prepares to attack the Romans with all his forces. While at Sirmium these matters were being investigated with all diligence, the fortune of the Orient kept sounding the dread trumpets of danger; for the king of Persia, armed with the help of the savage tribes which he had subdued, and burning with superhuman desire of extending his domain, was preparing arms, forces, and supplies, embroiling his plans with infernal powers and consulting all superstitions about the future; and having assembled enough of these, he planned with the first mildness of spring to overrun everything.

[2] Et cum haec primo rumores, dein nuntii certi perferrent, omnesque suspensos adventantium calamitatum complicaret magna formido, comitatensis fabrica eandem incudem (ut dicitur) diu noctuque tundendo, ad

spadonum arbitrium, imperatori suspicaci ac timido intendebat Ursicinum, velut vultus Gorgonei torvitatem, haec saepe taliaque replicans, quod interempto Silvano, quasi paenuria meliorum, ad tuendas partes eoas denuo missus, altius anhelabat.

[2] And when news of this came, at first by rumours and then by trustworthy messengers, and great dread of impending disasters held all in suspense, the forge of the courtiers, hammering day and night at the instigation of the eunuchs on the same anvil (as the saying is), held up Ursicinus to the suspicious and timid emperor as a grim-visaged gorgon, often reiterating these and similar charges: that he, having on the death of Silvanus been sent as if in default of better men, to defend the east, was panting for higher honours.

[3] Hac autem assentandi nimia foeditate, mercari complures nitebantur Eusebi favorem, cubiculi tunc praepositi, apud quem (si vere dici debeat) multa Constantius posuit, ante dicti magistri equitum salutem acriter impugnantis ratione bifaria, quod omnium solus nec opes eius augebat, ut ceteri, et domo sua non cederet Antiochiae, quam molestissime flagitabat.

[3] Furthermore, by this foul and excessive flattery very many strove to purchase the favour of Eusebius, then head-chamberlain, upon whom (if the truth must be told) Constantius greatly depended, and who was vigorously attacking the safety of the aforesaid commander of the cavalry for a double reason: because he alone of all was not, like the rest, adding to Eusebius' wealth, and would not give up to him his house at Antioch, which the head-chamberlain most importunately demanded.

[4] Qui ut coluber copia virus exuberans, natorum multitudinem etiam tum aegre serpentium, excitans ad nocendum, emittebat cubicularios iam adultos, ut inter ministeria vitae secretioris, gracilitate vocis semper puerilis et blandae, apud principis aures nimium patulas, existimationem viri fortis invidia gravi pulsarent. Et brevi iussa fecerunt.

[4] Eusebius then, like a viper swelling with abundant poison and arousing its multitudinous brood to mischief when they were still barely able to crawl, sent out his chamberlains, already well grown, with directions that, amid the duties of their more private attendance, with the soft utterances of voices always childish and persuasive they should with bitter hatred batter the reputation of that brave man in the too receptive ears of the prince. And they promptly did what they were ordered.

[5] Horum et similium taedio iuvat veterem laudare Domitianum, qui licet patris fratrisque dissimilis, memoriam nominis sui inexpressibili detestatione perdidit, tamen receptissima inclaruit lege, qua minaciter interdixerat ne intra terminos iuris dictionis Romanae castraret quisquam puerum; quod ni contigisset, quis eorum ferret examina, quorum raritas difficile toleratur?

[5] Through disgust with these and their kind, I take pleasure in praising Domitian of old, for although, unlike his father and his brother, he drenched the memory of his name with indelible detestation, yet he won distinction by a most highly approved law, by which he had under heavy penalties forbidden anyone within the bounds of the Roman jurisdiction to geld a boy; for if this had not happened, who could endure the swarms of those whose small number is with difficulty tolerated?

[6] Actum est tamen cautius, ne (ut fingebat) rursus accitus idem Ursicinus, metu cuncta turbaret, sed cum fors copiam detulisset, raperetur ad mortem.

[6] However, Eusebius proceeded warily, lest (as he pretended) that same Ursicinus, if again summoned to court, should through fear cause general disturbance, but actually that he might, whenever chance should give the opportunity, be haled off to execution.

[7] Haec operientibus illis, et ancipiti cogitatione districtis, nobis apud Samosatam, Commageni quondam regni clarissimam sedem, parumper morantibus, repente novi motus rumoribus densis audiuntur et certis. Quos docebit orationis progrediens textus. Antoninus protector cum suis omnibus ad Saporem transfugit; eumque in bellum Romanum sponte iam motum impellit. Antoninus quidam ex mercatore opulento rationarius apparitor Mesopotamiae ducis, tunc protector exercitatus et prudens, perque omnes illas notissimas terras, aviditate quorundam nexus ingentibus damnis, cum iurgando contra potentis, se magis magisque iniustitia frangi contemplaretur, ad deferendam potioribus gratiam, qui spectabant negotium, inclinatis, ne contra acumina calcitraret, flexus in blanditias molliores, confessusque debitum per colludia in nomen fisci translatus, iamque ausurus immania, rimabatur tectius rei publicae membra totius, et utriusque linguae litteras sciens, circa ratiocinia versabatur, qui vel quarum virium milites ubi agant, vel procinctus tempore quo sint venturi describens, item armorum et comitatus copiae, aliaeque usui bello futura, an abunde suppetant indefessa scitatione percontans.

[7] While they held these plots in abeyance and were distracted by anxious thoughts, and I was staying for a time at Samosata, the famous seat of the former kingdom of Commagene, on a sudden repeated and trustworthy rumours were heard of new commotions; and of these the following chapter of my history shall tell. Antoninus, of the household troops, goes over with all his household to Sapor, and urges him to the war against the Romans which he had already set on foot of his own accord. There was a certain Antoninus, at first a rich merchant, then an accountant in the service of the governor of Mesopotamia, and finally one of his body-guard, a man of experience and sagacity, who was widely known throughout all that region. This man, being involved in great losses through the greed of certain powerful men, found on contending against them that he was more and more oppressed by unjust

means, since those who examined the case were inclined to curry favour with men of higher position. Accordingly, in order not to kick against the pricks, he turned to mildness and flattery and acknowledged the debt, which by collusion had been transferred to the account of the privy purse. And then, planning to venture upon a vast enterprise, he covertly pried into all parts of the entire empire, and being versed in the language of both tongues, busied himself with calculations, making record of what troops were serving anywhere or of what strength, or at what time expeditions would be made, inquiring also by tireless questioning whether supplies of arms, provisions, and other things that would be useful in war were at hand in abundance.

[2] Et cum totius Orientis didicisset interna, virorum stipendiique parte maxima per Illyricum distributa, ubi distinebatur ex negotiis seriis imperator, allapsuro iam praestituto die solvendae pecuniae, quam per syngrapham debere se confiteri, vi metuque compulsus est, cum omnibus se prospiceret undique periculis opprimendum, largitionum comite ad alterius gratiam infestius perurgente, fugam ad Persas cum coniage liberis et omni vinculo caritatum, ingenti molimine conabatur.

[2] And when he had learned the internal affairs of the entire Orient, since the greater part of the troops and the money for their pay were distributed through Illyricum, where the emperor was distracted with serious affairs, and as the stipulated time would soon be at hand for paying the money which he was compelled by force and threats to admit by written bond that he owed, foreseeing that he must be crushed by all manner of dangers on every side, since the count of the largesses through favour to his creditor was pressing him more urgently, he made a great effort to flee to the Persians with his wife, his children, and all his dear ones.

[3] Atque ut lateret stationarios milites, fundum in Iaspide (qui locus Tigridis fluentis adluitur,) pretio non magno mercatur. Hocque commento cum nullus causam veniendi ad extremas Romani limitis partes, iam possessorem cum plurimis auderet exigere, per familiares fidos peritosque nandi, occultis saepe colloquiis cum Tamsapore habitis, qui tractus omnes adversos ducis potestate tunc tuebatur, et antea cognitus, misso a Persicis castris auxilio virorum perniciem, lembis impositus, cum omni penatium dulcedine, nocte concubia transfretatur ex contraria specie Zopyri illius similis Babylonii proditoris.

[3] And to the end that he might elude the sentinels, he bought at no great price a farm in Iaspis, a place washed by the waters of the Tigris. And since because of this device no one ventured to ask one who was now a landholder with many attendants his reason for coming to the utmost frontier of the Roman empire, through friends who were loyal and skilled in swimming he held many secret conferences with Tamsapor, then acting as governor of all the lands across the river, whom he already knew; and when active men had been sent to his aid from the Persian camp, he embarked in fishing boats and

ferried over all his beloved household in the dead of night, like Zopyrus, that famous betrayer of Babylon, but with the opposite intention.

[4] Rebus per Mesopotamiam in hunc statum deductis, Palatina cohors palinodiam in exitium concinens nostrum, invenit tandem amplam nocendi fortissimo viro, auctore et incitatore coetu spadonum, qui feri et acidi semper, carentesque necessitudinibus ceteris, divitias solas ut filiolas iucundissimas amplectuntur.

[4] After affairs in Mesopotamia had been brought to this pass, the Palace gang, chanting the old refrain with a view to our destruction, at last found an opportunity for injuring the most valiant of men, aided and abetted by the corps of eunuchs, who are always cruel and sour, and since they lack other offspring, embrace riches alone as their most dearly beloved daughters.

[5] Stetitque sententia, ut Sabinianus cultus quidem senex et bene nummatus, sed imbellis et ignavus et ab impetranda magisterii dignitate per obscuritatem adhuc longe discretus, praeficiendus eois partibus mitteretur, Ursicinus vero curaturus pedestrem militiam, et successurus Barbationi, ad comitatum reverteretur, quo praesens rerum novarum avidus concitor, (ut iactabant,) a gravibus inimicis et metuendis incesseretur.

[5] So it was decided that Sabinianus, a cultivated man, it is true, and well to-do, but unfit for war, inefficient, and because of his obscurity still far removed from obtaining magisterial rank, should be sent to govern the eastern regions; but that Ursicinus should return to court to command the infantry and succeed Barbatio: to the end that by his presence there that eager inciter to revolution (as they persisted in calling him) might be open to the attacks of his bitter and formidable enemies.

[6] Dum haec in castris Constantii quasi per lustra aguntur et scaenam, et diribitores venundatae subito potestatis pretium per potiores diffunditant domos, Antoninus ad regis hiberna perductus, averter suscipitur, et apicis nobilitatus auctoritate, quo honore participantur mensae regales, et meritorum apud Persas ad suadendum, ferendasque sententias in contionibus ora panduntur, non contis nec remulco (ut aiunt,) id est non flexiloquis ambagibus vel obscuris, sed velificatione plena in rem publicam ferebatur, eundemque incitans regem, ut quondam Maharbal lentitudinis Hannibalem increpans, posse eum vincere, sed victoria uti nescire, assidue praedicabat.

[6] While this was being done in the camp of Constantius, after the manner of brothels and the stage, and the distributors were scattering the price of suddenly purchased power through the homes of the powerful, Antoninus was conducted to the king's winter quarters and received with open arms, being graced with the distinction of the turban, an honour shared by those who sit at the royal table and allowing men of merit among the Persians to speak words

of advice and to vote in the assemblies. Thus, not with poles or tow-rope (as the saying is), that is, not by ambiguous or obscure subterfuges, but under full sail he attacked his country, urging on the aforesaid king, as long ago Maharbal chided the slowness of Hannibal, and kept insisting that he could win victories, but not take advantage of them.

[7] *Educatus enim in medio, ut rerum omnium gnarus, auditorum nactus vegetos sensus, et aurium delenimenta captantes, nec laudantium, sed secundum Homericos Phaeacas cum silentio admirantium, iam inde quadragesimi anni memoriam replicabat, post bellorum assiduos casus, et maxime apud Hileiam et Singaram, ubi acerrima illa nocturna concertatione pugnatum est, nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis, quasi dirimente quodam medio fetiali, Persas nondum Edessam nec pontes Euphratis tetigisse victores quos armipotencia fretos, successibusque magnificis, ita dilatasse decuerat regna, ut toti Asia imperarent, eo maxime tempore quo diuturnis bellorum civilium motibus, sanguis utrimque Romani roboris fundebatur.*

[7] For having been brought up in their midst, as a man well informed on all matters, finding eager hearers, desirous of having their ears tickled, who did not praise him but like Homer's Phaeacians admired him in silence, he would rehearse the history of the past forty years. He showed that after constant successes in war, especially at Hileia and Singara, where that furious contest at night took place and our troops were cut to pieces with great carnage, as if some fetial priest were intervening to stop the fight, the Persians did not yet reach Edessa nor the bridges of the Euphrates, in spite of being victorious; whereas trusting to their prowess and their splendid successes, they ought so to have extended their kingdom as to rule over all Asia, especially at a time when through the continual commotions of civil wars Rome's stoutest soldiers were shedding their blood on two sides.

[8] *His ac talibus subinde inter epulas sobrius perfuga, ubi de apparatu bellorum et seriis rebus apud eos Graiorum more veterum consultatur, regem incendebat ardentem, ut exacta hieme statim arma fretus fortunae suae magnitudine concitaret, ipse quoque in multis ac necessariis operam suam fidenter promittens. Ursicinus magister militum ex Oriente evocatus, cum iam venisset in Thraciam, remittitur in Mesopotamiam; quo reversus, per Marcellinum Saporis adventum explorat. Sub eisdem fere diebus, Sabinianus adepta repentina potestate sufflatus, et Ciliciae fines ingressus, decessori suo principis litteras dedit, hortantis ut ad comitatum dignitate afficiendus superiore citius properaret, eo necessitatum articulo, quo etiam si apud Thulen moraretur Ursicinus, acciri eum magnitudine rerum ratione probabili flagitabat, utpote disciplinae veteris et longo usu bellandi artis Persicae scientissimum.*

[8] With these and similar speeches from time to time at banquets, where after the old Greek custom they used to consult about preparations for war and other serious affairs, the deserter kept sober and fired the already eager king,

so soon as winter was over, at once to take the field, trusting to his good fortune, and Antoninus himself confidently promised to aid him in many important ways. Ursicinus, commander of the army in the Orient, being summoned from there and having already reached Thrace, is sent back to Mesopotamia; on his return he tries to learn through Marcellinus of the coming of Sapor. At about that same time Sabinianus, puffed up by his suddenly acquired power, entered the confines of Cilicia and handed his predecessor the emperor's letter, which directed him to make all haste to the court, to be invested with a higher rank; and that too at a crisis when, even if Ursicinus were living in Thule, the weight of affairs with good reason demanded that he be sent for, well acquainted as he was with the old-time discipline and with the Persian methods of warfare from long experience.

[2] Quo rumore provinciis percitis, ordines civitatum et populi, decretis et acclamationibus densis, iniecta manu detinebant paene publicum defensorem, memores quod relictus ad sui tutelam, cum inerti et umbratili milite, nihil amiserat per decennium; simul metuentes salutem, quod tempore dubio, remoto illo advenisse hominem compererant inertissimum.

[2] The rumour of this action greatly disquieted the provinces, and the senates and peoples of the various cities, while decrees and acclamations came thick and fast, laid hands on him and all but held fast their public defender, recalling that though he had been left to protect them with weak and ease-loving soldiers, he had for ten years suffered no loss; and at the same time they feared for their safety on learning that at a critical time he had been deposed and a most inefficient man had come to take his place.

[3] Credimus (neque enim dubium est) per aërios tramites famam praepetem volitare, cuius indicio haec gesta pendente, consiliorum apud Persas summa proponebatur; et multis ultro citroque deliberatis, placuit Antonino suadente, ut Ursicino procul amoto, despectoque duce novello, posthabitis civitatum perniciosis obsidiis, perrumperetur Euphrates, ireturque prorsus, ut occupari possint provinciae, fama celeritate praeventa, omnibus ante bellis (nisi temporibus Gallieni,) intactae, paceque longissima locupletes, cuius rei prosperante deo ductorem commodissimum fore spondebat.

[3] We believe (and in fact there is no doubt of it) that Rumour flies swiftly through the paths of air, since it was through her circulation of the news of these events that the Persians held council as to their course of action. And after long debate to and fro it was decided, on the advice of Antoninus, that since Ursicinus was far away and the new commander was lightly regarded, they should give up the dangerous sieges of cities, pass the barrier of the Euphrates, and push on with the design of outstripping by speed the news of their coming and seizing upon the provinces, which in all previous wars (except in the time of Gallienus) had been untouched and had grown rich through long-continued peace; and Antoninus promised that with God's

favour he would be a most helpful leader in this enterprise.

[4] *Laudato firmatoque concordi omnium voluntate consilio, conversisque universis ad ea quae erant citius congerenda, commeatus milites arma ceteraque instrumenta, quae poscebat procinctus adventans, perpetua hieme parabantur.*

[4] When this plan had been commended and approved by unanimous consent, all turned their attention to such things as must be amassed with speed; and so the preparation of supplies, soldiers, weapons, and other equipment which the coming campaign required, went on all winter long.

[5] *Nos interea paulisper cis Taurum morati, ex imperio ad partes Italiae festinantes, prope flumen venimus Hebrum, ex Odrysarum montibus decurrentem, ibique principis scripta suscepimus, iubentia omni causatione posthabita, reverti Mesopotamiam, sine apparitione ulla expeditionem curaturi periculosam, ad alium omni potestate translata.*

[5] We meanwhile lingered for a time on this side the Taurus, and then in accordance with our orders were hastening to the regions of Italy and had come to the vicinity of the river Hebrus, which flows down from the mountains of the Odrysae; there we received the emperor's dispatch, which without offering any excuse ordered us to reb to Mesopotamia without any attendants and take charge of a perilous campaign, after all power had been transferred to another.

[6] *Quod ideo per molestos formatores imperil truebatur, ut si Persae frustra habiti redissent ad sua, ducis novi virtuti facinus adsignaretur egregium; si fortuna sequior ingruisset, Ursicinus reus proditae rei publicae deferretur.*

[6] This was devised by the mischievous moulders of the empire with the idea that, if the Persians were baffled and returned to their own country, the glorious deed would be attributed to the ability of the new leader; but if Fortune proved unfavourable, Ursicinus would be accused as a traitor to his country.

[7] *Agitatis itaque rationibus, diu cunctati reversique, fastidii plenum Sabinianum invenimus, hominem mediocris staturae, et parvi angustique animi, vix sine turpi metu sufficientem ad levem convivii, nedum proelii strepitum, perferendum.*

[7] Accordingly, after careful consideration, and long hesitation, we returned, to find Sabinianus a man full of haughtiness, but of insignificant stature and small and narrow mind, barely able to endure the slight noise of a banquet without shameful apprehension, to say nothing of the din of battle.

[8] *Tamen quoniam speculatores apparatus omnes apud hostes fervere, constanti asseveratione perfugis concinentibus, affirmabant, oscitante*

homunculo, Nisibin propere venimus, utilia paraturi, ne dissimulantes obsidium, Persae civitati supervenirent incautae.

[8] Nevertheless, since scouts, and deserters agreeing with them, most persistently declared that the enemy were pushing all their preparations with hot haste, while the manikin yawned, we hastily marched to Nisibis, to prepare what was useful, lest the Persians, masking their design of a siege, might surprise the city when off its guard.

[9] Dumque intra muros maturanda perurgerentur, fumus micantesque ignes assidue a Tigride per Castra Maurorum et Sisara et collimitia reliqua, ad usque civitatem continui perlucebant, solito crebriores, erupisse hostium vastatorias manus superato flumine permonstrantes.

[9] And while within the walls the things that required haste were being pushed vigorously, smoke and gleaming fires constantly shone from the Tigris on past Castra Maurorum and Sisara and all the neighbouring country as far as the city, in greater number than usual and in a continuous line, clearly showing that the enemy's bands of plunderers had burst forth and crossed the river.

[10] Qua causa ne occuparentur itinera, celeri cursu praegressi, cum ad secundum lapidem venissemus, liberalis formae puerum torquatum, (ut coniectabamus) octennem, in aggeris medio vidimus heulantem, ingenui cuiusdam filium (ut aiebat); quem mater dum imminentium hostium terrore percita fugeret, impeditior trepidando reliquerat solum. Hunc dum imperatu ducis miseratione commoti, impositum equo, prae me ferens ad civitatem reduco, circumvallato murorum ambitu praedatores latius vagabantur.

[10] Therefore, for fear that the roads might be blocked, we hastened on at full speed, and when we were within two miles, we saw a fine-looking boy, wearing a neck-chain, a child eight years old (as we guessed) and the son of a man of position (as he said), crying in the middle of the highway; his mother, while she was fleeing, wild with fear of the pursuing enemy, being hampered and agitated had left him alone. While I, at the command of my general, who was filled with pity, set the boy before me on my horse and took him back to the city, the pillagers, after building a rampart around the entire wall, were ranging more widely.

[11] Et quia me obsidionales aerumnae terrebant, intra semiclausam posticam exposito puero, nostrorum agmen agilitate volucris repetebam exanimis, nec multum afuit quin caperer.

[11] And because the calamities of a siege alarmed me, I set the boy down within a half-open postern gate and with winged speed hastened breathless to our troop; and I was all but taken prisoner.

[12] Nam cum Abdigildum quendam tribunum, fugientem cum calone ala

sequeretur hostilis, lapsoque per fugam domino servum deprehensum, cum ego rapido ictu transirem, interrogassent, quisnam proventus sit iudex, audissentque Ursicinum paulo ante urbem ingressum, montem Izalam petere; occiso indice in unum quaesiti complures nos irrequietis cursibus sectabantur.

[12] For a tribune called Abdigildus was fleeing with his camp-servant, pursued by a troop of the enemy's cavalry. And while the master made his escape, they caught the slave and asked him (just as I passed by at full gallop) who had been appointed governor. And when they heard that Ursicinus had entered the city a short time before and was now on his way to Mount Izala, they killed their informant and a great number, got together into one body, followed me with tireless speed.

[13] Quos cum iumentu agilitate praegressus, apud Amudin munimentum infirmum, dispersis per pabulum equis, recubantes nostros securius invenissem, porrecto extentius brachio, et summitatibus sagi contortis elatius, adesse hostes signo solito demonstrabam, eisdemque iunctus impetu communi ferebar, equo iam fatiscente.

[13] When through the fleetness of my mount I had outstripped them and come to Amudis, a weak fortress, I found our men lying about at their ease, while their horses had been turned out to graze. Extending my arm far forward and gathering up my cloak and waving it on high, I showed by the usual sign that the enemy were near, and joining with them I was hurried along at their pace, although my horse was now growing tired.

[14] Terrebat autem nos plenilunium noctis, et planities supina camporum, nulla (si occupasset artior casus,) latibula praeberere sufficiens, ubi nec arbores nec frutecta nec quicquam praeter herbas humiles visebatur.

[14] We were alarmed, moreover, by the fact that it was full moon at night and by the level stretch of plain, which (in case any pressing emergency surprised us) could offer no hiding-places, since neither trees nor shrubs were to be seen, but nothing except short grass.

[15] Excogitatum est ergo ut ardente superposita lampade, et circumligata ne rueret, iumentum solum quod earn vehebat solutum, sine rectore laevorsus ire permetteretur, cum nos ad montanos excessus dextra positos tenderemus, ut praelucere sebaem facem duci lenius gradienti, Persae credentes, eum tenerent potissimum cursum; quod ni fuisset praevisum, circumventi et capti, sub dicionem venissemus hostilem.

[15] Therefore we devised the plan of placing a lighted lantern on a single pack-animal, binding it fast, so that it should not fall off, and then turning loose the animal that carried the light and letting him go towards the left without a driver, while we made our way to the mountain heights lying on the right, in order that the Persians, supposing that a tallow torch was carried

before the general as he went slowly on his way, should take that course rather than any other; and had it not been for this stratagem, we should have been surrounded and captured and come into the power of the enemy.

[16] Hoc extracti periculo, cum ad nemorosum quendam locum vineis arbustisque pomiferis consitum, Meiacarire nomine venissemus, cui fontes dedere vocabulum gelidi, dilapsis accolis omnibus, solum in remoto secessu latentem invenimus militem, qui oblatus duci et locutus varia prae timore, ideoque suspectus, adigente metu qui intentabatur, pandit rerum integram fidem, docetque quod apud Parisios natus in Galliis, et equestri militans turma, vindictam quondam commissi facinoris timens, ad Persas abierat profugus, exindeque morum probitate spectata, sortita coniuge liberisque susceptis, speculatorem se missum ad nostra, saepe veros nuntios reportasse. At nunc se a Tamsapore et Nohodare optimatibus missum, qui catervas ductaverant praedatorum, ad eos redire quae didicerat perlaturum. Post haec, adiectis quae agi in parte diversa norat, occiditur.

[16] Saved from this danger, we came to a wooded tract planted with vineyards and fruitbearing orchards, called Meiacarire, so named from its cold springs. There all the inhabitants had decamped, but we found one soldier hiding in a remote spot. He, on being brought before the general, because of fear gave contradictory answers and so fell under suspicion. But influenced by threats made against him, he told the whole truth, saying that he was born at Paris in Gaul and served in a cavalry troop; but in fear of punishment for a fault that he had once committed he had deserted to the Persians. Then, being found to be of upright character, and to have married and reared children, he was sent as a spy to our territories and often brought back trustworthy news. But now he had been sent out by the grandees Tamsapor and Nohodares, who had led the bands of pillagers, and was returning to them, to report what he had learned. After this, having added what he knew about what the enemy were doing, he was put to death.

[17] Proinde curarum crescente sollicitudine, inde passibus citis Amidam pro temporis copia venimus, civitatem postea secutis cladibus inclutam. Quo reversis exploratoribus nostris, in vaginae internis notarum figuris membranam repperimus scriptam, a Procopio ad nos perferri mandatam, quem legatum ad Persas antea missum cum comite Lucilliano praedixi, haec consulto obscurius indicantem, ne captis baiulis, sensuque intellecto scriptorum, excitaretur materia funestissima.

[17] Then with our anxious cares increasing we went from there as quickly as circumstances allowed to Amida, a city afterwards notorious for the calamities which it suffered. And when our scouts had returned there, we found in the scabbard of a sword a parchment written in cipher, which had been brought to us by order of Procopius, who, as I said before, had previously been sent as an envoy to the Persians with Count Lucillianus. In

this, with intentional obscurity, for fear that, if the bearers were taken and the meaning of the message known, most disastrous consequences would follow, he gave the following message: —

[18] ‘Amendatis procul Graiorum legatis, forsitan et necandis, rex ille longaeus non contentus Hellesponto, iunctis Grenici et Rhyndaci pontibus, Asiam cum numerosis populis pervasurus adveniet, suoapte ingenio irritabilis et asperrimus, auctore et incensore Hadriani quondam Romani Principis successore; actum et conclamatum est, ni caverit Graecia.’

[18] “Now that the envoys of the Greeks have been sent far away and perhaps are to be killed, that aged king, not content with Hellespontus, will bridge the Granicus and the Rhyndacus and come to invade Asia with many nations. He is naturally passionate and very cruel, and he has as an instigator and abetter the successor of the former Roman emperor Hadrian; unless Greece takes heed, it is all over with her and her dirge chanted.”

[19] Qui textus significabat Persarum regem transitis fluminibus Anzaba et Tigride, Antonino hortante, dominium Orientis affectare totius. His ob perplexitatem nimiam aegerrime lectis, consilium suscipitur prudens.

[19] This writing meant that the king of the Persians had crossed the rivers Anzaba and Tigris, and, urged on by Antoninus, aspired to the rule of the entire Orient. When it had been read, with the greatest difficulty because of its excessive ambiguity, a sagacious plan was formed.

[20] Erat eo tempore satrapa Corduenae, quae obtemperabat potestati Persarum, Iovinianus nomine appellatus in solo Romano, adulescens nobiscum occulte sentiens ea gratia, quod obsidatus sorte in Syriis detentus, et dulcedine liberalium studiorum illectus, remeare ad nostra ardenti desiderio gestiebat.

[20] There was at that time in Corduene, which was subject to the Persian power, a satrap called Jovinianus on Roman soil, a youth who had secret sympathy with us for the reason that, having been detained in Syria as a hostage and allured by the charm of liberal studies, he felt a burning desire to return to our country.

[21] Ad hunc missus ego cum centurione quodam fidissimo, exploratus noscendi gratia quae gerebantur, per avios montes angustiasque praecipites veni. Visusque et agnitus, comiterque susceptus, causam praesentiae meae uni illi confessus, adiuncto taciturno aliquo locorum perito, mittor ad praecelsas rupes exinde longe distantes, unde nisi oculorum deficeret acies, ad quinquagesimum usque lapidem, quodvis etiam minutissimum apparebat.

[21] To him I was sent with a centurion of tried loyalty, for the purpose of getting better informed of what was going on; and I reached him over pathless mountains and through steep defiles. After he had seen and recognized me,

and received me cordially, I confided to him alone the reason for my presence. Thereupon with one silent attendant who knew the country he sent me to some lofty cliffs a long distance from there, from which, unless one's eyesight was impaired, even the smallest object was visible at a distance of fifty miles.

[22] Ibi morati integrum biduum, cum sol tertius affulsisset, cernebamus terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos, quos ὀριζοντας appellamus, agminibus oppletos innumeris, et antegressum regem vestis claritudine rutilantem. Quem iuxta laevus incedebat Grumbates, Chionitarum rex nervositate quidem media rugosisque membris, sed mente quadam grandifica, multisque victoriarum insignibus nobilis; dextra rex Albanorum, pari loco atque honore sublimis; post duces varii, auctoritate et potestatibus eminentes, quos ordinum omnium multitudo sequebatur, ex vicinarum gentium roboribus lecta, ad tolerandam rerum asperitatem diuturnis casibus erudita.

[22] There we stayed for two full days, and at dawn of the third day we saw below us the whole circuit of the lands (which we call ὀριζοντας) filled with innumerable troops with the king leading the way, glittering in splendid attire. Close by him on the left went Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, a man of moderate strength, it is true, and with shrivelled limbs, but of a certain greatness of mind and distinguished by the glory of many victories. On the right was the king of the Albani, of equal rank, high in honour. After them came various leaders, prominent in reputation and rank, followed by a multitude of every degree, chosen from the flower of the neighbouring nations and taught to endure hardship by long continued training.

[23] Quo usque nobis Doriscum Thraciae oppidum, et agminatim intra consaepta exercitus, recensitos Graecia fabulosa narrabis? cum nos cauti vel (ut verius dixerim) timidi, nihil exaggeremus, praeter ea quae fidei testimonia neque incerta monstrarunt. Sapor cum Chionitarum et Albanorum regibus Mesopotamiam intrat. Romani suos ipsi agros incendunt, agrestes in oppida compellunt, ac citiorem ripam Euphratis castellis praesidiisque communiunt. Postquam reges Nineve Adiabene ingenti civitate transmissa, in medio pontis Anzabae hostiis caesis, exisque prosperantibus, transiere laetissimi, coniectantes nos residuam plebem omnem aegre penetrare post triduum posse, citius exinde ad satrapen reversi quievimus, hospitalibus officiis recreati.

[23] How long, storied Greece, will you continue to tell us of Doriscus, the city of Thrace, and of the armies drawn up in troops within enclosures and numbered? For I am too cautious, or (to speak more truly) too timid, to exaggerate anything beyond what is proven by trustworthy and sure evidence. Sapor with the kings of the Chionitae and the Albani invades Mesopotamia. The Romans set fire to their own fields, drive the peasants into the towns, and fortify our bank of the Euphrates with strongholds and garrisons. After the kings had passed by Nineveh, a great city of Adiabene,

and after sacrificing victims in the middle of the bridge over the Anzaba and finding the omens favourable, had crossed full of joy, I judged that all the rest of the throng could hardly enter in three days; so I quickly returned to the satrap and rested, entertained with hospitable attentions.

[2] Unde per loca itidem deserta et sola, magno necessitatis ducente solacio, celerius quam potuit sperari reversi, confirmavimus animos haesitantium, unum e navalibus pontem transisse reges absque ulla circumitione perdoctos.

[2] Then I returned, again passing through deserted and solitary places, more quickly ^{pb n=451} than could be expected, led as I was by the great consolation of necessity, and cheered the spirits of those who were troubled because they were informed that the kings, without any detour, had crossed on a single bridge of boats.

[3] Extemplo igitur equites citi mittuntur ad Cassianum, Mesopotamiae ducem, rectoremque provinciae tune Euphronium, compulsuri agrestes cum familiis et pecoribus universis ad tutiora transire, et agiliter deserere Carras, oppidum invalidis circumdatum muris; super his campos omnes incendi, ne pabulorum suppeteret copia.

[3] Therefore at once swift horsemen were sent to Cassianus, commander in Mesopotamia, and to Euphronius, then governor of the province, to compel the peasants with their households and all their flocks to move to safer quarters, directing also that the city of Carrhae should quickly be abandoned, since the town was surrounded only by weak fortifications; and in addition that all the plains be set on fire, to prevent the enemy from getting fodder.

[4] Et imperatis sine mora completis, iniecto igni furentis elementi vis maxima, frumenta omnia cum iam stipula flaverint turgerent, herbasque pubentes ita contorruit, ut ad usque Euphraten, ab ipsis marginibus Tigridis, nihil viride cerneretur. Tune exustae sunt ferae complures, maximeque leones, per ea loca saevientes immaniter, consumi vel caecari sueti paulatim hoc modo.

[4] These orders were executed without delay, and when the fires had been kindled, the mighty violence of that raging element consumed all the grain, which was filled out on the now yellowing stalk, and every kind of growing plant, so utterly that from the very banks of the Tigris all the way to the Euphrates not a green thing was to be seen. At that time many wild beasts were burned up, especially lions, which are excessively savage in those regions and usually perish or are gradually blinded in the following manner.

[5] Inter harundineta Mesopotamiae fluminum et frutecta, leones vagantur innumeri, dementia hiemis ibi mollissimae semper innocui. At ubi solis radiis exarserit tempus, in regionibus aestu ambustis, vapore sideris et magnitudine culicum agitantur, quorum examinibus per eas terras referta sunt omnia. Et quoniam oculos, quasi umida et lucentia membra, eadem appetunt volucres,

palpebrarum libramentis mordicus insidentes, idem leones, cruciati diutius, aut fluminibus mersi sorbentur, ad quae remedii causa confugiunt, aut amissis oculis, quos unguibus crebro lacerantes effodiunt, immanius efferascunt; quod ni fieret, universus oriens huius modi bestiis abundaret.

[5] Amid the reed-beds and thickets of the Mesopotamian rivers lions range in countless numbers; and during the moderate winter, which is there very mild, they are always harmless. But when the sun's rays have brought the season of burning heat, in regions parched by drought they are tormented both by the sultry breath of the sun and by crowds of gnats, swarms of which fill all parts of that land. And since these same insects make for the eyes, as the moist and shining parts of the body, and settling along the eyelids bite them, those same lions, after suffering long torture, either plunge into the rivers, to which they flee for protection, and are drowned, or after losing their eyes, which they dig out by constantly scratching them with their claws, become frightfully savage. And were it not for this, the entire Orient would be overrun by such beasts.

[6] Dum campi cremantur (ut dictum est) tribuni cum protectoribus missi, ceterioris ripae Euphratis castellis et praeacutis sudibus omnique praesidiorum genere communibant, tormenta, qua parum erat voraginosum, locis opportunis aptantes.

[6] While the plains were burning (as was said), tribunes were sent with the guard and fortified the nearer bank of the Euphrates with towers, sharp stakes, and every kind of defence, planting hurling-engines in suitable places, where the river was not full of eddies.

[7] Dum haec celerantur, Sabinianus inter rapienda momenta periculorum communium lectissimus moderator belli internecivi, per Edessena sepulchra, quasi fundata cum mortuis pace, nihil formidans, more vitae remissioris fluxius agens, militari pyrrice sonantibus modulis pro histrionicis gestibus, in silentio summo delectabatur, ominoso sane et incepto et loco, cum haec et huius modi factu dictoque tristia, futuros praenuntiantia motus, vitare optimum quemque debere saeculi progressionem discamus.

[7] While these preparations were being hastened, Sabinianus, that splendid choice of a leader in a deadly war, when every moment should have been seized to avert the common dangers, amid the tombs of Edessa, as if he had nothing to fear when he had made his peace with the dead, and acting with the wantonness of a life free from care, in complete inaction was being entertained by his soldiers with a pyrrhic dance, in which music accompanied the gestures of the performers — conduct ominous both in itself and in its occasion, since we learn that these and similar things that are ill-omened in word and deed ought to be avoided by every good man as time goes on as foreboding coming troubles.

[8] Interea reges, Nisibi pro statione vili transmissa, incendiis arida nutrimentorum varietate crescentibus, fugitantes inopiam pabuli, sub montium pedibus per valles gramineas incedeabant.

[8] Meanwhile the kings passed by Nisibis as an unimportant halting place, and since fires were spreading because of the variety of dry fuel, to avoid a scarcity of fodder were marching through the grassy valleys at the foot of the mountains.

[9] Cumque Bebasen villam venissent, unde ad Constantinam usque oppidum, quod centesimo lapide disparatur, arescunt omnia siti perpetua, nisi quod in puteis aqua reperitur exilis, quid agerent diu cunctati, iamque suorum duritiae fiducia transituri, exploratore fido docente, cognoscunt Euphratem, nivibus tabefactis inflatum, late fuis gurgitibus evagari, ideoque vado nequaquam posse transiri.

[9] And now they had come to a hamlet called Bebase, from which as far as the town of Constantina, which is a hundred miles distant, everything is parched by constant drought except for a little water to be found in wells. There they hesitated for a long time what to do, and finally were planning to cross, being confident of the hardiness of their men, when they learned from a faithful scout that the Euphrates was swollen by the melted snows and overflowing in wide pools, and hence could not be forded anywhere.

[10] Convertuntur ergo ad ea quae amplectenda fortuita daret occasio, spe concepta praeter opinionem exclusi, ac proposito pro abrupto rerum praesentium statu urgenti consilio, Antoninus dicere quid sentiat iussus, orditur, flecti iter suadens in dexterum latus, ut per longiorem circumitum, omnium rerum usu regionum feracium, et consideratione ea qua rectus pergeret hostis, adhuc intactarum, castra duo praesidiaria Barzalo et Claudias peterentur, sese ductante, ubi tenuis fluvius prope originem et angustus, nullisque adhuc aquis advenis adolescens, facile penetrari poterit ut vadosus.

[10] Therefore, being unexpectedly disappointed in the hope that they had conceived, they turned to embrace whatever the chance of fortune should offer; and on holding a council, with reference to the sudden urgent difficulties of their present situation, Antoninus, on being bidden to say what he thought, began by advising that they should turn their march to the right, in order to make a long detour through regions abounding in all sorts of supplies, and still untouched by the Romans in the belief that the enemy would march straight ahead, and that they should go under his guidance to the two garrison camps of Barzalo and Claudias: for there the river was shallow and narrow near its source, and as yet increased by no tributaries, and hence was fordable and easy to cross.

[11] His auditis laudatoque suasore, et iusso ducere qua norat, agmina cuncta,

ab institute itinere conversa, praeivum sequebantur. Septingenti equites Illyriciani necopinantes a Persis coniciuntur in fugam. Evadunt hinc Ursicinus, inde Marcellinus. Quo certis speculationibus cognito, nos disposuimus properare Samosatam, ut superato exinde flumine, pontiumque apud Zeugma et Capersana iuncturis abscisis, hostiles impetus (si iuvisset fors ulla,) repelleremus.

[11] When this proposition had been heard and its author commended and bidden to lead them by the way that he knew, the whole army changed its intended line of march and followed its guide. Seven hundred Illyrian horsemen are surprised and put to flight by the Persians. Ursicinus and Marcellinus escape in different directions. When this was known through trustworthy scouts, we planned to hasten to Samosata, in order to cross the river from there and break down the bridges at Zeugma and Capersana, and so (if fortune should aid us at all) repel the enemy's attacks.

[2] Sed contigit atrox et silentio omni dedecus obruendum. Namque duarum turmarum equites circiter septingenti, ad subsidium Mesopotamiae recens ex Illyrico missi, enerves et timidi, praesidium per eos tractus agentes, nocturnasque paventes insidias, ab aggeribus publicis vesperi, quando custodiri magis omnes tramites conveniret, longius discedebant.

[2] But there befell a terrible disgrace, which deserves to be buried in utter silence. For about seven hundred horsemen, belonging to two squadrons who had recently been sent to the aid of Mesopotamia from Illyricum, a spiritless and cowardly lot, were keeping guard in those parts. And dreading a night attack, they withdrew to a distance from the public roads at evening, when all the paths ought to be better guarded.

[3] Hocque observato, eos vino oppresses et somno, viginti milia fere Persarum, Tamsapore et Nohodare ductantibus, nullo prospiciente transgressa, post tumulos celsos vicinos Amidae, occultabantur armata.

[3] This was observed by the Persians, and about twenty thousand of them, under the command of Tamsapor and Nohodares, passed by the horsemen unobserved, while these were overcome with wine and sleep, and hid themselves with arms behind some high mounds near Amida.

[4] Moxque (ut dictum est) cum abituri Samosatam luce etiam tum dubia pergeremus, ab alta quadam specula radiantium armorum splendore perstricti, hostisque adesse excitatus clamitantes, signo dato quod ad proelium solet hortari, restitimus conglobati, nec fugam capessere, cum essent iam in contuitu qui sectarentur, nec congregi cum hoste equitatu et numero praevalente, metu indubitatae mortis cautum existimantes.

[4] And presently, when we were on the point of going to Samosata (as has been said) and were on our way while it was still twilight, from a high point

our eyes caught the gleam of shining arms, and an excited cry was raised that the enemy were upon us; then the usual signal for summoning to battle was given and we halted in close order, thinking it prudent neither to take flight when our pursuers were already in sight, nor yet (through fear of certain death) to engage with a foe far superior in cavalry and in numbers.

[5] Denique ex ultima necessitate manibus iam conserendis, cum quid agi oporteat cunctaremur, occiduntur quidam nostrorum, temere procurantes, et urgente utraque parte, Antoninus ambitiosius praegrediens agmen, ab Ursicino agnitus, et obiurgatorio sonu vocis increpitus, proditorque et nefarius appellatus, sublata tiara, quam capiti summi ferebat honoris insigne, desiluit equo, curvatisque membris, humum vultu paene contingens, salutavit patronum appellans et dominum, manus post terga conectens, quod apud Assyrios supplicis indicat formam.

[5] Finally, after it became absolutely necessary to resort to arms, while we were hesitating as to what ought to be done, some of our men ran forward rashly and were killed. And as both sides pressed forward, Antoninus, who was ostentatiously leading the troops, was recognised by Ursicinus and rated with chiding language; and after being called traitor and criminal, Antoninus took off the tiara which he wore on his head as a token of high honour, sprang from his horse, and bending his body so that he almost touched the ground with his face, he saluted Ursicinus, calling him patron and lord, clasping his hands together behind his back, which among the Assyrians is a gesture of supplication.

[6] Et ‘Ignosce mihi’ inquit ‘amplissime comes, necessitate non voluntate ad haec quae novi scelestas, prolapso; egere me praecipitem iniqui flagitatores, ut nosti, quorum avaritiae ne tua quidem excelsa illa fortuna, propugnans miseriis meis, potuit refragari.’ Simul haec dicens, e medio prospectu abscessit, non aversus, sed dum evanesceret, verecunde retrogradiens et pectus ostentans.

[6] Then, “Pardon me,” said he, “most illustrious Count, since it is from necessity and not voluntarily that I have descended to this conduct, which I know to be infamous. It was unjust duns, as you know, that drove me mad, whose avarice not even your lofty station, which tried to protect my wretchedness, could check.” As he said these words he withdrew from sight, not turning about, but respectfully walking backwards until he disappeared, and presenting his breast.

[7] Quae dum in curriculo semihorae aguntur, postsignani nostri, qui tenebant editiora collis exclamant, aliam cataphractorum multitudinem equitum pone visam, celeritate quam maxima propinquare.

[7] While all this took place in the course of half an hour, our soldiers in the

rear, who occupied the higher part of the hill, cry out that another force, of heavy-armed cavalry, was to be seen behind the others, and that they were approaching with all possible speed.

[8] *Atque ut in rebus solent afflictis, ambigentes cuinam deberet aut posset occurri, trudente pondere plebis immensae, passim qua cuique proximum videbatur, diffundimur universi, dumque se quisque expedire discrimine magno conatur, sparsim disiecti hosti concursatori miscemur.*

[8] And, as is usual in times of trouble, we were in doubt whom we should, or could, resist, and pushed onward by the weight of the vast throng, we all scattered here and there, wherever each saw the nearest way of escape; and while every one was trying to save himself from the great danger, we were mingled in scattered groups with the enemy's skirmishers.

[9] *Itaque spreta iam vivendi cupiditate, fortiter decernentes, ad ripas pellimur Tigridis, alte excisas. Unde quidam praecipites pulsi, implicantibus armis, haeserunt, ubi vadosus est amnis, alii lacunarum hausti vertigine, vorabantur, non nulli cum hoste congressi, vario eventu certabant, quidam cuneorum densitate perterriti, petebant proximos Tauri montis excessus.*

[9] And so, now scorning any desire for life and fighting manfully, we were driven to the banks of the Tigris, which were high and steep. From these some hurled themselves headlong, but entangled by their weapons stuck fast in the shoals of the river; others were dragged down in the eddying pools and swallowed up; some engaged the enemy and fought with varying success; others, terrified by the dense array of hostile ranks, sought to reach the nearest elevations of Mount Taurus.

[10] *Inter quos dux ipse agnitus pugnatorumque mole circumdatus, cum Aiadalthe tribuno, caloneque uno, equi celeritate ereptus, abscessit.*

[10] Among these the commander himself was recognised and surrounded by a horde of warriors, but he was saved by the speed of his horse and got away, in company with Aiadalthes, a tribune, and a single groom.

[11] *Mihi dum avius ab itinere comitum quid agerem circumspicio, Verennianus domesticus protector occurrit, femur sagitta confixus, quam dum avellere obtestante collega conarer, cinctus undique antecedentibus Persis, civitatem petebam, anhelu cursu rependo, ex eo latere quo incessebamus in arduo sitam, unoque ascensu perangusto meabilem, quem scissis collibus molinae, ad calles aptandas aedificatae, densius constringebant.*

[11] I myself, having taken a direction apart from that of my comrades, was looking around to see what to do, when Verennianus, one of the guard, came up with an arrow in his thigh; and while at the earnest request of my colleague I was trying to pull it out, finding myself surrounded on all sides by the

foremost Persians, I moved ahead at breathless speed and aimed for the city, which from the point where we were attacked lay high up and could be approached only by a single very narrow ascent; and this was made still narrower by mills which had been built on the cliffs for the purpose of making the paths.

[12] *Hic mixti cum Persis, eodem ictu procurrentibus ad superiora nobiscum, ad usque ortum alterius solis immobiles stetimus, ita conferti, ut caesorum cadavera multitudine fulta, reperire ruendi spatium nusquam possent, utque miles ante me quidam, discriminate capite, quod in aequas partes ictus gladii fiderat validissimus, in stipitis modum undique coartatus haereret.*

[12] Here, mingled with the Persians, who were rushing to the higher ground with the same effort as ourselves, we remained motionless until sunrise of the next day, so crowded together that the bodies of the slain, held upright by the throng, could nowhere find room to fall, and that in front of me a soldier with his head cut in two, and split into equal halves by a powerful sword stroke, was so pressed on all sides that he stood erect like a stump.

[13] *Et licet multiplicia tela, per tormentorum omnia genera, volarent e propugnaculis, hoc tamen periculo murorum nos propinquitas eximebat, tandemque per posticam civitatem ingressus, refertam inveni, confluyente ex finitimis virili et muliebri secus. Nam et casu illis ipsis diebus, in suburbanis peregrina commercia, circumacto anno solita celebrari, multitudo convenarum augebat agrestium.*

[13] And although showers of weapons from all kinds of artillery flew from the battlements, nevertheless the nearness of the walls saved us from that danger, and when I at last entered the city by a postern gate I found it crowded, since a throng of both sexes had flocked to it from the neighbouring countryside. For, as it chanced, it was at that very time that the annual fair was held in the suburbs, and there was a throng of country folk in addition to the foreign traders.

[14] *Interea sonitu vario cuncta miscentur, partim amissos gementibus, aliis cum exitio sauciis, multis caritates diversas, quas prae angustis videre non poterant, invocantibus. Descriptio Amidae, et quot tum ibi legiones ac turmae in praesidio fuerint. Hanc civitatem olim perquam brevem, Caesar etiam tum Constantius, ut accolae suffugium possint habere tutissimum, eo tempore quo Antoninupolim oppidum aliud struxit, turribus circumdedit amplis et moenibus, locatoque ibi conditorio muralium tormentorum, fecit hostibus formidatam, suoque nomine voluit appellari.*

[14] Meanwhile there was a confusion of varied cries, some bewailing their lost kindred, others wounded to the death, many calling upon loved ones from whom they were separated and could not see because of the press.

*A description of Amida, and the number of the legions and troops of cavalry
that were on guard there.*

This city was once very small, but Constantius, when he was still a Caesar, in order that the neighbours might have a secure place of refuge, at the same time that he built another city called Antoninupolis, surrounded Amida with strong walls and towers; and by establishing there an armoury of mural artillery, he made it a terror to the enemy and wished it to be called after his own name.

[2] Et a latere quidem australi, geniculato Tigridis meatu subluitur, propius emergentis; qua Euri opponitur flatibus, Mesopotamiae plana despectat; unde aquiloni obnoxia est, Nymphaeo amni vicina, verticibus Taurinis umbratur, gentes Transtigritanas dirimentibus et Armeniam; spiranti zephyro contraversa Gumathenam contingit, regionem ubere et cultu iuxta fecundam, in qua vicus est Abarne nomine, sospitalium aquarum lavacris calentibus notus. In ipso autem Amidae meditullio sub arce fons dives exundat, potabilis quidem, sed vaporatis aestibus non numquam faetens.

[2] Now, on the south side it is washed by the winding course of the Tigris, which rises near-by; where it faces the blasts of Euris it looks down on Mesopotamia's plains; where it is exposed to the north wind it is close to the river Nymphaeus and lies under the shadow of the peaks of Taurus, which separate the peoples beyond the Tigris from Armenia; opposite the breath of Zephyrus it borders on Gumathena, a region rich alike in fertility and in tillage, in which is the village called Abarne, famed for its warm baths of healing waters. Moreover, in the very heart of Amida, at the foot of the citadel, a bountiful spring gushes forth, drinkable indeed, but sometimes malodorous from hot vapours.

[3] Cuius oppidi praesidio erat semper Quinta Parthica legio destinata, cum indigenarum turma non contemnenda. Sed tunc ingruentem Persarum multitudinem sex legiones, raptim percursis itineribus antegressae, muris adstitero firmissimis, Magnentiaci et Decentiaci, quos post consummatos civiles procinctus, ut fallaces et turbidos, ad Orientem venire compulsi imperator, ubi nihil praeter bella timetur externa, et Tricensimani Decimanique, Fortenses et Superventores atque Praeventores, cum Aeliano iam comite, quos tirones tum etiam novellos, hortante memorato adhuc protectore, erupisse a Singara, Persasque fusos in somnum retulimus trucidasse complures.

[3] Of this town the regular garrison was formed by the Fifth Legion, Parthica, along with a force of no mean size of natives. But at that time six additional legions, having outstripped the advancing horde of Persians by rapid marches, were drawn up upon its very strong walls. These were the soldiers of Magnentius and Decentius, whom, after finishing the campaigns of the civil

wars, the emperor had forced, as being untrustworthy and turbulent, to come to the Orient, where none but foreign wars are to be feared; also the soldiers of the Thirtieth, and the Tenth, also called Fortenses, and the Superventores and Praeventores with Aelianus, who was then a count; these troops, when still raw recruits, at the urging of the same Aelianus, then one of the guard, had made a sally from Singara (as I have said) and slain great numbers of the Persians while they were buried in sleep.

[4] Aderat comitum quoque sagittariorum pars maior, equestris videlicet turmae ita cognominatae, ubi merent omnes ingenui barbari, armorum viriumque firmitudine inter alios eminentes. Sapor duo castella Romana in fidem recipit. Haec dum primi impetus turbo conatibus agitat insperatis, rex cum populo suo gentibusque quas ductabat, a Bebase loco itinere flexo dextrorsus ut monuerat Antoninus, per Horren et Meiacarire et Charcha, ut transiturus Amidam, cum prope castella Romana venisset, quorum unum Reman, alterum Busan appellatur, perfugarum indicio didicit, multorum opes illuc translatas servari, ut in munimentis praecelsis et fidis, additumque est, ibi cum suppellectili pretiosa, inveniri feminam pulchram cum filia parvula, Craugasii Nisibeni cuiusdam uxorem, in municipali ordine genere fama potentiaque circumspecti.

[4] There were also in the town the greater part of the *comites sagittarii* (household archers), that is to say, a squadron of horsemen so-named, in which all the freeborn foreigners serve who are conspicuous above the rest for their prowess in arms and their bodily strength.

Sapor receives two Roman fortresses in surrender.

While the storm of the first attack was thus busied with unlooked-for undertakings, the king with his own people and the nations that he was leading turned his march to the right from the place called Bebase, as Antoninus had recommended, through Horre and Meiacarire and Charcha, as if he would pass by Amida; but when he had come near two fortresses of the Romans, of which one is called Reman and the other Busan, he learned from the information of deserters that the wealth of many people had been brought there and was kept in what were regarded as lofty and safe fortifications; and it was added that there was to be found there with a costly outfit a beautiful woman with her little daughter, the wife of a certain Craugasius of Nisibis, a man distinguished among the officials of his town for family, reputation, and influence.

[2] Aviditate itaque rapiendi aliena festinans, petit impetu fidenti castella, unde subita animi consternatione defensores armorum varietate praestricti, se cunctosque prodidere, qui ad praesidia confugerunt, et digredi iussi confestim claves obtulere portarum, patefactisque aditibus, quicquid ibi congestum erat eruitur, et productae sunt attonitae metu mulieres, et infantes matribus

implicati, graves aerumnas inter initia tenerioris aetatis experti.

[2] Accordingly the king, with a haste due to his greed for seizing others' property, attacked the fortresses with fiery confidence, whereupon the defenders, overcome with sudden panic and dazzled by the variety of arms, surrendered themselves and all those who had taken refuge with the garrison; and when ordered to depart, they at once handed over the keys of the gates. When entrance was given, whatever was stored there was brought out, and the women, paralysed with fear, were dragged forth with the children clinging to their mothers and experiencing grievous woes at the beginning of their tender years.

[3] Cumque rex percontando cuiusnam coniux esset, Craugasii comperisset, vim in se metuentem, prope venire permisit intrepidam, et confisam opertamque ad usque labra ipsa atro velamine, certiore iam spe mariti recipiendi, et pudoris inviolati mansuri, benignius confirmavit. Audiens enim coniugem miro eius amore flagrare, hoc praemio Nisibenam proditorem mercari se posse arbitrabatur.

[3] And when the king by inquiring whose wife the lady was had found that her husband was Craugasius, he allowed her, fearing as she did that violence would be offered her, to approach nearer without apprehension; and when she had been reassured and covered as far as her very lips with a black veil, he courteously encouraged her with sure hope of regaining her husband and of keeping her honour unsullied. For hearing that her husband ardently loved her, he thought that at this price he might purchase the betrayal of Nisibis.

[4] Inventas tamen alias quoque virgines, Christiano ritu cultui divino sacratas, custodiri intactas, et religioni servire solito more, nullo vetante, praecepit, lenitudinem profecto in tempore simulans, ut omnes quos antehac diritate crudelitateque terrebat, sponte sua metu remoto venirent, exemplis recentibus docti, humanitate eum et moribus iam placidis magnitudinem temperasse fortunae.

[4] Yet finding that there were others also who were maidens and consecrated to divine service according to the Christian custom, he ordered that they be kept uninjured and allowed to practise their religion in their wonted manner without any opposition; to be sure he made a pretence of mildness for the time, to the end that all whom he had heretofore terrified by his harshness and cruelty might lay aside their fear and come to him of their own volition, when they learned from recent instances that he now tempered the greatness of his fortune with kindness and gracious deportment

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LIBER XIX — BOOK XIX

[1] Sapor, dum Amidenses ad deditionem hortatur, a praesidiariis sagittis et tragulis petitur. Idem dum temptat Grumbates rex, filius eius interficitur. Hoc miserae nostrorum captivitatis eventu rex laetus, successusque operiens similes, egressus exinde paulatimque incedens, Amidam die tertio venit.

Sapor, while urging the people of Amida to surrender, is attacked by the garrison with arrows and spears. While King Grumbates attempts the same thing, his son is slain. The king, rejoicing in the wretched imprisonment of our men that had come to pass, and anticipating like successes, set forth from there, and slowly advancing, came to Amida on the third day.

[2] Cumque primum aurora fulgeret, universa quae videri poterant armis stellantibus coruscabant, ac ferreus equitatus campos opplevit et colles.

[2] And when the first gleam of dawn appeared, everything so far as the eye could reach shone with glittering arms, and mail-clad cavalry filled hill and dale.

[3] Insidens autem equo, ante alios celsior, ipse praeibat agminibus cunctis, aureum capitis arietini figmentum, interstinctum lapillis, pro diademate gestans, multiplici vertice dignitatum, et gentium diversarum comitatu sublimis. Satisque eum constabat, colloquio tenus defensores moenium temptaturum, aliorum Antonini consilio festinantem.

[3] The king himself, mounted upon a charger and overtopping the others, rode before the whole army, wearing in place of a diadem a golden image of a ram's head set with precious stones, distinguished too by a great retinue of men of the highest rank and of various nations. But it was clear that he would merely try the effect of a conference on the defenders of the walls, since by the advice of Antoninus he was in haste to go elsewhere.

[4] Verum caeleste numen ut Romanae rei totius aerumnas intra unius regionis concluderet ambitum, adegerat in immensum se extollentem, credentemque quod viso statim obsessi omnes metu exanimati, supplices venirent in preces.

[4] However, the power of heaven, in order to compress the miseries of the whole Roman empire within the confines of a single region, had driven the king to an enormous degree of self-confidence, and to the belief that all the besieged would be paralysed with fear at the mere sight of him, and would resort to suppliant prayers.

[5] Portis obequitabat, comitante cohorte regali, qui dum se prope confidentius inserit, ut etiam vultus eius possit aperte cognosci, sagittis missilibusque ceteris, ob decora petitus insignia, corruisset, ni pulvere iaculantium adimente

conspexit parte indumenti tragulae ictu discissa, editurus postea strages innumeras evasisset.

[5] So he rode up to the gates attended by his royal escort, and while with too great assurance he came so near that even his features could clearly be recognised, because of his conspicuous adornment he became the target of arrows and other missiles, and would have fallen, had not the dust hidden him from the sight of his assailants, so that after a part of his garment was torn by the stroke of a lance he escaped, to cause the death of thousands at a later time.

[6] Hinc quasi in sacrilegos violati saeviens templi, temeratumque tot regum et gentium dominum praedicans, eruendae urbis apparatu nisibus magnis instabat, et orantibus potissimis ducibus ne profusus in iram a gloriosis descisceret coeptis, leni summatum petitione placatus, postridie quoque super deditione moneri decreverat defensores.

[6] In consequence of this attack he raged as if against sacrilegious violators of a temple, and declaring that the lord of so many kings and nations had been outraged, he pushed on with great effort every preparation for destroying the city; but when his most distinguished generals begged that he would not under stress of anger abandon his glorious enterprises, he was appeased by their soothing plea and decided that on the following day the defenders should again be warned to surrender.

[7] Ideoque cum prima lux advenisset, rex Chionitarum Grumbates, fidenter domino suam operam navaturus, tendebat ad moenia, cum manu promptissima stipatorum, quem ubi venientem iam telo forte contiguum contemplator peritissimus advertisset, contorta ballista, filium eius primae pubis adulescentem, lateri paterno haerentem, thorace cum pectore perforato perfodit, proceritate et decore corporis aequalibus antestantem.

[7] And so, at the first dawn of day, Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, wishing to render courageous service to his lord, boldly advanced to the walls with a band of active attendants; but a skilful observer caught sight of him as soon as he chanced to come within range of his weapon, and discharging a ballista, pierced both cuirass and breast of Grumbates' son, a youth just come to manhood, who was riding at his father's side and was conspicuous among his companions for his height and his handsome person.

[8] Cuius occasu in fugam dilapsi populares eius omnes, moxque ne raperetur, ratione iusta regressi, numerosas gentes ad arma clamoribus dissonis concitarunt, quarum concursu ritu grandinis hinc inde convolantibus telis, atrox committitur pugna.

[8] Upon his fall all his countrymen scattered in flight, but presently returned in well-founded fear that his body might be carried off, and with harsh outcries

roused numerous tribes to arms; and on their onset weapons flew from both sides like hail and a fierce fight ensued.

[9] Et post interneciva certamina, ad usque finem diei protenta, cum iam noctis esset initium, per acervos caesorum et scaturigines sanguinis aegre defensum caligine tenebrarum extrahitur corpus, ut apud Troiam quondam super comite Thessali ducis exanimi socii Marte acerrimo conflixerunt.

[9] After a murderous contest, protracted to the very end of the day, at nightfall the body, which had with difficulty been protected amid heaps of slain and streams of blood, was dragged off under cover of darkness, as once upon a time before Troy his companions contended in a fierce struggle over the lifeless comrade of the Thessalian leader.

[10] Quo funere regia maesta, et optimatibus universis cum parente subita clade percussis, indicto iustitio, iuvenis nobilitate commendabilis et dilectus ritu nationis propriae lugebatur. Itaque ut armari solebat elatus, in amplo quodam suggestu locatur et celso, circaque eum lectuli decem sternuntur, figmenta vehentes hominum mortuorum, ita curate pollincta, ut imagines essent corporibus similes iam sepultis, ac per dierum spatium septem, viri quidem omnes per contubernia et manipulos epulis indulgebant, saltando, et cantando tristitia quaedam genera naeniarum, regium iuvenem lamentantes.

[10] By this death the palace was saddened, and all the nobles, as well as the father, were stunned by the sudden calamity; accordingly a truce was declared and the young man, honoured for his high birth and beloved, was mourned after the fashion of his own nation. Accordingly he was carried out, armed in his usual manner, and placed upon a large and lofty platform, and about him were spread ten couches bearing figures of dead men, so carefully made ready that the images were like bodies already in the tomb. For the space of seven days all men by communities and companies feasted (lamenting the young prince) with dances and the singing of certain sorrowful dirges.

[11] Feminae vero miserabili planctu, in primaevo flore succisam spem gentis solitis fletibus conclamabant, ut lacrimare cultrices Veneris saepe spectantur, in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris, quod simulacrum aliquod esse frugum adularum religiones mysticae docent. Amida circumsidetur, et intra biduum bis oppugnatur a Persis. Post incensum corpus ossaque in argenteam urnam collecta, quae ad gentem humo mandanda portari statuerat pater, agitata summa consiliorum, placuerat busto urbis subversae expiare perempti iuvenis manes; nec enim Grumbates, inulta unici pignoris umbra, ire ultra patiebatur.

[11] The women for their part, woefully beating their breasts and weeping after their wonted manner, loudly bewailed the hope of their nation cut off in the bloom of youth, just as the priestesses of Venus are often seen to weep at the annual festival of Adonis, which, as the mystic lore of religion tells us, is a

kind of symbol of the ripened grain. Amida is besieged and assaulted twice within two days by the Persians. After the body had been burned and the ashes collected and placed in a silver urn, since the father had decided that they should be taken to his native land to be consigned to the earth, they debated what it was best to do; and it was resolved to propitiate the spirit of the slain youth by burning and destroying the city; for Grumbates would not allow them to go farther while the shade of his only son was unavenged.

[2] Biduoque ad otium dato, ac missis abunde qui pacis modo patentes agros pingues cultosque vastarent, quinquens ordine multiplicato scutorum, cingitur civitas ac tertiae principio lucis, corusci globi turmarum impleverunt cuncta quae prospectus humanus potuit undique contueri, et sorte loca divisa, clementi gradu incedentes ordines occuparunt.

[2] Accordingly, after two days had been given to rest, a large force was sent to devastate the rich, cultivated fields, which were unprotected as in time of peace; then the city was begirt by a fivefold line of shields, and on the morning of the third day gleaming bands of horsemen filled all places which the eye could reach, and the ranks, advancing at a quiet pace, took the places assigned them by lot.

[3] Persae omnes murorum ambitus obsidebant. Pars, quae orientem spectabat, Chionitis evenit, qua funestus nobis ceciderat adulescens, cuius manibus excidio urbis parentari debebat, Gelani meridiano lateri sunt destinati, tractum servabant septentrionis Albani, occidentali portae oppositi sunt Segestani, acerrimi omnium bellatores, cum quibus elata in arduum specie elephantorum agmina rugosis horrenda corporibus, leniter incedebant, armatis onusta, ultra omnem diritatem taetri spectacula formidanda, ut rettulimus saepe.

[3] The Persians beset the whole circuit of the walls. The part which faced the east fell to the lot of the Chionitae, the place where the youth so fatal to us was slain, whose shade was destined to be appeased by the destruction of the city. The Gelani were assigned to the southern side, the Albani guarded the quarter to the north, and to the western gate were opposed the Segestani, the bravest warriors of all. With them, making a lofty show, slowly marched the lines of elephants, frightful with their wrinkled bodies and loaded with armed men, a hideous spectacle, dreadful beyond every form of horror, as I have often declared.

[4] Cernentes populos tam indimensos, ad orbis Romani incendium diu quaesitos, in nostrum conversos exitium, salutis rata desperatione, gloriosos vitae exitus deinde curabamus, iamque omnibus nobis optatos.

[4] Beholding such innumerable peoples, long got together to set fire to the Roman world and bent upon our destruction, we despaired of any hope of safety and henceforth strove to end our lives gloriously, which was now our

sole desire.

[5] A sole itaque orto usque diei ultimum, acies immobiles stabant, ut fixae nullo variato vestigio, nec sonitu vel equorum audito hinnitu, eademque figura digressi qua venerant, cibo recreati et somno, cum superesset exiguum noctis, aeneatorum clangore ductante, urbem ut mox casuram terribili corona cinxerunt.

[5] And so from sunrise until the day's end the battle lines stood fast. as though rooted in the same spot; no sound was heard, no neighing of horses; and they withdrew in the same order in which they had come, and then refreshed with food and sleep, when only a small part of the night remained, led by the trumpeters' blast they surrounded the city with the same awful ring, as if it were soon to fall.

[6] Vixque ubi Grumbates hastam infectam sanguine ritu patrio nostrique more coniecerat fetialis, armis exercitus concrepans, involat muros, confestimque lacrimabilis belli turbo crudescit, rapido turmarum processu, in procinctum alacritate omni tendentium, et contra acri intentaque occursatione nostrorum.

[6] And hardly had Grumbates hurled a bloodstained spear, following the usage of his country and the custom of our fetial priest, than the army with clashing weapons flew to the walls, and at once the lamentable tempest of war grew fiercer, the cavalry advancing at full speed as they hurried to the fight with general eagerness, while our men resisted with courage and determination.

[7] Proinde diffractis capitibus, multos hostium scorpionum iactu moles saxaeae colliserunt, alii traiecti sagittis, pars confixi tragulis humum corporibus obstruebant, vulnerati alii socios fuga praecipiti repetebant.

[7] Then heads were shattered, as masses of stone, hurled from the scorpions, crushed many of the enemy; others were pierced by arrows, some were struck down by spears and the ground strewn with their bodies, while others that were only wounded retreated in headlong flight to their companions.

[8] Nec minores in civitate luctus aut mortes, sagittarum creberrima nube auras spissa multitudo obumbrante, tormentorumque machinis, quae direpta Singara possederant Persae, vulnera inferentibus plura.

[8] No less was the grief and no fewer the deaths in the city, since a thick cloud of arrows in compact mass darkened the air, while the artillery which the Persians had acquired from the plunder of Singara inflicted still more wounds.

[9] Namque viribus collectis propugnatores, omissa vicissim certamina repetentes, in maximo defendendi ardore saucii perniciose cadebant, aut laniati volvendo stantes proxime subvertebant, aut certe spicula membris infixi, viventes adhuc vellendi peritos quaeritabant.

[9] For the defenders, recovering their strength and returning in relays to the contest they had abandoned, when wounded in their great ardour for defence fell with destructive results; or if only mangled, they overturned in their writhing those who stood next to them, or at any rate, so long as they remained alive kept calling for those who had the skill to pull out the arrows implanted in their bodies.

[10] Ita strages stragibus implicatas, et ad extremum usque diei productas, ne vespertinae quidem hebetaverunt tenebrae, ea re quod obstinatione utrimque magna decernebatur.

[10] Thus slaughter was piled upon slaughter and prolonged to the very end of the day, nor was it lessened even by the darkness of evening, with such great determination did both sides fight.

[11] Agitatis itaque sub onere armorum vigiliis, resultabant altrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles, nostris virtutes Constanti Caesaris extollentibus, ut domini rerum et mundi, Persis Saporem saansaan appellantis et pirosen, quod rex regibus imperans, et bellorum victor interpretatur.

[11] And so the night watches were passed under the burden of arms, while the hills re-echoed from the shouts rising from both sides, as our men praised the power of Constantius Caesar as lord of the world and the universe, and the Persians called Sapor “saansaan” and “pirosen,” which being interpreted is “king of kings” and “victor in wars.”

[12] Ac priusquam lux quinta occiperet, signo per lituos dato, ad fervorem similium proeliorum excitae undique inaestimabiles copiae in modum alituum ferebantur, unde longe ac late prospici poterat, campis et convallibus nihil praeter arma micantia ferarum gentium demonstrantibus.

[12] And before the dawn of the fifth day the signal was given on the trumpets and the countless forces were aroused anew from all sides to battles of equal heat, rushing to the strife like birds of prey; and the plains and dales as far and as wide as the eye could reach revealed nothing save the flashing arms of savage nations.

[13] Moxque clamore sublato, cunctis temere prorumpentibus, telorum vis ingens volabat e muris, utque opinari dabatur, nulla frustra mittebantur inter hominum cadentia densitatem. Tot enim nos circumstantibus malis, non obtinendae causa salutis, (ut dixi) sed fortiter moriendi studio flagrabamus, et a diei principio ad usque lucem obscuram, neutrubi proelio inclinato, ferocius quam consultius pugnabatur. Exsurgebant enim terrentium paventiumque clamores, ut prae alacritate consistere sine vulnere vix quisquam possit.

[13] Presently a shout was raised and all rushed blindly forward, a vast shower of weapons flew from the walls, and as might be supposed, not one that fell

among that dense throng of men was discharged in vain. For since so many ills hedged us about, we burned, not with the desire of saving our lives, but, as I have said, of dying bravely; and from the beginning of the day until the light was dim we fought with more fury than discretion, without a turn of the battle to either side. For the shouts of those who would terrify and of those who feared constantly rang out, and such was the heat of battle that scarcely anyone could stand his ground without a wound.

[14] Tandemque nox finem caedibus fecit, et satias aerumnarum indutias partibus dederat longiores. Ubi enim quiescendi nobis tempus est datum, exiguas quae supererant vires, continuus cum insomnia labor absumpsit, sanguine et pallente expirantium facie perterrente, quibus ne suprema quidem humandi solacia tribui sinebant angustiae spatiorum, intra civitatis ambitum non nimium amplae, legionibus septem et promiscua advenarum civiumque sexus utriusque plebe, et militibus aliis paucis, ad usque numerum milium centum viginti cunctis inclusis.

[14] At length night put an end to the bloodshed and satiety of woes had brought both sides a longer rest from fighting; for even when time for rest was given us, constant toil and sleeplessness sapped the little strength that remained, and we were terrified by the blood and the pale faces of the dying, to whom not even the last consolation of burial could be given because of the confined space; for within the limits of a city that was none too large there were shut seven legions, a promiscuous throng of strangers and citizens of both sexes, and a few other soldiers, to the number of 120,000 in all.

[15] Medebatur ergo suis quisque vulneribus pro possibilitate vel curantium copia, cum quidam graviter saucii, cruore exhausto, spiritus reluctantes efflarent, alii confossi mucronibus frustra curati, animis in ventum solutis, proiciebantur extincti, aliquorum foratis undique membris mederi periti vetabant, ne offensionibus cassis animae vexarentur afflictæ, non nulli vellendis sagittis in ancipiti curatione graviora morte supplicia perferebant. Ursicinus noctu obsidentibus supervenire frustra conatur, Sabiniano magistro militum repugnante. Dum apud Amidam hac partium destinatione pugnatur, Ursicinus maerens, quod ex alterius pendebat arbitrio, auctoritatis tunc in regendo milite potioris, Sabinianum etiam tum sepulcris haerentem, crebro monebat, ut compositis velitaribus cunctis, per imos pedes montium occultis itineribus properarent, quo levium armorum auxilio, si qua fors iuvisset, stationibus interceptis, nocturnas hostium aggredierentur excubias, quae ingenti circumitu vallaverant muros, aut laccessitionibus crebris occuparent obsidioni fortiter adhaerentes.

[15] Therefore each cured his wounds according to his ability or the supply of helpers; some, who were severely hurt, gave up the ghost slowly from loss of blood; others, pierced through by arrows, after vain attempts to relieve them, breathed out their lives, and were cast out when death came; others, whose

limbs were gashed everywhere, the physicians forbade to be treated, lest their sufferings should be increased by useless infliction of pain; still others plucked out the arrows and through this doubtful remedy endured torments worse than death. Ursicinus vainly attempts to surprise the besiegers by night, being opposed by Sabinianus, commander of the infantry. While the fight was going on at Amida with such determination on both sides, Ursicinus, grieving because he was dependent upon the will of another, who was then of greater authority in the command of the soldiers, frequently admonished Sabinianus, who was still clinging to his graves, that, getting together all his skirmishers, he should hasten by secret paths along the foot of the mountains, so that with the help of these light-armed troops (if fortune was at all favourable) he might surprise the pickets and attack the night-watches of the enemy, who had surrounded the walls in wide extent, or by repeated assaults distract the attention of those who were stoutly persisting in the siege.

[2] Quibus Sabinianus renitebatur ut noxiis, palam quidem litteras imperiales praetendens, intacto ubique milite, quicquid geri potuisset impleri debere aperte iubentes, clam vero corde altissimo retinens, saepe in comitatu sibi mandatum, ut amplam omnem adipiscendae laudis decessori suo ardenti studio gloriae circumcideret, etiam ex re publica processuram.

[2] These proposals Sabinianus opposed as dangerous, publicly offering as a pretext letters of the emperor, which expressly directed that whatever could be done should be effected without injury to the soldiers anywhere, but secretly in his inmost heart keeping in mind that he had often been instructed at court to *out* off from his predecessor, because of his burning desire for glory, every means of gaining honour, even though it promised to turn out to the advantage of the state.

[3] Adeo vel cum exitio provinciarum festinabatur, ne bellicosus homo memorabilis alicuius facinoris auctor nuntiaretur aut socius. Ideoque his attonitus malis, exploratores ad nos saepe mittendo, licet ob custodias artas nullus facile oppidum poterat introire, et utilia agitando complura, nihil proficiens visebatur, ut leo magnitudine corporis et torvitate terribilis, inclusos intra retia catulos periculo ereptum ire non audens, unguibus ademptis et dentibus. Pestilentia Amidae orta, intra decimum diem exiguo imbre sedatur. Et de causis acgeneribus pestilentiae. Sed in civitate, ubi sparsorum per vias cadaverum multitudo humandi officia superaret, pestilentia tot malis accessit, verminantium corporum lue tabifica, vaporatis aestibus varioque plebis languore nutrita, quae genera morborum unde oriri solent breviter explicabo.

[3] Such great haste was made, even though attended with the destruction of the provinces, that this valiant warrior should not receive mention as author of, or participant in, any noteworthy action. Therefore, alarmed by this unhappy situation, Ursicinus often sent us scouts, although because of the strict guard no one could easily enter the town, and attempted many helpful

things; but he obviously could accomplish nothing, being like a lion of huge size and terrible fierceness which did not dare to go to save from danger his whelps that were caught in a net, because he had been robbed of his claws and teeth. A plague which broke out in Amida is ended within ten days by a light rain. Remarks on the causes and varieties of plagues. But within the city, where the quantity of corpses scattered through the streets was too great to admit of burial, a plague was added to so many ills, fostered by the contagious infection of maggotin-fested bodies, the steaming heat, and the weakness of the populace from various causes. The origin of diseases of this kind I shall briefly set forth.

[2] *Nimietatem frigoris aut caloris, vel umoris vel siccitatis, pestilentias gignere philosophi et illustres medici tradiderunt. Unde accolentes loca palustria vel umecta tusses et oculares casus et similia perferunt, contra confines caloribus tepore febrium arescunt. Sed quanto ignis materies ceteris est efficacior, tanto ad perimendum celerior siccitas.*

[2] Philosophers and eminent physicians have told us that an excess of cold or heat, or of moisture or dryness, produces plagues. Hence those who dwell in marshy or damp places suffer from coughs, from affections of the eyes, and from similar complaints; on the other hand, the inhabitants of hot climates dry up with the heat of fever. But by as much as the substance of fire is fiercer and more effective than the other elements, by so much is drought the swifter to kill.

[3] *Hinc cum decennali bello Graecia desudaret, ne peregrinus poenas dissociati regalis matrimonii lucraretur, huius modi grassante pernicie, telis Apollinis periere complures (qui sol aestimatur).*

[3] Therefore when Greece was toiling in a ten years' war in order that a foreigner might not evade the penalty for separating a royal pair, a scourge of this kind raged and many men perished by the darts of Apollo, who is regarded as the sun.

[4] *Atque ut Thucydides exponit, clades illa, quae in Peloponnesiaci belli principiis Athenienses acerbo genere morbi vexavit, ab usque ferventi Aethiopiae plaga paulatim prosperpens, Atticam occupavit.*

[4] And, as Thucydides shows, that calamity which, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, harassed the Athenians with a grievous kind of sickness, gradually crept all the way from the torrid region of Africa and laid hold upon Attica.

[5] *Aliis placet auras (ut solent) aquasque vitiatas faetore cadaverum, vel similibus, salubritatis violare maximam partem, vel certe aeris permutationem subitam aegritudines parere leviores.*

[5] Others believe that when the air, as often happens, and the waters are polluted by the stench of corpses or the like, the greater part of their healthfulness is spoiled, or at any rate that a sudden change of air causes minor ailments.

[6] Affirmant etiam aliqui, terrarum halitu densiore crassatum aera, emittendis corporis spiraminibus resistantem, necare non nullos, qua causa animalia praeter homines cetera iugiter prona, Homero auctore, et experimentis deinceps multis, cum talis incesserit labes, ante novimus interire.

[6] Some also assert that when the air is made heavy by grosser exhalations from the earth, it checks the secretions that should be expelled from the body, and is fatal to some; and it is for that reason, as we know on the authority of Homer as well as from many later experiences, that when such a pestilence has appeared, the other animals besides man, which constantly look downward, are the first to perish.

[7] Et prima species luis pandemus appellatur, quae efficit in aridioribus locis agentes, caloribus crebris interpellari, secunda epidemus, quae tempore ingruens, acies hebetat luminum, et concitat periculosos umores, tertia loemodes, quae itidem temporaria est, sed volucris velocitate letabilis.

[7] Now the first kind of plague is called endemic, and causes those who live in places that are too dry to be cut off by frequent fevers. The second is epidemic, which breaks out at certain seasons of the year, dimming the sight of the eyes and causing a dangerous flow of moisture. The third is *loemodes*, which is also periodic, but deadly from its winged speed.

[8] Hac exitiali peste quassatis, paucis intemperantia aestuum consumptis, quos multitudo augebat, tandem nocte quae diem consecuta est decimum, exiguis imbris disiecto concreto spiritu et crassato, sospitas retenta est corporum firma. Amida hinc circum muros, inde per subterraneos fornices duce transfuga oppugnatur. Verum inter haec inquires Persa vineis civitatem pluteisque circumdabat, et erigi aggeres coepti, turresque fabricabantur, frontibus ferratis excelsae, quarum fastigiis ballistae locatae sunt singulae, ut a propugnaculis propellerent defensores, levia tamen per funditores et sagittarios proelia ne puncto quidem brevi cessabant.

[8] After we had been exhausted by this destructive plague and a few had succumbed to the excessive heat and still more from the crowded conditions, at last on the night following the tenth day the thick and gross exhalations were dispelled by light showers, and sound health of body was regained. Amida is attacked on one side about the walls, and on the other, under the lead of a deserter, by underground passages. But meanwhile the restless Persian was surrounding the city with sheds and mantlets, and mounds began to be raised and towers were constructed; these last were lofty, with

ironclad fronts, and on the top of each a ballista was placed, for the purpose of driving the defenders from the ramparts; yet not even for a moment did the skirmishing by the slingers and archers slacken.

[2] Erant nobiscum duae legiones Magnentiacae recens e Galliis ductae (ut praediximus) virorum fortium et perniciem, ad planarios conflictus aptorum, ad eas vero belli artes quibus stringebamur, non modo inhabiles, sed contra nimii turbatores, qui cum neque in machinis neque in operum constructione iuarent, aliquotiens stolidius erumpentes, dimicantesque fidentissime minuto numero revertabant, tantum proficientes, quantum in publico (ut aiunt) incendio, aqua unius hominis manu adgesta.

[2] There were with us two Magnentian legions, recently brought from Gaul (as I have said) and composed of brave, active men, experienced in battle in the open field, but to the sort of warfare to which we were constrained they were not merely unsuited, but actually a great hindrance; for whereas they were of no help with the artillery or in the construction of fortifications, they would sometimes make reckless sallies and after fighting with the greatest confidence return with diminished numbers, accomplishing just as much as would the pouring of a single handful of water (as the saying is) upon a general conflagration.

[3] Postremo obseratis portis praecautè vetantibusque tribunis, egredi nequeunt, frendebant ut bestiae. Verum secutis diebus efficacia eorum eminuit (ut docebimus).

[3] Finally, when the gates were very carefully barred, and their officers forbade them to go forth, they gnashed their teeth like wild beasts. But in the days that followed (as I shall show) their efficiency was conspicuous.

[4] In summoto loco partis meridianaë murorum, quae despectat fluvium Tigrim, turris fuit in sublimitatem exurgens, sub qua hiabant rupes abscisae, ut despici sine vertigine horrenda non posset, unde cavatis fornicibus subterraneis, per radices montis scalae ad usque civitatis ducebant planitiem, quo ex amnis alveo haurirentur aquae furtim, ut in omnibus per eas regiones munimentis quae contingunt flumina vidimus, fabre politae.

[4] In a remote part of the walls on the southern side, which looks down on the river Tigris, there was a tower rising to a lofty height, beneath which yawned rocks so precipitous that one could not look down without shuddering dizziness. From these rocks subterranean arches had been hollowed out, and skilfully made steps led through the roots of the mountain as far as the plateau on which the city stood, in order that water might be brought secretly from the channel of the river, a device which I have seen in all the fortifications in those regions which border on streams.

[5] Per has tenebras ob derupta neglectas, oppidano transfuga quodam

ductante, qui ad diversam partem desciverat, septuaginta sagittarii Persae ex agmine regio arte fiduciaque praestantes, silentio summoti loci defensi, subito singuli noctis medio ad contignationem turris tertiam ascenderunt, ibique occultati, mane sago punici coloris elato, quod erat subeundae indicium pugnae, cum ex omni parte circumveniri urbem suis copiis inundantibus advertissent, exinanitis proiectisque ante pedes pharetris, clamoris ululabilis incendio tela summa peritia dispergebant. Moxque acies omnes densae petebant multo infestius quam antea civitatem.

[5] Through these dark passages, left unguarded because of their steepness, led by a deserter in the city who had gone over to the opposite side, seventy Persian bowmen from the king's bodyguard who excelled in skill and bravery, protected by the silence of the remote spot, suddenly one by one in the middle of the night mounted to the third story of the tower and there concealed themselves; in the morning they displayed a cloak of red hue, which was the signal for beginning battle, and when they saw the city surrounded on all sides with the floods of their forces, emptying their quivers, and throwing them at their feet, with a conflagration of shouts and yells they sent their shafts in all directions with the utmost skill. And presently all the Persian forces in dense array attacked the city with far greater fury than before.

[6] Inter incertos nos et ancipites, quibus occurri deberet, instantibus supra, an multitudini transcensu scalarum iam propugnacula ipsa prensanti, dividitur opera, et translatae leviores quinque ballistae, contra turrim locantur, quae ocus lignea tela fundentes, non numquam et binos forabant, e quibus pars graviter vulnerati ruebant, alii machinarum metu stridentium praecipites acti, laniatis corporibus interibant.

[6] We were perplexed and uncertain where first to offer resistance, whether to those who stood above us or to the throng mounting on scaling-ladders and already laying hold of the very battlements; so the work was divided among us and five of the lighter ballistae were moved and placed over against the tower, rapidly pouring forth wooden shafts, which sometimes pierced even two men at a time. Some of the enemy fell, severely wounded; others, through fear of the clanging engines, leaped off headlong and were dashed to pieces.

[7] Quibus hac celeritate confectis, relatisque ad loca sueta tormentis, paulo securius moenia omnium concursu defendebantur.

[7] This being so quickly accomplished and the engines restored to their usual places, with a little greater confidence all ran together to defend the walls.

[8] Et quoniam augebat iras militum scelestum facinus perfugae, quasi decurrentes in planum, ita iaculantes diversa missilia lacertis fortibus incumbabant, ut vergente in meridiem die, gentes acri repulsa disiectae, lacrimantes complurium mortes, tentoria repeterent vulnerum

metu. Gallicanarum legionum eruptio Persis exitiabilis. Adspiravit auram quandam salutis fortuna, innoxio die cum hostili clade emenso, cuius reliquo tempore ad quietem reficiendis corporibus dato, posterae lucis initio ex arce innumeram cernimus plebem, quae Ziata capto castello, ad hosticum ducebatur, quem in locum ut capacissimum et munitum — spatio quippe decem stadiorum ambitur — promiscua confugerat multitudo.

[8] And since the wicked deed of the deserter increased the soldiers' wrath, as if they were entering a level ground in a sham fight they used such strength of arm as they hurled their various weapons, that as the day inclined towards noon the enemy were scattered in bitter defeat, and lamenting the death of many of their number, retreated to their tents through fear of wounds.

A sally of the Gallic legions, destructive to the Persians.

Fortune thus breathed upon us some hope of safety, since a day had passed without harm to us and with disaster to the enemy; so the remainder of that day was devoted to rest, for refreshing our bodies. But at the arrival of the following dawn we saw from the citadel a countless throng which after the capture of the fortress of Ziata was being taken to the enemy's camp; for in that stronghold, which was both capacious and well fortified (it has a circuit of ten stadia) a multitude of people of all sorts had taken refuge.

[2] Nam etiam alia munimenta eisdem diebus rapta sunt et incensa, unde hominum milia extracta complura, servituri sequebantur, inter quos multi senecta infirmi, et mulieres iam grandaevae, cum ex variis deficerent causis, itineris longinquitate offensae, abiecta vivendi cupiditate, suris vel suffraginibus relinquebantur exsectis.

[2] For other fortifications also were seized and burned during those same days, and from them many thousands of men had been dragged, and were following into slavery, among them many feeble old men, and women already advanced in years, who, when they gave out for various reasons, discouraged by the long march and abandoning the desire to live, were left behind with their calves or hams cut out.

[3] Has miserabiles turmas Galli milites contuentes, rationabili quidem sed intempestivo motu, conferendae cum hostibus manus copiam sibi dari poscebant, mortem tribunis vetantibus, primisque ordinibus minitantes, si deinceps prohiberent.

[3] The Gallic soldiers, seeing these throngs of wretches, with a reasonable, but untimely, impulse demanded that the opportunity be given them of encountering the enemy, threatening death to the tribunes who forbade them, and to the higher officers, if they in their turn prevented them.

[4] Utque dentatae in caveis bestiae, taetro paedore acerbius efferatae, evadendi

spe repagulis versabilibus illiduntur, ita gladiis portas caedebant, quas supra diximus obseratas, admodum anxii, ne urbe excisa ipsi quoque sine ullo specioso facinore deleantur, aut exuta periculis, nihil egisse operae pretium pro magnanimitate Gallica memorentur, licet antea saepe egressi, structoresque aggerum confossis quibusdam impedire conati, paria pertulerunt.

[4] And just as ravening beasts in cages, roused to greater fierceness by the odour of carrion, in hope of getting out dash against the revolving bars, so did they hew with swords at the gates, which (as I said above) were locked, being exceedingly anxious lest, if the city should be destroyed, they also might perish without any glorious action, or if it were saved from peril, they should be said to have done nothing worth while, as Gallic greatness of heart demanded; and yet before this they had made frequent sallies and attempted to interfere with the builders of mounds, had killed some, and had suffered the like themselves.

[5] Inopes nos consilii, et quid opponi deberet saevientibus ambigentes, id potissimum aegre eisdem assentientibus, tandem elegimus, ut quoniam ultra ferri non poterant, paulisper morati, custodias aggredi permitterentur hostiles, quae non procul erant a coniectu locatae telorum, ut eis perruptis, pergerent prorsus. Apparebat enim eos (si impetrassent) strages maximas edituros.

[5] We, at our wit's end and in doubt what opposition ought to be made to the raging Gauls, at last chose this course as the best, to which they reluctantly consented: that since they could no longer be restrained, they should wait for a while and then be allowed to attack the enemy's outposts, which were stationed not much farther than a bowshot away, with the understanding that if they broke through them, they might keep right on. For it was apparent that, if their request were granted, they would deal immense slaughter.

[6] Quae dum parantur, per varia certaminum genera defensabantur acriter muri, laboribus et vigiliis, et tormentis, ad emittenda undique saxa telaque dispositis. Duo tamen aggeres celsi Persarum peditum manu, e regione et ex pugnaculo civitatis, struebantur operibus lentis, contra quos nostrorum quoque impensiore cura moles excitabantur altissimae, fastigio adversae celsitudinis aequatae, propugnatorum vel nimia pondera duraturae.

[6] While preparations for this were going on, the walls were being vigorously defended by various kinds of effort: by toil and watchfulness and by placing engines so as to scatter stones and darts in all directions. However, two lofty mounds were constructed by a troop of Persian infantry, and the storming of the city was being prepared with slowly built siege-works; and in opposition to these troops our soldiers also with extreme care were rearing earthworks of great height, equal in elevation to those of the enemy and capable of supporting the greatest possible weight of fighting men.

[7] Inter haec Galli morarum impatientes, securibus gladiisque succincti, patefacta sunt egressi postica, observata nocte squalida et inluni, orantes caeleste praesidium, ut propitium adesset et libens. Atque ipsum spiritum reprimentes, cum prope venissent, conferti valido cursu, quibusdam stationariis interfectis, exteriores castrorum vigiles (ut in nullo tali metu) sopitos obtruncant, et supervenire ipsi regiae (si prosperior iuvisset eventus) occulte meditabantur.

[7] Meanwhile the Gauls, impatient of delay, armed with axes and swords rushed out through an opened postern gate, taking advantage of a gloomy, moonless night and praying for the protection of heaven, that it might propitiously and willingly aid them. And holding their very breath when they had come near the enemy, they rushed violently upon them in close order, and having slain some of the outposts, they butchered the outer guards of the camp in their sleep (since they feared nothing of the kind), and secretly thought of a surprise attack even on the king's quarters, if a favourable fortune smiled on them.

[8] Verum audito licet levi reptantium sonitu, gemituque caesorum, discusso somno excitatis multis et ad arma pro se quoque clamitante, steterunt milites vestigiis fixis, progredi ultra non ausi; nec enim cautum deinde videbatur, expergefactis quos petebant insidiae, in apertum properare discrimen, cum iam undique frendentium catervae Persarum in proelia venirent accensae.

[8] But the sound of their cautious advance, slight though it was, and the groans of the dying were heard, and many of the enemy were roused from sleep and sprang up, while each for himself raised the call to arms. Our soldiers stood rooted to the spot, not daring to advance farther; for it no longer seemed prudent, when those against whom the surprise was directed were aroused, to rush into open danger, since now throngs of raging Persians were coming to battle from every side, fired with fury.

[9] Contra Galli corporum robore, audaciaque quoad poterant inconcussi, gladiis secantes adversos, parte suorum strata vel sagittarum undique volantium crebritate confixa, cum unum in locum totam periculi molem conversam, et concurrentium hostium agmina advertissent, nullo terga vertente, evadere festinabant, et velut repedantes sub modulis, sensim extra vallum protrusi, cum manipulos confertius invadentes sustinere non possent, tubarum perciti clangore castrensium, discedebant.

[9] But the Gauls faced them, relying on their strength of body and keeping their courage unshaken as long as they could, cut down their opponents with the sword, while a part of their own number were slain or wounded by the cloud of arrows flying from every side. But when they saw that the whole weight of peril and all the troops of the enemy were turned against one spot, although not one of them turned his back, they made haste to get away; and as

if retreating to music, they were gradually forced out beyond the rampart, and being now unable to withstand the bands of foemen rushing upon them in close order, and excited by the blare of trumpets from the camp, they withdrew.

[10] Et resultantibus e civitate lituis multis, portae panduntur, recepturae nostros si pervenire illuc usque valuissent, tormentorumque machinae stridebant sine iaculatione ulla telorum, ut stationibus praesidentes, post interemptos socios, quae pone agerentur ignari, urbis oppositi moenibus nudarent intuta et porta viri fortes susciperentur innoxii.

[10] And while many clarions sounded from the city, the gates were thrown open to admit our men, if they could succeed in getting so far, and the hurling-engines roared constantly, but without discharging any missiles, in order that since those in command of the outposts, after the death of their comrades were unaware of what was going on behind them, the men stationed before the walls of the city might abandon their unsafe position, and the brave men might be admitted through the gate without harm.

[11] Hacque arte Galli portam prope confinia lucis introiere minuto, numero quidam perniciose, pars leviter vulnerati, quadringentis ea nocte desideratis, qui non Rhesum nec cubitantes pro muris Iliacis Thracas, sed Persarum regem armatorum centum milibus circumsaepum, ni obstitisset violentior casus, in ipsis tentoriis obtruncarant.

[11] By this device the Gauls entered the gate about daybreak in diminished numbers, a part severely others slightly wounded (the losses of that night were four hundred); and if a mightier fate had not prevented, they would have slain, not Rhesus nor the Thracians encamped before the walls of Troy, but the king of the Persians in his own tent, protected by a hundred thousand armed men.

[12] Horum campiductoribus, ut fortium factorum antesignanis, post civitatis excidium, armatas statuas apud Edessam in regione celebri locari iusserat imperator, quae ad praesens servantur intactae.

[12] In honour of their officers, as leaders in these brave deeds, after the destruction of the city the emperor ordered statues in full armour to be made and set up in a frequented spot at Edessa, and they are preserved intact to the present time.

[13] Retectis sequenti luce funeribus, cum inter caesorum cadavera optimates invenirentur, et satrapae, clamoresque dissoni fortunam aliam alibi cum lacrimis indicabant, luctus ubique et indignatio regum audiebatur, arbitrantium per stationes muris obiectas irrupisse Romanos indutiisque ob haec tridui datis assensu communi, nos quoque spatium ad respirandum accepimus. Turres et alia opera urbis muris admoventur; incenduntur a Romanis. Percussae deinde novitate rei efferataeque gentes, omissa omni

cunctatione, operibus (quoniam vis minime procedebat) decernere iam censebant, et concito extremo belli ardore, omnes oppetere gloriose iam properabant, aut ruina urbis animis litasse caesorum.

[13] When on the following day the slaughter was revealed, and among the corpses of the slain there were found grandees and satraps, and dissonant ories and tears bore witness to the disasters in this or that place, everywhere mourning was heard and the indignation of the kings at the thought that the Romans had forced their way in through the guards posted before the walls. And as because of this event a truce of three days was granted by common consent, we also gained time to take breath. Towers and other siege-works are brought up to the walls of the city; they are set on fire by the Romans. Then the enemy, horrified and maddened by the unexpected mishap, set aside all delay, and since force was having little effect, now planned to decide the contest by siege-works; and all of them, fired with the greatest eagerness for battle, now hastened to meet a glorious death or with the downfall of the city to make offering to the spirits of the slain.

[2] Iamque apparatu cunctorum alacritate perfecto, exsiliente lucifero, operum variae species cum turribus ferratis admovebantur, quorum in verticibus celsis aptatae ballistae propugnatores agitantes humiliter disiectabant.

[2] And now through the zeal of all the preparations were completed, and as the morning star shone forth various kinds of siege-works were brought up, along with ironclad towers, on the high tops of which ballistae were placed, and drove off the defenders who were busy lower down.

[3] Et albescente iam die, ferrea munimenta membrorum caelum omne subtexunt, densetaeque acies non inordinatim ut antea, sed tubarum sonitu leni ductante, nullis procursantibus incedebant, machinarum operi tegminibus, cratesque vimineas praetendentes.

[3] And day was now dawning, when mail-clad soldiers underspread the entire heaven, and the dense forces moved forward, not as before in disorder, but led by the slow notes of the trumpets and with no one running forward, protected too by pent-houses and holding before them wicker hurdles.

[4] Cumque propinquantes ad coniectum venire telorum, oppositis scutis, Persae pedites sagittas tormentis excussas e muris aegrius evitantes laxaverant aciem, nullo paene iaculi genere in vanum cadente; etiam cataphracti hebetati et cedentes animos auxere nostrorum.

[4] But when their approach brought them within bowshot, though holding their shields before them the Persian infantry found it hard to avoid the arrows shot from the walls by the artillery, and took open order, and almost no kind of dart failed to find its mark; even the mail-clad horsemen were checked and gave ground, and thus increased the courage of our men.

[5] Tamen quia hostiles ballistae ferratis impositae turribus, in humiliora ex supernis valentes, ut loco dispari ita eventu dissimili, nostra multo cruore foedabant, ingruente iam vespera, cum requiescerent partes, noctis spatium maius consumptum est, ut excogitari possit quid exitio ita atroci obiectaretur.

[5] However, because the enemy's ballistae, mounted as they were upon iron-clad towers, were effective from their higher place against those lower down, on account of their different position they had a different result and caused terrible carnage on our side; and when evening was already coming on and both sides rested, the greater part of the night was spent in trying to devise a remedy for this awful slaughter.

[6] Et tandem multa versantibus nobis, sedit consilium quod tutius celeritas fecit, quattuor eisdem ballistis scorpiones opponi, qui dum translati e regione, caute (quod artis est difficillimae) collocantur, lux nobis advenit maestissima, Persarum manipulos formidatos ostentans, adiectis elephantorum agminibus, quorum stridore immanitateque corporum nihil humanae mentes terribilius cernunt.

[6] And at last, after turning over many plans, we resolved upon a plan which speedy action made the safer, namely, to oppose four scorpions to those same ballistae; but while they were being moved exactly opposite and cautiously put in place (an act calling for the greatest skill) the most sorrowful of days dawned upon us, showing as it did formidable bands of Persians along with troops of elephants, than whose noise and huge bodies the human mind can conceive nothing more terrible.

[7] Cumque omni ex latere armorum et operum beluarumque molibus urgeremur, per scorpionum ferreas fundas e propugnaculis subinde rotundi lapides iacti, dissolutis turrium coagmentis, ballistas earumque tortores ita fudere praecipites, ut quidam citra vulnerum noxas, alii obtriti magnitudine ponderum interirent, elephantis vi magna propulsis, quos flammis coniectis undique circumnexus, iam corporibus tactis, gradientesque retrosus regere magistri non poterant, postque exustis operibus, nulla quies certaminibus data.

[7] And while we were hard pressed on every side by weight of armed men, siege-works, and monsters, round stones hurled at intervals from the battlements by the iron arms of our scorpions shattered the joints of the towers, and threw down the ballistae and those who worked them in such headlong fashion, that some perished without injury from wounds, others were crushed to death by the great weight of debris. The elephants, too, were driven back with great violence, for they were surrounded by firebrands thrown at them from every side, and as soon as these touched their bodies, they turned tail and their drivers were unable to control them. But though after that the siege-works were burned up, there was no cessation from strife.

[8] Rex enim ipse Persarum, qui numquam adesse certaminibus cogitur, his turbinum infortuniis percitus, novo et nusquam antea cognito more, proelioris militis ritu prosiluit in confertos, et quia conspectior tegentium multitudine procul speculantibus visebatur, petitus crebritate telorum, multis stipatoribus stratis, abscessit, alternans regibilis acies, et ad extremum diei, nec mortium truci visu nec vulnerum territus, tandem tempus exiguum tribui quieti permisit. Amida per celsos aggeres muris proximos temptatur a Persis ac invaditur. Marcellinus post captam urbem nocte evadit, ac fuga Antiochiam petit. Verum nocte proelia dirimente, somno per breve otium capto, nitescente iam luce, ad potiunda sperata ira et dolore exundans, nec fas ullum prae oculis habiturus, gentes in nos excitabat. Cumque crematis operibus (ut docuimus), pugna per aggeres celsos muris proximos temptaretur, ex aggestis erectis intrinsecus, quantum facere nitique poterant, nostri aequis viribus per ardua resistebant.

[8] For even the king of the Persians himself, who is never compelled to take part in battles, aroused by these storms of ill-fortune, rushed into the thick of the fight like a common soldier (a new thing, never before heard of) and because he was more conspicuous even to those who looked on from a distance because of the throng of his body-guard, he was the mark of many a missile; and when many of his attendants had been slain he withdrew, interchanging the tasks of his tractable forces, and at the end of the day, though terrified by the grim spectacle neither of the dead nor of the wounded he at last allowed a brief time to be given to rest. Amida is attacked by the Persians over lofty mounds close to the walls, and is stormed. Marcellinus after the capture of the city escapes by night and flees to Antioch. But night put an end to the conflict; and having taken a nap during the brief period of rest, the king, as soon as dawn appeared, boiling with wrath and resentment and closing his eyes to all right, aroused the barbarians against us, to win what he hoped for; and when the siege-works had been burned (as I have shown) they attempted battle over high mounds close to the walls, whereupon our men erected heaps of earth on the inside as well as they could with all their efforts, and under difficulties resisted with equal vigour.

[2] Et diu cruentum proelium stetit, nec metu mortis quisquam ex aliqua parte a studio propugnandi removebatur, eoque producta contentione, cum sors partium eventu regeretur indeclinabili, diu laborata moles illa nostrorum, velut terrae quodam tremore quassata procubuit, et tamquam itinerario aggere, vel superposito ponte, complanatum spatium, quod inter murum congestamque forinsecus struem hiabat, patefecit hostibus transitum, nullis obicibus impeditum, et pars pleraque militum deiectorum oppressa vel debilitata cessavit.

[2] For a long time the sanguinary battle remained undecided, and not a man anywhere through fear of death gave up his ardour for defence; and the

contest had reached a point when the fate of both parties was governed by some unavoidable hap, when that mound of ours, the result of long toil, fell forward as if shattered by an earthquake. Thus the gulf which yawned between the wall and the heap built up outside was made a level plain, as if by a causeway or a bridge built across it, and opened to the enemy a passage blocked by no obstacles, while the greater part of the soldiers that were thrown down ceased fighting, being either crushed or worn out.

[3] *Concursum est tamen undique ad propulsationem periculi tam abrupti, et festinandi studio aliis impredientibus alios, audacia hostium ipso successu crescebat.*

[3] Nevertheless others rushed to the spot from all sides, to avert so sudden a danger; but in their desire for haste they impeded one another, while the boldness of the enemy was increased by their very success.

[4] *Accitis igitur regis imperio proelioribus universis, strictoque comminus ferro, cum sanguis utrobique immensis caedibus funderetur, oppilatae sunt corporibus fossae latiorque via ideo pandebatur, et concursu copiarum ardenti iam civitate oppleta, cum omnis defendendi vel fugiendi spes esset abscisa, pecorum ritu armati et imbelles sine sexus discrimine truncabantur.*

[4] Accordingly, by the king's command all the warriors were summoned and there was a hand-to-hand contest with drawn swords; blood streamed on all sides from the vast carnage; the trenches were blocked with bodies and so a broader path was furnished. And now the city was filled with the eager rush of the enemy's forces, and since all hope of defence or of flight was cut off, armed and unarmed alike without distinction of sex were slaughtered like so many cattle.

[5] *Itaque vespera tenebrante, cum adhuc licet iniqua reluctantante fortuna, multitudo nostrorum manu conserta distringeretur, in abstrusa quadam parte oppidi cum duobus aliis latens, obscurae praesidio noctis postica per quam nihil servabatur evado, et squalentum peritia locorum, comitumque adiutus celeritate, ad decimum lapidem tandem perveni.*

[5] Therefore when the darkness of evening was coming on and a large number of our soldiers, although adverse fortune still struggled against them, were joined in battle and thus kept busy, I hid with two others in a secluded part of the city, and under cover of a dark night made my escape through a postern gate at which no guard was kept; and, aided by my familiarity with desert places and by the speed of my companions, I at length reached the tenth milestone.

[6] *In qua statione lenius recreati, cum ire protinus pergeremus, et incedendi nimietate iam superarer, ut insuetus ingenuus, offendi dirum aspectum, sed fatigato mihi lassitudine gravi levamen impendio tempestivum.*

[6] At the post-house there we got a little rest, and when we were making ready to go farther and I was already unequal to the excessive walking, to which as a gentleman I was unused, I met a terrible sight, which however furnished me a most timely relief, worn out as I was by extreme weariness.

[7] Fugaci equo nudo et infreni calonum quidam sedens (ne labi possit) ex more habenam qua ductabatur sinistra manu artius illigavit, moxque decussus, vinculi nodum abrumpere nequiens, per avia saltusque membratim discerptus, iumentum exhaustum cursu pondere cadaveris detinebat, cuius dorsuali comprehensi servitio usus in tempore, cum eisdem sociis ad fontes sulphureos aquarum, suapte natura calentium, aegre perveni.

[7] A groom, mounted on a runaway horse without saddle or bit, in order not to fall off had tied the rein by which, in the usual manner, the horse was guided, tightly to his left hand; and afterwards, being thrown off and unable to loose the knot, he was torn limb from limb as he was dragged through desert places and woods, while the animal, exhausted by running, was held back by the weight of the dead body; so I caught it and making timely use of the service of its back, with those same companions I with difficulty reached some springs of sulphurous water, naturally hot.

[8] Et quia per aestum arida siti reptantes, aquam diu quaeritando, profundum bene vidimus puteum, et neque descendendi prae altitudine, nec restium aderat copia, necessitate docente postrema, indumenta lintea, quibus tegebamur, in oblongos discidimus pannulos, unde explicato fune ingenti, centonem quem sub galea unus ferebat e nostris, ultimae aptavimus summitati, qui per funem coniectus, aquasque hauriens ad peniculi modum, facile sitim qua urgebamur exstinxit.

[8] And since the heat had caused us parching thirst, for a long time we went slowly about looking for water. And we fortunately found a deep well, but it was neither possible to go down into it because of its depth, nor were there ropes at hand; so taught by extreme need, we cut the linen garments in which we were clad into long strips and from them made a great rope. To the extreme end of this we tied the cap which one of us wore under his helmet, and when this was let down by the rope and sucked up the water after the manner of a sponge, it readily quenched the thirst by which we were tormented.

[9] Unde citi ferebamur ad flumen Euphratem, ulteriorem ripam petituri per navem, quam transfretandi causa iumenta et homines, in eo tractu diuturna consuetudo locarat.

[9] From there we quickly made our way to the Euphrates river, planning to cross to the farther bank by a boat which long continued custom had kept in that vicinity for the transport of men and animals.

[10] Ecce autem Romanum agmen cum equestribus signis disiectum, eminus cernimus, quod persequabatur multitudo Persarum, incertum unde impetu tam repentino terga viantum aggressa.

[10] But lo! we saw afar off a scattered band of Romans with cavalry standards, pursued by a great force of Persians; and we could not understand how they appeared so suddenly behind us as we went along.

[11] Quo exemplo terrigenas illos, non sinibus terrae emersos, sed exuberanti pernecitate credimus natos, qui quoniam inopini per varia visebantur, σπαρτοί vocitati, humo exsiluisse, vetustate rem fabulosius extollente, sunt aestimati.

[11] Judging from this instance, we believe that the famous “sons of earth” did not come forth from the bosom of the land, but were born with extraordinary swiftness — those so-called sparti, who, because they were seen unexpectedly in sundry places, were thought to have sprung from the earth, since antiquity gave the matter a fabulous origin.

[12] Hoc malo conciti, cum omne iam esset in celeritate salutis praesidium, per dumeta et silvas montes petimus celsiores, exindeque Melitinam minoris Armeniae oppidum venimus, mox repertum ducem comitatieque iam profecturum, Antiochiam revisimus insperati. Amidae ex ducibus Rom. alii supplicio affecti, alii vincti. Craugasius Nisibenus desiderio uxoris captivae transfugit ad Persas. At Persae quia tendere iam introrsus autumnio praecipiti haedorumque iniquo sidere exorto prohibebantur, captives agentes et praedas, remeare cogitabant ad sua.

[12] Alarmed by this danger, since now all hope of life depended upon speed, through thickets and woods we made for the higher mountains, and came from there to the town of Melitina in lesser Armenia, where we presently found and accompanied an officer, who was just on the point of leaving; and so we returned unexpectedly to Antioch. At Amida some of the Roman leaders are executed, others imprisoned. Craugasius of Nisibis, through longing for his captive wife, deserts to the Persians. But the Persians, since the rapidly approaching end of autumn and the rising of the unfavourable constellation of the Kids prevented them from marching farther inland, were thinking of returning to their own country with their prisoners and their booty.

[2] Inter haec tamen funera direptionesque civitatis excisae, Aeliano comite et tribunis, quorum efficacia diu defensa sunt moenia, stragesque multiplicatae Persarum, patibulis scelestae suffixis, Iacobus et Caesius, numerarii apparitionis magistri equitum alique protectores, post terga vinctis manibus ducebantur, Transtigritanis qui sollicita quaerebantur industria, nullo infimi summiue discrimine, ad unum omnibus contruncatis.

[2] But in the midst of the slaughter and pillage of the destroyed city Count Aelianus and the tribunes, by whose efficient service the walls had been so

long defended and the losses of the Persians increased, were shamefully gibbeted; Jacobus and Caesius, paymasters of the commander of the cavalry, and other officers of the bodyguard, were led off with their hands bound behind their backs; and those who had come from across the Tigris were hunted down with extreme care and butchered to a man, highest and lowest without distinction.

[3] *Uxor vero Craugasii, quae retinens pudorem inviolatum, ut matrona nobilis colebatur, maerebat velut orbem alium sine marito visura, quamquam sperabat documentis praesentibus altiora.*

[3] But the wife of Craugasius, who retained her chastity inviolate and was honoured as a woman of rank, grieved that she was likely to see another part of the world without her husband, although from present indications she had reason to hope for a loftier fortune.

[4] *In rem itaque consulens suam, et accidentia longe ante prospiciens, anxietate bifaria stringebatur, viduitatem detestans et nuptias. Ideo familiarem suum perquam fidum, regionumque Mesopotamiae gnarum, per Izalam montem, inter castella praesidiaria duo Maride et Lorne introitum, Nisibin occulte dimisit, mandatis arcanisque vitae secretioris, maritum exorans, ut auditis quae contigerint, veniret secum beate victurus.*

[4] Therefore, looking out for her own interests and foreseeing long beforehand what would happen, she was tormented by two-fold anxiety, dreading both separation from her husband and marriage with another. Accordingly, she secretly sent a slave of hers, who was of tried fidelity and acquainted with the regions of Mesopotamia, to go over Mount Izala between the strongholds of Maride and Lorne to Nisibis, and take a message to her husband and certain tokens of their more private life, begging him that on hearing what had happened he should come to live happily with her.

[5] *Quibus conventis, expeditus viator per saltuosos tramites et frutecta, Nisibin passibus citis ingressus, causatusque se domina nusquam visa, et forsitan interempta, data evadendi copia castris hostilibus abscessisse, et ideo ut vilis neglectus, docet Craugasium gesta; moxque accepta fide quod si tuto licuerit, sequetur coniugem libens, evasit, exoptatum mulieri nuntium ferens, quae hoc cognito per Tamsaporem ducem supplicaverat regi, ut si daretur facultas, antequam Romanis excederet finibus, in potestatem suam iuberet propitius maritum adscisci.*

[5] When this had been arranged, the messenger, being lightly equipped, made his way with quick pace through forest paths and thickets and entered Nisibis. There giving out that he had seen his mistress nowhere, that she was perhaps slain, and that he himself, taking advantage of an opportunity to escape, had fled from the enemy's camp, he was accordingly disregarded as of no

consequence. Thereupon he told Craugasius what had happened and then, after receiving assurance that if it could safely be done he would gladly follow his wife, the messenger departed, bearing to the woman the desired news. She on hearing it begged the king through his general Tamsapor that, if the opportunity offered before he left the Roman territory, he would graciously give orders that her husband be received under his protection.

[6] Praeter spem itaque omnium digresso advena repentino, qui postliminio reversus, statim sine ullius evanuit conscientia, percussus suspicione dux Cassianus, praesidentesque ibi proceres alii, minitantes ultima Craugasium incessebant, non sine eius voluntate vel venisse vel abisse hominem clamitantes.

[6] The sudden departure, contrary to every one's expectation, of the stranger, who had returned by the right of postliminium and immediately vanished without anyone's knowledge, aroused the suspicions of the general Cassianus and the other important officials in Nisibis, who assailed Craugasius with dire threats, loudly insisting that the man had neither come nor gone without his wish.

[7] Qui proditoris metuens crimen, impendioque sollicitus, ne transitione perfugae uxor eius superesse doceretur et tractari piissime, per simulationem matrimonium alterius splendidae virginis affectavit. Et velut paraturus necessaria convivio nuptiali, egressus ad villa octavo lapide ab urbe distantem, concito equo ad Persarum vastatorium globum, quem didicerat adventare, confugit, susceptusque averter, qui esset ex his cognitus quae loquebatur, Tamsapori post diem traditur quintum, perque eum regi oblatus, opibus et necessitudine omni recuperata cum coniuge, quam paucos post menses amiserat, erat secundi loci post Antoninum, ut ait poeta praeclarus 'longo proximus intervallo.'

[7] He, then, fearing a charge of treason and greatly troubled lest through the coming of the deserter it should become known that his wife was alive and treated with great respect, as a blind sought marriage with another, a maiden of high rank, and, under pretence of preparing what was needed for the wedding-banquet, went to a country house of his eight miles distant from the city; then, at full gallop he fled to a band of Persian pillagers that he had learned to be approaching. He was received with open arms, being recognized from the story that he told, and five days later was brought to Tamsapor, and by him taken to the king. And after recovering his property and all his kindred, as well as his wife, whom he had lost after a few months, he held the second place after Antoninus, but was, as the eminent poet says, "next by a long interval."

[8] Ille enim ingenio et usu rerum diuturno firmatus, consiliis validis sufficebat in cuncta quae conabatur, hic natura simplicior, nominis tamen itidem

pervulgati. Et haec quidem haut diu postea contigerunt.

[8] For Antoninus, aided by his talent and his long experience of the world, had available plans at hand for all his enterprises, while Craugasius was by nature most simple, yet of an equally celebrated reputation. And these things happened not long afterward.

[9] Rex vero licet securitatem praeferens vultu, exultansque specie tenuis urbis excidio videbatur, profundo tamen animi graviter aestuabat, reputans in obsidionalibus malis saepe luctuosas se pertulisse iacturas multoque ampliores se ipsum populos perdidisse, quam e nostris ceperat vivos, vel certe per diversas fuderat pugnas, ut apud Nisibin aliquotiens evenit, et Singaram, parique modo cum septuaginta tresque dies Amidam multitudine circumsedisset armorum, triginta milia perdidit bellatorum, quae paulo postea per Discenen tribunum et notarium numerata sunt, hac discretione facilius, quod nostrorum cadavera mox caesorum fatiscunt ac diffluunt, adeo ut nullius mortui facies post quadriduum agnoscatur, interfectorum vero Persarum inarescunt in modum stipitum corpora, ut nec liquentibus membris, nec sanie perfusa, madescant, quod vita parcius facit, et ubi nascuntur exustae caloribus terrae. Plebs Romana inopiam frumenti metuens, seditiones movet. Dum haec per varies turbines in Orientis extimo festinantur, difficultatem adventantis inopiae frumentorum urbs verebatur aeterna, vique minacissimae plebis, famem ultimum malorum omnium exspectantis, subinde Tertullus vexabatur, ea tempestate praefectus, irrationabiliter plane; nec enim per eum steterat quo minus tempore congruo alimenta navibus veherentur, quas maris casus asperiores solitis ventorumque procellae reflantium, delatas in proximos sinus, introire portum Augusti discriminum magnitudine perterrebant.

[9] But the king, although making a show of ease of mind in his expression, and to all appearance seeming to exult in the destruction of the city, yet in the depths of his heart was greatly troubled, recalling that in unfortunate sieges he had often suffered sad losses, and had sacrificed far more men himself than he had taken alive of ours, or at any rate had killed in the various battles, as happened several times at Nisibis and at Singara; and in the same way, when he had invested Amida for seventy-three days with a great force of armed men, he lost 30,000 warriors, as was reckoned a little later by Discenes, a tribune and secretary, the more readily for this difference: that the corpses of our men soon after they are slain fall apart and waste away, to such a degree that the face of no dead man is recognisable after four days, but the bodies of the slain Persians dry up like tree-trunks, without their limbs wasting or becoming moist with corruption-a fact due to their more frugal life and the dry heat of their native country.

The Roman commons rebel, fearing a scarcity of grain.

While these storms were swiftly passing one after the other in the extreme

East, the eternal city was fearing the disaster of a coming shortage of grain, and from time to time Tertullus, who was prefect at the time, was assailed by the violent threats of the commons, as they anticipated famine, the worst of all ills; and this was utterly unreasonable, since it was no fault of his that food was not brought at the proper time in the ships, which unusually rough weather at sea and adverse gales of wind drove to the nearest harbours, and by the greatness of the danger kept them from entering the Port of Augustus.

[2] Quocirca idem saepe praefectus seditionibus agitatus, ac plebe iam saeviente immanius, quoniam verebatur impendens exitium, ab omni spe tuendae salutis exclusus, ut aestimabat, tumultuanti acriter populo, sed accidentia considerare sueto prudenter, obiecit parvulos filios, et lacrimans

[2] Therefore that same prefect, since he had often been disquieted by uprisings, and the common people, in fear of imminent destruction, were now raging still more cruelly, being shut off from all hope of saving his life, as he thought, held out his little sons to the wildly riotous populace, who had however been wont to take a sensible view of such accidents, and said with tears:

[3] ‘En’ inquit ‘cives vestri (procul omen dii caelestes avertant!) eadem perlaturi vobiscum, ni fortuna affulserit laetior. Si itaque his abolitis nil triste accidere posse existimatis, praesto in potestate sunt vestra.’ Qua miseratione vulgus ad clementiam suapte natura proclive, lenitum conticuit, aequanimiter venturam operiens sortem.

[3] “Behold your fellow citizens, who with you (but may the gods of heaven avert the omen!) will endure the same fate, unless a happier fortune shine upon us. If therefore you think that by the destruction of these no heavy calamity can befall you, here they are in your power.” Through pity at this sight the mob, of their own nature inclined to mercy, was appeased and held its peace, awaiting with patience the fortune that should come.

[4] Moxque divini arbitrio numinis, quod auxit ab incunabulis Romam, perpetuamque fore spopondit, dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificat Castorum, tranquillitas mare mollivit, mutatoque in austrum placidum vento, velificatione plena portum naves ingressae, frumentis horrea referserunt. Limigantes Sarmatae, dum simulata petitione pacis deceptum imperatorem invadunt, maxima suorum strage reprimuntur. Inter haec ita ambigua, Constantium Sirmi etiam tum hiberna quiete curantem, permovebant nuntii metuendi et graves, indicantes id quod tune magnopere formidabat, Limigantes Sarmatas, quos expulisse paternis avitisque sedibus dominos suos ante monstravimus, paulatim posthabitis locis quae eis anno praeterito utiliter sunt destinata, ne (ut sunt versabiles) aliquid molirentur inicum, regiones confines limitibus occupasse, vagarique licentius genuine more (ni pellerentur,) omnia turbaturos.

[4] And presently by the will of the divine power that gave increase to Rome from its cradle and promised that it should last forever, while Tertullus was sacrificing in the temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, a calm smoothed the sea, the wind changed to a gentle southern breeze, and the ships entered the harbour under full sail and again crammed the storehouses with grain. The Limigantes of Sarmatia deceive the emperor by a pretended request for peace and attack him; but they are repulsed with great slaughter. In the midst of such troubles Constantius, who was still enjoying his winter rest at Sirmium, was disturbed by fearful and serious news, informing him of what he then greatly dreaded, namely, that the Sarmatian Limigantes, who (as we have already pointed out) had driven their masters from their ancestral abodes, having gradually abandoned the places which for the public good had been assigned them the year before for fear that they (as they are inconstant) might attempt some wrongful act, had seized upon the regions bordering upon their frontiers, were ranging freely in their native fashion, and unless they were driven back would cause general confusion.

[2] Quae superbius incitanda prope diem imperator dilato negotio credens, coacta undique multitudine militis ad bella promptissimi, nec dum adulto vere ad procinctum egressus est gemina consideratione alacrior, quod expletus praedarum opimitate exercitus, aestate nuper emensa, similium spe fidenter in effectus animabitur prosperos, quodque Anatolio regente tune per Illyricum praefecturam, necessaria cuncta, vel ante tempus coacta, sine ullius dispendiis affluebant.

[2] The emperor, believing that these outrages would soon be pushed to greater heights if the matter were postponed, assembled from every quarter a great number of soldiers most eager for war and took the field before spring had yet fully come; he was the more eager for action from two considerations: first, because an army glutted with the rich booty of the past summer, by the hope of similar booty would be confidently encouraged to achieve successful enterprises, and because under Anatolius, who at that time was prefect of Illyricum, all necessary supplies had been brought together even ahead of time and were still coming in without trouble to anyone.

[3] Nec enim dispositionibus umquam alterius praefecturae (ut inter omnes constat) ad praesens Arctoae provinciae bonis omnibus floruerunt, correctione titubantium benevola et sollerti, vehiculariae rei iacturis ingentibus, quae clausere domos innumeras, et censuali professione speciosa fiducia relevatae; indemnesque deinde et innoxii earum incolae partium, querellarum sopitis materiis viverent, ni postea exquisitorum detestanda nomina titulorum, per offerentes suscipientesque criminose in maius exaggerata, his propugnare sibi nitentibus potestates, illis attenuatis omnium opibus, se fore sperantibus tutos, ad usque proscriptiones miserorumque suspendia pervenerunt.

[3] For never under the management of any other prefect up to the present

time, as was generally agreed, had the northern provinces so abounded in all blessings, since by his kindly and skilful correction of abuses they were relieved of the great cost of the courier-service, which had closed homes without number, and there was considerable hope of freedom from the income tax. The dwellers in those parts might have lived thereafter happy and untroubled without grounds for complaint, had not later the most hated forms of taxation that could be imagined, criminally amplified by both tax-payers and tax-collectors, since the latter hoped to gain the protection of the governors in their efforts and the former hoped for safety if all were impoverished, resulted finally in proscriptions and the suicide of the wretched victims.

[4] Rem igitur emendaturus urgentem, profectus cum instrumentis ambitiosis, imperator (ut dictum est) Valeriam venit, partem quondam Pannoniae, sed ad honorem Valeriae Diocletiani filiae et institutam et ita cognominatam, sub pellibusque exercitu diffuso per Histri fluminis margines, barbaros observabat ante adventum suum amicitiae velamento, Pannonias furtim vastandas, invadere hiemis durissimo cogitantes, cum nec dum solutae vernis caloribus nives amnem undique pervium faciunt, nostrique pruinis subdivales moras difficile tolerabunt.

[4] Well, then, the emperor (as I have said), in order to improve the pressing situation, set out with splendid equipment and came to Valeria, once a part of Pannonia, but made into a province and named in honour of Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian. There, with his army encamped along the banks of the river Hister, he watched the savages, who before his coming, under pretext of friendship but really intending secretly to devastate the country, were planning to enter Pannonia in the dead of winter, when the snows are not yet melted by the warmth of spring and so the river can be crossed everywhere, and when our soldiers would with difficulty, because of the frosts, endure life in the open.

[5] Confestim itaque missis ad Limigantes duobus tribunis cum interpretibus singulis, explorabat modestius percunctando, quam ob rem relictis laribus post pacem et foedera petentibus attributa, ita palarentur per varia, limitesque contra interdicta pulsarent.

[5] Then having quickly sent two tribunes to the Limigantes, each with an interpreter, by courteous questioning he tried to find out why they had left their homes after the treaty of peace which had been granted to them at their own request, and were thus roaming at large and disturbing the frontiers, notwithstanding orders to the contrary.

[6] Qui vana quaedam causantes et irrita, pavore adigente mentiri, principem exorabant in veniam, obsecrantes ut simultate abolita, transmisso flumine ad eum venire permitterentur, docturi quae sustinerent incommoda, paratique

intra spatia orbis Romani (si id placuerit) terras suscipere longe discretas, ut diuturno otio involuti, et Quietem colentes (tamquam salutarem deam) tributarium onera subirent et nomen.

[6] They gave some frivolous and unsatisfactory excuses, since fear forced them to lie, and begged for pardon, entreating the emperor to forget his anger and allow them to cross the river and come to him, in order to inform him of the difficulties that they were suffering. They were ready to take up far distant lands, but within the compass of the Roman world, if he would allow them, in order that wrapped in lasting repose and worshipping Quiet (as a saving goddess), they might submit to the burdens and the name of tributaries.

[7] His post reditum tribunorum compertis, imperator exultans, ut negotio quod rebatur inexplicabile sine ullo pulvere consummando, cunctos admisit, aviditate plus habendi incensus, quam adulatorum cohors augebat, id sine modo strepentium, quod externis sopitis, et ubique pace composita, proletarios lucrabitur plures, et tirocinia cogere poterit validissima: aurum quippe granter provinciales pro corporibus dabunt, quae spes rem Romanam aliquotiens aggravavit.

[7] When this was known after the return of the tribunes, the emperor, exulting in the accomplishment without any toil of a task which he thought insuperable, admitted them all, being inflamed with the desire for greater gain, which his crew of flatterers increased by constantly dinning it into his ears that now that foreign troubles were quieted, and peace made everywhere, he would gain more child-producing subjects and be able to muster a strong force of recruits; for the provincials are glad to contribute gold to save their bodies, a hope which has more than once proved disastrous to the Roman state.

[8] Proinde vallo prope Acimincum locato, celsoque aggere in speciem tribunalis erecto, naves vehentes quosdam legionarios expedites alveum fluminis proximum ripis observare sunt iussae, cum Innocentio quodam agrimensore, huius auctore consilii, ut si barbaros tumultuare sensissent, aliorum intentos post terga pervaderent improvisi.

[8] Accordingly, having placed a rampart near Acimincum and erected a high mound in the manner of a tribunal, ships carrying some light-armed legionaries were ordered to patrol the channel of the river near the banks, with one Innocentius, a field-measurer, who had recommended the plan, in order that, if they should see the savages beginning disorder, they might attack them in the rear, when their attention was turned elsewhere.

[9] Quae Limigantes licet properari sentirent, nihil tamen praeter preces fingentes, stabant incurvi, longe alia quam quae gestu praeferebant et verbis altis mentibus perpensantes.

[9] But although the Limigantes knew that these plans were being hastened, yet

they stood with bared heads, as if composing nothing save entreaties, but meditating deep in their hearts quite other things than their attitude and their words suggested.

[10] Visoque imperatore ex alto suggestu, iam sermonem parante lenissimum, meditanteque alloqui velut morigeros iam futuros, quidam ex illis, furore percitus truci, calceo suo in tribunal contorto, ‘Marha marha’ (quod est apud eos signum bellicum) exclamavit, eumque secuta incondita multitudo, vexillo elato repente barbarico, ululans ferum, in ipsum principem ferebatur.

[10] And when the emperor was seen on the high tribunal and was already preparing to deliver a most mild address, intending to speak to them as future obedient subjects, one of their number, struck with savage madness, hurling his shoe at the tribunal, shouted “Marha, marha” (which is their warcry), and the rude crowd following him suddenly raised a barbarian banner and with savage howls rushed upon the emperor himself.

[11] Qui cum ex alto despiciens, plena omnia discurrentis turbae cum missilibus vidisset, reiectisque gladiis et verrutis iam propinquante pernicie, externis mixtus et suis, ignotusque dux esset an miles, quia neque cunctandi aderat tempus, neque cessandi, equo veloci impositus, cursu effuso evasit.

[11] He, looking down from his high place and seeing everything filled with a mob running about with missiles, and death already imminent from their drawn swords and javelins, in the midst as he was of the enemy and of his own men, and with nothing to indicate whether he was a general or a common soldier, since there was no time for hesitation or delay mounted a swift horse and galloped off at full speed.

[12] Stipatores tamen pauci dum ignis more inundantes conabantur arcere, aut vulnerati interierunt, aut ponderibus superruentium solis afflicti, sella que regalis cum aureo pulvinari, nullo vetante, direpta est.

[12] However, a few of his attendants, while they were trying to keep off the savages, who poured upon them like a stream of fire, were either wounded to the death or trampled down by the mere weight of those who rushed over them; and the royal seat with its golden cushion was seized without resistance.

[13] Mox autem audito, quod ad ultimum paene tractus exitium, in abrupto staret adhuc imperator, antiquissimum omnium exercitus ratus eum iuvare (nondum enim exemptum periculis aestimavit salutis) fastu fidentior, licet ob procursionem subitam semitectus, sonorum et Martium frendens, barbarorum mori obstinatorum catervis semet immersit.

[13] But when presently it was heard that the emperor had all but been drawn into extreme peril and was not yet on safe ground, the soldiers considered it their first duty to aid him (for they thought him not yet free from danger of

death); so, with greater confidence because of their contempt of the enemy, although the attack was so sudden that they were only partly armed, with a loud battle cry they plunged into the bands of the savages, who were regardless of their lives.

[14] Et quia virtute dedecus purgatura, ardens copia nostrorum erupit, iras in hostem perfidum parans, obvia quaeque obtruncabat, sine parsimonia vivos conculcans et semineces et peremptos; et antequam exsatiaret caedibus barbaricis manus, acervi constipati sunt mortuorum.

[14] And so eagerly did our forces rush forth in their desire to wipe out the disgrace by valour, at the same time venting their wrath on the treacherous foe, that they butchered everything in their way, trampling under foot without mercy the living, as well as those dying or dead; and before their hands were sated with slaughter of the savages, the dead lay piled in heaps.

[15] Urgebantur enim rebelles, aliis trucidatis, aliis terrore disiectis, quorum pars spem vitae cassis precibus usurpando multiplicatis ictibus caedebantur, postque deletos omnes in receptum canentibus lituis, nostri quoque licet rari videbantur exanimis, quos impetus conculcaverat vehemens, aut furori resistentes hostili, lateraque nudantes intacta, ordo fatalis absumpsit.

[15] For the rebels were completely overthrown, some being slain, others fleeing in terror in all directions; and a part of them, who hoped to save their lives by vain entreaties, were cut down by repeated strokes. And after all had been killed and the trumpets were sounding the recall, some of our men also, though few, were found among the dead, either trampled under foot in the fierce attack or, when they resisted the fury of the enemy and exposed their unprotected sides, destroyed by the fatal course of destiny.

[16] Mors tamen eminuit inter alios Cellae Scutariorum tribuni, qui inter confligendi exordia, primus omnium in medios semet Sarmatarum globos immisit.

[16] But conspicuous above the rest was the death of Cella, tribune of the Targeteers, who at the beginning of the fight was first to rush into the thick of the Sarmatian forces.

[17] Post quae tam saeva, digestis pro securitate limitum quae rationes monebant urgentes, Constantius Sirmium redit, ferens de hoste fallaci vindictam, et maturatis quae necessitates temporis poscebant instantes, egressus exinde Constantinopolim petit, ut Orienti iam proximus, cladibus apud Amidam mederetur acceptis, et redintegrato supplementis exercitu, impetus regis Persarum pari virium robore cohiberet, quem constabat (ni caelestis ratio impensiorque repelleret cura multorum) Mesopotamia relicta post terga, per extenta spatia signa moturum. Laesae maiestatis multi arcessiti atque damnati. Inter has tamen sollicitudines, velut ex recepto quodam

antiquitus more, ad vicem bellorum civilium, inflabant litui quaedam colorata laesae crimina maiestatis, quorum exsecutor et administer, saepe dictus Tartareus ille notarius missus est Paulus, qui peritus artium cruentarum, ut lanista ex commerciis libitinae vel ludi, ipse quoque ex eculeo vel carnifice quaestum fructumque captabat.

[17] After this cruel carnage Constantius, having made such arrangements for the safety of the frontiers as considerations of urgency recommended, returned to Sirmium after taking vengeance on a treacherous foe. Then, having quickly attended to what the pressing necessities of the time required, he set out from there and went to Constantinople, in order that being now nearer the Orient he might remedy the disaster which he had suffered at Amida, and by supplying the army there with reinforcements might with an equally strong force check the inroads of the Persian king; for it was clear that the latter (unless the will of heaven and the supreme efforts of many men repelled him) would leave Mesopotamia behind and seek a wider field for his arms.

Many are tried and condemned for high treason.

Yet in the midst of these anxieties, as if it were prescribed by some ancient custom, in place of civil wars the trumpets sounded for alleged cases of high treason; and to investigate and punish these there was sent that notorious state-secretary Paulus, often called Tartareus. He was skilled in the work of bloodshed, and just as a trainer of gladiators seeks profit and emolument from the traffic in funerals and festivals, so did he from the rack or the executioner.

[2] Ut enim erat obstinatum fixumque eius propositum ad laedendum, ita nec furtis abstinuit, innocentibus exitialis causas affingens, dum in calamitosis stipendiis versaretur.

[2] Therefore, as his determination to do harm was fixed and obstinate, he did not refrain from secret fraud, devising fatal charges against innocent persons, provided only he might continue his pernicious traffic.

[3] Materiam autem in infinitum quaestionibus extendendis dedit occasio vilis et parva. Oppidum est Abydum in Thebaidis partis situm extremo. Hic Besae dei localiter appellati, oraculum quondam futura pandebat, priscis circumiacentium regionum caerimoniis solitum coli.

[3] Moreover, a slight and trivial occasion gave opportunity to extend his inquisitions indefinitely. There is a town called Abydum, situated in the remotest part of the Thebais; here the oracle of a god called in that place Besa in days of old revealed the future and was wont to be honoured in the ancient ceremonials of the adjacent regions.

[4] Et quoniam quidam praesentes, pars per alios desideriorum indice missa

scriptura, supplicationibus expresse conceptis, consulta numinum scitabantur, chartulae sive membranae, continentes quae petebantur, post data quoque responsa, interdum remanebant in fano.

[4] And since some in person, a part through others, by sending a written list of their desires, inquired the will of the deities after definitely stating their requests, the papers or parchments containing their petitions sometimes remained in the shrine even after the replies had been given.

[5] Ex his aliqua ad imperatorem maligne sunt missa, qui (ut erat angusti pectoris) obsurdescens in aliis etiam nimium seriis, in hoc titulo ima (quod aiunt) auricula mollior, et suspicax et minutus, acri felle concaluit; statimque ad Orientem ocius ire monuit Paulum, potestate delata, ut instar ducis rerum experientia clari, ad arbitrium suum audiri efficeret causas.

[5] Some of these were with malicious intent sent to the emperor who (being narrow-minded), although deaf to other very serious matters, on this point was softer than an earlobe, as the proverb has it; and being suspicious and petty, he grew furiously angry. At once he admonished Paulus to proceed quickly to the Orient, conferring on him, as a leader renowned for his experience, the power of conducting trials according to his good pleasure.

[6] Datumque est negotium Modesto .(etiam tum per Orientem comiti) apto ad haec et similia. Hermogenes enim Ponticus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ut lenioris ingenii, spernebatur.

[6] A commission was also given to Modestus (at that very time count in the Orient) a man fitted for these and similar affairs. For Hermogenes of Pontus, at that time praetorian prefect, was rejected as being of too mild a temper.

[7] Perrexit (ut praeceptum est) Paulus funesti furoris et anhelitus plenus, dataque calumniae indulgentia plurimis, ducebantur ab orbe prope terrarum, iuxta nobiles et obscuri, quorum aliquos vinculorum afflixerant nexus, alios claustra poenalia consumpserunt.

[7] Off went Paulus (as he was ordered) in panting haste and teeming with deadly fury, and since free rein was given to general calumny, men were brought in from almost the whole world, noble and obscure alike; and some of them were bowed down with the weight of chains, others wasted away from the agony of imprisonment.

[8] Et electa est speetatrix suppliciorum feralium civitas in Palaestina Scythopolis, gemina ratione visa magis omnibus opportuna, quod secretior est et inter Antiochiam Alexandriamque media, unde multi plerumque ad crimina trahebantur.

[8] As the theatre of torture and death Scythopolis was chosen, a city of Palestine which for two reasons seemed more suitable than any other: because

it is more secluded, and because it is midway between Antioch and Alexandria, from which cities the greater number were brought to meet charges.

[9] Ductus est itaque inter primos Simplicius, Philippi filius, ex praefecto et consule, reus hac gratia postulatus, quod super adipiscendo interrogasse dicebatur imperio, perque elogium principis torqueri praeceptus, qui in his casibus nec peccatum aliquando pietati dederat nec erratum, fato quodam arcente, corpore immaculato lata fuga damnatus est.

[9] Among the first, then, to be summoned was Simplicius, son of Philippus, a former prefect and consul, who was indicted for the reason that he had (as was said) inquired about gaining imperial power; and by a note of the emperor, who in such cases never condoned a fault or an error because of loyal service, he was ordered to be tortured; but, protected by some fate, he was banished to a stated place, but with a whole skin.

[10] Dein Parnasius (ex praefecto Aegypti) homo simplicium morum, eo adductus periculi, ut pronuntiaretur capitis reus, itidem pulsus est in exilium, saepe auditus multo antehac rettulisse, quod cum Patras Achaicum oppidum, ubi genitus habuit larem, impetrandae causa cuiusdam relinqueret potestatis, per quietem deducuntia se habitus tragici figmenta viderat multa.

[10] Then Parnasius (ex-prefect of Egypt), a man of simple character, was brought into such peril that he was tried for his life, but he likewise was sent into exile; he had often been heard to say long before this, that when, for the purpose of gaining a certain office, he left Patrae, a town of Achaia where he was born and had his home, he had dreamt that many shadowy figures in tragic garb escorted him.

[11] Andronicus postea, studiis liberalibus et claritudine carminum notus, in iudicium introductus cum secunda mente nullis suspicionibus urgeretur, purgando semet fidentius, absolutus est.

[11] Later Andronicus, known for his liberal studies and the fame of his poems, was haled into court; but since he had a clear conscience, was under no suspicion, and most confidently asserted his innocence, he was acquitted.

[12] Demetrius itidem Cythras cognomento philosophus, grandaevus quidem sed corpore durus et animo, sacrificasse aliquotiens confutatus, infitiri non potuit, asserens propitiandi causa numinis haec a prima adulescentia factitasse, non temptandi sublimiora scrutatis; nec enim quemquam id noverat affectare. Diu itaque adhaerens eculeo, cum fiducia gravi fundatus, nequaquam varians eadem oraret intrepidus, Alexandriam (unde oriebatur) innoxius abire permissus est.

[12] Also Demetrius, surnamed Cythras, a philosopher of advanced years, it is

true, but hardy of body and mind, being charged with offering sacrifice several times, could not deny it; he declared, however, that he had done so from early youth for the purpose of propitiating the deity, not of trying to reach a higher station by his investigations; for he did not know of anyone who had such aspirations. Therefore, after being long kept upon the rack, supported by his firm confidence he fearlessly made the same plea without variation; whereupon he was allowed to go without further harm to his native city of Alexandria.

[13] Et hos quidem aliosque paucos aequa sors, veritatis adiutrix, periculis eximit abruptis. Criminibus vero serpentibus latius, per implicates nexus sine fine distentos, quidam corporibus laniatis exstinguebantur, alii poenis ulterioribus damnati sunt bonis ereptis, Paulo succentore fabularum crudelium, quasi e promptuaria cella, fallaciarum et nocendi species suggerente complures, cuius ex nutu (prope dixerim) pendebat incedentium omnium salus.

[13] These and a few others a just fate in alliance with truth saved from imminent danger. But as these charges made their way further by entangling snares extended endlessly, some died from the mangling of their bodies, others were condemned to further punishment and had their goods seized, while Paulus was the prompter of these scenes of cruelty, supplying as if from a storehouse many kinds of deception and cruelty; and on his nod (I might almost say) depended the life of all who walk the earth.

[14] Nam siqui remedia quartanae vel doloris alterius collo gestaret, sive per monumentum transisse vesperi, malivolorum argueretur indiciis, ut veneficus, sepulchrorumque horrores, et errantium ibidem animarum ludibria colligens vana, pronuntiatus reus capitis interibat.

[14] For if anyone wore on his neck an amulet against the quartan ague or any other complaint, or was accused by the testimony of the evil-disposed of passing by a grave in the evening, on the ground that he was a dealer in poisons, or a gatherer of the horrors of tombs and the vain illusions of the ghosts that walk there, he was condemned to capital punishment and so perished.

[15] Et prorsus ita res agebatur, quasi Clarum, Dodonaeas arbores, et effata Delphorum olim sollemnia, in imperatoris exitium sollicitaverint multi.

[15] In fact, the matter was handled exactly as if many men had importuned Claros, the oaks of Dodona, and the once famous oracles of Delphi with regard to the death of the emperor.

[16] Unde blanditiarum taetra commenta, palatina cohors exquisite confingens, immunem eum fore malorum communium asserebat, fatum eius vicens semper et praesens in abolendis adversa conantibus eluxisse, vocibus magnis

exclamans.

[16] Therefore the palace band of courtiers, ingeniously fabricating shameful devices of flattery, declared that he would be immune to ordinary ills, loudly exclaiming that his destiny had appeared at all times powerful and effective in destroying those who made attempts against him.

[17] Et inquisitum in haec negotia fortius, nemo qui quidem recte sapiat reprehendet. Nec enim abnuimus salutem legitimi principis, propugnatoris bonorum et defensoris, unde salus quaeritur aliis, consociato studio muniri debere cunctorum; cuius retinendae causa validius, ubi maiestas pulsata defenditur, a quaestionibus vel cruentis, nullam Corneliae leges exemere fortunam.

[17] And that into such doings strict investigation was made no man of good sense will find fault. For we do not deny that the safety of a lawful prince, the protector and defender of good men, on whom depends the safety of others, ought to be safeguarded by the united diligence of all men; and in order to uphold him the more strongly when his violated majesty is defended, the Cornelian laws exempted no one of whatever estate from examination by torture, even with the shedding of blood.

[18] Sed exsultare maestis casibus effrenate non decet, ne videantur licentia regi subiecti, non potestate. Imitandus sit Tullius, cum parcere vel laedere potuisset, ut ipse affirmat, ignoscendi quaerens causas, non puniendi occasiones, quod iudicis lenti et considerati est proprium.

[18] But it is not seemly for a prince to rejoice beyond measure in such sorrowful events, lest his subjects should seem to be ruled by despotism rather than by lawful power. And the example of Tully ought to be followed, who, when it was in his power to spare or to harm, as he himself tells us, sought excuses for pardoning rather than opportunities for punishing; and that is the province of a mild and considerate official.

[19] Tunc apud Daphnen, amoenum illud et ambitiosum Antiochiaae suburbanum, visu relatuque horrendum natum est monstrum, infans ore gemino cum dentibus binis et barba, quattuorque oculis, et brevissimis duabus auriculis, qui partus ita distortus praemonebat rem publicam in statum verti deformem.

[19] At that same time in Daphne, that charming and magnificent suburb of Antioch, a portent was born, horrible to see and to report: an infant, namely, with two heads, two sets of teeth, a beard, four eyes and two very small ears; and this misshapen birth foretold that the state was turning into a deformed condition.

[20] Nascuntur huius modi saepe portenta, indicantia rerum variarum eventus,

quae quoniam non expiantur, ut apud veteres publice, inaudita praetereunt et incognita. Lauricius comes Isaurorum lactrocinia compescit. His temporibus Isauri diu quieti post gesta quae superior continet textus, temptatumque Seleucia civitatis obsidium, paulatim reviviscentes, ut solent verno tempore foveis exsilire serpentes, saltibus degressi scrupulosis et inviis, confertique in cuneos densos per furta et latrocinia finitimos afflictabant, praetenturas militum (ut montani) fallentes, perque rupis et dumeta ex usu facile discurrentes.

[20] Portents of this kind often see the light, as indications of the outcome of various affairs; but as they are not expiated by public rites, as they were in the time of our forefathers, they pass by unheard of and unknown.

Count Lauricius checks the raids of the Isaurians.

In these days the Isaurians, who had long been quiet after the acts of which an account is given above and the attempted siege of the city of Seleucia, gradually coming to life again just as snakes are wont to dart forth from their holes in the spring time, sallying forth from their rocky and inaccessible mountain fastnesses, and massed together in dense bands, were harrying their neighbours with thefts and brigandage, eluding the frontier-defences of our soldiers by their skill as mountaineers and from experience easily running over rocks and through thickets.

[2] Ad quos vi vel ratione sedandos Lauricius, adiecta comitis dignitate, missus est rector, homo civilis prudentiae, qui minis potius quam acerbitate pleraque correxit, adeo ut eo diu provinciam obtinente, nihil accideret, quod animadversione dignum aestimaretur.

[2] In order to quiet them by force or by reason, Lauricius was sent as governor with the added rank of count; being a man skilled in statesmanship, he corrected many evils by threats rather than by actual severity, so that for a long time, while he governed the province, nothing occurred which was thought deserving of punishment

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LIBER XX — BOOK XX

[1] Lupicinus, magister armorum, adversus Scotorum et Pictorum incursiones in Britannias cum exercitu mittitur. Haec per Illyricum perque Orientem rerum series fuit. Consulatu vero Constantii deciens, terque Iuliani, in Britannias cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, rupta quiete conducta, loca limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido provincias, praeteritarum cladum congerie fessas, hiemem agens apud Parisios Caesar distractusque in sollicitudines varias, verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ut rettulimus ante fecisse Constantem, ne rectore vacuas relinqueret Gallias, Alamannis ad saevitiam etiam tum incitatis et bella.

Lupicinus, master of arms, is sent with an army to Britain, to resist the inroads of the Scots and Picts. Such was the course of events throughout Illyricum and the Orient. But in Britain in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian raids of the savage tribes of the Scots and the Picts, who had broken the peace that had been agreed upon, were laying waste the regions near the frontiers, so that fear seized the provincials, wearied as they were by a mass of past calamities. And Julian, who was passing the winter in Paris and was distracted amid many cares, was afraid to go to the aid of those across the sea, as Constans once did (as I have told), for fear of leaving Gaul without a ruler at a time when the Alamanni were already roused to rage and war.

[2] Ire igitur ad haec ratione vel vi componenda, Lupicinum placuit, ea tempestate magistrum armorum, bellicosum sane et castrensis rei peritum, sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua, et de tragico (quod aiunt) cothurno strepentem, super quo diu ambigebatur, avarus esset potius an crudelis.

[2] Therefore he decided that Lupicinus, who was at that time commander-in-chief, should be sent to settle the troubles either by argument or by force; he was indeed a warlike man and skilled in military affairs, but one who raised his brows like horns and ranted in the tragic buskin (as the saying is), and about whom men were long in doubt whether he was more covetous or more cruel.

[3] Moto igitur velitari auxilio, Aerulis scilicet et Batavis, numerisque Moesiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux ante dictus Bononiam venit, quaesitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium, ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocus ad procinctum. Ursicinus, magister peditum praesentalis, calumniis appetitus discingitur. Quae cum ita geruntur, post Amidae oppugnationem Ursicinum ad commilitium principis ut peditum magistrum reversum, (successisse enim eum Barbationi praediximus), obtrectatores excipiunt, primo disseminantes mordaces susurros, dein propalam ficta crimina subnectentes.

[3] Therefore, taking the light-armed auxiliaries, to wit the Aeruli, the Batavians, and two companies of Moesians, in the dead of winter the leader aforesaid came to Boulogne, and after procuring ships and embarking all his troops, he waited for a favourable breeze and then sailed to Richborough, which lay opposite, and went on to London, intending there to form his plans according to the situation of affairs and hasten quickly to take the field. Ursicinus, commander of the infantry at the emperor's court, is assailed by calumnies and cashiered. While this was going on, Ursicinus, after the storming of Amida, had returned to the emperor's service as commander of the infantry; for, as I have said, he succeeded Barbatio. There he was met by detractors, who at first spread whispered slanders, then openly added false charges.

[2] Quibus imperator assensus, ex opinione pleraque aestimans, et insidiantibus patens, Arbitionem et Florentium officiorum magistrum quaesitores dederat spectaturos, quas ob res oppidum sit excisum.

[2] These the emperor, since he judged most matters according to his prejudices and was ready to listen to secret attackers, took seriously and appointed Arbitio and Florentius, master of the offices, to investigate as judges the reasons for the destruction of Amida.

[3] Quibus apertas probabilesque refutantibus causas, veritisque ne offenderetur Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, si documenta suscepissent perspicue demonstrantia, Sabiniani pertinaci ignavia haec accidissee, quae contigerunt, a veritate detorti, inania quaedam, longeque a negotio distantia, scrutabantur.

[3] These men rejected the evident and plausible reasons, and fearing that Eusebius, then head chamberlain, would take offence if they admitted evidence which clearly showed that what had happened was the result of the persistent inaction of Sabinianus, they turned from the truth and examined into trivial matters far remote from the business in hand.

[4] Qua iniquitate percitus qui audiebatur, 'Etsi me 'inquit' despicit imperator, negotii tamen ea est magnitudo, ut non nisi iudicio principis nosci possit et vindicari; sciat tamen velut quodam praesagio, quod dum maeret super his quae apud Amidam gesta emendata didicit fide, dumque ad spadonum arbitrium trahitur, defrustrandae Mesopotamiae proximo vere ne ipse quidem cum exercitus robore omni, opitulari poterit praesens.'

[4] The accused, exasperated at this injustice, said: "Although the emperor despises me, the importance of the present business is such, that it cannot be examined into and punished, except by the judgement of the prince; yet let him know, as if from the words of a seer, that so long as he grieves over what he has learned on no good authority to have happened at Amida, and so long

as he is swayed by the will of eunuchs, not even he in person with all the flower of his army will be able next spring to prevent the dismemberment of Mesopotamia.”

[5] Relatis adiectisque cum interpretatione maligna compluribus, iratus ultra modum Constantius, nec discusso negotio, nec patefieri quae scientiam eius latebant, permissis, appetitum calumniis, deposita militia digredi iussit ad otium, Agilone ad eius locum immodico saltu promotus, ex Gentilium et Scutariorum tribuno. Defectus Solis: et de duobus Solibus; ac de causis defectuum Solis et Lunae; deque variis Lunae mutationibus et figuris. Eodem tempore per Eoos tractus caelum subtextum caligine cernebatur obscura, et a primo aurorae exortu ad usque meridiem, intermicabant iugiter stellae; hisque terroribus accedebat, quod cum lux caelestis operiretur, e mundi conspectu penitus lance abrepta, defecisse diutius solem pavidae mentes hominum aestimabant; primo attenuatum in lunae corniculantis effigiem, deinde in speciem auctum semenstrem, posteaque in integrum restitutum.

[5] When this had been reported and much had been added in a malicious light, Constantius was angered beyond measure; and without sifting the matter or allowing the details of which he was ignorant to be explained, he ordered the victim of the calumnies to give up his command in the army and go into retirement. And by an extraordinary advancement Agilo, a former tribune of the household troops and of the targeteers, was promoted to his place. An eclipse of the sun; about two suns; the causes of eclipses of the sun and the moon; about the various changes and phases of the moon. At that same time, throughout the regions of the East the heaven was seen to be overcast with dark mist, through which the stars were visible continually from the first break of day until noon. It was an additional cause of terror when the light of heaven was hidden and its orb removed utterly from the sight of the world, that the timorous minds of men thought that the darkening of the sun lasted too long; but it thinned out at first into the form of the crescent moon, then growing to the shape of the half-moon, and was finally fully restored.

[2] Quod alias non evenit ita perspicue, nisi cum post inaequales cursus iter menstruum lunae ad idem revocatur initium, certis temporum intervallis, id est cum in domicilio eiusdem signi tota reperitur luna sub sole, liniamentis obiecta rectissimis, atque in his paulisper consistit minutis, quae geometrica ratio partium partes appellat.

[2] This phenomenon never takes place so clearly as when the moon, after its shifting courses, brings back its monthly journey to the same starting-point after fixed intervals of time; that is to say, when the entire moon, in the abode of the same sign of the zodiac, is found in a perfectly straight line directly under the sun, and for a brief time stands still in the minute points which the science of geometry calls parts of parts.

[3] Ac licet utriusque sideris conversiones et motus, ut scrutatores causarum intelligibilium adverterant, in unum eundemque finem, lunari cursu impleto, perenni distinctione conveniunt, tamen sol non semper his diebus obducitur, sed cum luna e regione (velut libramento quodam igneo) orbi et aspectui nostro opponitur media.

[3] And although the revolutions and movements of both heavenly bodies, as the searchers for intelligible causes had observed, after the course of the moon is completed, meet at one and the same point always at the same distance from each other, yet the sun is not always eclipsed at such times, but only when the moon (by a kind of fiery plumb-line) is directly opposite the sun and interposed between its orb and our vision.

[4] Ad summam tum sol occultatur, splendore suppresso, cum ipse et lunaris globus astrorum omnium infimus, paril comitatu obtinentes circulos proprios, salvaque ratione altitudinis interiectae, iunctim locati, ut scienter et decore Ptolemaeus exponit, ad dimensiones venerint, quas ἀναβιβάζοντας et καταβιβάζοντας ἐκλειπτικοὺς συνδέσμους (coagmenta videlicet defectiva.) Graeco dictitamus sermone. Et si contigua eisdem iuncturis praestrinxerint spatia, dilutior erit defectus.

[4] In short, the sun is hidden and his brightness suppressed, when he himself and the orb of the moon, the lowest of all the heavenly bodies, accompanying each other and each keeping its proper course, maintaining the relation of height between them and being in conjunction, as Ptolemy wisely and elegantly expresses it have come to the points which in Greek we call ἀναβιβάζοντας and καταβιβάζοντας ἐκλειπτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι (that is, eclipse nodes). And if they merely graze the spaces adjacent to these nodes, the eclipse will be partial.

[5] Si vero articulis ipsis inhaeserint, qui coactius ascensus vinciunt et descensus, offunditur densioribus tenebris caelum, ut crassato aere ne proxima quidem et apposita cernere queamus.

[5] If, on the other hand, they stand in the nodes themselves which closely unite the ascent and the descent, the heaven will be overcast with thicker darkness, so that because of the density of the air we cannot see even objects which are near and close at hand.

[6] Sol autem geminus ita videri existimatur, si erecta solito celsius nubes, aeternorumque ignium propinquitate collucens, orbis alterius claritudinem tamquam e speculo puriore formaverit.

[6] Now it is thought that two suns are seen, if a cloud, raised higher than common and shining brightly from its nearness to the eternal fires, reflects a second brilliant orb, as if from a very clear mirror.

[7] Nunc veniamus ad lunam. Apertum et evidentem ita demum sustinet luna defectum, cum pleno lumine rotundata, solique contraria, ab eius orbe centum octoginta partibus (id est signo septimo) disparatur. Et quamquam hoc per omne plenilunium semper eveniat, non semper deficit tamen.

[7] Let us now turn to the moon. Then only does she suffer a clear and evident eclipse, when, rounded out with her full light and opposite the sun, she is distant from its orb by 180 degrees (i.e. is in the seventh sign). But although this happens at every full moon, yet there is not always an eclipse.

[8] Sed quoniam circa terrenam mobilitatem locata, et a caelo totius pulchritudinis extima, non numquam ferienti se subserit lanci, obiectu metae noctis in conum desinentis angustum, latet parumper umbrata, tumque nigrantibus involvitur globis, si sol ut sphaerae inferioris curvamine circumfusus, mole obsistente terrena, radiis eam suis illustrare non possit, quam numquam habere proprium lumen, opiniones variae collegerunt.

[8] But since the moon is situated near the movement of the earth, and is the most remote from heaven of all that celestial beauty, she sometimes puts herself directly under the disc that strikes upon her, and is overshadowed and hidden for a time by the interposition of the goal of darkness ending in a narrow cone; and then she is wrapped in masses of darkness, when the sun, as if encompassed by the curve of the lower sphere, cannot light her with its rays, since the mass of the earth is between them; for that she has no light of her own has been assumed on various grounds.

[9] Et cum ad idem signum aequis partibus soli concurrent, obscuratur (ut dictum est) penitus hebetato candore, Graece σὺνδοξς dicitur.

[9] And when under the same sign she meets the sun in a straight line, she is obscured (as was said) and her brightness is wholly dimmed; and this in Greek is called the moon's σὺνδοξς.

[10] Nasci autem putatur et tunc lunae cum parva declinatione velut e perpendiculo, superiectum gerit solem. Exortus vero eius adhuc gracilescens, primitus mortalitati videtur, cum ad secundum relicto sole migraverit signum. Progressa itaque porrectius, iamque abunde nitens cornutae habitu μηνοειδής est appellata. Cum autem sole longo coeperit interstitio summo veri, et ad quartum pervenerit signum, radiis eius ad se conversis, maius concipit lumen, et fit Graeco sermone διχόμηνις, quae forma semiorbem ostendit.

[10] Now she is thought to be born, when she has the sun above her with a slight deviation from the plumbline, so to speak. But her rising, which is still very slender, first appears to mortals when she has left the sun and advanced to the second sign. Then having progressed farther and now having abundant light, she appears with horns and is called μηνοειδής. But when she begins to be separated from the sun by a long distance and has arrived at the fourth sign

and the sun's rays are turned towards her, she gains greater brilliance, and is called in the Greek tongue διχόμηνις, a form which shows a half-circle

[11] *Procedens deinde iam disiunctissime, quintoque signo arrepto, figuram monstrat amphicyrti, utrimque prominentibus gibbis. E regione vero cum normaliter steterit contra, lumine pleno fulgebit, domicilium septimi retinens signi, et in eodem tum etiam agens, paululumque progressa, minuitur, quem habitum vocamus ἄρκουσιν, et usque easdem formas repetit senescendo, traditurque doctrina multiplici congruente, non nisi tempore intermenstrui deficere visam usquam lunam.*

[11] Then, proceeding to the greatest distance and attaining the fifth sign, she shows the figure called amphicyrtos, and has humps on both sides. But when she has taken a place directly opposite the sun she will gleam with full light, making her home in the seventh sign; and still keeping her place in that same sign, but advancing a little she grows smaller, the process which we call ἄρκουσις ; and she repeats the same forms as she grows old, and it is maintained by the unanimous learning of many men that the moon is never seen in eclipse except at the time of her mid-course.

[12] *Quod autem solem nunc in aethere, nunc in mundo inferiore, versari praediximus, sciendum est siderea corpora quantum ad universitatem pertinet) nec occidere nec oriri, sed ita videri nostris obtutibus, constitutis in terra, spiritus cuiusdam interni motu suspensa: rerumque magnitudini instar exigui subditum puncti, nunc caelo infixas suspicere stellas, quarum ordo est sempiternus, aliquotiens humana visione languente, discedere suis sedibus arbitrari. Verum ad instituta iam revertamur. Julianus Caesar a militibus Gallicanis, quos Constantius ipsi detrahi et in Orientem adversas Persas transferri iusserat, Lutetiae Parisiorum, ubi hiemabat, per vim Augustus appellatur. Properantem Constantium Orienti ferre suppetias, turbando prope diem excursibus Persicis, ut perfugae concinentes exploratoribus indicabant, urebant Iuliani virtutes, quas per ora gentium diversarum fama celebrior effundebat, magnorum eius laborum factorumque vehens adoreas celsas, post Alamanniae quaedam regna prostrata, receptaque oppida Gallicana, ante direpta a barbaris et excisa, quos tributarios ipse fecit et vectigales.*

[12] But when we said that the sun had its course now in the ether and now in the world below, it must be understood that the heavenly bodies (so far as the universe is concerned) neither set nor rise, but that they seem to do so to an eyesight whose fixed situation is on the earth; this is kept hanging in space by some inner force and in its relation to the universe is like a tiny point; and that now we seem to see the stars, whose order is eternal, fixed in the sky, and often through the imperfection of human vision we think that they leave their places. But let us now return to our subject. At Paris, where he was wintering, Julianus Caesar is forcibly hailed as Augustus by the Gallic legions which Constantius had ordered to be taken from him and transferred to the Orient

against the Persians. When Constantius was hastening to lend aid to the Orient, which was likely soon to be disturbed by the inroads of the Persians, as deserters reported in agreement with our scouts, he was tormented by the valorous deeds of Julian, which increasingly frequent report was spreading abroad through the mouths of divers nations, carrying the great glory of his mighty toils and achievements after the overthrow of several kingdoms of the Alamanni, and the recovery of the Gallic towns, which before had been destroyed and plundered by the savages whom he himself had made tributaries and subjects.

[2] Ob haec et similia percitus, metuensque ne auferentur in maius, stimulante (ut ferebatur) praefecto Florentio, Decentium tribunum et notarium misit, auxiliares milites exinde protinus abstracturum, Aerulos et Batavos, cumque Petulantibus Celtas, et lectos ex numeris aliis trecentenos, hac specie iussos accelerare, ut adesse possint armis primo vere movendis in Parthos.

[2] Excited by these and similar exploits, and fearing that their fame would grow greater, urged on besides, as was reported, by the prefect Florentius, he sent Decentius, the tribune and secretary, at once to take from Julian his auxiliaries, namely, the Aeruli and Batavi and the Celts with the Petulantes, as well as three hundred picked men from each of the other divisions of the army; and he ordered him to hasten their march under the pretext that they might be able to be on hand for an attack on the Parthians early in the spring.

[3] Et super auxiliariis quidem et trecentenis, cogendis ocus proficisci, Lupicinus conventus est solus, transisse ad Britannias nondum compertus, de Scutariis autem et Gentilibus excerpere quemque promptissimum, et ipse perducere Sintula iubetur, Caesaris stabuli tunc tribunus.

[3] for speeding the departure of the auxiliaries and the divisions of three hundred Lupicinus alone was called upon (for that he had crossed over to Britain was not yet known at court); but the order to select the most active of the targeteers and the gentiles and personally lead them to the emperor was given to Sintula, then Julian's chief stable-master.

[4] Conticuit hisque acquieverat Iulianus, potioris arbitrio cuncta concedens. Illud tamen nec dissimulare potuit nec silere: ut illi nullas paterentur molestias, qui relictis laribus transrhenanis, sub hoc venerant pacto, ne ducerentur ad partes umquam transalpinas, verendum esse affirmans, ne voluntarii barbari militares, saepe sub eius modi legibus assueti transire ad nostra, hoc cognito deinceps arcerentur. Sed loquebatur in cassum.

[4] Julian kept silence and submitted to this, leaving everything to the will of his more powerful associate. One thing, however, he could neither overlook nor pass over in silence, namely, that those men should suffer no inconvenience who had left their abodes beyond the Rhine and come to him

under promise that they should never be led to regions beyond the Alps; for he declared that it was to be feared that the barbarian volunteer soldiers, who were often accustomed to come over to our side under conditions of that kind, might on having knowledge of this thereafter be kept from so doing. But his words were to no purpose.

[5] *Tribunus enim parvi querellas Caesaris ducens, Augusti iussis obtemperabat, et lecta expeditiore manu vigore, corporumque levitate praestanti, cum eisdem profectus est, spe potiorum erectis.*

[5] For the tribune, considering Caesar's remonstrances of little moment, carried out the orders of Augustus, chose the strongest and most active of the light-armed troops, and made off with them, while they were filled with hope of better fortunes.

[6] *Et quia sollicitus Caesar, quid de residuis mitti praeceptis agi deberet, perque varias curas animum versans, attente negotium tractari oportere censebat, cum hinc barbara feritas, inde iussorum urgeret auctoritas, maximeque absentia magistri equitum augente dubietatem, redire ad se praefectum hortatus est, olim Viennam specie annonae parandae digressum, ut se militari eximeret turba.*

[6] And because Julian was anxious as to what ought to be done about the remaining troops which he had been ordered to send, and turned over many plans in his mind, he decided that the business ought to be managed with circumspection, pressed as he was on one side by savage barbarians and on the other by the authority of the emperor's orders; and since the absence of his commander of the cavalry in particular increased his uncertainty, he urged the prefect to return to him; the latter had gone some time before to Vienne, ostensibly to get supplies, but actually to escape troubles in the camp.

[7] *Perpendebat enim ad relationem suam, quam olim putabatur misisse, abstrahendos e Galliarum defensione pugnaces numeros barbarisque iam formidatos.*

[7] For he bore in mind that it was in accordance with his own report, which he was thought to have sent some time before, that warlike troops, already formidable to the barbarians, were to be withdrawn from the defence of Gaul.

[8] *Qui cum suscepisset Caesaris litteras, monentis petentisque ut venire acceleraret, rem publicam consiliis iuvaturus, obstinatissime detrectabat, hac ratione pavore mente confusa, quod aperte scripta significabant, ab imperatore nusquam diiungi debere praefectum, in ardore terribilium rerum. Adiectumque est quod si procurare dissimulasset, ipse propria sponte proiceret insignia principatus, gloriosum esse existimans iussa morte oppetere, quam ei provinciarum interitum assignari. Sed vicit praefecti propositum pertinax, his quae rationabiliter poscebantur, parere, contentione maxima*

reluctantis.

[8] So when he received Julian's letter, urging and begging him to hasten to come and aid his country by his counsels, he most emphatically refused; for his mind was disturbed with fear for the reason that Julian's letter plainly indicated that the prefect ought never to be separated from his commander in the stress of dangerous times. And Julian added that if Florentius hesitated to do his duty, he would himself of his own accord lay down the emblems of princely power, thinking it more glorious to meet death by order, than that the ruin of the provinces should be attributed to him. But the obstinate resolution of the prefect prevailed, and with the greatest emphasis he refused to obey these reasonable demands.

[9] *Inter has tamen moras absentis Lupicini, motusque militares timentis praefecti, Iulianus consiliorum adminiculo destitutus, ancipitique sententia fluctuans, id optimum factu existimavit: et sollemniter cunctos e stationibus egressos, in quibus hiemabant, maturare disposuit.*

[9] However, amid this delay of the absent Lupicinus and of the prefect, who feared mutinies of the soldiers, Julian, deprived of the aid of counsellors and wavering in anxious hesitation, thought the following plan the best: he called out all the soldiers in the usual manner from the posts in which they were passing the winter, and arranged to hasten them on their way.

[10] *Hocque comperto, apud Petulantium signa famosum quidam libellum humi proiecit occulte, inter alia multa etiam id continentem: 'Nos quidem ad orbis terrarum extrema ut noxii pellimur et damnati, caritates vero nostrae Alamannis denuo servient, quas captivitate prima post internecivas liberavimus pugnas.'*

[10] Scarcely was this known, when someone in the camp of the Petulantes secretly threw on the ground a libellous letter, which among many other things contained the following: "We verily are driven to the ends of the earth like condemned criminals, and our dear ones, whom we freed from their former captivity after mortal battles, will again be slaves to the Alamanni."

[11] *Quo textu ad comitatum perlato lectoque, Iulianus contemplans rationabiles querellas, cum familiis eos ad orientem proficisci praecepit, clabularis cursus facultate permissa, et cum ambigeretur diutius qua pergerent via, placuit notario suggerente Decentio, per Parisios omnes transire, ubi morabatur adhuc Caesar nusquam motus. Et ita est factum.*

[11] When this note was brought to headquarters and read, Julian, although he found the complaints reasonable, nevertheless ordered them to set out with their families for the Orient, giving them the privilege of using the wagons of the courier-service. And when there was considerable hesitation as to what route they should take, it was decided, at the suggestion of the secretary

Decentius, that they should all go by way of Paris, where Julian still lingered, having as yet made no move. And it was so done.

[12] Eisdemque adventantibus, in suburbanis princeps occurrit, et ex more laudans quos agnoscebat, factorumque fortium singulos monens, animabat lenibus verbis, ut ad Augustum alacri gradu pergerent ire, ubi potestas est ample patens et larga, praemia laborum adepturi dignissima.

[12] And when the soldiers arrived Caesar met them in the suburbs, and, in his usual manner praising those whom he personally knew, and reminding each one of his valiant deeds, with mild words he encouraged them to go with cheerful step to Augustus, where there was great and extensive power, and they would get worthy rewards for their toil.

[13] Utque honoratius procul abituros tractaret, ad convivium proceribus corrogatis, petere (siquid in promptu esset) edixit. Qui liberaliter ita suscepti, dolore duplici suspensi discesserunt et maestri, quod eos fortuna quaedam inclemens et moderato rectore et terris genitalibus dispararet. Hocque angore impliciti, ut in stativis solati cessarunt.

[13] And in order to treat with greater honour those who were going far away, he invited their officers to dinner and bade them make any request that was in their minds. And since they were so liberally entertained, they departed anxious and filled with twofold sorrow: because an unkindly fortune was depriving them both of a mild ruler and of the lands of their birth. But though possessed by this sorrow, they were apparently consoled and remained quiet in their quarters.

[14] Nocte vero coeptante, in apertum erupere discidium, incitatisque animis, ut quemque insperata res afflictabat, ad tela convertuntur et manus, fremituque ingenti omnes petiverunt palatium, et spatiis eius ambitis, ne ad evadendi copiam quisquam perveniret, Augustum Iulianum horrendis clamoribus concrepabant, eum ad se prodire destinatus adigentes, exspectareque coacti, dum lux promicaret, tandem progredi compulerunt. Quo viso iterata magnitudine sonus, Augustum appellavere consensione firmissima.

[14] But no sooner had night come on than they broke out in open revolt, and, with their minds excited to the extent that each was distressed by the unexpected occurrence, they turned to arms and action; with mighty tumult they all made for the palace, and wholly surrounding it, so that no one could possibly get out, with terrifying outcries they hailed Julian as Augustus, urgently demanding that he should show himself to them. They were compelled to wait for the appearance of daylight, but finally forced him to come out; and as soon as they saw him, they redoubled their shouts and with determined unanimity hailed him as Augustus.

[15] Et ille mente fundata, universis resistebat et singulis, nunc indignari semet

ostendens, nunc manus tendens oransque et obsecrans, ne post multas felicissimasque victorias, agatur aliquid indecorum, neve intempestiva temeritas et prolapsio, discordiarum materias excitaret. Haecque adiciebat, tandem sedatos leniter allocutus:

[15] He, however, with unyielding resolution, opposed them one and all, now showing evident displeasure, again begging and entreating them with outstretched hands that after many happy victories nothing unseemly should be done, and that ill timed rashness and folly should not stir up material for discord. And when he had at last quieted them, with mild words he addressed them as follows:

[16] ‘Cesset ira — quaeso — paulisper: absque dissensione, vel rerum appetitu novarum, impetrabitur facile quod postulatis. Quoniam dulcedo vos patriae retinet, et insueta peregrinaque metuitis loca, redite iam nunc ad sedes nihil visuri (quia displicet) transalpinum. Hocque apud Augustum, capacem rationis et prudentissimum, ego competenti satisfactione purgabo.’

[16] “Let your anger, I pray you, cease for a time. Without dissension or attempts at revolution what you demand shall easily be obtained. And since it is the charm of your native land that holds you back and you dread strange places with which you are unacquainted, return at once to your homes; you shall see nothing beyond the Alps, since that is displeasing to you, and this I will justify to Augustus to his entire satisfaction, since he is willing to listen to reason and is most discreet.”

[17] Conclamabatur post haec ex omni parte nihilo minus, uno parique ardore nitentibus universis, maximoque contentionis fragore, probrosis conviciis mixto, Caesar assentire coactus est. Impositusque scuto pedestri, et sublatius eminens, nullo silente, Augustus renuntiatus, iuebatur diadema proferre, negansque umquam habuisse, uxoris colli decus vel capitis poscebatur.

[17] After this the shouts continued none the less on every side, and since all insisted with one and the same ardour and with loud and urgent outcries mingled with abuse and insults, Caesar was compelled to consent. Then, being placed upon an infantryman’s shield and raised on high, he was hailed by all as Augustus and bidden to bring out a diadem. And when he declared that he had never had one, they called for an ornament from his wife’s neck or head.

[18] Eoque affirmante, primis auspiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo, equi phalera quaerebatur, uti coronatus speciem saltem obscuram, superioris praetenderet potestatis. Sed cum id quoque turpe esse asseveraret, Maurus nomine quidam, postea comes, qui rem male gessit apud Succorum angustias, Petulantium tune hastatus, abstractum sibi torquem, quo ut draconarius utebatur, capiti Iuliani imposuit confidenter, qui trusus ad necessitatem extremam, iamque periculum praesens vitare non posse advertens, si reniti

perseverasset, quinos omnibus aureos, argentique singula pondo promisit.

[18] But since he insisted that at the time of his first auspices it was not fitting for him to wear a woman's adornment, they looked about for a horse's trapping, so that being crowned with it he might display at least some obscure token of a loftier station. But when he declared that this also was shameful, a man called Maurus, afterwards a count and defeated at the pass of Succus, but then a standard-bearer of the Petulantes, took off the neck-chain which he wore as carrier of the dragon and boldly placed it on Julian's head. He, driven to the extremity of compulsion, and perceiving that he could not avoid imminent danger if he persisted in his resistance, promised each man five gold pieces and a pound of silver.

[19] *Hisque gestis, haut minore quam antea cura constrictus, futuraque celeri providens corde, nec diadema gestavit, nec procedere ausus est usquam, nec agere seria quae nimis urgebant.*

[19] When this was done, troubled with no less anxiety than before and with quick intuition foreseeing the future, he neither wore a diadem, nor dared to appear anywhere or attend to any of the serious matters that were most pressing.

[20] *Sed cum ad latebras secessisset occultas, accidentium varietate perterritus Iulianus, aliqui palatii decurio, qui ordo est dignitatis, pleniore gradu signa Petulantium ingressus atque Celtarum, facinus indignum turbulente exclamat, pridie Augustum eorum arbitrio declaratum, clam interemptum.*

[20] But when he had withdrawn to seclusion and retirement, alarmed by the change in his fortunes, one of the decurions of the palace, which is a position of dignity, hastened at rapid pace to the camp of the Petulantes and Celts, and wildly cried that a shameful crime had been committed, in that the man whom the day before their choice had proclaimed Augustus had been secretly done to death.

[21] *Hocque comperto, milites quos ignota pari sollicitudine movebant et nota, pars crispantes missilia, alii minitantes nudatis gladiis, diverso vagoque (ut in repentino solet) excursu, occupavere volucriter regiam, strepituque immani excubitores perculsi, et tribuni et domesticorum comes Excubitor nomine, veritique versabilis perfidiam militis, evanescere metu mortis subitae dispalati.*

[21] Upon hearing this the soldiers, who were equally excited by all news, known to be true or not, some brandishing darts, others with naked swords and uttering threats, rushing forth from different sides and in disorder (as is usual in a sudden commotion) quickly filled the palace. The fearful uproar alarmed the guards, the tribunes, and the count in command of the household troops, Excubitor by name, and in fear of treachery from the fickle soldiers they scattered in dread of sudden death and vanished from sight.

[22] Viso tamen otio summo, quieti steterē paulisper armati, et interrogati, quae causa esset inconsulti motus et repentini, diu tacendo haesitantes super salute principis novi, non antea discesserunt, quam adsciti in consistorium, fulgentem eum augusto habitu conspexissent. Iulianus Aug. contionem habet ad milites. His tamen auditis, etiam illi quos antegressos rettulimus, ducente Sintula, cum eo iam securi Parisios revertuntur: edictoque ut futura luce cuncti convenirent in campo, progressus princeps ambiciosius solito, tribunal ascendit, signis aquilisque circumdatus et vexillis, saeptusque tutius armatarum cohortium globis.

[22] The armed men, however, seeing the perfect quiet, stood motionless for a time, and on being asked what was the cause of the ill-advised and sudden commotion, they kept silence for a long time, being in doubt as to the new emperor's safety; and they would not leave until they were admitted to the council chamber and had seen him resplendent in the imperial garb. These preserved order and acted as adjutants to the emperor.

Julianus Augustus makes an address to the soldiers.

Yet, hearing of these events the troops also that had gone before under the lead of Sintula (as I have said), now free from anxiety returned with him to Paris. Then proclamation was made that on the following day all should assemble in the plain, and the ruler appeared in greater state than common and took his place on the tribunal, surrounded by the standards, eagles, and banners, and for greater safety hedged about with bands of armed cohorts.

[2] Cumque interquievisset paulisper, dum alte contemplatur praesentium vultus, alacres omnes visos et laetos, quasi lituis verbis (ut intellegi possit) simplicibus incendebat:

[2] And after a brief silence, during which from his high position he surveyed the faces of those present, on finding them all eager and joyous, using simple words in order to be understood, he stirred them as by the blare of clarions, speaking as follows:

[3] 'Res ardua poscit et flagitat, propugnatores mei reique publicae fortes et fidi, qui mecum pro statu provinciarum vitam saepius obiecistis, quoniam Caesarem vestrum firmo iudicio ad potestatum omnium columnen sustulistis, perstringere pauca summam, ut remedia permutatae rei iusta colligantur et cauta.

[3] "The difficulties of the situation, ye brave and faithful defenders of my person and of the state, who with me have often risked your lives for the welfare of the provinces, require and entreat, since by your firm resolve you have advanced your Caesar to the pinnacle of all human power, that I should touch briefly on a few matters, in order to devise just and wise remedies for those changed conditions.

[4] Vixdum adulescens specie tenus purpuratus (ut nostis), vestrae tutelae nutu caelesti commissus, numquam a proposito recte vivendi deiectus sum, vobiscum in omni labore perspicuus, cum dispersa gentium confidentia, post civitatum excidia, peremptaque innumera hominum milia, pauca quae semiintegra sunt relictis cladis immensitas persultaret. Et retexere superfluum puto, quotiens hieme cruda rigentique caelo, quo tempore terrae ac maria opere Martio vacant, indomitos antea, cum iactura virium suarum reppulimus Alamannos.

[4] Hardly had I come to my growth, when (as you know) I assumed the purple, so far as appearance goes, and was committed by Heaven's will to your protection. Since then I have never been thwarted in my purpose of right living, and I have been closely observed with you in all your toils, when through the widespread arrogance of foreign nations, after the destruction of cities and the loss of countless thousands of our men, incalculable disaster was overrunning the few regions that were left half ruined. It is needless, methinks, to rehearse how often in raw winter and under a cold sky, when lands and seas are exempt from the labours of Mars, we repelled the hitherto invincible Alamanni and broke their strength.

[5] Id sane nec praetermitti est aequum nec taceri, quod cum prope Argentoratum illuxisset ille beatissimus dies, vehens quodam modo Galliis perpetuam libertatem, inter confertissima tela me discurrente, vos vigore ususque diuturnitate fundati, velut incitatos torrentes, hostes abruptius inundantes, superastis ferro prostratos, vel fluminis profundo submersos, paucis relictis nostrorum, quorum exequias honestavimus, celebri potius laude quam luctu.

[5] But this surely it is right neither to pass by nor consign to silence, that when that happiest of days dawned near Argentoratus, which in a sense brought lasting freedom to the Gauls, while I hastened about amid showers of weapons, you, upheld by your might and by long experience, overcame the enemy, rushing on like mountain torrents, either striking them down with the steel or plunging them in the river's depths; and that too with but few of our number left upon the field, whose funerals we honoured with plentiful praise rather than with grief.

[6] Post quae opinor tanta et talia, nec posteritatem taciturnam de vestris in rem publicam meritis, quae gentibus cunctis plene iam cognita sunt, si eum quem altiore fastigio maiestatis ornastis, virtute gravitateque, siquid adversum ingruerit, defendatis.

[6] After such great and glorious exploits, posterity, I believe, will not be silent about your services to your country, which are now well known to all nations, if you defend with courage and resolution the man whom you have honoured with a higher title of majesty, in case any adverse fortune should assail him.

[7] Ut autem rerum integer ordo servetur, praemiaque virorum fortium maneant incorrupta, nec honores ambitio praeripiat clandestina, id sub reverenda consilii vestri facie statuo, ut neque civilis quisquam iudex, nec militiae rector, alio quodam praeter merita suffragante, ad potioem veniat gradum, non sine detrimento pudoris, eo qui pro quolibet petere temptaverit discessuro.'

[7] And to the end that a sound course of conduct may be maintained, that the rewards of brave men may remain free from corruption, and that secret intrigue may not usurp honours, this I declare in the presence of your honorable assembly: that no civil official, no military officer, shall reach a higher rank through anyone supporting him beyond his merits, and that none who tries to intrigue for another shall escape without dishonour."

[8] Hac fiducia spei maioris animatus inferior miles, dignitatum iam diu expers et praemiorum, hastis feriendo clipeos sonitu assurgens ingenti, uno prope modum ore dictis favebat et coeptis.

[8] Through confidence in this promise the soldiers of lower rank, who had long had no share in honours and rewards, were inspired with greater hope; rising to their feet and clashing their spears against their shields with mighty din, almost with one voice they acclaimed the emperor's words and plans.

[9] Statimque ne turbandae dispositioni consultae, tempus saltem breve concederetur, pro actuariis obsecraverunt Petulantes et Celtae, recturi quas placuisset provincias, mitterentur; quo non impetrato, abiecti nec offensi nec tristes.

[9] And at once, lest even an instant should be allowed to interfere with so resolved a purpose, the Petulantes and Celts begged in behalf of certain commissaries that they might be sent as governors to whatever provinces they might choose; and when the request was denied, they withdrew neither offended nor ill-humoured.

[10] Nocte tamen, quae declarationis Augustae praecesserat diem, iunctioribus proximis rettulerat imperator, per quietem aliquem visum, ut formari Genius publicus solet, haec obiurgando dixisse: 'Olim Iuliane vestibulum aedium tuarum observo latenter, augere tuam gestiens dignitatem, et aliquotiens tamquam repudiatus abscissi : si ne nunc quidem recipior, sententia concordante multorum, ibo demissus et maestus. Id tamen retineto imo corde quod tecum non diutius habitabo.' Singara a Sapore oppugnata, et capta: oppidani cum equitibus auxiliariis et duobus legionibus praesidiariis in Persidem abducti; oppidum excisum. Haec dum per Gallias agerentur intente, truculentus rex ille Persarum, incentivo Antonini adventu Craugasii duplicato, ardore obtinendae Mesopotamiae flagrans, dum ageret cum exercitu procul Constantius, armis multiplicatis et viribus, transmisso sollemniter Tigride,

oppugnandam adoritur Singaram, milite usuique congruis omnibus, ut existimavere qui regionibus praeerant, abunde munitam.

[10] But in the night before he was proclaimed Augustus, as the emperor told his nearer and more intimate friends, a vision appeared to him in his sleep, taking the form in which the guardian spirit of the state is usually portrayed, and in a tone of reproach spoke as follows: "Long since, Julian, have I been secretly watching the vestibule of your house, desiring to increase your rank, and I have often gone away as though rebuffed. If I am not to be received even now, when the judgements of many men are in agreement, I shall depart downcast and forlorn. But keep this thought in the depths of your heart, that I shall no longer abide with you." Singara is besieged by Sapor, and captured. The citizens with the auxiliary cavalry and two legions on garrison duty are carried off to Persia. The city is destroyed. While these things were being vigorously carried out in Gaul, that savage king of the Persians, since the urgency of Antoninus was doubled by the coming of Craugasius, burned with the desire of gaining possession of Mesopotamia while Constantius was busy at a distance with his army. So, having increased his arms and his power and crossed the Tigris in due form, he proceeded to attack Singara, a town which, in the opinion of those who had charge of that region, was abundantly fortified with soldiers and with all necessities.

[2] Cuius propugnatores viso hoste longissime, clausis ocius portis, ingentibus animis per turres discurrerant et minas, saxa tormentaue bellica congerentes, cunctisque praestructis, stabant omnes armati, multitudinem parati propellere, si moenia subire temptasset.

[2] The defenders of the city, as soon as they saw the enemy a long way off, quickly closed the gates and full of courage ran to the various towers and battlements, and got together stones and engines of war; then, when everything was prepared, they all stood fast under arms, ready to repulse the horde, in case it should try to come near the walls.

[3] Adventans itaque rex cum per optimates suos propius admissos, pacatiore colloquio flectere defensores ad suum non potuisset arbitrium, quieti diem integrum dedit, et matutinae lucis exordio, signo per flammeum erecto vexillum, circumvaditur civitas a quibusdam vehentibus scalas, aliis componentibus machinas, plerisque obiectu vinearum pluteorumque tectis, iter ad fundamenta parietum quaerentibus subvertenda.

[3] Accordingly, the king on his arrival, through his grandees, who were allowed access, tried by peaceful mediation to bend the defenders to his will. Failing in this, he devoted the entire day to quiet, but at the coming of next morning's light he gave the signal by raising the flame-coloured banner, and the city was assailed on every side; some brought ladders, others set up engines of war; the greater part, protected by the interposition of penthouses

and mantlets, tried to approach the walls and undermine their foundations.

[4] *Contra haec oppidani superstantes propugnaculis celsis, lapidibus eminus telorumque genere omni ad interiora ferocius se propipientes arcebant.*

[4] Against this onset the townsmen, standing upon their lofty battlements, from a distance with stones and all kinds of missile weapons tried to repel those who boldly strove to force an entrance.

[5] *Et pugnabatur eventu ancipiti diebus aliquot, hinc inde multis amissis et vulneratis: postremo fervente certaminum mole, et propinquantem iam vesperam, inter machinas plures admotus aries robustissimus, orbiculatam turrim feriebat ictibus densis, unde reseratam urbem obsidio superiore docuimus.*

[5] The battle raged for several days with uncertain outcome, and on both sides many were killed and wounded. Finally, in the heat of the mighty conflict, just as evening was coming on, among many engines a ram of uncommon strength was brought up, which with rapidly repeated blows battered the round tower where (as we have related) the city was breached in the former siege.

[6] *Ad quam conversa plebe dimicabatur artissime, facesque cum taedis ardentibus et malleolis, ad exurendum imminens malum undique convolabant, nec sagittarum crebritate nec glandis hinc inde cessante. Vicit tamen omne prohibendi commentum acumen arietis, coagmenta fodiens lapidum recens structorum, madoreque etiam tum infirmum.*

[6] To this spot the people flocked and the battle went on in dense array; from all sides flew firebrands with blazing torches and fiery darts to set fire to the great menace, while the showers of arrows and slingshots from both sides never ceased. But the sharp head of the ram overcame every attempt at defence, penetrating the joints of the new-laid stones, which were still moist and therefore weak.

[7] *Dumque adhuc ferro certatur et ignibus, turri collapsa, cum patuisset iter in urbem, nudato propugnatoribus loco, quos periculi disiecerat magnitudo, Persarum agmina undique ululabili clamore sublato, nullo cohibente cuncta oppidi membra complebant, caesisque promiscue paucissimis, residui omnes mandatu Saporis vivi comprehensi, ad regiones Persidis ultimas sunt asportati.*

[7] And while the combat still went on with fire and sword, the tower collapsed and a way was made into the city; the defenders, scattered by the great danger, abandoned the place; the Persian hordes, raising shouts and yells, rushed from all sides and without opposition filled every part of the city; and after a very few of the defenders had been slain here and there, all the rest were taken alive by Sapor's order and transported to the remotest parts of Persia.

[8] *Tuebantur autem hanc civitatem legiones duae (prima Flavia primaque Parthica), et indigenae plures cum auxilio equitum, illic ob repentinum malum*

clausorum, qui omnes (ut dixi) vinctis manibus ducebantur, nullo iuvante nostrorum.

[8] This city was defended by two legions, the First Flavian and the First Parthian, as well as by a considerable number of natives, with the help of some horsemen who had hastily taken refuge there because of the sudden danger. All these (as I have said) were led off with hands bound, and none of our men could aid them.

[9] Nisibin enim sub pellibus agens pars maior exercitus custodibat, intervallo perquam longo discretam, alioqui numquam labenti Singarae vel temporibus priscis, quisquam ferre auxilium potuit, aquarum penuria cunctis circum arentibus locis. Et licet ad praesciscendos adversos subitosque motus, id munimentum opportune locavit antiquitas, dispendio tamen fuit rei Romanae, cum defensorum iactura aliquotiens interceptum. Bezabden oppidum, a tribus legionibus defensum, Sapor expugnat; ac reparatum praesidio commeatuque instruit: idem Virtam munimentum frustra adoritur. Exciso itaque oppido, rex Nisibin prudenti consilio vitans, memor nimirum quae saepius ibi pertulerat, dextrum latus itineribus petit obliquis, Bezabden, quam Phaenicham quoque institutores veteres appellarunt, vi vel promissorum dulcedine illectis defensoribus retenturus, munimentum impendio validum in colle mediocriter edito positum, vergensque in margines Tigridis, atque ubi loca suspecta sunt et humilia, duplici muro vallatum. Ad cuius tutelam tres legiones sunt deputatae, secunda Flavia secundaque Armeniaca, et Parthica itidem secunda cum sagittariis pluribus Zabdicenis, in quorum solo tunc nobis obtemperantium hoc est municipium positum.

[9] For the greater part of the army was in camp guarding Nisibis, which was a very long distance off; besides, even in former days no one had ever been able to aid Singara when in trouble, since all the surrounding country was dried up from lack of water. And although in early times a stronghold had been established there as a convenient place for learning in advance of sudden outbreaks of the enemy, yet this was a detriment to the Roman cause, since the place was several times taken with the loss of its defenders. The town of Bezabde, defended by three legions, is stormed by Sapor; who repaired it and supplied it with a garrison and provisions; he also makes a vain attack on the fortress of Virta. After the destruction of the city the king prudently turned aside from Nisibis, doubtless remembering what he had often suffered there, and marched to the right by side roads to Bezabde, which its early founders also called Phaenicha, hoping to gain entrance into the place by force or by winning the defenders with flattering promises. Bezabde was a very strong fortress, placed upon a hill of moderate height which sloped towards the banks of the Tigris, and where it was low and therefore exposed to danger it was fortified with a double wall. For the defence of the place three legions were assigned, the Second Flavian, the Second Armenian, and also the Second

Parthian with a great number of bowmen of the Zabdiceni, on whose soil, at that time subject to us, this town was situated.

[2] Primo igitur impetu, cum agmine cataphractorum fulgentium, rex ipse sublimior ceteris castrorum ambitum circumcursans, prope labra ipsa fossarum venit audentius, petitusque ballistarum ictibus crebris et sagittarum, densitate opertus armorum in modum testudinis contextorum, abscessit innoxius.

[2] On his first attack the king himself, with a troop of horsemen gleaming in full armour and himself towering above the rest, rode about the circuit of the camp, and with over-boldness advanced to the very edge of the trenches. But becoming the target of repeated missiles from the ballistae and of arrows, he was protected by a close array of shields placed side by side as in a tortoise-mantlet, and got away unhurt.

[3] Ira tamen tum sequestrata, caduceatoribus missis ex more, clausos blandius hortabatur, ut vitae speique consulturi, obsidium deditione solverent opportuna, reseratisque portis egressi, supplices victori gentium semet offerrent.

[3] However, he suppressed his anger for the time being, and sending heralds in the usual manner, courteously urged the besieged, taking regard for their lives and their hope for the future, to put an end to the blockade by a timely surrender, unbar their gates and come forth, presenting themselves as suppliants to the conqueror of the nations.

[4] Quibus adire propius ausis, defensores moenium ideo pepercerunt, quod cohaerenter sibi iunctos duxerant eisdem notos ingenuos Singarae captos: eorum enim miseratione, telum nemo contorsit, nec super pace respondit.

[4] When these heralds dared to come close, the defenders of the walls spared them for the reason that they had brought in close company with them some freeborn men who had been taken prisoner at Singara and were recognised by the garrison. In pity for these men no one hurled a weapon; but to the offer of peace no answer was made.

[5] Deinde datis indutiis diei totius et noctis, ante alterius lucis initium Persarum populus omnis adortus avide vallum, acriter minans ac fremens, ubi ad ipsa moenia confidenter accessit, dimicabat vi magna resistentibus oppidanis.

[5] Then a truce was granted for a whole day and night, but before the beginning of the next day the entire force of the Persians fiercely attacked the rampart, uttering cruel threats and roaring outcries; and when they had boldly advanced close up to the walls, they began to fight with the townsmen, who resisted with great vigour.

[6] Eaque re sauciabantur plerique Parthorum, quod pars scalas vehentes, alii opposcentes vimineas crates, velut caeci pergebant introrsus, nec nostris innocui. Sagittarum enim nimbi crebrius volitantes, stantes confertius perforabant, partibusque post solis occasum aequa iactura digressis, appetente postridie luce, ardentius multo quam antea pugnabatur, hinc inde concinentibus tubis, nec minores strages utrobique visae sunt, ambobus obstinatissime colluctatis.

[6] And for this reason a large number of the Parthians were wounded, because, some carrying scaling ladders, others holding hurdles of osiers before them, they all rushed within range as though blinded; and our men were not unscathed. For clouds of arrows flew thick and fast, and transfixed the defenders as they stood crowded together. After sunset the two parties separated with equal losses, but just before dawn of the following day, while the trumpets sounded on one side and the other, the struggle was renewed with much greater ardour than before, and on either side equally great heaps of dead were to be seen, since both parties fought most obstinately.

[7] Verum secuto die otio communi assensu post aerumnas multiplices attribute, cum magnus terror circumsisteret muros, Persaeque paria formidarent, Christianae legis antistes exire se velle gestibus ostendebat et nutu, acceptaque fide quod redire permetteretur incolumis, usque ad tentoria regis accessit.

[7] But on the following day, which after manifold losses had by common consent been devoted to rest, since great terror encircled the walls and the Persians had no less grounds for fear, the chief priest of the sect of Christians indicated by signs and nods that he wished to go forth; and when a pledge had been given that he would be allowed to return in safety, he came as far as the king's tent.

[8] Ubi data copia dicendi quae vellet, suadebat placido sermone discedere Persas ad sua, post communes partis utriusque luctus, formidari etiam maiores affirmans forsitan adventuros. Sed perstabat in cassum, haec multaque similia disserendo, efferata vesania regis obstante, non ante castrorum excidium digredi pertinaciter adiurantis.

[8] There being given permission to say what he wished, with mild words he advised the Persians to return to their homes, declaring that after the lamentable losses on both sides it was to be feared that perhaps even greater ones might follow. But it was in vain that he persisted in making these and many similar pleas, opposed as they were by the frenzied rage of the king, who roundly swore that he would not leave the place until the fortress had been destroyed.

[9] Perstrinxit tamen suspicio vana quaedam episcopum (ut opinor), licet

asseveratione vulgata multorum, quod clandestine colloquio Saporem docuerat, quae moenium appeteret membra, ut fragilia intrinsecus et invalida. Hocque exinde veri simile visum est, quod postea intuta loca carieque nutantia, cum exultatione maligna, velut regentibus penetralium callidis, contemplantur machinae feriebant hostiles.

[9] But the bishop incurred the shadow of a suspicion, unfounded in my opinion, though circulated confidently by many, of having told Sapor in a secret conference what parts of the wall to attack, as being slight within and weak. And in the end there seemed to be ground for this, since after his visit the enemy's engines deliberately battered those places which were tottering and insecure from decay, and that too with spiteful exultation, as if those who directed them were acquainted with conditions within.

[10] Et quamquam angustae calles difficiliorem aditum dabant ad muros, aptatique arietes aegre promovebantur, manualium saxorum, sagittarumque metu arcente, nec ballistae tamen cessare nec scorpiones, illae tela torquentes, hi lapides crebros, qualique simul ardentes pice et bitumine illiti, quorum assiduitate per proclive labentium, machinae haerebant velut altis radicibus fixae, easque malleoli et faces iactae destinatius exurebant.

[10] And though the narrow footpaths yielded difficult access to the walls, and the rams that had been prepared were moved forward with difficulty, since the fear of stones thrown by hand and of arrows kept them off, yet neither the ballistae nor the scorpions ceased, the former to hurl darts, the latter showers of stones and with them blazing wicker baskets, smeared with pitch and bitumen. Because of the constant fall of these as they rolled down the slope, the engines were halted as though held fast by deep roots, and the constant shower of fiery darts and brands set them on fire.

[11] Sed cum haec ita essent, caderentque altrinsecus multi, ardebant magis oppugnatores, naturali situ et ingenti opere munitum oppidum ante brumale sidus excindere, rabiem regis non ante sedari posse credentes. Quocirca nec multa cruoris effusio, nec confixi mortiferis vulneribus plurimi, ceteros ab audacia parili revocabant.

[11] But in spite of all this, and though many fell on both sides, the besiegers were fired with the greater desire to destroy the town, defended though it was by its natural situation and by mighty works, before the winter season, believing that the king's rage could not be quieted until that was done. Therefore neither the great outpouring of blood nor the many mortal wounds that were suffered deterred the survivors from like boldness.

[12] Sed diu cum exitio decernentes, postremo periculis obiectavere semet abruptis, et agitantes arietes denso saxorum molarium pondere, fomentisque ignium variis ire protinus vetabantur.

[12] But after a long and destructive struggle, they finally exposed themselves to extreme peril, and as the enemy pushed on the rams, huge stones coming thick from the walls, and varied devices for kindling fire, debarred them from going forward.

[13] Verum unus aries residuis celsior, umectis taurinis opertus exuviis, ideoque minus casus flammeos pertimescens aut tela, antegressus omnes erepsit nisibus magnis ad murum, vastoque acumine coagmenta lapidum fodiens, turrim laxatam evertit. Qua sonitu lapsa ingenti, superstantes quoque repentina ruina deiecti, diffractique vel obruti, mortibus interiire diversis et insperatis, inventoque tutiore ascensu, armata irrui multitudo.

[13] However, one ram, higher than the rest, which was covered with wet bull's hide and therefore less exposed to danger from fire or darts, having gone ahead of all the others, made its way with mighty efforts to the wall. There, digging into the joints of the stones with its huge beak, it weakened a tower and overthrew it. As this fell with a mighty roar, those also who stood upon it were thrown down by its sudden collapse and either dashed to pieces or buried. Thus they perished by varied and unlooked-for forms of death, while the armed hordes of the enemy, finding the ascent safer, rushed into the town.

[14] Trepididis deinde superatorum auribus ululantium undique Persarum intonante fragore, artius proelium intra muros exarsit, hostium nostrorumque catervis certantibus comminus, cum confertis inter se corporibus hinc indeque stricto mucrone, nulli occurrentium parceretur.

[14] Then, while the din of the yelling Persians thundered on all sides in the terrified ears of the overmatched townsmen, a hotter fight raged within the walls, as bands of our soldiers and of the enemy struggled hand to hand; and since they were crowded body to body and both sides fought with drawn swords, they spared none who came in their way.

[15] Magna denique mole, ancipiti diu exitio renitentes obsessi, postremo plebis immensae ponderibus effuse disiecti sunt. Et post haec iratorum hostium gladii quicquid inveniri poterat concidebant, abreptique sinibus matrum parvuli ipsaeque matres trucidabantur, nullo quid ageret respectante. Inter quae tam funesta gens rapiendi cupidior, onusta spoliolum genere omni, captivorumque examen maximum ducens, tentoria repetivit exsultans.

[15] Finally the besieged, after long resisting imminent destruction, were at last with great difficulty scattered in all directions by the weight of the huge throng. After that the swords of the infuriated enemy cut down all that they could find, children were torn from their mothers' breasts and the mothers themselves were butchered, and no man recked what he did. Amid such scenes of horror that nation, greedier still for plunder, laden with spoils of every sort, and leading off a great throng of captives, returned in triumph to

their tents.

[16] Rex tamen gaudio insolenti elatus, diuque desiderio capiendae Phaenichae flagrans, munimenti perquam tempestivi, non ante discessit quam labefactata murorum parte reparata firmissime, alimentisque affatim conditis, armatos ibi locaret, insignis origine, bellicue artibus claros. Verebatur enim quod accidit, ne amissionem castrorum ingentium ferentes aegre Romani, ad eadem obsidenda viribus magnis accingerentur.

[16] The king, however, filled with arrogant joy, and having long burned with a desire of taking Phaenicha, since it was a very convenient stronghold, did not leave the place until he had firmly repaired the shattered parts of the walls, stored up an immense quantity of supplies, and stationed there an armed force of men distinguished for their high birth and renowned for their military skill. For he feared what actually happened, namely, that the Romans, taking to heart the loss of such a powerful stronghold, would strive with all their might to recover it.

[17] Latius se proinde iactans, additaque spe quicquid aggredi posset adipiscendi, interceptis castellis aliis vilioribus, Virtam adoriri disposuit, munimentum valde vetustum, ut aedificatum a Macedone credatur Alexandro, in extreme quidem Mesopotamiae situm, sed muris velut sinuosis circumdatum et cornutis, instructioneque varia inaccessum.

[17] Then, filled with greater confidence and inspired with the hope of accomplishing whatever he might undertake, after capturing some insignificant strongholds, he prepared to attack Virta, a fortress of great antiquity, since it was believed to have been built by Alexander of Macedon; it was situated indeed on the outer frontier of Mesopotamia, but was girt by walls with salient and re-entrant angles and made difficult of access by manifold devices.

[18] Quod cum omni arte temptaret, nunc promissis defensores alliciens, nunc poenas cruciabiles minitans, aliquotiens struere aggeres parans, obsidionalesque admovens machinas, multis acceptis vulneribus quam illatis, omisso vano incepto, tandem abscessit. Iulianus Aug. per litteras Constantium A. de re Lutetiae gesta certiore facit. Haec eo anno inter Tigrim gesta sunt et Euphraten. Quae cum frequentibus nuntiis didicisset Constantius, expeditiones metuens Parthicas, hiemem apud Constantinopolim agens, impensiore cura limitem instruebat eum omni apparatu bellorum, armaque et tirocinia cogens, legionesque augens iuventutis validae supplementis, quarum statariae pugnae per orientales saepius eminere procinctus, auxilia super his Scytharum poscebat, mercede vel gratia, ut adulto vere profectus e Thracii, loca suspecta protinus occuparet.

[18] But after resorting to every artifice, now tempting the defenders with

promises, now threatening them with the cruelest punishments, sometimes preparing to build embankments and bringing up siege-engines, after suffering more losses than he inflicted, he at last gave up the vain attempt and departed. Julianus Augustus informs Constantius Augustus by letter of what happened at Paris. These were the events of that year between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Constantius, learning of them through frequent reports and passing the winter in Constantinople for fear of a Parthian invasion, with particular care furnished the eastern frontier with all kinds of warlike equipment; he also got together arms and recruits, and by the addition of vigorous young men gave strength to the legions, whose steadiness in action had often been conspicuously successful in oriental campaigns. Besides this, he asked the Scythians for auxiliaries, either for pay or as a favour, intending in the late spring to set out from Thrace and at once occupy the points of danger.

[2] Inter quae Iulianus apud Parisios hibernis locatis, summa coeptorum quorsum evaderet pertimescens haeserat anxius, numquam assensurum Constantium factis multa volvendo considerans, apud quem sordebat ut infimus et contemptus.

[2] Meanwhile Julian, who had taken up his winter quarters at Paris, was in anxious suspense, dreading the outcome of the step which he had taken. For after long and careful consideration he was convinced that Constantius would never consent to what had been done, since in the emperor's eyes he was scorned as base and contemptible.

[3] Circumspectis itaque trepidis rerum novarum exordiis, legatos ad eum mittere statuit, gesta docturos, eisque concinentes litteras dedit, quid actum sit quidve fieri oporteat deinceps, monens apertius et demonstrans.

[3] Therefore pondering well the dangers of beginning a revolution, he decided to send envoys to Constantius to inform him of what had happened; and he gave them a letter to the same purport, in which he more openly set forth and made clear what had been done, and what ought to be done later.

[4] Quamquam eum haec dudum comperisse opinabatur, relatu Decentii olim reversi, et cubiculariorum recens de Galliis praegressorum, qui ad Caesarem aliqua portare sollemnia. Et quamquam nova referret, non repugnanter tamen nec arrogantibus verbis quicquam scripsit, ne videretur subito redundasse tumore. Erat autem litterarum sensus huius modi:

[4] But yet he thought that Constantius had long since had news of the event through the reports of Decentius, who had come back some time before, and of the chamberlains, who had lately passed through on their way from Gaul after bringing the Caesar a part of his regular income. And although he reported the changed conditions, he did not write anything in a hostile tone

nor in arrogant language, lest he should seem suddenly to have become full of haughtiness. The purport of the letter was as follows:

[5] ‘Ego quidem propositi mei fidem non minus moribus quam foederum pacto (quoad fuit) unum semper atque idem sentiens conservavi, ut effectu multiplici claruit evidenter.

[5] “I for my part have remained true to my principles, not less in my conduct than in the observance of agreements, so long as they remained in force, always keeping one and the same mind, as is clearly evident from many of my actions.

[6] Iamque inde uti me creatum Caesarem pugnatum horrendis fragoribus obiecasti, potestate delata contentus, currentium ex voto prosperitatum, nuntiiis crebris (ut apparitor fidus), tuas aures implevi, nihil usquam periculis meis assignans, cum documentis assiduis constet, diffusis permixtisque passim Germanis, in laboribus me semper visum omnium primum, in laborum refectione postremum.

[6] From the time when you first made me Caesar and exposed me to the dread tumults of war, content with the power committed to me, I filled your ears (like a trusty servant) with constant reports of successful achievements proceeding to my heart’s desire, never attributing anything at all to my own perils; and yet it is clear from constant proofs that in the contests with the widely scattered and often interallied Germans I was in toil, always seen first of all, and in rest from toil, last.

[7] Sed bona tua venia dixerim, siquid novatum est nunc (ut existimas): in multis bellis et asperis, aetatem sine fructu conterens miles, olim deliberatum implevit, fremens, secundique impatiens loci rectorem, cum nullas sibi vices a Caesare diuturni sudoris et victoriarum frequentium rependi posse contemplaretur.

[7] “But if now, with your kind indulgence be it said, there has been any change (as you think), it is the soldiers, exhausting themselves without profit in many cruel wars, who have in rebellious fashion carried out a resolve of long standing, being impatient of a leader of the second rank, since they thought that no recompense for their unremitting toil and repeated victories could be made by a Caesar.

[8] Cuius iracundiae nec dignitatum augmenta, nec annum merentis stipendium, id quoque inopinum accessit, quod ad partis orbis eoi postremas venire iussi homines assueti glacialibus terris, separandique liberis et coniugibus, egentes trahebantur et nudi. Unde solito saevius efferati nocte in unum collecti, palatium obsidere, Augustum Iulianum vocibus magnis appellantes et crebris.

[8] To their anger at neither winning increase in rank nor receiving the annual pay was added the unlooked-for order, that men accustomed to cold regions should go to the remotest parts of the eastern world and be dragged away destitute and stripped of everything, separated from their wives and children. Angered by this beyond their wonted manner, they gathered together at night and beset the palace, shouting loudly again and again 'Julianus Augustus.'

[9] Cohorui (fateor) et secessi, amendatusque dum potui, salutem occultatione quaeritabam et latebris. Cumque nullae darentur indutiae, libero pectoris muro (ut ita dixerim) saeptus, progressus ante conspectum omnium steti, molliri posse tumultum auctoritate ratus vel sermonibus blandis.

[9] I was horrified (I confess it) and withdrew; and holding aloof as long as I could, I tried to save myself by remaining in hiding and concealment. But when no respite was given, protected by the rampart of a free conscience (so to say), I went forth and stood before them all, supposing that the outbreak could be quieted by my authority or by persuasive words.

[10] Sed exarsere mirum in modum, eo usque provecti, ut quoniam precibus vincere pertinaciam conabar, instanter mortem contiguis assultibus intentarent. Victus denique mecumque ipse contemplans, quod alter confosso me forsitan libens declarabitur princeps, assensus sum, vim lenire posse ratus armatam.

[10] But their excitement was most unusual, and they went so far that when I tried to overcome their obstinacy by entreaties, they rushed upon me and threatened me with instant death. Overcome at last, and thinking to myself that if I were slain another would perhaps willingly be proclaimed emperor, I yielded, expecting that I could thus quiet their armed violence.

[11] Gestorum hic textus est, quem mente quaeso accipito placida. Nec actum quicquam secus existimes, vel susurrantes perniciose malignos admittas, ad compendia sua excitare secessiones principum assuetos; sed adulatione vitiorum altrice depulsa, excellentissimam virtutum omnium adverte iustitiam, et condicionum aequitatem, quam propono, bona fide suscipito, cum animo disputans, haec statui Romano prodesse, nobiscum, qui caritate sanguinis et fortunae superioris culmine sociamur.

[11] "This is a full account of what took place, and I pray that you will receive it in a spirit of peace. Do not suspect that anything different was done, or listen to malicious and pernicious whisperers, whose habit it is to excite dissension between princes for their own profit; but rejecting flattery, the nurse of vices, turn to justice, the most excellent of all virtues, and accept in good faith the fair conditions which I propose, convincing yourself that this is to the advantage of the rule of Rome as well as to ourselves, who are united by the tie of blood and by our lofty position.

[12] Ignosce enim: quae cum ratione poscuntur, non tam fieri cupio, quam a te utilia probari et recta, auide tua praecepta deinde quoque suscepturus.

[12] And pardon me: I am not so desirous that these things which are reasonably demanded should be done, as that they should be approved by you as expedient and right, and for the future also I shall eagerly receive your instructions.

[13] Quae necesse sit fieri in compendium redigam breue. Equos praebebo currules Hispanos, et miscendos Gentilibus atque Scutariis adulescentes Laetos quosdam, cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progeniem, vel certe ex dediticiis, qui ad nostra desciscunt. Et haec ad usque exitum vitae me spondeo non modo grato animo, verum cupido quoque facturum.

[13] What ought to be done I will reduce to a few words. I will furnish Spanish horses for your chariots, and to be mingled with the household troops and the targeteers some young men of the Laeti, a tribe of barbarians on this side of the Rhine, or at any rate from those of them who voluntarily come over to us. And this I promise to do to the end of my life, with not only a willing but an eager spirit.

[14] Praefectos praetorio, aequitate et meritis notos, tua nobis dabit dementia, residuos ordinarios iudices, militiaeque moderatores, promovendos arbitrio meo concedi est consentaneum, itidemque stipatores. Stultum est enim cum ante caveri possit ne fiat, eos ad latus imperatoris adscisci, quorum mores ignorantur et voluntates.

[14] As praetorian prefects your clemency shall appoint for us those who are known for their justice and their merits; the promotion of the other civil officials and military officers, as well as of my bodyguard, is properly to be left to my decision. For it would be folly, since it can be prevented from happening, that those should be attached to an emperor's person whose character and inclinations are unknown to him.

[15] Hoc sane sine ulla dubitatione firmaverim: tirones ad peregrina et longinqua Galli transmitters, diuturna perturbatione, casibusque vexati gravissimis, nec sponte sua poterunt nec coacti, ne consumpta penitus iuventute, ut affliguntur praeterita recordantes, ita desperatione pereant impendunt.

[15] "This at least I would declare without any hesitation: the Gauls, since they have been harassed by long continued troubles and grievous misfortunes, cannot voluntarily or under compulsion send recruits to foreign and distant countries, for fear that, if they lose all their young manhood, downcast as they are by the memory of their past afflictions, even so they may perish from despair at what may befall hereafter.

[16] Nec Parthicis gentibus opponenda auxilia hinc acciri conveniet, cum adhuc nec barbarici sint impetus interclusi, et (si dici quod verum est pateris), haec provinciae malis iactatae continuus, externis indigeant adiumentis et fortibus.

[16] Furthermore, it will not be expedient to draw from here auxiliaries to be opposed to the Parthian nations, since the onsets of the barbarians are not yet checked and (if you will permit me to speak the truth) these provinces which have been vexed with constant calamities need aid themselves from without, and valiant aid too.

[17] Haec hortando (ut aestimo) salutariter scripsi, poscens et rogans. Scio enim scio nequid sublatius dicam, quam imperio congruens, quas rerum acerbitates, iam conclamatas et perditas, concordia vicissim sibi cedentium principum, meliorem revocavit in statum, cum appareat maiorum exemplo nostrorum, moderatores haec et similia cogitantes, fortunate beateque vivendi reperire quodam modo viam, et ultimo tempori posteritatieque iucundam sui memoriam commendare.

[17] “In urging these measures I have written (I think) to the advantage of the state both in my requests and in my demands. For I know, I do know, not to say anything more arrogantly than befits my authority, what wretched conditions, even when everything seemed already lost and without remedy, have been brought to a better state by the harmony of rulers yielding in turn to each other. Indeed, it is clear from the example of our forefathers that rulers who have these and similar designs are able somehow to find a way of living happily and successfully and of leaving to posterity and to all future time a happy memory of their lives.”

[18] His litteris iunctas secretiore alias Constantio offerendas clanculo misit, obiurgatorias et mordaces, quarum seriem nec scrutari licebat, nec (si licuisset), proferre decebat in publicum.

[18] Along with this letter he sent another of a more private nature to be delivered to Constantius secretly, which was written in a more reproachful and bitter tone; the content of this it was not possible for me to examine, nor if it had been, would it have been fitting for me to make it public.

[19] Ad id munus implendum, electi viri sunt graves, Pentadius officiorum magister, et Eutherus cubiculi tunc praepositus, post oblatas litteras relaturi, nullo suppresso, quae viderunt, et super ordine futurorum fidenter acturi.

[19] To perform this mission two men of importance were chosen, Pentadius, the court marshal, and Eutherus, who was then head chamberlain.¹ After delivering the letters they were to report what they saw without concealing anything and to deal confidently with the course of future events.

[20] Auxerat inter haec coeptorum invidiam, Florenti fuga praefecti, qui velut

praesagiens concitandos motus ob militem (ut sermone tenuis iactabatur), accitum, consulto discesserat Viennam, alimentariae rei gratia divelli causatus a Caesare, quem saepe tractatum asperius formidabat.

[20] Meanwhile the odium of the enterprise had been increased by the flight of the prefect Florentius, who, as if anticipating the disturbances that would arise from the summoning of the soldiers (which was the subject of common talk) had purposely withdrawn to Vienne, alleging the need of provisions as his excuse for parting from Caesar, whom he had often treated rudely and consequently feared.

[21] Dein cum comperisset eum ad Augustum culmen evectum, exigua ac prope nulla vivendi spe versus in metum, ut longe disiunctus, malis se quae suspicabatur, exemit, et necessitudine omni relictis, digressus venit ad Constantium itineribus lentis, utque se nulli obnoxium culpaemonstraret, Iulianum ut perduellem multis criminibus appetebat.

[21] Then, on hearing that Julian had been raised to the eminence of an Augustus, having small hope or none at all for his life, he became afraid and tried by distance to avoid the dangers that he suspected. So, abandoning all his family, he left and came by slow stages to Constantius, and to show his guiltlessness of any fault, he assailed Julian with many charges as a traitor.

[22] Cuius post abitum, bene Iulianus cogitans et prudenter, scirique volens quod praesenti quoque pepercisset, caritates eius cum re familiari intacta, publico cursu usu permissis, ad Orientem vehi tutius imperavit. Constantius A. Iulianum Caesaris nomine contentus esse iubet, legionibus Gallicanis uno animo constanter repugnantibus. Nec minore studio secuti legati, haec secum ferentes, quae praediximus, intentique ad viandum, cum venirent ad iudices celsiores, oblique tenebantur, morasque per Italiam et Illyricum perpassi diuturnas et graves, tandem transfretati per Bosporum, itineribusque lentis progressi, apud Caesaream Cappadociae etiam tum degentem invenere Constantium, Mazacam antehac nominatam, opportunam urbem et celebrem, sub Argaei montis pedibus sitam.

[22] After his departure, Julian, considering the matter well and wisely, and wishing it to be known that he would have spared him even if he had been present, left his dear ones and his property unmolested, gave them the use of the public courier-service, and bade them ride in safety to the Orient. Constantius Augustus bids Julian to be content with the title of Caesar, but the Gallic legions firmly and unanimously object. The envoys followed with no less diligence, bearing with them the messages which I have mentioned and intent upon their journey; when, however, they fell in with higher officials they were covertly detained, but after suffering continual and serious delays as they passed through Italy and Illyricum, they at last crossed the Bosphorus, and proceeding by slow stages found Constantius still tarrying

in Cappadocia at Caesarea. This was a well-situated and populous city, formerly called Mazaca, situated at the foot of Mount Argaeus.

[2] Qui intromissi data potestate offerunt scripta, hisque recitatis, ultra modum solitae indignationis excanduit imperator, limibusque oculis eos ad usque metum contuens mortis, egredi iussit, nihil post haec percontatus, vel audire perpressus.

[2] When the envoys were given audience, they presented their letters, but no sooner were they read than the emperor burst out in an immoderate blaze of anger, and looking at them askance in such a way that they feared for their lives, he ordered them to get out, asking no further questions and refusing to listen to anything.

[3] Percussus tamen ardentem, cunctatione stringebatur ambigua, utrum in Persas an contra Iulianum moveri iuberet acies quibus fidebat, haesitansque diu perpensis consiliis, flexus est quorundam sententia utilium suorum, et iter orientem versus edixit.

[3] Yet, though burning with anger, he was tormented by uncertainty whether it were better to order those troops in which he had confidence to march against the Persians or against Julian. After hesitating long and weighing the counsel given him, he yielded to the advice of some who persuaded him to his advantage, and ordered a march towards the Orient.

[4] Statim tamen et legatos absolvit, et Leonam quaestorem suum in Gallias cum litteris datis ad Iulianum pergere celeri statuit gradu, nihil aovorum se asserens suscepisse, sed eum si saluti suae proximorumque consulit, tumenti flatu deposito, intra Caesaris se potestatem continere praeciens.

[4] The envoys, however, he dismissed at once, and only ordered his quaestor Leonas to proceed at rapid pace to Gaul with a letter which he had given him for Julian, in which he declared that he accepted none of the changes, but charged him, if he had any regard for his own life and that of his friends, to drop his swelling pride and keep within the bounds of a Caesar's power.

[5] Utque id facile formido intentatorum efficeret, velut magnis viribus fretus, in locum Florentii praefectum praetorio, Nebridium tum quaestorem eiusdem Caesaris promoverat, et Felicem notarium, officiorum magistrum, et quosdam alios. gumoarium enim successorem Lupicini, antequam sciretur huius modi quicquam, magistrum provexit armorum.

[5] And to the end that fear of his threats might bring this about the more easily, as an indication of confidence in his great strength in place of Florentius he promoted Nebridius, who was then quaestor of the aforesaid Caesar, to the rank of praetorian prefect, and the secretary Felix to that of master of the offices, besides making some other appointments. And indeed

Gomoarius had been advanced to the rank of commander-in-chief, as successor to Lupicinus, before Constantius knew anything of this kind.

[6] Ingressus itaque Parisios, Leonas susceptus ut honoratus et prudens, postridie principi progresso in campum, cum multitudine armata pariter et plebeia, quam de industria convocarat, e tribunali (ut emineret altius) superstanti, scripta iubetur offerre. Replicatoque volumine edicti quod missum est, et legi ab exordio coepto, cum ventum fuisset ad locum id continentem, quod gesta omnia Constantius improbens Caesaris potestatem sufficere Iuliano censebat, exclamabatur undique vocum terribilium sonu:

[6] Accordingly, Leonas, having entered Paris, was received as an honoured and discreet person, and on the following day, when the prince had come to the field with a great number of soldiers and townsmen, whom he had purposely summoned, and was standing aloft on a tribunal in order to be more conspicuous from a high position, he ordered the letter to be handed to him. And after unrolling the scroll of the edict which had been sent, he began to read it from the beginning. And when he had come to the place where Constantius, rejecting all that had been done, declared that the power of a Caesar was enough for Julian, on all sides terrifying shouts arose:

[7] ‘Auguste Iuliane,’ ut provincialis et miles, et rei publicae decrevit auctoritas recreatae quidem, sed adhuc metuentis redivivos barbarorum excursus.

[7] “Julianus Augustus,” as was decreed by authority of the province, the soldiers, and the state — a state restored indeed, but still fearful of renewed raids of the savages.

[8] Quibus auditis, Leonas cum Iuliani litteris haec eadem indicantibus, revertit incolumis, solusque admissus est ad praefecturam Nebridius; id enim Caesar quoque scribens, ex sententia sua fore aperte praedixit. Magistrum enim officiorum iam pridem ipse Anatolium ordinavit, libellis antea respondentem, et quosdam alios ut sibi utile videbatur et tutum.

[8] On hearing this, Leonas returned in safety, with a letter of Julian to the same purport, and Nebridius alone was admitted to the prefecture; for Caesar in his letter had openly said that such an appointment would be in accordance with his wishes. As to the master of the offices, he had long before chosen for that office Anatolius, who previously had answered petitions, and some others, in accordance with what seemed to him expedient and safe.

[9] Et quoniam cum haec ita procederent, timebatur Lupicinus, licet absens agensque etiam tum apud Britannos, homo superbae mentis et turgidae, eratque suspicio quod (si haec trans mare didicisset) novarum rerum materias excitaret, notarius Bononiam mittitur, observaturus sollicitè, ne quisquam fretum oceani transire permetteretur. Quo vetito, reversus Lupicinus, antequam horum quicquam sciret, nullas ciere potuit turbas. Iulianus Aug.

Francos cognomine Attuarios trans Rhenum inopinantes aggressus, post plurimos partim captos, partim occisos, ceteris pacem petentibus dedit. Julianus tamen iam celsiore fortuna, militisque fiducia laetior, ne intepesceret, neve ut remissus argueretur et deses, legatis ad Constantium missis, in limitem Germaniae secundae egressus est, omnique apparatu, quem flagitavit instans negotium, communitus, Tricensimae oppido propinquabat.

[9] But while matters were thus proceeding, Lupicinus was to be feared, although he was absent and even then in Britain, for he was a man of haughty and arrogant spirit and it was suspected that if he should learn of these things while across the sea, he would stir up material for a revolution; accordingly, a secretary was sent to Boulogne, to watch carefully and prevent anyone from crossing the strait. Because of this prohibition Lupicinus returned before hearing of anything that had happened, and so could cause no disturbance. Julianus Caesar, having unexpectedly attacked the so-called Atthuarian Franks on the other side of the Rhine, and killed or captured the greater number of them, granted them peace at their request. Julian, however, being now happier in his lofty station and in the confidence which the soldiers felt in him, in order not to become lukewarm or be accused of negligence and sloth, after sending envoys to Constantius set out for the frontier of Second Germany, and, thoroughly equipped with all the material that the business in hand demanded, drew near to the city of Tricensima.

[2] Rheno exinde transmisso, regionem subito pervasit Francorum, quos Atthuarios vocant, inquietorum hominum licentius etiam tum percursantium extima Galliarum. Quos adortus subito nihil metuentes hostile, nimiumque securos, quod scruposa viarum difficultate arcente, nullum adhuc suos pagos introisse meminerant principem, superavit negotio levi: captisque plurimis et occisis, orantibus aliis qui superfuere, pacem ex arbitrio dedit, hoc prodesse possessoribus finitimis arbitratus.

[2] Then crossing the Rhine, he suddenly invaded the territory of those Franks known as Atthuarii, a restless people, who even then were lawlessly overrunning the frontiers of Gaul. Having attacked them unexpectedly, when they feared no hostile demonstration and were quite off their guard, because they could remember no invasion of their land as yet by any emperor, protected as they were by rough and difficult roads, he defeated them with slight trouble; and after having captured or killed a great many, when the rest who survived begged for peace, he granted it on his own conditions, thinking this to be to the advantage of the neighbouring settlers.

[3] Unde reversus pari celeritate per flumen, praesidiaque limitis explorans diligenter et corrigens, ad usque Rauracos venit, locisque recuperatis, quae olim barbari intercepta retinebant ut propria, eisdemque pleniore cura firmatis, per Besantionem Viennam hiematurus abcessit. Constantius A. Bezabden omnibus copiis oppugnat, ac re infecta discedit; et de arcu caelesti. Hic per

Gallias erat ordo gestorum. Quae dum ita prospere succedunt et caute, Constantius accitum Arsacen Armeniae regem, summaque liberalitate susceptum, praemonebat et hortabatur, ut nobis amicus esse perseveraret et fidus.

[3] From there he returned with equal speed by way of the river, and carefully examining and strengthening the defences of the frontier, he came as far as Augst; and there having recovered the places which the savages had formerly taken and were holding as their own, he fortified them with special care and went by way of Besançon to Vienne, to pass the winter. Constantius Augustus attacks Bezabde with all his forces, but withdraws without accomplishing his purpose; and on the rainbow. Such was the series of events in Gaul. While they were going on so successfully and so wisely, Constantius sent for Arsaces, king of Armenia, and after entertaining him with the greatest generosity forewarned and urged him to continue to be faithful and friendly to us.

[2] Audiebat enim saepius eum temptatum a rege Persarum fallaciis et minis et dolis, ut Romanorum societate posthabita, suis rationibus stringeretur.

[2] For he heard that he had often been worked upon by the Persian king with deception, with threats, and with guile, to induce him to give up his alliance with the Romans and involve himself in the Persian's designs.

[3] Qui crebro adiurans, animam prius posse amittere quam sententiam, muneratus cum comitibus quos duxerat redit ad regnum, nihil ausus temerare postea promissorum, obligatus gratiarum multiplici nexu Constantio, inter quas illud potius excellebat, quod Olympiada (Ablabi filiam), praefecti quondam praetorio, ei copulaverat coniugem sponsam fratris sui Constantis.

[3] And the king, swearing with many an oath that he could sooner give up his life than his resolve, after receiving rewards returned to his kingdom with the retinue that he had brought with him; and after that he never dared to violate any of his promises, being bound to Constantius by many ties of gratitude, among which this was especially strong—that the emperor had given him to wife Olympias, daughter of Ablabius, a former praetorian prefect, and the betrothed of his brother Constans.

[4] Quo dimisso a Cappadocia ipse per Melitenam (minoris Armeniae oppidum), et Lacotena et Samosata, transito Euphrate Edessam venit, ibique dum agmina undique convenientium militum, et rei cibariae abundantes copias operitur, diu moratus, post aequinoctium egreditur autumnale Amidam petens.

[4] After the king had been sent off from Cappadocia, Constantius going by way of Melitena (a town of Lesser Armenia), Lacotena, and Samosata, crossed the Euphrates and came to Edessa. There he lingered for a long time,

while he was waiting for the troops of soldiers that were assembling from all sides and for plentiful supplies of provisions; after the autumnal equinox he set out on his way to Amida.

[5] Cuius cum prope venisset moenia favillis oppleta, collustrans, flebat cum gemitu, reputans qualis miseranda civitas pertulerat clades. Ibi tunc forte Ursulus praesens, qui aerarium tuebatur, dolore percitus exclamavit: 'En quibus animis urbes a milite defenduntur, cui ut abundare stipendium possit, imperii opes iam fatiscunt!' Quod dictum ita amarum militaris multitudo postea apud Chalcedona recordata, ad eius exitium consurrexit.

[5] When he came near the walls and surveyed only a heap of ashes, he wept and groaned aloud as he thought of the calamities the wretched city had endured. And Ursulus, the state-treasurer, who chanced to be there at the time, was filled with sorrow and cried: "Behold with what courage the cities are defended by our soldiers, for whose abundance of pay the wealth of the empire is already becoming insufficient." And this bitter remark the throng of soldiers recalled later at Chalcedon and conspired for his destruction.

[6] Exinde cuneis confertis incedens, cum Bezabden adventaret, fixis tentoriis, vallo fossarumque altitudine circumsaepitis, obequitans castrorum ambitum longius, docebatur relatione multorum, instaurata esse firmitus loca, quae antehac incuria corruperat vetustatis.

[6] After this advancing in close order and coming to Bezabde, Constantius pitched his tents and encircled them with a palisade and with deep trenches. Then, riding about the circuit of the fort at a distance, he learned from many sources that the parts which before had been weakened by age and neglect had been restored to greater strength than ever.

[7] Et nequid omitteret, quod ante fervorem certaminum erat necessario praestruendum, viris prudentibus missis, condicione posita dupla, urgebat moenium defensores redire ad suos, alienis sine cruore concessis, aut in dicionem venire Romanam, dignitatibus augendos et praemiis. Atque cum illi destinatione nativa reniterentur, ut dare nati periculisque et laboribus indurati obsidioni congrua parabantur.

[7] And not wishing to leave anything undone that must be done before the heat of battle, he sent men of judgement and offered alternative conditions, urging the defenders of the walls either to give up the possessions of others without bloodshed and return to their own people, or to submit to the sway of Rome and receive increase of honours and rewards. And when with their native resolution they rejected these offers, being men of good birth and inured to perils and hardships, all the preparations for a siege were made.

[8] Densis itaque ordinibus, cum tubarum incitamentis, latera oppidi cuncta adortus alacrius miles, legionibus in testudines varias conglobatis paulatim

tuto progrediens, subruere moenia conabatur, et quia telorum omne genus in subeuntes effundebatur, nexu clypeorum soluto discessum est, in receptum canentibus signis.

[8] Then in close array and urged on by the trumpets the soldiers most vigorously attacked the town on every side, and with the legions gathered together into various tortoise-formations and so advancing slowly and safely, they tried to undermine the fortifications; but since every sort of weapon was showered upon them as they came up, the connection of the shields was broken and they gave way, while the trumpets sounded the recall.

[9] Laxatis deinde ad diem unum indutiis, tertia luce milite curiosius tecto, elatis passim clamoribus, ascensus undique temptabatur. Et licet defensores sub obtentis ciliciis, ne conspicerentur ab hostibus, latebant intrinsecus, tamen quotiens flagitabat necessitas, lacertos fortiter exsertantes, lapidibus subiectos incessebant et telis.

[9] Then, after a single day's truce, on the third day, with the soldiers more carefully protected and amid loud outcries everywhere, they attempted from every quarter to scale the walls; but although the defenders were hidden within behind hair-cloth stretched before them, in order that the enemy might not see them, yet whenever necessity required they would fearlessly thrust out their right arms and attack the besiegers with stones and weapons.

[10] Et vimineae crates cum procederent confiderent, essentque parietibus iam contiguae, dolia desuper cadebant et molae, et columnarum fragmenta, quorum ponderibus nimis obruebantur oppugnatores, hiatuque violento disiectis operimentis, cum periculis ultimis evadebant.

[10] But when the wicker mantlets went confidently on and were already close to the walls, great jars fell from above along with millstones and pieces of columns, by the excessive weight of which the assailants were overwhelmed; and since their devices for protection were rent asunder with great gaps, they made their escape with the greatest peril.

[11] Decimo itaque postquam pugnari coeptum est die, cum spes nostrorum inferior cuncta maerore compleret, transferri placuerat molem arietis magnam, quam Persae quondam, Antiochia pulsibus eius excisa, relatam reliquerant apud Carras. Quae subito visa, aptataque faberrime, clausorum hebetaverat mentes, ad usque deditionis remedia paene prolapsas, ni resumptis viribus opponenda minaci machinae praeparassent.

[11] Therefore on the tenth day after the beginning of the siege, when the waning hope of our men was causing general dejection, it was decided to bring into action a ram of great size, which the Persians, after formerly using it to raze Antioch, had brought back and left at Carrae. The unlooked-for sight of this and the skilful manner in which it was put together would have daunted

the besieged, who had already been almost reduced to seeking safety in surrender, had they not taken heart again and prepared defences against the menacing engine.

[12] Nec temeritas post haec cessaverat nec consilium; namque dum instrueretur aries vetustus et dissolutus, ut facile veheretur, omni arte omnique virium nisu, et oppugnantorum vineae firmitudine summa defensabatur, tormenta nihilo minus et lapidum crebritas atque fundarum ex utraque parte plurimos consumeabant, et aggerum moles incrementis celeribus consurgebant, acriorque in dies adulescebat obsidio, multis nostrorum idcirco cadentibus, quod decernentes sub imperatoris conspectu, spe praemiorum, ut possint facile qui essent agnosci, nudantes galeis capita, sagittariorum hostilium peritia fundebantur.

[12] And after this they lacked neither rash courage nor good judgement. For although the ram, which was old and had been taken apart for ready transportation, was being set up with all skill and with every exertion of power, and was protected by the besiegers with a mantlet of great strength, yet the artillery and the showers of stones and sling-shots continued none the less to destroy great numbers on both sides. The massive mounds too were rising with rapid additions, the siege grew hotter every day, and many of our men fell for the reason that, fighting as they were under the emperor's eye, through the hope of rewards and wishing to be easily recognised they put off their helmets from their heads and so fell victims to the skill of the enemy's archers.

[13] Proin dies et noctes intentae vigiliis cautiores stantes utrobique faciebant. Et Persae aggerum altitudine iam in sublime porrecta, machinaeque ingentis horrore perculsi, quam minores quoque sequebantur, omnes exurere vi maxima nitebantur, et assidue malleolos atque incendiaria tela torquentes, laborabant in cassum, ea re quod umectis coriis et centonibus erant opertae materiae plures, aliae unctae alumine diligenter, ut ignis in eas laberetur innoxius.

[13] After this, days and nights spent in wakefulness made both sides more cautious. The Persians, too, when the height of the mounds had already become great, stricken with horror of the huge ram, which other smaller ones followed, all strove with might and main to set fire to them, constantly hurling firebrands and blazing darts. But their efforts were vain, for the reason that the greater part of the timbers were covered with wetted hides and rags, while in other places they had been carefully coated with alum, so that the fire fell on them without effect.

[14] Verum has admoventes fortitudine magna, Romani licet difficile defensabant, tamen cupiditate potiundi oppidi ne prompta quidem pericula non contemnebant.

[14] But these rams the Romans pushed forward with great courage, and although they had difficulty in protecting them, yet through their eagerness to take the town, they were led to scorn even imminent dangers.

[15] Et contra propugnatores cum iam discussurus turrim oppositam aries maximus adventaret, prominentem eius ferream frontem, quae re vera formam effingit arietis, arte subtili illaqueatam altrinsecus, laciniis retinere longissimis, ne retrogradiens resumeret vires, neve ferire muros assultibus densis contemplabiliter posset, fundentes quoque ferventissimam picem. Et diu promotae machinae stabant, muralia saxa perferentes et tela.

[15] And on the other hand the defenders, when the huge ram was already drawing near to shake down a tower which stood in its way, by a subtle device entangled its projecting iron end (which in fact has the shape of a ram's head) on both sides with very long ropes, and held it so that it might not move back and gather new strength, nor be able with good aim to batter the walls with repeated lunges; and in the meantime they poured down scalding-hot pitch. And the engines which had been brought up stood for a long time exposed to the huge stones and to the missiles.

[16] Iamque aggeribus cumulatus excitatis, defensores, ni vigilassent, exitium affore iam sperantes, in audaciam ruere praecipitem, et repentino decursu, portis effusi, primosque adorti nostrorum, faces sitellasque ferreas onustas ignibus in arietes magnis viribus iaciebant.

[16] And now, when the mounds were raised still higher, the garrison, fearing that destruction would soon be upon them unless they should rouse themselves, resorted to utter recklessness. Making a sudden rush through the gates, they attacked the foremost of our men, with all their strength hurling upon the rams firebrands and baskets made of iron and filled with flames.

[17] Verum post ambiguam proelii varietatem, plurimi nullo impetrato intra moenia repelluntur: moxque ex aggeribus quos erexerunt Romani, idem Persae propugnaculis insistentes, sagittis incescebantur, et fundis telisque igniferis, quae per tegumenta turrium volitantia, paratis qui restinguerent, plerumque irrita labebantur.

[17] But after fighting with shifting fortune the greater number were driven back within the walls without effecting anything. Then those same Persians, when they had taken their place on the bulwarks were assailed from the mounds, which the Romans had raised, with arrows, sling-shots, and fiery darts, which, however, though they flew through the coverings of the towers, for the most part fell without effect, since there were men at hand to put out the fires.

[18] Cumque pauciores utrobique fierent bellatores, et Persae truderentur ad ultima ni potior ratio succurrisset, impensiore opera procursus temptabatur ex

castris, et eruptione subita multitudinis facta, inter armatos qui portabant ignes amplioribus ordinatis, iaciebantur corbes in materias ferreae, plenae flammaram, et sarmenta aliaque ad ignes concipiendos aptissima.

[18] And when the fighting men on both sides became fewer, and the Persians were driven to the last extremity unless some better plan should suggest itself, a carefully devised sally from the fortress was attempted. A vast throng made a sudden rush, with still greater numbers of men carrying material for setting fires drawn up among the armed soldiers; then iron baskets filled with flames were hurled upon the woodwork, as well as faggots and other things best suited for kindling fires.

[19] Et quia conspectum abstulerant fumi nigerrimae nubes, classico excitante in pugnam, legiones procinctae celeri gradu venerunt, et subcrescente paulatim ardore bellandi, cum ventum fuisset ad manus, repente machinae omnes effusis ignibus urebantur praeter maiorem, quam diruptis restibus quibus e muro iactis implicabatur, virorum fortium acrior nisus aegre semustam extraxit.

[19] And because the pitch-black clouds of smoke made it impossible to see, the legions were roused to the fight by the clarion and in battle array advanced at rapid pace. Then, as their ardour for fighting gradually increased and they had come to hand-to-hand conflict, on a sudden all the siege-engines were destroyed by the spreading flames, except the greater ram; this, after the ropes which had been thrown from the walls and entangled it had been broken, the valiant efforts of some brave men barely rescued in a half-burned condition.

[20] At ubi nocturnae tenebrae finem proeliis attulerunt, non in longum militi quies data. Cibo enim exiguo refectus et somno, rectorum monitu excitus, munitiones a muro longe demovit, dimicare succinctius parans per sublimes aggestus, qui iam consummati muris altius imminebant. Utque facile defensuri moenia pellerentur, in ipsis aggerum summitatibus binae sunt locatae ballistae, quarum metu ne prospicere quidem posse hostium quisquam crederetur.

[20] But when the darkness of night put an end to the fighting, the rest which was allowed the soldiers was not for long. For after being refreshed with a little food and sleep, they were aroused at the call of their officers and moved the siege-engines to a distance from the wall, preparing to fight with greater ease on the lofty earthworks, which were now finished and overtopped the walls. And in order that those who would defend the ramparts might the more readily be kept back, on the very highest part of each mound two ballistae were placed, through fear of which it was believed that no one of the enemy would be able even to put out his head.

[21] His satis provisus, prope ipsum crepusculum triplex acies nostrorum

instructa, conisque galearum minacius nutans, scalas vehentibus multis, impetum conabatur in muros. Iamque resultantibus armis et tubis, uno parique ardore hinc indeque pugnabatur audaci conflictu, latiusque sese pandente manu Romana, cum Persas occultari viderent, pavore impositorum aggeribus tormentorum, pulsabant turrim ariete, et cum ligonibus et dolabris et vectibus scalae quoque propinquabant utrimque convolante missilium crebritate.

[21] When these preparations had been sufficiently made, just before dawn our men were drawn up in three divisions and tried an assault upon the walls, the cones of their helmets nodding in threatening wise and many carrying scaling-ladders. And now, while arms clashed and trumpets brayed, both sides fought with equal ardour and courage. And as the Romans extended their forces more widely and saw that the Persians were in hiding through fear of the engines placed upon the mounds, they attacked a tower with the ram; and in addition to mattocks, pickaxes, and crowbars the scaling- ladders also drew near, while missiles flew thick and fast from both sides.

[22] Afflictabant tamen multo vehementius Persas ictus varii ballistarum, tamquam per transennam a clivis structilibus decurrentes. Unde fortunas suas sitas in extremo iam cogitantes, destinatam ruebant in mortem, et partiti munera dimicandi inter necessitatis articulos, relictis qui moenia tuerentur, reserata latenter postica, strictis gladiis valida manus erupit, pone sequentibus aliis, qui flammam occulte portabant.

[22] The Persians, however, were more sorely troubled by the various missiles sent from the ballistae, which as if along a tight rope rushed down the artificial slopes of the earthworks. Therefore, thinking that their fortunes were now at their lowest ebb, they rushed to meet certain death, and distributing the duties of their soldiers in the midst of their desperate crisis, they left some behind to hold the walls, while a strong force secretly opened a postern gate and rushed out, drawn sword in hand, followed by others who carried concealed fires.

[23] Dumque Romani nunc instant cedentibus, nunc ultro incessentes excipiunt, qui vehebant foculos repentes incurvi, prunas unius aggesti inseruere iuncturis ramis arborum diversarum, et iunco et manipulis constructi cannarum: qui conceptis incendiorum aridis nutrimentis, iam cremabantur, militibus cum intactis tormentis exinde periculose digressis.

[23] And while the Romans now pressed hard on those who gave way, and now met those who ventured to charge, the men who carried the fire-pans, stooping low and creeping along, pushed live coals into the joints of one of the mounds, which was built of the boughs of various kinds of trees, of rushes, and of bundles of cane. These, as soon as the dry fuel caught fire, at once burst into flame, and our soldiers only with extreme peril got away with their engines uninjured.

[24] Ut vero certaminibus finem vespera dedit incedens, partesque discesserunt ad otium breve, imperator in varia sese consilia diducens et versans, cum excidio Phaenichae diutius imminere, necessariae rationes urgerent, quod munimentum velut insolubile claustrum, hostium excursibus erat obiectum, et serum repelleret tempus: certaturus leviter ibi statuit immorari, alimentis destituendos forsitan cedere existimans Persas. Quod secus atque rebatur evenit.

[24] But when the coming of evening put an end to the fighting, and both sides withdrew for a brief rest, the emperor, divided between various plans and pondering them — since pressing reasons urged a longer attempt to destroy Phaenicha, a fortress opposed as an almost unsurmountable barrier to the enemy's inroads; but the lateness of the season dissuaded him — finally decided to stay there, and to carry on light skirmishes, thinking that perhaps the Persians would yield through lack of supplies. But the result was not what he looked for.

[25] Cum enim remissius pugnaretur, umente caelo undantes nubes cum tenebris advenere minacibus, assiduisque imbribus ita immaduerat solum, ut luti glutinosa mollities, per eas regiones pinguissimi caespitis, omnia perturbaret. Et super his iugi fragore, tonitrua fulguraque mentes hominum pavidas perterrebant.

[25] For when the fighting slackened, wet weather followed, dripping clouds with menacing darkness appeared, and the ground was so drenched with continual rains, that soft and sticky mud caused general trouble in that region of rich turf. And, besides all this, thunder and lightning with repeated crashes terrified the timorous minds of men.

[26] Accedebant arcus caelestis conspectus assidui. Quae species unde ita figurari est solita, expositio brevis ostendet. Halitus terrae calidiores et umoris spiramina conglobata in nubes, exindeque disiecta in aspergines parvas, ac radorum fusione splendida facta, supinantur volubiliter contra ipsum igneum orbem, irimque conformant, ideo spatioso curvamine sinuosam, quod in nostro panditur mundo, quem sphaerae dimidiaei parti rationes physicae superponunt.

[26] More than this, rainbows were constantly seen; and how that phenomenon is wont to occur, a brief explanation will show. The warmer exhalations of the earth and its moist vapours are condensed into clouds; these are then dissipated into a fine spray, which, made brilliant by the sun's rays that fall upon it, rises swiftly and, coming opposite the fiery orb itself, forms the rainbow. And the bow is rounded into a great curve, because it extends over our world, which the science of natural philosophy tells us rests upon a hemisphere.

[27] Cuius species quantum mortalis oculus contuetur, prima lutea visitur, secunda flavescentis vel fulva, punicea tertia, quarta purpurea, postrema caeruleo concreta et viridi.

[27] Its first colour, so far as mortal eye can discern, is yellow, the second golden or tawny, the third red, the fourth violet, and the last blue verging upon green.

[28] Hac autem mixta pulchritudine temperatur, ideo ut terrenae existimant mentes, quod prima eius pars dilutior cernitur, aeri concolor circumfuso, sequens fulva, id est paulo excitatior quam lutea, punicea tertia, quod solis obnoxia claritudini, pro reciprocatione spiritus fulgores eius purissime e regione deflorat, quarta ideo purpurat, quod intermicante asperginum densitate, per quas oritur, radiorum splendor concipiens ostendit aspectum flammeo propiorem, qui color quanto magis diffunditur, concedit in caeruleum et virentem.

[28] It shows this combination of beautiful colours, as earthborn minds conceive, for the reason that its first part, corresponding in colour with the surrounding air, appears paler; the second is tawny, that is, somewhat more vivid than yellow; the third is red, because it is exposed to the brightness of the sun, and in proportion to alternation in the air absorbs its brilliance most purely, being just opposite; the fourth is violet, because receiving the brightness of the sun's rays with a thick rain of spray glittering between, through which it rises, it shows an appearance more like fire; and that colour, the more it spreads, passes over into blue and green.

[29] Arbitrantur alii tunc iridis formam rebus apparere mundanis, cum altius delatae nubi crassae radii solis infusi, lucem iniecerint liquidam, quae non reperiens exitum, in se conglobata nimio splendescit attritu, et proximos quidem albo colores a sole sublimiore decerpit, subvirides vero a nubis similitudine superiectae, ut in mari solet usu venire, ubi candidae sunt undae quae litoribus illiduntur, interiores sine ulla concretionem caeruleae.

[29] Others think that the form of the rainbow appears to earthly sight when the rays of the sun penetrate a thick and lofty cloud and fill it with clear light. Since this does not find an outlet, it forms itself into a mass and glows from the intense friction; and it takes the colours nearest to white from the sun higher up, but the greenish shades from resemblance to the cloud just above it. The same thing usually happens with the sea, where the waters that dash upon the shore are white, and those further out without any admixture are blue.

[30] Et quoniam indicium est permutationis aurae (ut diximus), a sudo aere nubium concitans globos, aut contra ex concreto mutans in serenam laetitiam caelum, ideo apud poetas legimus saepe, Irim de caelo tunc mitti, cum praesentium rerum verti necesse sit status. Suppetunt aliae multae opiniones et

variae, quas dinumerare nunc est supervacuum, narratione redire unde digressa est festinante.

[30] And since the rainbow is an indication of a change of weather (as I have said), from sunny skies bringing up masses of clouds, or on the contrary changing an overcast sky to one that is calm and pleasant, we often read in the poets that Iris is sent from heaven when it is necessary to change the present condition of affairs. There are many other different opinions, which it would be superfluous to enumerate at present, since my narrative is in haste to return to the point from which it digressed.

[31] His ac talibus imperator inter spem metumque iactabatur, ingravescente hiemis magnitudine, suspectisque per avios tractus insidiis, inter quae etiam tumultum exasperati militis verebatur. Super his urebat eius anxiam mentem, quod velut patefacta ianua divitis domus, irritus propositi reverteretur.

[31] For these and similar reasons the emperor wavered between hope and fear, since the severity of winter was drawing near and attacks were to be looked for in that trackless region, while also he feared mutiny of the exasperated soldiers. Besides this, his anxious mind was tormented by the thought that when, so to speak, the door of a rich house was open before him, he was returning without success.

[32] Quas ob res omisso vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiae redit in Syriam, aerumnosa perpessus et gravia; nec enim levia erant damna quae Persae intulerant, sed atrociora diuque deflenda. Evenerat enim hoc, quasi fatali constellatione ita regente diversos eventus, ut ipsum Constantium dimicantem cum Persis, fortuna semper sequeretur afflictior, unde vincere saltem per duces optabat, quod aliquotiens meminimus contigisse.

[32] Therefore abandoning his fruitless attempt, he returned to Syria, purposing to winter in Antioch, having suffered severely and grievously; for the losses which the Persians had inflicted upon him were not slight but terrible and long to be lamented. For it had happened, as if some fateful constellation so controlled the several events, that when Constantius in person warred with the Persians, adverse fortune always attended him. Therefore he wished to conquer at least through his generals, which, as we recall, did sometimes happen

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LIBER XXI — BOOK XXI

[1] Iulianus Aug. Viennae quinquennalia celebrat: quo modo Constantium A. brevi moriturum praenoverit: et de variis artibus futura praenoscendi. Intercluso hac bellorum difficili sorte Constantio trans flumen Euphratem, Iulianus agens apud Viennam, firmandis in futura consiliis, dies impendebat et noctes, quantum opes patiebantur angustae, altius semet attollens, semperque ambicens, utrum Constantium modis omnibus alliceret in concordiam, an terroris incutiendi gratia lacesseret prior.

Julianus Augustus celebrates quinquennial games at Vienne; how he knew beforehand that Constantius Augustus would shortly die; and on various means of foretelling future events. While Constantius was involved in this hard fortune of wars beyond the river Euphrates, Julian passed the time at Vienne, spending days and nights in making secure plans for the future, so far as his narrow means allowed, constantly gaining greater confidence, but always in doubt whether to try every means for inducing Constantius to come to an understanding, or to strike him with terror by attacking him first.

[2] Quae sollicitae reputans, utrumque formidabat, et amicum cruentum et in aerumnis civilibus saepe victorem, maximeque Galli fratris exemplum, mentem eius anxiam suspendebat, quem inertia mixtaeque periuriis fraudes prodidere quorundam.

[2] Anxiously weighing these alternatives, he feared Constantius both as a cruel friend and as frequently victor in civil troubles; and in particular his mind was made anxious and uncertain by the example of his brother Gallus, whom his own negligence and the combined deceit and perjury of certain men had betrayed.

[3] Erigebat tamen aliquotiens animum ad multa et urgencia, tutissimum ratus inimicum se ex confesso monstrare, ei cuius ex praeteritis motus coniectabat ut prudens, ne per amicitias fictas insidiis falleretur occultis.

[3] Sometimes, however, he took courage to meet many urgent affairs, thinking it far safer to show himself an open enemy to one whose conduct he, as a sagacious prince, could infer from the past, for fear of being deceived by secret plots under cover of a feigned friendship.

[4] Parvi igitur habitis, quae per Leonam Constantius scripserat, nulloque arbitrio eius promotorum suscepto, praeter Nebridium, quinquennalia Augustus iam edidit: et ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus, assumpta vili corona circumdatus erat xystarchae similis purpurato.

[4] Therefore, making light of the letter that Constantius had sent through

Leonas, and recognising the authority of none of those whom his rival had promoted except Nebridius, being now an Augustus he celebrated quinquennial games; and he wore a magnificent diadem, set with gleaming gems, whereas at the beginning of his principate he had assumed and worn a cheap crown, like that of the director of a gymnasium attired in purple.

[5] *Inter quae Helenae coniugis defunctae suprema miserat Romam, in suburbano viae Nomentanae condenda, ubi uxor quoque Galli quondam (soror eius) sepulta est Constantina.*

[5] While these games were going on he had sent to Rome the remains of his deceased wife Helena, to be laid to rest in his villa near the city on the via Nomentana, where also her sister Constantina, formerly the wife of Gallus, was buried.

[6] *Acuebat autem incendebatque eius cupiditatem, pacatis iam Galliis, incessere ultro Constantium, animus coniciens eum per vaticinandi praesagia multa (quae callebat) et somnia, e vita protinus excessurum.*

[6] Moreover, now that Gaul was quieted, his desire of first attacking Constantius was sharpened and fired, since he inferred from many prophetic signs (in which he was an adept) and from dreams, that Constantius would shortly depart from life.

[7] *Et quoniam erudito et studioso cognitionum omnium principi, malivoli praenoscendi futura pravas artes assignant, advertendum est breviter, unde sapienti viro hoc quoque accedere poterit, doctrinae genus haud leve.*

[7] And since to an emperor both learned and devoted to all knowledge malicious folk attribute evil arts for divining future events, we must briefly consider how this important kind of learning also may form part of a philosopher's equipment.

[8] *Elementorum omnium spiritus, utpote perennium corporum praesentiendi motu semper et ubique vicens, ex his, quae per disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera divinandi: et substantiales potestates ritu diverso placatae, velut ex perpetuis fontium venis, vaticina mortalitati suppeditant verba, quibus numen praeesse dicitur Themidis, quam ex eo quod fixa fatali lege decreta, praescire facit in posterum, quae τεθειμένα sermo Graecus appellat, ita cognominatam, in cubili solioque Iovis, vigoris vivifici, theologi veteres collocarunt.*

[8] The spirit pervading all the elements, seeing that they are eternal bodies, is always and everywhere strong in the power of prescience, and as the result of the knowledge which we acquire through varied studies makes us also sharers in the gifts of divination; and the elemental powers, when propitiated by divers rites, supply mortals with words of prophecy, as if from the veins of

inexhaustible founts. These prophecies are said to be under the control of the divine Themis, so named because she reveals in advance decrees determined for the future by the law of the fates, which the Greeks call *τεθειμένα*; and therefore the ancient theologians gave her a share in the bed and throne of Jupiter, the life-giving power.

[9] *Auguria et auspicia non volucrum arbitrio futura nescientium colliguntur (nec enim hoc vel insipiens quisquam dicet) sed volatus avium dirigit deus, ut rostrum sonans aut praetervolans pinna, turbido meatu vel leni, futura praemonstret. Amat enim benignitas numinis, seu quod merentur homines, seu quod tangitur eorum affectione, his quoque artibus prodere quae impendent.*

[9] Auguries and auspices are not gained from the will of the fowls of the air which have no knowledge of future events (for that not even a fool will maintain), but a god so directs the flight of birds that the sound of their bills or the passing flight of their wings in disturbed or in gentle passage foretells future events. For the goodness of the deity, either because men deserve it, or moved by his affection for them, loves by these arts also to reveal impending events.

[10] *Extis itidem pecudum attenti fatidicis, in species converti assuetis innumeras, accidentia sciunt. Cuius disciplinae Tages nomine quidam monstrator est, ut fabulantur, in Etruriae partibus emersisse subito visus e terra.*

[10] Those, too, who give attention to the prophetic entrails of beasts, which are wont to assume innumerable forms, know of impending events. And the teacher of this branch of learning is one named Tages, who (as the story goes) was seen suddenly to spring from the earth in the regions of Etruria.

[11] *Aperiunt tunc quoque ventura, cum aestuant hominum corda, sed locuntur divina. Sol enim (ut aiunt physici) mens mundi nostras mentes ex sese velut scintillas diffunditans cum eas incenderit vehementius, futuri conscias reddit. Unde Sibyllae crebro se dicunt ardere, torrente vi magna flammarum. Multa significant super his crepitus vocum, et occurrentia signa, tonitrua quin etiam et fulgura, et fulmina itidemque siderum sulci.*

[11] Future events are further revealed when men's hearts are in commotion, but speak divine words. For (as the natural philosophers say) the Sun, the soul of the universe, sending out our minds from himself after the manner of sparks, when he has fired men mightily, makes them aware of the future. And it is for this reason that the Sibyls often say that they are burning, since they are fired by the mighty power of the flames. Besides these, the loud sounds of voices give many signs, as well as the phenomena which meet our eyes, thunder even and lightning, and the gleam of a star's train of light.

[12] *Somniorum autem rata fides et indubitabilis foret, ni ratiocinantes*

coniectura fallerentur interdum. Quae (ut Aristoteles affirmat) tum fixa sunt et stabilia, cum animantis altius quiescentis, ocularis pupula neutrobi inclinata, rectissime cernit.

[12] The faith in dreams, too, would be sure and indubitable, were it not that their interpreters are sometimes deceived in their conjectures. And dreams (as Aristotle declares) are certain and trustworthy, when the person is in a deep sleep and the pupil of his eye is inclined to neither side but looks directly forward.

[13] Et quia vanities aliquotiens plebeia strepit, haec imperite mussando, si esset praesentiendi notitia quaedam, cur ille se casurum in bello, vel alius hoc se passurum ignoravit aut illud, sufficet dici, quod et grammaticus locutus interdum est barbare, et absurde cecinit musicus, et ignoravit remedium medicus: sed non ideo nec grammatica nec musica nec medicina subsistit.

[13] And because the silly commons oftentimes object, ignorantly muttering such things as these: "If there were a science of prophecy, why did one man not know that he would fall in battle, or another that he would suffer this or that": it will be enough to say, that a grammarian has sometimes spoken ungrammatically, a musician sung out of tune, and a physician been ignorant of a remedy, but for all that grammar, music, and the medical art have not come to a stop.

[14] Unde praeclare hoc quoque (ut alia) Tullius: 'Signa ostenduntur' ait 'a dis rerum futurarum. In his siqui erraverit, non deorum natura sed hominum coniectura peccavit.' Ne igitur extra calcem (quod dicitur) sermo decurrens, lecturo fastidium ferat, ad explicanda prospecta revertamur. Iulianus A. Viennae Christianum se simulat illiciendae multitudinis causa: et die festo in Ecclesia inter Christianos Deum precatur. Cum apud Parisios adhuc Caesar Iulianus quatiens scutum variis motibus exerceretur in campo, axiculis, quibus orbis erat compaginatus, in vanum excussis, ampla remanserat sola, quam retinens valida manu stringebat.

[14] Wherefore Cicero has this fine saying, among others: "The gods," says he, "show signs of coming events. With regard to these if one err, it is not the nature of the gods that is at fault, but man's interpretation." Therefore, that my discourse may not run beyond the mark (as the saying is) and weary my future reader, let us return and unfold the events that were foreseen. Iulianus Augustus at Vienne pretends to be a Christian, in order to win the favour of the populace; and on the day of a festival he prays to God in church among the Christians. At Paris, when Julian, still a Caesar, was shaking his shield while engaged in various exercises in the field, the sections of which the orb of the shield was fashioned fell apart and only the handle remained, which he held in the grasp of a strong hand.

[2] Territisque ut omine diro praesentibus cunctis, ‘Nemo’ inquit ‘vereatur: habeo firmiter quod tenebam.’ Item cum apud Viennam postea quiesceret sobrius, horrore medio noctis, imago quaedam visa splendidior, hos ei versus heroes modo non vigilanti aperte edixit, eadem saepius replicando, quibus fretus nihil asperum sibi superesse existimabat ζεὺς ὅταν εἰς πλατὺ τέρμα μὸλῃ κλυτοῦ ὕδροχόοιο, παρθενικῆς δὲ κρόνος μοίρῃ βαίῃ ἐπὶ πέμπτῃ εἰκοστῇ, βασιλεὺς κωνστάντιος ἰασίδος αἷς τέρμα φίλου βιοτοῦ στυγερόν καὶ ἐπώδυνον ἔξει.

[2] And when all who were present were terrified by what seemed a direful omen, he said: “Let no man be afraid; I hold firmly what I was holding.” Again at Vienne at a later time, when he went to sleep with a clear head, at night’s dread mid a gleaming form appeared and recited to him plainly, as he lay almost awake, the following heroic verses, repeating them several times; and trusting to these, he believed that no difficulty remained to trouble him: “When Zeus the noble Aquarius’ bound shall reach, And Saturn come to Virgo’s twenty-fifth degree, Then shall Constantius, king of Asia, of this life So sweet the end attain with heaviness and grief.”

[3] Agebat itaque nihil interim de statu rerum praesentium mutans, sed animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta disponens, paulatimque sese corroborans, ut dignitatis augmento, virium quoque congruerent incrementa.

[3] Accordingly, he continued to make no change in his present condition, merely with calm and tranquil mind attending to everything that came up and gradually strengthening his position, to the end that his increase in rank might be attended also with a growth in power.

[4] Utque omnes nullo impediēte, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo iam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinae auguriisque intentus, et ceteris quae deorum semper fecere cultores.

[4] And in order to win the favour of all men and have opposition from none, he pretended to be an adherent of the Christian religion, from which he had long since secretly revolted; and making a few men sharers in his secrets, he was given up to soothsaying and auguries, and to other practises which the worshippers of the pagan gods have always followed.

[5] Et ut haec interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Ianuario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollemniter numine orato discessit. Vadomarius, rex Alamannorum, rupto foedere, per emissarios limites vastat, et Libinonem comitem cum paucis interficit. Dum haec ita aguntur, propinquante iam vere, nuntio percitus inopino, ad tristitiam versus est et maerorem. Didicit enim Alamannos a pago Vadomarii exorsos, unde nihil post ictum foedus sperabatur incommodum,

vastare confinis Raetiis tractus, nihilque sinere intemptatum, manus praedatorias fusius discurrentes.

[5] And in order temporarily to conceal this, on the day of the festival which the Christians celebrate in the month of January and call the Epiphany, he went to their church, and departed after offering a prayer to their deity in the usual manner. Vadomarius, king of the Alamanni, having broken the treaty, lays waste the frontiers through his emissaries and kills Count Libino and some others. While these events were taking place, spring being now at hand, Julian was stirred by an unexpected piece of news, which turned him to sadness and grief. For he learned that the Alamanni had sallied forth from Vadomarius' canton, a quarter from which he looked for no danger since the conclusion of the treaty, and were devastating the regions bordering on Raetia, and, ranging widely with bands of plunderers, were leaving nothing untried.

[2] Quod ne dissimulatum redivivas bellorum materias excitaret, Libinonem quendam comitem cum Celtis et Petulantibus misit, hiemantibus secum, negotium (ut poscebat ratio) correcturum.

[2] Since to ignore this would arouse new causes for war, he sent a certain Libino, a count, with the Celts and Petulantes, who were wintering with him, to set matters in order according as conditions demanded.

[3] Qui cum mature prope oppidum Sanctionem venisset, longe visus a barbaris, qui iam certamina meditantes, sese per valles abdiderant, hortatusque milites licet numero impares, cupidine tamen pugnandi vehementius irritatos, aggreditur inconsulte Germanos, interque dimicandi exordia, ipse concidit omnium primus, cuius interitu erecta barbarorum fiducia, Romanisque ad ducis vindictam accensis, certamen committitur obstinatum, et urgente magnitudinis mole, disiecti sunt nostri occisis paucis et vulneratis.

[3] When Libino had quickly come to the neighbourhood of the town of Sanctio, he was seen from afar by the savages, who, already meditating battle, had hidden themselves in the valleys. Thereupon encouraging his men, who, though fewer in numbers, were inspired with an ardent longing for battle, he rashly attacked the Germans and at the beginning of the fighting was himself the first of all to fall. Since his death increased the confidence of the savages and fired the Romans with a desire to avenge their leader, an obstinate struggle ensued, in which our men, overcome by vast numbers, were put to flight after a few of them had been killed or wounded.

[4] Cum hoc Vadomario et Gundomado eius fratre itidem rege, Constantius (ut iam relatum est) firmaverat pacem. Post quae mortuo Gundomado, hunc sibi fore existimans fidum, secretorumque taciturnum exsecutorem et efficacem mandabat, si famae solius admittenda est fides, scribebatque, ut tamquam

rupto concordiae pacto, subinde collimitia sibi vicina vexaret, quo Iulianus id metuens nusquam a tutela discederet Galliarum.

[4] With this Vadomarius and his brother Gundomadus, who was also king, Constantius (as I have already said) had concluded a peace. When, after that event, Gundomadus died, Constantius, thinking that Vadomarius would be loyal to him, made him the secret and efficient executor of his plots (if rumour alone is to be trusted), and wrote to him that he should pretend to break the treaty of peace from time to time and attack the districts bordering on his domain; to the end that Julian, in fear of this, should nowhere abandon the defence of Gaul.

[5] Quibus (si dignum est credere) obtemperans Vadomarius haec et similia perpetrabat, ad perstringendum fallendumque miris modis ab aetatis primitiis callens, ut postea quoque ducatum per Phoenicem regens ostendit. Sed re ipsa convictus abstinuit. Capto enim a stationariis militibus notario, quem miserat ad Constantium, scrutatoque siquid portaret, epistula eius reperta est, in qua praeter alia multa, id quoque scripserat: 'Caesar tuus disciplinam non habet.' Iulianum autem assidue per litteras dominum et Augustum appellabat et deum. Iulianus A., interceptis Vadomarii litteris ad Constantium A., eum in convivio comprehendendum curavit: et Alamannis aliis occisis, aliis in deditionem acceptis, ceteris pacem petentibus dedit. Haec ut erant periculosa et dubia, Iulianus in exitiale malum eruptura considerans, in unum omni cogitatione intenta, eum vi incautum rapere festinabat, ut securitatem suam provinciarumque locaret in tuto, et iniit consilium tale.

[5] These commands Vadomarius obeyed (if it is right to believe the tale) and perpetrated this and similar outrages, wonderfully skilled as he was from the beginning of his life in deception and fraud, as he also showed later when governor of the province of Phoenicia. But when he was actually proved to be acting treacherously, he ceased his activities. For a secretary whom he had sent to Constantius was captured by the soldiers on guard, and when he was searched, to see if he carried anything, a letter from Vadomarius was found, in which besides many other things he had written this also: "Your Caesar lacks discipline." But he was constantly addressing Julian in letters as Lord, Augustus and God. Iulianus Augustus, having intercepted a letter of Vadomarius to Constantius Augustus, had him arrested at a banquet; then, after slaying some of the Alamanni and receiving others in surrender, he granted peace to the rest at their request. Julian, thinking that such actions, dangerous and dubious as they were, would break out into deadly mischief, directed all his thoughts to the one end of forcibly seizing Vadomarius while off his guard, in order to ensure his own safety and that of the provinces. And this was the plan that he formed.

[2] Philagrium notarium, Orientis postea comitem, ad eas miserat partes, cuius prudentiae fidebat, olim sibi compertae, eique inter multa, quae pro captu

instantium rerum erat acturus, signatam quoque chartulam tradidit, mandavitque, ne aperiret vel recitaret nisi Vadomario viso cis Rhenum.

[2] He had sent to those regions his secretary, Philagrius, later Count of the Orient, in whose good judgement he had confidence, having already tested it; and, in addition to many other orders which he was to execute according as urgent affairs might require, he also gave him a sealed note with orders neither to open nor read it unless he saw Vadomarius on our side of the Rhine.

[3] Perrexit Philagrius ut praeceptum est, eoque praesente et negotiis adstricto diversis, transgressus Vadomarius flumen, ut nihil in profunda metuens pace nihilque secus gestorum simulans scire, viso praeposito militum ibi degentium, pauca locutus ex more, ultro semet, ut suspicionis nihil relinqueret abiturus, ad convivium eius venire promisit, ad quod erat etiam Philagrius invitatus.

[3] Philagrius went his way as ordered, and when he had arrived and was busy with sundry affairs, Vadomarius crossed the river, fearing nothing, as was natural in a time of profound peace, and pretending to know of no irregular doings. And on seeing the commander of the soldiers stationed there, he spoke briefly with him as usual; and in order to leave behind no suspicion on his departure, he even promised to come to a banquet of the commander's to which Philagrius also was invited.

[4] Qui statim ingressus, rege conspecto imperatoris recordatus est verba, causatusque rem seriam et urgentem, ad diversorium rediit, scriptisque lectis, doctus quid agi conveniet, confestim reversus discubuit inter ceteros.

[4] The latter immediately upon entering and seeing the king recalled the words of his emperor, and offering as excuse some important and urgent piece of business, returned to his quarters; then, after reading the letter and learning what he was to do, he at once came back and took his place at table with the others.

[5] Finitisque epulis Vadomarium fortiter apprehensum, rectori militum arte custodiendum apud signa commisit, textu lecto iussorum, comitibus eius ad sua redire compulsis, super quibus nihil fuerat imperatum.

[5] As soon as the feast was ended, he laid a strong hand on Vadomarius and handed him over to the commander of the soldiers, to be closely confined in camp, having read to him the text of his orders; the king's companions he compelled to return to their homes, since no order touching them had been given.

[6] Exhibitus tamen idem rex ad principis castra, iamque spe veniae omni praeclusa, cum interceptum notarium et quae scripserat ad Constantium, comperisset iam publicata, ne convicio quidem tenus compellatus, missus est

ad Hispanias. Id enim studio curabatur ingenti, ne Iuliano discedente a Galliis, immanissimus homo provinciarum statum aegre compositum, licentius conturbaret.

[6] The aforesaid king, however, was taken to the camp of the prince, and though now without any hope of pardon, since he had learned that his secretary had been taken and that what he had written to Constantius was now generally known, without even being addressed in reproachful terms he was sent to Spain. For the greatest precaution was taken lest, when Julian should withdraw from Gaul, that most savage king should not lawlessly disturb the condition of the provinces, which had been put in order with difficulty.

[7] Hoc casu elatior Iulianus, regis opinione citius intercepti, quem profecturus ad longinqua formidabat nihil remittentibus curis, barbaros adoriri disposuit, quos peremisse Libinonem comitem in congressu cum militibus docuimus paucis.

[7] Although Julian was somewhat elated by this good fortune, in that the king, whom he dreaded when about to leave for far countries, had been apprehended sooner than he had expected, yet he did not at all relax his diligence, but planned an attack upon the savages who (as I have shown) had slain the Count Libino and a few of his followers in battle.

[8] Et ne rumor adventus sui eos ad remotiora traduceret, superato Rheno noctis alto silentio, cum auxiliorum expeditissimis globis, nihil metuentes huius modi circumvenit, excitatosque hostilium fragore armorum, dum gladios circumspectant et tela, celeriter involavit et quosdam occidit, orantes alios praedamque offerentes, dediticios cepit, reliquis, qui remansere, pacem precantibus dedit, quietem pollicitis firmam. Iulianus A. milites suos alloquitur, et in verba sua universes adigit, Constantio A. bellum illaturus. Quae dum mentibus aguntur erectis, coniectans quantas intestinae cladis excitaverat moles, nihilque tam convenire conatibus subitis, quam celeritatem sagaci praevidens mente, professa palam defectione, se tutiorem fore existimavit, incertusque de militum fide, placata ritu secretiore Bellona, classico ad contionem exercitu convocato, saxeo suggestu insistens, iamque (ut apparebat) fidentior haec clarius solito disserebat:

[8] And in order that no rumour of his coming might lead them to flee to more distant places, he crossed the Rhine in the deep silence of night with the lightest equipped of his auxiliary forces and surrounded them while they feared nothing of the kind. And when they were awakened by the clash of hostile arms and were looking about for their swords and spears, he flew upon them swiftly; some he slew, others, who begged for mercy and offered booty, he received in surrender, to the rest who remained there he granted peace when they sued for it and promised lasting quiet. Julianus Augustus addresses his soldiers and has them all swear allegiance to him, being resolved to make

war upon Constantius Augustus. While performing these exploits with resolute courage, Julian, surmising what a mass of civil strife he had aroused, and wisely foreseeing that nothing was so favourable to a sudden enterprise as speedy action, thought that he would be safer if he openly admitted his revolt, and being uncertain of the loyalty of the troops, he first propitiated Bellona with a secret rite, and then, after calling the army to an assembly with the clarion, he took his place on a tribunal of stone, and now feeling more confident (as was evident), spoke these words in a louder voice than common:

[2] 'Iam dudum tacita deliberatione vos aestimo (magni commilitones) gestorum excitos amplitudine, hoc operiri consilium, ut eventus, qui sperantur, perpendi possint et praecaveri. Plus enim audire quam loqui militem decet actibus coalitum magnis et gloriosis, nec alia spectatae aequitatis sentire rectorem, quam ea, quae laudari digne potuerunt et probari. Ut igitur quae proposui ambagibus abiectis absolvam, advertite oro benivole, quae sermone brevi percurram.

[2] "Long since, noble fellow-soldiers, I have believed in my secret thoughts that you, fired by your valiant deeds, have been waiting to learn how the events that are expected may be weighed and provided for beforehand. For it becomes the soldier reared amid great and glorious deeds to use his ears rather than his tongue, and for a leader of tried justice to have no other thoughts than those which can worthily be praised and approved. Therefore, that I may cast aside vague circumlocution and set forth what I have purposed, kindly attend, I pray you, to what I shall briefly run through.

[3] Arbitrio dei caelestis, vobis inter ipsa iuventae rudimenta permixtus, irruptiones Alamannorum assiduas et Francorum, populandique iugem licentiam fregi, et vigore communi, Romanis agminibus quotiens libet Rhenum pervium feci, contra rumorum fremitus gentiumque validarum violentos excursus, stando immobilis, virtutis vestrae nimirum firmamento confisus.

[3] "By Heaven's will united with you from the very beginning of my youth, I checked the constant inroads of the Alamanni and the Franks and their unending lust for plunder, and by our combined courage I made it possible for the Rhine to be crossed by Roman armies as often as they wished; and in standing firm against the clamour of rumours and the forcible invasions of mighty nations I relied, I assure you, on the support of your valour.

[4] Et haec laborum, quos exhausimus, Galliae spectatrices post funera multa, iacturasque recreatae diuturnas et graves, posteritati per aetatum examina commendabunt.

[4] Gaul, an eye-witness of these labours that we have performed, and now restored after many losses and long and grievous calamities, will hand down

these achievements of ours to posterity through countless ages.

[5] At nunc cum auctoritate vestri iudicii, rerumque necessitate compulsus, ad Augustum elatus sum culmen, deo vobisque fautoribus, si fortuna coeptis adfuerit, altius affecto maiora, id prae me ferens quod exercitui cuius aequitas armorumque inclaruit magnitudo, domi moderatus visus sum et tranquillus, et in crebritate bellorum, contra conspiratas gentium copias, consideratus et cautus.

[5] But now that, forced by the authority of your choice and by stress of circumstances, I have been raised to Augustan dignity, with your support and that of the deity (if fortune favours our enterprises), I am aiming higher at greater deeds, openly declaring that to an army whose justice and greatness in arms are renowned I have seemed in time of peace a mild and self-controlled leader, and in many wars against the united forces of nations, sagacious and prudent.

[6] Ut igitur adversa praeveniamus mentium societate iunctissima, sequimini viam consilii mei salutarem (ut puto), cum integritas rerum intentioni nostrae voluntatique respondeat, et dum maioribus vacant praesidiis regiones Illyricae, impraepedito cursu tendentes, Daciarum interim fines extimos occupemus, exinde quid agi oporteat bonis successibus instruendi.

[6] Therefore, that we may with the closest unanimity of purpose forestall adverse events, follow my course of action, which is salutary (I think), since our intention and desire are in harmony with the welfare of the state; and while the regions of Illyricum are without greater garrisons, advancing with unobstructed course, let us meanwhile take possession of the utmost parts of Dacia, and from there learn by means of good success what ought to be done.

[7] Ad quae vos ex more fidentium ducum, iuramento quaeso concordiam spondete mansuram et fidem, operam mi navaturo sedulam et sollicitam, nequid agatur inconsultum et segne, et producturo, siquis exegerit, incorruptam conscientiam meam, quod nihil voluntate praeter ea, quae in commune conducunt, aggrediar aut temptabo.

[7] In support of this plan do you, I pray, after the manner of those who trust their leaders, promise under oath your lasting and faithful accord; I for my part will strive diligently and anxiously that nothing be done rashly or with faint heart, and I will show, if any one require it, my conscience clean, in that I will undertake or try nothing willingly except what contributes to the common weal.

[8] Illud sane obtestor et rogo: observate, ne impetu gliscentis ardoris, in privatorum damna quisquam vestrum exsiliat, id cogitans quod ita nos illustrarunt hostium innumerae strages, ut indemnitas provinciarum et salus exemplis virtutum pervulgatae.

[8] This one thing I beg and implore: see to it that none of you under the impulse of growing ardour be guilty of injury to private citizens, bearing in mind that not so much the slaughter of countless foemen has made us famous as the prosperity and safety of the provinces, widely known through instances of virtuous conduct.”

[9] Hoc sermone imperatoris vice alicuius oraculi comprobato, mota est incitatus contio, et rerum cupida novandarum, unanimanti consensu, voces horrendas immani scutorum fragore miscebat, magnum elatumque ducem, et (ut experta est) fortunatum domitorem gentium appellans et regum.

[9] By this speech of the emperor, no less approved than the words of some oracle, the assembly was strongly moved. Eager for revolution, with one accord they mingled fear-inspiring shouts with the violent clash of shields, calling him a great and exalted leader and (as they knew from experience) a fortunate victor over nations and kings.

[10] Iussique universi in eius nomen iurare, sollemniter, gladiis cervicibus suis admotis, sub execrationibus diris, verbis iuravere conceptis, omnes pro eo casus, quoad vitam profuderint (si necessitas adegerit) perluturos; quae secuti rectores, omnesque principis proximi, fidem simili religione firmarunt.

[10] And when all had been bidden to take the usual oath of allegiance, aiming their swords at their throats, they swore in set terms under pain of dire execrations, that they would endure all hazards for him, to the extent of pouring out their life-blood, if necessity required; their officers and all the emperor’s closest advisers followed their example, and pledged loyalty with like ceremony.

[11] Solus omnium licet proposito stabili, audacter tamen praefectus repugnavit Nebridius, iuris iurandi nexu contra Constantium nequaquam se stringi posse commemorans, cuius beneficiis obligatus erat crebris et multis.

[11] Alone among all the prefect Nebridius, with a loyalty that was firm rather than prudent, opposed him, declaring that he could by no means be bound by an oath against Constantius, to whom he was indebted for many and repeated acts of kindness.

[12] Quibus auditis, cum stantes propius milites acriter inflammati, eum appeterent trucidandum, ad genua sua prolapsus, imperator paludamento protexit, indeque reversus in regiam cum antegressum eum vidisset supplicemque iacentem orare, ut levandi causa timoris, ei porrigeret dexteram, ‘Ecquid’ ait ‘praecipuum amicis servabitur, si tu manum tetigeris meam? Sed tu quo libet abi securus.’ Hocque audito, ille innoxius ad larem suum recessit in Tusciam.

[12] Upon hearing this the soldiers who were standing near, inflamed with

anger, rushed upon him to slay him; but the emperor, at whose knees he had fallen, covered him with his general's cloak. Then Julian returned to the palace. And when he saw that Nebridius had preceded him and was lying there as a suppliant, begging that, to relieve his fears, the emperor would offer him his hand, Julian answered: "Will any special honour be reserved for my friends, if *you* shall touch my hand? But depart in safety whithersoever you please." On hearing this, Nebridius withdrew unharmed to his home in Tuscany.

[13] His Julianus, ut poscebat negotii magnitudo, praestructis, expertus quid in rebus tumultuosis anteversio valeat et praegressus, per tesseram edicto itinere in Pannonias, castris promotis et signis, temere se fortunae commisit ambiguae. Constantius A. Faustinam ducit uxorem; auget supplementis exercitum; Armeniae et Hiberiae regis donis sibi conciliat. Replicare nunc convenit tempora, et narrare summam, quae dum aguntur in Galliis ante dicta, Constantius hiemans Antiochiae, domi militiaeque perfecit.

[13] After taking these precautions, as the greatness of the enterprise demanded, Julian, knowing by experience the value of anticipating and outstripping an adversary in troublous times, having given written order for a march into Pannonia, advanced his camp and his standards, and unhesitatingly committed himself to whatever Fortune might offer. Constantius Augustus marries Faustina; he increases his army with additional recruits; by gifts he wins the support of the kings of Armenia and Hiberia. It is now fitting to turn back to the past and give a brief account of what Constantius, who was wintering at Antioch, accomplished in peace and in war, while the events just described were taking place in Gaul.

[2] Inter complures alios honore conspicuos, adoraturi imperatorem peregre venientem, ordinantur etiam ex tribunis insignibus. Cum igitur a Mesopotamia reversus, Constantius hoc exciperetur officio, Amphilocheus quidam ex tribuno Paphlago, quem dudum sub Constante militantem discordiarum sevisse causas inter priores, fratres, suspiciones contiguae veritati pulsabant, ausus paulo petulantius stare, ut ipse quoque ad parile obsequium admittendus, agnitus est et prohibitus, strepentibusque multis, et intueri lucem ulterius non debere clamantibus, ut perduellem, et obstinatum, Constantius circa haec lenior solito, 'Desinite' ait 'urgere hominem ut existimo sontem, sed nondum aperte convictum, et mementote quod, siquid admisit huius modi, sub obtutibus meis conscientiae ipsius sententia punietur, quam latere non poterit,' et ita discessum est.

[2] Among many others of conspicuous distinction there were also appointed to greet the emperor when he came from abroad some illustrious tribunes. Therefore when Constantius, on his return from Mesopotamia, was received with this attention, Amphilocheus, a former tribune from Paphlagonia, who had served long before under Constans and was under well-founded suspicion

of having sown the seeds of discord between the deceased brothers, having dared to appear somewhat arrogantly, as if he also ought to be admitted to this service, was recognised and forbidden. And when many raised an outcry and shouted that he ought not to be allowed longer to look upon the light of day, being a stiff-necked traitor, Constantius, milder than usual on this occasion, said: "Cease to trouble a man who is, I believe, guilty, but has not yet been openly convicted; and remember that if he has committed anything of that kind, so long as he is in my sight he will be punished by the judgement of his own conscience, from which he will be unable to hide." And that was the end of it.

[3] *Postridie ludis Circensibus idem ex adverse imperatoris (ubi consueverat) spectans, repentino clamore sublato, cum certamen opinatum emitteretur, diffractis cancellis, quibus una cum pluribus incumbibat, cunctis cum eo in vanum excussis laesisque leviter paucis, interna compage disrupta, efflasset spiritum repertus est solus, unde Constantius ut futurorum quoque praescius exultabat.*

[3] On the next day, at the games in the Circus, the same man was looking on from a place opposite the emperor, where he usually sat. And when the expected contest began and a sudden shout was raised, the railing on which with many others he was leaning broke, and he with all the rest fell to the ground; and while a few were slightly injured, he alone was found to have suffered internal injuries and to have given up the ghost, whereat Constantius rejoiced greatly, as if he had a knowledge of future events also.

[4] *Eodem tempore Faustinam nomine sortitus est coniugem, amissa iam pridem Eusebia, cuius fratres erant Eusebius et Hypatius consulares, corporis morumque pulchritudine pluribus antistante, et in culmine tam celso humana, cuius favore iustissimo exemptum periculis, declaratumque Caesarem rettulimus Iulianum.*

[4] At that same time Constantius took to wife Faustina, having long since lost Eusebia, sister of the ex-consuls Eusebius and Hypatius, a lady distinguished before many others for beauty of person and of character, and kindly in spite of her lofty station, through whose well-deserved favour (as I have shown) Julian was saved from dangers and declared Caesar.

[5] *Habita est eisdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio, e Galliis novitatis metu digressi, et Anatolio recens mortuo praefecto praetorio per Illyricum, ad eius mittitur locum, cumque Tauro itidem praefecto praetorio per Italiam, amplissimi suscepit insignia magistratus.*

[5] During those same days, attention was paid to Florentius also, who had left Gaul through fear of a change of government, and he was sent to take the place of Anatolius, praetorian prefect in Illyricum, who had recently died; and

with Taurus, who was likewise praetorian prefect in Italy, he received the insignia of the highest magistracy.

[6] *Parabantur nihilo minus externorum atque civilium instrumenta bellorum, et augebatur turmarum equestrium numerus, parique studio supplementa legionibus scripta sunt, indictis per provincias tirociniis, omnisque ordo et professio vexabatur, vestem armaque exhibens et tormenta, aurum quin etiam et argentum, multiplicisque rei cibariae copias, et diversa genera iumentorum.*

[6] Nevertheless, equipment for foreign and civil wars continued to be made, the number of squadrons of cavalry was increased, and with equal zeal levies were ordered throughout the provinces and reinforcements enrolled for the legions; every order and profession was burdened, supplying clothing, arms, and hurling-engines, nay even gold and silver, and an abundance of provisions of all kinds as well as various sorts of beasts of burden.

[7] *Et quia a Persarum rege ad sua ob difficultatem hiberni temporis aegre contruso, reserata caeli temperie validior impetus timebatur, ad Transtigritanos reges et satrapas legati cum muneribus missi sunt amplis, monituri cunctos et hortaturi, nostra sentire, et nihil fallax temptare vel fraudulentum.*

[7] And since from the king of the Persians, who had regretfully been forced back into his own territories by the difficulty of the winter season, now that the mild weather had set in a more powerful attack was feared, envoys were sent to the kings and satraps beyond the Tigris with generous gifts, to admonish and exhort them all to be loyal to us and attempt no deceit or fraud.

[8] *Ante omnia tamen Arsaces et Meribanes, Armeniae et Hiberiae reges, cultu ambizioso indumentorum emercabantur, et multiformibus donis, damna Romanis negotiis illaturi, si rebus tum etiam dubiis descivissent ad Persas.*

[8] But above all Arsaces and Meribanes, kings of Armenia and of Hiberia, were bribed with splendidly adorned garments and gifts of many kinds, since they would be likely to cause damage to Roman interests, if when affairs were already dubious they should revolt to the Persians.

[9] *Inter tot urgentia, Hermogene defuncto, ad praefecturam promovetur Helpidius, ortus in Paphlagonia, aspectu vilis et lingua, sed simplicioris ingenii, incruentus et mitis, adeo ut cum ei coram innocentem quendam torquere Constantius praecepisset, aequo animo abrogari sibi potestatem oraret, haecque potioribus aliis ex sententia principis agenda permitti.* Constantius A. Antiochiae tum agens, per Gaudentium notarium Africam in sua potestate retinet, ac Euphrate transito Edessam se exercitumque onfert. Rigore itaque instantium negotiorum anceps Constantius, quid capesseret ambigebat, diu multumque anxius, utrum Iulianum peteret et longinqua, an Parthos repelleret, iam transituros (ut

minabantur) Euphratem, haerensque tandem cum ducibus communicato saepe consilio, in id flexus est, ut finito propiore bello vel certe mollito, nullo post terga relicto quem formidaret, Illyriis percursis et Italia (ut rebatur), Iulianum inter exordia ipsa coeptorum tamquam praedam venaticiam caperet. Hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde praedicabat.

[9] In the midst of such urgent affairs Hermogenes died and Helpidius was promoted to the prefecture, a man born in Paphlagonia, ordinary in appearance and speech, but of a simple nature, so averse to bloodshed and so mild that once when Constantius had ordered him to torture an innocent man in his presence, he quietly asked that his office might be taken from him and these matters left to more suitable men, to be carried out according to the sovereign's mind. Constantius Augustus, then living at Antioch, retains Africa in his power through the statesecretary Gaudentius; he crosses the Euphrates and proceeds with his army to Edessa. Therefore, Constantius, wavering amid the difficulty of pressing affairs, was in doubt what course to pursue, considering long and anxiously whether to go to distant lands against Julian, or to repel the Parthians, who (as they threatened) were soon about to cross the Euphrates; and after hesitating and often taking counsel with his generals, he at last inclined to this plan: that after finishing, or at any rate quieting, the nearer war, and leaving no one to fear behind his back, after overrunning Illyricum and Italy (as he thought), he should take Julian (like a hunter's prey) in the very beginning of his enterprises; for so he kept continually declaring, to calm the fear of his men.

[2] Tamen ne intepesceret, aut omisisse belli videretur aliud latus, adventus sui terrorem ubique dispergens, veritusque ne Africa absente eo perrumperetur, ad omnes casus principibus opportuna, velut finibus Orientis egressurus, per mare notarium misit Gaudentium, quem exploratorem actuum Iuliani per Gallias aliquamdiu fuisse praestrinximus.

[2] Nevertheless, that he might not grow lukewarm or seem to have neglected the other side of the war, spreading everywhere the terror of his coming; and fearing lest Africa should be invaded in his absence, a province advantageous to the emperors for all occasions, as if he were on the point of leaving the regions of the East, he sent to Africa by sea the secretary Gaudentius, who (as I have hinted before) had been for some time in Gaul to watch the actions of Julian.

[3] Hunc enim obsequio celeri cuncta consideratione gemina efficere posse sperabat, quod adversam partem metueret offensam et properaret, nactus hanc opportunitatem commendari Constantio, quem credebatur procul dubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepabat.

[3] For he hoped that Gaudentius would be able to accomplish everything with

prompt obedience for two reasons: both because he feared the adverse side, which he had offended, and because he would be eager to take advantage of this opportunity to commend himself to Constantius, who he thought would undoubtedly be the victor; for at that time there was no one at all who did not hold that firm conviction.

[4] Qui cum eo venisset, mandatorum principis memor, per litteras Cretione comite quid ageretur edocto, reliquisque rectoribus, lecto undique milite fortiore, translatisque ab utraque Mauritania discursatoribus expeditis, Aquitaniae et Italiae obiecta litora tuebatur artissime.

[4] So when Gaudentius came there, mindful of the emperor's injunctions, he informed Count Cretio and the other commanders by letter what was to be done, assembled the bravest soldiers from every hand, brought over light-armed skirmishers from both the Mauritanian provinces, and closely guarded the shores lying opposite to Aquitania and Italy.

[5] Neque id consilium fefellit Constantium. Eo enim superstite nullus adversorum illas tetigit terras, licet oram Siciliensem a Lilybaeo protentam ad Pachynum multitudo servabat armata, si patuisset facultas, ocius transitura.

[5] And Constantius made no mistake in adopting that plan, for so long as he lived none of his opponents reached those lands, although the coast of Sicily which extends from Lilybaeum to Pachynum was guarded by a strong armed force, which was ready to cross quickly, if an opportunity should offer.

[6] His pro rerum ratione, ut sibi prodesse existimabat Constantius, aliisque minutis et levioribus ordinatis, ducum nuntiis docebatur et litteris, Persarum copias in unum coactas, rege turgido praeunte, iam prope margines tendere Tigridis, incertum quonam erumpere cogitantes.

[6] When these and other less important and trifling matters had been arranged as Constantius thought would be to his advantage under the circumstances, he was informed by messages and letters of his generals that the Persian forces had united with their haughty king at their head, and were already drawing near to the banks of the Tigris, but that where they were intending to break through was uncertain.

[7] Quibus percitus, ut propius agens, futuros possit antevenire conatus, quam primum hibernis egressus, accito undique equitatu, peditumque robore, quo fidebat, per Capersanam Euphrate navali ponte transcurso Edessam petit, uberem commeatibus et munitam, ibi parumper operiens, dum exploratores aut perfugae motum castrorum hostilium indicarent. Iulianus Augustus post ordinatas res Galliarum ripam Danubii petit, et partem militum per Italiam perque Raetias praemittit. Discedens inter haec Iulianus a Rauracis, peractis quae docuimus dudum, Sallustium praefectum promotum remisit in Gallias, Germaniano iusso vicem tueri Nebridii, itidemque Nevittae magisterium

commisit armorum, Gumoarium proditorem antiquum timens, quem cum Scutarios ageret, latenter prodidisse Veteranionem suum principem audiebat; et Iovio quaesturam, cuius in actibus Magnenti meminimus, et Mamertino largitiones curandas, et Dagalaifum praefecit domesticis, aliosque plures ex arbitrio suo militibus regendis apposuit, quorum merita norat et fidem.

[7] Aroused by this news, Constantius left his winter quarters as speedily as possible, in order to act from nearer at hand and so be able to anticipate the coming attempts. He gathered from all sides cavalry and the flower of his infantry, on which he relied, and crossing the Euphrates by Capersana on a bridge of boats, proceeded to Edessa, a city strongly fortified and well supplied with provisions; there he waited for a time, until scouts or deserters should give information of the moving of the enemy's camp. Julianus Augustus, after having set the affairs of Gaul in order, makes for the bank of the Danube, sending a part of his forces on ahead through Italy and Raetia. Meanwhile Julian, leaving Augst after finishing the business of which we have already spoken, sent Sallustius, who had been advanced to the rank of prefect, back to Gaul, bidding Germanianus take the place of Nebridius; he also made Nevitta commander of the cavalry, fearing Gomoarius as an old-time traitor, who (as he had heard), when leading the targeteers, secretly betrayed his prince, Veteranio. To Jovius, of whom I made mention in connection with the actions of Magnentius, he gave the quaestorship, and to Mamertinus the charge of the sacred largesses; he put Dagalaifus in command of the household troops, and assigned many others, whose services and loyalty he knew, to military commands on his own authority.

[2] Profecturus itaque per Marcianas silvas viasque iunctas Histri fluminis ripis, inter subita vehementer incertus, id verebatur, ne contemptus ut comitantibus paucis, multitudinem offenderet repugnantem.

[2] He intended then to make his way through the Marcian woods and along the roads near the banks of the river Danube, but being exceedingly uncertain amid the sudden changes of events, he feared lest his small retinue might bring him into contempt and lead the populace to oppose him.

[3] Quod ne fieret consilio sollerti praevidit, et agminibus distributis, per itinera Italiae nota quosdam properaturos cum Iovino misit et Iovio, alios per mediterranea Raetiarum magistro equitum Nevittae commissos, quo diffusi per varia, opinionem numeri praeberent immensi, formidineque cuncta complerent. Id enim et Alexander Magnus, et deinde alii plures, negotio ita poscente, periti fecere ductores.

[3] To prevent this from happening, he devised an ingenious plan: he divided his army and sent one part with Jovinus and Jovius to march rapidly along the familiar roads of Italy; the others were assigned to Nevitta, the commander of the cavalry, to advance through the middle of Raetia; to the end that, being

spread over various parts of the country, they might give the impression of a huge force and fill everything with alarm. For this was what Alexander the Great had done, and many other skilful generals after him, when occasion so required.

[4] Mandabat tamen egressis, ut tamquam hoste protinus occursuro, tutius graderentur, stationesque nocturnas agerent et vigilias, ne improvise hostium invaderentur excursu. Taurus et Florentius, consules ac praefecti praetorio hic per Illyricum, ille per Italiam, fugiunt appropinquante Iuliano A. Lucillianus, magister equitum, qui resistere Iuliano parabat, opprimitur. Quibus ita (ut videbatur) apte dispositis, more quo tractus perruperat saepe barbaricos, contextis successibus fidens, porrectius ire pergebat.

[4] He also charged them, when they left, to be on their guard as they marched, as if the enemy were to meet them at once, and at night to keep watch and ward, so as not to be surprised by a hostile attack. Taurus and Florentius, consuls and praetorian prefects, flee on the approach of Julianus Augustus, the one through Illyricum, the other through Italy. Lucillianus, commander of the cavalry, who was preparing to resist Julian, is defeated. When these arrangements had thus been made (suitably, as it seemed), he proceeded to go farther on by the method through which he had often broken through the country of the savages, relying upon a series of successes.

[2] Cumque ad locum venisset, unde navigari posse didicit flumen, lembis escensis, quos opportune fors dederat plurimos, per alveum, quantum fieri potuit, ferebatur occulte, ideo latens, quod toleranter et fortiter, nullius cibi indigens mundioris, sed paucis contentus et vilibus, oppida forinsecus transibat et castra, imitatus egregium illud Cyri veteris dictum, qui cum delatus ad hospitem interrogaretur ab eo, quid ad convivium parari deberet, panem responderat solum: sperare enim aiebat, prope rivum se cenaturum.

[2] And when he came to the place where he learned that the river was navigable, embarking in boats, of which by a fortunate chance there was a good supply, he was carried down the channel of the river as secretly as possible; and he escaped notice because, being enduring and strong and having no need of choice food, but content with a scanty and simple diet, he passed by the towns and fortresses without entering them, taking as his model that fine saying of Cyrus of old, who on coming to an inn and being asked by the host what viands he should prepare, replied: "Nothing but bread, for I hope to dine near a stream."

[3] Fama vero, quae mille, ut aiunt, linguis rerum mire exaggerat fidem, per Illyrios omnes celebrior fundebatur, Iulianum strata per Gallias multitudine regum et gentium numeroso exercitu, et successibus tumidum variis, adventare.

[3] But Rumour, which with a thousand tongues, as men say, strangely exaggerates the truth, spread herself abroad with many reports throughout all Illyricum, saying that Julian, after overthrowing a great number of kings and nations in Gaul, was on the way with a numerous army and puffed up by sundry successes.

[4] Quo rumore perculsus, praefectus praetorio Taurus, ut hostem vitans externum, mature discessit, vectusque mutatione celeri publici cursus, transitis Alpius Iulii, eodem ictu Florentium itidem praefectum secum abduxit.

[4] Alarmed by this news, the pretorian prefect Taurus speedily retreated, as if avoiding a foreign enemy, and using the rapid changes of the public courier-service, he crossed the Julian Alps, at the same stroke taking away with him Florentius, who was also prefect.

[5] Levibus tamen indiciis super Iuliani motu Lucillianus percitus comes, qui per illas regiones rem curabat ea tempestate castrensem, agensque apud Sirmium milites congregans, quos ex stationibus propinquis acciri celeritatis ratio permittebat, venture resistere cogitabat.

[5] None the less, Count Lucillianus, who then commanded the troops stationed in those regions, with headquarters at Sirmium, having some slight intelligence of Julian's move, gathered together such forces as regard for speedy action allowed to be summoned from the neighbouring stations and planned to resist him when he should arrive.

[6] Sed ille ut fax vel incensus malleolus, volucriter ad destinata festinans, cum venisset Bononeam, a Sirmio miliario nono disparatam et decimo, senescente luna ideoque obscurante noctis maximam partem, e navi exsiluit improvisus, statimque Dagalaifum misit cum expeditis ad Lucillianum vocandum, trahendumque si resistere niteretur.

[6] But Julian, like a meteor or a blazing dart, hastened with winged speed to his goal; and when he had come to Bononea, distant nineteen miles from Sirmium, as the moon was waning and therefore making dark the greater part of the night, he unexpectedly landed, and at once sent Dagalaifus with a light-armed force to summon Lucillianus, and if he tried to resist, to bring him by force.

[7] Qui tum etiam quiescens, cum strepitu excitatus turbulento vidisset ignotorum hominum se circulo circumsaepum, concepto negotio, et imperatorii nominis metu praestricus, praeceptis paruit invitissimus, secutusque alienum arbitrium, magister equitum paulo ante superbus et ferox, iumentoque impositus repentino, principi ut captivus offertur ignobilis, oppressam terrore vix colligens mentem.

[7] The prefect was still asleep, and when he was awakened by the noise and

confusion and saw himself surrounded by a ring of strangers, he understood the situation and, overcome with fear on hearing the emperor's name, obeyed his command, though most unwillingly. So the commander of the cavalry, just now so haughty and self-confident, following another's behest, was set upon the first horse that could be found and brought before the emperor like a base captive, scarcely keeping his wits through terror.

[8] Verum cum primitus visus, adorandae purpurae datam sibi copiam advertisset, recreatus tandem suique securus, 'Incaute' inquit 'imperator et temere cum paucis alienis partibus te commisisti.' Cui amarum Iulianus subridens, 'Haec verba prudentia serva' inquit 'Constantio. Maiestatis enim insigne non ut consiliario tibi, sed ut desinas pavere porrexisti.' Iulianus A. Sirmium, caput Illyrici Occidui, una cum praesidio in fidem recepit; Succos occupat et ad Senatum scribit contra Constantium. Nihil deinde amoto Luciliano, differendum nec agendum segnius ratus, ut erat in rebus trepidis audax et confidentior, civitatem (ut praesumebat) dediticium petens, citis passibus incedebat, eumque suburbanis propinquantem amplis nimiumque protentis, militaris et omnis generis turba, cum lumine multo et floribus, votisque faustis, Augustum appellans et dominum, duxit in regiam.

[8] But when at first sight of Julian he saw that the opportunity was given him of bowing down to the purple, taking heart at last and no longer in fear for his life, he said: "Incautiously and rashly, my Emperor, you have trusted yourself with a few followers to another's territory." To which Julian replied with a bitter smile: "Reserve these wise words for Constantius, for I have offered you the emblem of imperial majesty, not as to a counsellor, but that you might cease to fear." Julianus Augustus receives Sirmium, the capital of western Illyricum, into his power along with its garrison; he seizes Succo and writes to the senate, inveighing against Constantius. Then, after getting rid of Lucillianus, thinking that it was no time for delay or for inaction, bold as he was and confident in times of peril, he marched to the city, which he looked on as surrendered. And advancing with rapid steps, he had no sooner come near the suburbs, which were large and extended to a great distance, than a crowd of soldiers and people of all sorts, with many lights, flowers, and good wishes, escorted him to the palace, hailing him as Augustus and Lord.

[2] Ubi eventu laetus et omine, firmata spe venturorum, quod ad exemplum urbium matris populosae et celebris, per alias quoque civitates ut sidus salutare susciperetur, edito postridie curuli certamine, cum gaudio plebis, ubi lux excanduit tertia, morarum impatiens, percursis aggeribus publicis, Succo nemine auso resistere, praesidiis occupavit, eisdemque tuendis Nevittam praefecit ut fidum. Cuius loci situm excessu brevi conveniet ostendi.

[2] There, rejoicing in his success and in the good omen, and with increased hope of the future, since he believed that following the example of a populous and famous metropolis the other cities also would receive him as a health-

giving star, he gave chariot races on the following day, to the joy of the people. But with the dawn of the third day, impatient of delay, he hastened along the public highways, and since no one ventured to oppose him, placed a force in the pass of Succì, and entrusted its defence to Nevitta, as a faithful officer. And it will now be suitable in a brief digression, to describe the situation of this place.

[3] *Consertae celsorum montium summitates Haemi et Rhodopae, quorum alter ab ipsis Histri marginibus, alter ab Axii fluminis citeriore parte consurgit, in angustias tumulosis collibus desinentes, Illyrios interscindunt et Thracas, hinc vicinae mediterraneis Dacis et Serdicae, inde Thracias despectantes et Philippopolim, civitates amplas et nobiles, et tamquam natura in dicionem Romanam redigendas nationes circumscitas praenoscente, ita figuratae consuete, inter artos colles quondam hiantes obscurius, ad magnitudinem splendoremque postea rebus elatis, patefactae sunt et carpentis, aditibusque aliquotiens clausis, magnorum ducum populorumque reppulere conatus.*

[3] The closely united summits of the lofty mountain ranges Haemus and Rhodope, of which the one rises immediately from the banks of the Danube and the other, from those of the Axios, on our side, end with swelling hills in a narrow pass, and separate Illyricum and Thrace. On the one side they are near to the midlands of Dacia and to Serdica, on the other they look down upon Thrace and Philippopolis, great and famous cities; and as if nature had fore-knowledge that the surrounding nations must come under the sway of Rome, the pass was purposely so fashioned that in former times it opened obscurely between hills lying close together, but afterwards, when our power rose to greatness and splendour, it was opened even for the passage of carts; and yet it could sometimes be so closed as to check the attempts of great leaders and mighty peoples.

[4] *Et pars, quae Illyricum spectat, mollius edita, velut incauta, subinde superatur. Latus vero e regione oppositum Thraciis, prona humilitate deruptum, hincque et inde fragosis tramitibus impeditum difficile scanditur, etiam nullo vetante. Sub hac altitudine aggerum, utrobique spatiosa camporum planities iacet, superior ad usque Iulias Alpes extenta, inferior ita resupina et panda ut nullis habitetur obstaculis ad usque fretum et Propontidem.*

[4] The part of this pass, which faces Illyricum, since it rises more gently, is sometimes easily surmounted, as though it kept no guard. But the opposite side, over against Thrace, precipitous and falling sheer downward, is made difficult on both sides by rough paths, and is hard to get over even when there is no opposition. At the foot of these heights on both sides lie spacious plains, the upper one extending as far as the Julian Alps, the other so flat and open that there is no hindrance to its habitation as far as the strait and the Propontis.

[5] His ut in re tali tamque urgenti compositis, magistro equitum illic relicto, imperator revertitur Naessum (copiosum oppidum), de quo impraepecte cuncta disponderet, suis utilitatibus profutura.

[5] After these arrangements had been made in a matter so momentous and so urgent, the emperor, leaving the commander of the cavalry there, returned to Naessus (a well-supplied town), from which he might without hindrance attend to everything that would contribute to his advantage.

[6] Ubi Victorem apud Sirmium visum, scriptorem historicum, exindeque venire praeceptum, Pannoniae secundae consularem praefecit, et honoravit aenea statua, virum sobrietatis gratia aemulandum, multo post urbi praefectum.

[6] There he made Victor, the writer of history, whom he had seen at Sirmium and had bidden to come from there, consular governor of Pannonia Secunda, and honoured him with a statue in bronze, a man who was a model of temperance, and long afterwards prefect of the City.

[7] Iamque altius semet extollens, et numquam credens ad concordiam provocari posse Constantium, orationem acrem et invectivam, probra quaedam in eum explanantem et vitia, scripserat ad senatum. Quae cum Tertullo administrante adhuc praefecturam, recitarentur in curia, eminuit nobilitatis cum speciosa fiducia, benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim in unum, cunctorum sententia congruente, ‘auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus.’

[7] And now, lifting himself higher and believing that Constantius could never be brought into harmony with him, he wrote to the senate a sharp oration full of invective, in which he specifically charged Constantius with disgraceful acts and faults. When these were read in the House, while Tertullus was still acting as prefect, the striking independence of the nobles was manifest as well as their grateful affection; for with complete agreement they one and all shouted: “We demand reverence for your own creator.”

[8] tunc et memoriam Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus ad usque fascas auxerat et trabeas consulares, insulse nimirum et leviter, qui cum vitare deberet id quod infestius obiurgavit, brevi postea Mamertino in consulatu iunxit Nevittam, nec splendore nec usu nec gloria horum similem, quibus magistratum amplissimum detulerat Constantinus: contra inconsummatum et subagrestem et (quod minus erat ferendum) celsa in potestate crudelem. Duae legiones Constantianae, quae apud Sirmium ad Iulianum A. transierant, ab eo missae in Gallias, Aquileiam occupant consentientibus oppidanis, ac Iuliani militi portas claudunt. Haec et talia cogitanti, sollicitoque super maximis rebus et seriis, nuntius metuendus intimatur et insperatus, ausa indicans quorundam immania, impeditura cursus

eius ardentis, ni vigilanter haec quoque antequam adolescerent hebetasset. Quae breviter exponentur.

[8] Then he passed on to abuse the memory of Constantine as an innovator and a disturber of the ancient laws and of customs received of old, openly charging that he was the very first to advance barbarians even to the rods and robes of consuls. In so doing he showed neither good taste nor consideration; for instead of avoiding a fault which he so bitterly censured, he himself soon afterwards joined to Mamertinus as colleague in the consulship Nevitta, a man neither in high birth, experience, nor renown comparable with those on whom Constantine had conferred the highest magistracy, but on the contrary uncultivated, somewhat boorish, and (what was more intolerable) cruel in his high office. Two of Constantius' legions, which at Sirmium had gone over to Julian and been sent by him to Gaul, take possession of Aquileia with the consent of the inhabitants, and close the gates to Julian's army. While Julian was thinking of these and like matters and troubled by important and grave affairs, terrifying and unexpected news came to him of the monstrous and daring acts of certain men, which would check his eager advance, unless he could by watchful care repress these also before they came to a head. These shall be set forth briefly.

[2] Duas legiones Constantiacas addita una sagittariorum cohorte, quas invenerat apud Sirmium, ut suspectae adhuc fidei, per speciem necessitatum urgentium misit in Gallias. Quae pigrius motae, spatiaque itinerum longa, et Germanos hostes truces et assiduos formidantes, novare quaedam moliebantur, auctore et incitatore Nigrino, equitum turmae tribuno, in Mesopotamia genito: reque digesta per secreta colloquia, et alto roborata silentio, cum Aquileiam pervenissent, uberem situ et opibus, murisque circumdatam validis, eam hostiliter repente clausere, iuvante indigena plebe tumultum horrore, cui Constanti nomen erat tum etiam iunctum.

[2] Two of Constantius' legions, which with one cohort of bowmen he had found at Sirmium, being not yet sure of their loyalty he had sent to Gaul under colour of urgent necessity. These were slow to move, through dread of the long march and of the Germans, our fierce and persistent foes, and were planning a rebellion, aided and abetted by Nigrinus, a native of Mesopotamia and commander of a troop of horsemen. Having arranged the plot by secret conferences and added to its strength by profound silence, on arriving at Aquileia, a well-situated and prosperous city, surrounded by strong walls, with hostile intent they suddenly closed its gates, supported in this revolt by the native population, because of the dread which was even then connected with the name of Constantius.

[3] Et obseratis aditibus, turribusque armatis ac propugnaculis, futurae concertationi praeparabant utilia, interim soluti et liberi, hocque facinore ita audaci, ad favendum Constanti partibus ut superstitis Italicos incolas

excitant. Aquileia, favens Constantii A. partibus, oppugnatur; quae postea comperto eius obitu Iuliano se dedit. Quibus Iulianus acceptis, agens tunc apud Naessum, nihil a tergo timens adversum, legensque et audiens hanc civitatem circumsessam quidem aliquotiens, numquam tamen excisam aut deditam, impensiore studio sibi sociare vel fraude, vel diversis adulationum generibus, antequam maius oriretur aliquid, properabat.

[3] And having closed the entrances and posted armed men on the towers and bulwarks, they made ready whatever would be helpful in the coming contest, meanwhile living free from care or restraint; and by so daring an act they roused the neighbouring Italians to side with Constantius, whom they thought to be still living. Aquileia, favouring the cause of Constantius Augustus, is besieged, but after learning of his death surrenders to Julian. When Julian learned of this, being still at Naessus, and fearing no trouble from behind him, he recalled reading and hearing that this city had indeed oftentimes been besieged, but yet had never been razed nor had ever surrendered. Therefore he hastened with the greater earnestness to win it to his side either by craft or by sundry kinds of flattery before any greater mischief should arise.

[2] Ideoque Iovinum magistrum equitum venientem per Alpes, Noricosque ingressum, ad id quod exarserat, quoquo modo corrigendum, redire citius imperavit. Et nequid deesset, milites omnes, qui comitatum sequebantur aut signa, retineri iussit per idem oppidum transeuntes, pro viribus laturos auxilium.

[2] Hence he ordered Jovinus, a commander of the horse, who was coming over the Alps and had entered Noricum, to return with speed, in order to quench in any way he could the fire that had broken out. Also, that nothing might be wanting, he gave orders that all soldiers who followed the court or the standards should be detained as they passed through that same town, in order to give help according to their powers.

[3] Hisque dispositis, ipse haut diu postea cognita morte Constanti, discursis Thraciis Constantinopolim introiit: ac saepe doctus lentius fore id obsidium quam verendum, Immo cum comitibus aliis ad hoc destinato, ire monuit exinde Iovinum, alia quae potiores flagitabant necessitates, acturum.

[3] These arrangements made, he himself, learning not long afterwards of the death of Constantius, hastily traversed Thrace and entered Constantinople. And being often advised that the said siege would be long rather than formidable, he assigned Immo with his other officers to that task and then ordered Jovinus to go and attend to other matters of greater urgency.

[4] Ordine itaque scutorum gemino Aquileia circumsaepa, concinentibus sententiis ducum, conveniens visum est ad deditionem allicere defensores, minacium blandorumque varietate sermonum: et multis ultro citroque

dictitatis, in immensum obstinatione gliscente, ex colloquio re infecta disceditur.

[4] And so when Aquileia was surrounded with a double line of shields, it was thought best in the unanimous opinion of the generals to try, partly by threats and partly by fair words, to induce the defenders to surrender; but when after much debate to and fro their obstinacy became immensely greater, the conference ended without result.

[5] Et quia nihil praeter pugnam expectabatur, curatis utrobique cibo somnoque corporibus, aurora iam surgente, concrepante sonitu bucinarum, partes accensae in clades mutuas, ferocientes magis quam consultius, elatis clamoribus ferebantur.

[5] And since now nothing was looked for except battle, both sides refreshed themselves with food and sleep; at daybreak the sound of the trumpets roused them to slay one another, and raising a shout they rushed to battle with more boldness than discretion.

[6] Pluteos igitur prae se ferentes oppugnatores, cratesque densius textas, sensim incedentes et caute, murorum ima suffodere ferramentorum multitudine conabantur, aptas plerique vehentes ad mensuram moenium scalas, iamque parietibus paene contigui pars lapidibus volutis in primum collisi, pars confixi stridentibus iaculis, retroque gradientes, averterunt secum omnes alios metu similibus a proposito pugnandi detortos.

[6] Then the besiegers, pushing before them mantlets and closely-woven hurdles, advanced slowly and cautiously, and with a great number of iron tools tried to undermine the walls. Many carried scaling- ladders made to match the height of the walls, but when they could all but touch the ramparts, some were crushed by stones that were hurled down upon them, others were pierced with whizzing darts; and as the survivors gave way, they carried with them all the rest, whom fear of a like fate turned from their purpose of fighting.

[7] Hoc primo congressu erecti in audaciam clausi, assumpta fiducia meliorum, parvi ducebant restantia, mentibusque fundatis et compositis per opportuna tormentis, indefesso labore, vigiliis et cetera subsidia securitatis implebant.

[7] This first encounter raised the courage of the besieged, who felt confident of still greater success, and made light of what remained to do; with settled and resolute minds they placed artillery in suitable places and with unwearied labour kept guard and attended to other measures of safety.

[8] Contra munitores licet pavore discriminum anxii, pudore tamen ne secordes viderentur et segnes, ubi parum vis procedebat, Marte aperto temptata, ad instrumenta obsidionalium artium transtulerunt. Et quia nec arietibus

admovendis, nec ad intemptandas machinas vel ut possint forari cuniculi, inveniebatur locus usquam habilis, disparatione brevi civitatem Natisone amni praeterlabente, commentum excogitatum est cum veteribus admirandum.

[8] On the other side the assailants, though anxious and fearful of danger, yet from shame of seeming spiritless and slack, seeing that assault by open force effected little, turned to the devices of the besiegers' art. And since a suitable place could nowhere be found for moving up rams, for bringing engines to bear, or for digging mines, the fact that the river Natesio flows by the city only a short distance off suggested a device as worthy of admiration as those of old.

[9] Constructas veloci studio ligneas turres, propugnaculis hostium celsiores, imposuere trigeminis navibus, valide sibi conexas, quibus insistentes armati, uno parique ardore prohibitores dispellere, collatis ex propinquo viribus, nitebantur: subterque expediti velites a turrium cavernis egressi, iniectis ponticulis, quos ante compaginarant, transgredi festinarunt indiviso negotio ut, dum vicissim missilibus se petunt et saxis utrimquese cus alte locati, hi qui transiere per pontes, nullo interpellante, aedificii parte convulsa, aditus in penetralia oppidi reserarent.

[9] With eager speed they built wooden towers higher than the enemy's ramparts and placed each upon three ships strongly fastened together. On these stood armed men, who, with forces gathered from near at hand strove with combined and equal courage to dislodge the defenders; and below, light-armed skirmishers issued forth from the lower rooms of the towers and threw out little bridges, which they had made beforehand, and hastened to cross on them. Thus they worked in unison, in order that while those stationed above on both sides assailed each other in turn with missiles and stones, those who had crossed by the bridges might without interference tear down a part of the wall and open an approach into the heart of the city.

[10] Verum summa coepti prudentis aliorum evasit. Cum enim adventarent iam turres, contortis malleolis madentibus pice, harundine quin etiam, sarmentis ac vario fomite flammaram incescebantur. Quae quoniam, incendio celeri, ponderibusque trepide superstantium inclinatae, prociderunt in flumen, armatorum aliqui per earum fastigia interibant, eminens confixi tormentis.

[10] But the result of this well-laid plan was unsuccessful. For when the towers were already drawing near, fire-darts steeped in pitch were hurled at them and they were assailed as well with reeds, faggots, and all kinds of kindling material. When by the rapidly spreading fire and the weight of the men who stood precariously upon them the towers toppled and fell into the river, some of the soldiers were killed on their very tops, pierced by missiles from the distant engines.

[11] Inter quae destituti pedites post navalium sociorum occasum, obtriti sunt saxis immanibus, praeter paucos quos morte scilicet per impedita suffugia, velocitas exemerat pedum. Ad ultimum certamine protracto in vesperam, datoque signo in receptum ex more, ambo digressi, diei residuum animis egere disparibus.

[11] Meanwhile the foot-soldiers, left alone after the death of their companions on the ships, were crushed by huge stones, except a few whom speed of foot through the encumbered passageways saved from death. Finally, after the conflict had lasted until evening, the usual signal for retreat was given; whereupon both sides withdrew and spent what remained of the day with different feelings.

[12] Munitorum enim maerores, funera lugentium propria, prohibitores spe iam superandi firmabant, licet ipsi quoque paucos gemebant amissos. Properabatur tamen nihilo minus, et quantum recreandis viribus quiete et cibo satis fuit tribute, per noctis integrae spatium, reparatur lucis exordio proelium, incitamento tubarum.

[12] For the laments of the besiegers, as they grieved for the death of their comrades, encouraged the defenders to hope that they were now getting the upper hand, although they, too, had a few losses to mourn. Yet, in spite of this, no time was lost, and after a whole night, during which enough food and rest to recover their strength was allowed, the battle was renewed at daybreak at the sound of the trumpet.

[13] Et quidam elatis super capita scutis (ut pugnaturi levius), alii vehentes umeris ut antea scalas, ferventique impetu procurentes, pectora multiformium telorum ictibus exponebant. Alii ferratas portarum obices effringendas adorti, ultro ignibus petebantur, vel elisi saxis muralibus oppetebant. Quidam fossam fidentius transire conati, repentinis eorum assultibus, qui erumpebant clanculo per posticas, ruebant incaute, aut saucii discedebant. Recursus enim ad moenia tutior, vallumque antemuranum caespitibus fultum, insidiantes ab omni discrimine defendebant.

[13] Then some with their shields raised over their heads, to be less hampered in fighting, others carrying ladders on their shoulders as before, rushed forward in fiery haste, exposing their breasts to wounds from many kinds of weapons. Still others tried to break the iron bars of the gates, but were assailed in their turn with fire or slain by great stones hurled from the walls. Some, who boldly tried to cross the moat, taken unawares by the sudden onslaughts of those that secretly rushed forth through the postern gates, either fell, if overbold, or withdrew wounded. For the return to the walls was safe and a rampart before the walls covered with turf protected from all danger those who lay in wait.

[14] Et quamquam prohibitores duritia bellorumque artibus antistarent, quibus nihil praeter moenium supererat adiumentum, collectus tamen ex potioribus numeris miles, diuturnas ferre nequiens moras, suburbana omnia circumibat, diligenter inquirens, qua vi vel machinis posset patefactam irrumpere civitatem.

[14] But although the besieged, who had no help other than that of the walls, excelled in endurance and the arts of war, yet our soldiers, selected from the better companies, unable to bear the long delay, went about all the suburbs, diligently seeking for places where they could force an entrance into the city by main strength or by their artillery.

[15] Quod ubi patrare non poterat, magnitudine vetante difficultatum, obsideri remissius coepta est, et excubiis stationibusque relictis, praesidiarii milites vastantes agros propinquos, omnibus congruentibus abundabant, raptorum pleraque concorporalibus suis impertientes. Unde largiore admodum potu, saginisque distenti marcebant.

[15] But when this proved impossible, prevented by the greatness of the difficulties, they began to conduct the siege with less energy, and the garrison troops, leaving behind only the sentinels and pickets, ransacked the neighbouring fields, got an abundance of all suitable things, and gave their comrades a large share of their plunder; and in consequence, by drinking immoderately and stuffing themselves with rich food, they lost their vigour.

[16] His relatione Immonis consortiumque cognitis, Iulianus Constantinopoli etiam tum hibernans, sollerti remedio turbatis consuluit rebus, moxque Agilonem magistrum peditum ea tempestate probe cognitum miserat, ut viso honoratissimo viro, compertaque per eum morte Constanti, solveretur obsidium.

[16] When Julian, who was still wintering in Constantinople, heard from the report of Immo and his colleagues what had happened, he devised a shrewd remedy for the troubles; he at once sent Agilo, commander of the infantry, who was well known at that time, to Aquileia, hoping that the sight of so distinguished a man, and the announcement through him of Constantius' death, might put an end to the blockade.

[17] Inter quae ne cessaret Aquileiae oppugnatio cum in reliquis opera consumeretur in cassum, placuit resistentes acriter ad deditionem siti compelli, et ubi aquarum ductibus intersectis, nihilo minus celsiore fiducia repugnarent, flumen laboribus avertitur magnis. Quod itidem frustra est factum. Attenuatis enim avidioribus bibendi subsidiis, hic quos temeritas clauserat, contenti putealibus aquis, parce vixerunt.

[17] Meanwhile, that the siege of Aquileia might not be interrupted, it was decided, since all the rest of their toil had come to nothing, to force a

surrender of the vigorous defenders by thirst. And when the aqueducts had been cut off, but in spite of that they resisted with still greater confidence, with a mighty effort the river was turned from its course; but that also was done in vain. For when the means of drinking more greedily were diminished, men whom their own rashness had beleaguered lived frugally, and contented themselves with water from wells.

[18] *Quae dum agitantur casibus ante dictis, supervenit (ut praeceptum est) Agilo, scutorumque densitate contextus, prope fidenter accessit, multaque locutus et vera, quibus Constanti obitum, firmatumque Iuliani docebat imperium, sine fine conviciis confutabatur ut fallax. Nec ei quisquam credit gesta narranti, antequam pacta salute, susceptus ad pugnaculum solus, fide religiosius reddita, ea quae docuerat, replicaret.*

[18] While these events were taking place with the results already told, Agilo (as he was ordered) came to them, and covered by a close array of shields drew near confidently; but after giving a detailed and true account of the death of Constantius and the establishment of Julian's rule, he was overwhelmed with endless abuse as a liar. And no one believed his account of what had happened until he was admitted alone within the walls under a pledge of safe conduct and repeated what he had said, adding a solemn oath that it was true.

[19] *His auditis ex diuturno angore portis reclusis omnes effusi, suscepere laeti pacificum ducem, seque purgantes, Nigrinum totius furoris auctorem, paucosque alios obtulerunt, eorum supplicio laesae crimina maiestatis et urbis aerumnas expiari poscentes.*

[19] When this was heard, the gates were opened, and after their long torment all poured forth and gladly met the peace-making general. Trying to excuse themselves, they presented Nigrinus as the author of the whole outrage, along with a few others, asking that by the execution of these men the crime of treason and the woes of their city might be expiated.

[20] *Paucis denique post diebus, exploratius spectato negotio, Mamertino tum iudicante, praefecto praetorio, Nigrinus ut acerrimus belli instinator, exustus est vivus. Romulus vero post eum et Sabostius curiales, convicti, sine respectu periculi studia sevisse discordiarum, poenali consumpti sunt ferro. Residui omnes abierunt innoxii, quos ad certaminum rabiem necessitas egerat, non voluntas. Id enim aequitate pensata, statuerat placabilis imperator et clemens.*

[20] Finally, a few days later, after the affair had been more thoroughly investigated before Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect, then sitting in judgement, Nigrinus as the chief instigator of the war was burned alive. But after him Romulus and Sabostius, senators of Aquileia, being convicted of having sown the seeds of discord without regard to its dangerous consequences, died by the executioner's sword. All the rest, whom

compulsion, rather than inclination, had driven to this mad strife, escaped unpunished. For so the emperor, naturally mild and merciful, had decided on grounds of justice.

[21] Et haec quidem postea gesta sunt. Iulianus vero agens etiam tum apud Naessum, curis altioribus stringebatur, multa utrimque pertimescens. Formidabat enim ne clausorum militum apud Aquileiam repentino assultu, obseratis angustiis Alpium Iuliarum, provincias et adminicula perderet, quae exinde sperabat in dies.

[21] Now these things happened later. But Julian was still at Naessus, beset by deep cares, since he feared many dangers from two quarters. For he stood in dread lest the soldiers besieged at Aquileia should by a sudden onset block the passes of the Julian Alps, and he should thus lose the provinces and the support which he daily expected from them.

[22] Itidemque opes Orientis magnopere verebatur audiens dispersum per Thracias militem, contra vim subitam cito coactum, adventare Succorum confinia, comite Martiano ducente. Sed tamen congrua instantium sollicitudinum moli, ipse quoque agitans efficaciter, Illyricum contrahebat exercitum, pulvere coalitum Martio, promptumque in certaminibus bellicoso iungi rectori.

[22] Also he greatly feared the forces of the Orient, hearing that the soldiers dispersed over Thrace had been quickly concentrated to meet sudden violence and were approaching the frontiers of Succi under the lead of the count Martianus. But in spite of this he himself also, acting with an energy commensurate with the pressing mass of dangers, assembled the Illyrian army, reared in the toil of Mars and ready in times of strife to join with a warlike commander.

[23] Nec privatorum utilitates in tempore ita flagranti despiciens, litesque audiens controversas maxime municipalium ordinum, ad quorum favorem propensor, iniuste plures muneribus publicis annectebat.

[23] Nor did he at so critical a time disregard the interests of private persons, but he gave ear to their suits and disputes, especially those of the senators of the free towns, whom he was much inclined to favour, and unjustly invested many of them with high public office.

[24] Ibi Symmachum repertum et Maximum, senatores conspicuos, a nobilitate legatos ad Constantium missos, exinde reversos honorifice vidit, et potiore posthabito, in locum Tertulli Maximum urbi praefecit aeternae, ad Rufini Vulcatii gratiam, cuius sororis eum filium norat. Hoc administrante alimentaria res abundavit et querellae plebis excitari crebro solitae cessaverunt.

[24] There it was that he found Symmachus and Maximus, two distinguished senators, who had been sent by the nobles as envoys to Constantius. On their return he received them with honour, and passing over the better man, in place of Tertullus made Maximus prefect of the eternal city, to please Rufinus Vulcatius, whose nephew he knew him to be. Under this man's administration, however, there were supplies in abundance, and the complaints of the populace, which were often wont to arise, ceased altogether.

[25] tunc ut et securitatem trepidis rebus afferret, et obedientium nutrirer fiduciam, Mamertinum promotum praefectum praetorio per Illyricum designavit consulem et Nevittam, qui nuper ut primum augendae barbaricae vilitatis auctorem, immoderate notaverat Constantinum. Sapor domum reducit copias, inhibentibus bellum auspiciis; Constantius A. in Iulianum arma moturus, Hierapoli milites alloquitur. His ac talibus eo inter spem metumque nova negotia commovente, Constantius apud Edessam exploratorum relationibus variis anxius, in rationes diducebatur ancipites, nunc ad concursatorias pugnas militem struens, nunc si copia patuisset, obsidione gemina Bezabden aggressurus, consultans prudenter, ne mox partes petiturus arctoas, improtectum Mesopotamiae relinqueret latus.

[25] Then, to bring about a feeling of security in the crisis and to encourage those who were submissive, he promoted Mamertinus, the pretorian prefect in Illyricum, to the consulship, as well as Nevitta; and that too although he had lately beyond measure blamed Constantine as the first to raise the rank of base foreigners. Sapor, since the auspices forbade war, leads home his forces. Constantius Augustus addresses his troops at Hierapolis, preparatory to making war upon Julian. While by these and similar means Julian, wavering between hope and fear, was planning new measures, Constantius at Edessa, troubled by the varying reports of his scouts, was hesitating between two different courses, now preparing his soldiers for battle in the field, now, if opportunity should offer, planning a second siege of Bezabde, with the prudent design of not leaving the flank of Mesopotamia unprotected when he was presently about to march to the north.

[2] Verum consiliorum ambiguum retinebant multiplices morae, tardante trans Tigridem rege, dum moveri permetterent sacra. Nam si permeate flumine nullum qui resisteret invenisset, absque difficultate penetrarat Euphratem; alioqui ad civilia bella custodiens militem, timebat eum periculis obiectare circummuranis, firmitatem moenium munimenti, defensorumque alacritatem expertus.

[2] But in this state of indecision he was kept back by many delays, since the Persian king was waiting on the other side of the Tigris until the signs from heaven should warrant a move; for if Sapor had crossed the river and found no one to oppose him, he could easily have penetrated to the Euphrates; besides this, since he was keeping his soldiers in condition for civil war, he feared to

expose them to the dangers of an attack upon a walled city, knowing by experience the strength of its fortifications and the energy of its defenders.

[3] Ne quiesceret tamen, neve condemnaretur inertiae, Arbitionem et Agilonem, equestris pedestrisque militiae magistros, cum agminibus maximis properare coegit, non ut lacerarent Persas in proelia, sed praetenturis iuncturos citeriores Tigridis ripas, et speculatuos quonam rex erumperet violentus. Addebatque monendo saepius et scribendo, ut si multitudo transire coepisset hostilis, referrent citius pedem.

[3] However, in order not to be wholly inactive, nor be criticised for slackness, he ordered Arbitio and Agilo, commanders of the cavalry and of the infantry, to sally forth promptly with strong forces, not with a view of provoking the Persians to battle, but to draw a cordon on our bank of the Tigris and be on the watch to see where the impetuous king might break through. Moreover, he often warned them by word of mouth and in writing that if the enemy's horde should begin to cross, they were to retreat quickly.

[4] Dumque collimitia iussa custodiunt duces, et occulta fallacissimae gentis observantur, agens ipse cum parte validiori exercitus, curabat urgentia (velut pugnaturus) oppidaque tuebatur excursu. Speculatores vero et transfugae subinde venientes, repugnantia prodebant, ideo futurorum incerti, quod apud Persas nemo consiliorum est conscius, praeter optimates taciturnos et fidos, apud quos Silentii quoque colitur numen.

[4] Now, while these generals were guarding the frontiers assigned them, and the hidden purposes of that most deceitful nation were being observed, he himself with the stronger part of his army was attending to urgent affairs (getting ready for battle) and now and then sallying forth to protect the towns. But the scouts and deserters who appeared from time to time brought conflicting accounts, being uncertain what would happen, because among the Persians plans are communicated to none save the grandees, who are reticent and loyal, and with whom among their other gods Silence is honoured.

[5] Accersebatur autem a memoratis ducibus imperator assidue, orantibus ferri sibi suppetias. Testabantur enim se non nisi coactis in unum viribus cunctis, posse impetum regis ardentissimi sustinere.

[5] Moreover, the aforesaid generals kept sending for the emperor and begging that reinforcements be sent to them. For they declared that the attack of a most energetic king could not be met, unless all the forces were united at one point.

[6] Quae dum aguntur ita sollicitate, nuntii percrebuere certissimi, quorum clara fide compertum est, Iulianum Italiam et Illyricum cursu celeri praetergressum, claustra interim occupasse Succorum, accita undique praestolantem auxilia, ut multitudine stipatus armorum pervaderet Thracias.

[6] During these anxious proceedings frequent and trusty messengers arrived, from whose clear and faithful reports it was learned that Julian, having in swift course passed through Italy and Illyricum, had meanwhile seized the pass of Succì, where he was awaiting auxiliaries summoned from every quarter, in order to invade Thrace attended by a great force of soldiers.

[7] Quo cognito, maerore offusus Constantius, solacio uno sustentabatur, quod intestinos semper superaverit motus; re tamen magnam ei difficultatem ad capessendum consilium afferente, id elegit potissimum, ut vehiculis publicis impositum paulatim praemitteret militem, imminenti casus atrocitati velocius occurrurum.

[7] When this was known, Constantius, though overwhelmed with sorrow, was sustained by the one comforting thought, that in civil strife he had always come off victor; but while the present situation made it most difficult to decide upon a plan, he resolved, as the best course, gradually to send his soldiers on in advance in the public conveyances, in order the sooner to meet the dread and imminent peril.

[8] Omniumque consensu hac probata sententia, pergebant (ut praeceptum est), expediti. Eique haec disponenti, luce postera nuntiat, regem cum omni manu quam duxerat, ad propria revertisse, auspiciis dirimentibus, lenitoque metu, revocatis omnibus praeter eos quos consuetudo praesidio Mesopotamiae destinarat, confestim reversus est Nicopolim urbem.

[8] This plan met with general approval and the troops set out lightly equipped, as was ordered. But as he was carrying out this arrangement, word came next morning that the king with the entire force under his command had returned home, since the auspices put an end to his enterprise; relieved therefore of fear, Constantius recalled all the troops, except those that formed the usual defence of Mesopotamia, and quickly returned to the city of Nicopolis.

[9] Summa itaque coeptorum quorsum evaderet ambigens, cum in unum exercitus convenisset, omnes centurias et manipulos et cohortes in contionem vocavit, concinentibus tubis, oppletoque multitudinis campo, ut eam ad firmanda promptius adigeret imperanda, tribunali celso insistens, stipatusque solito densius, haec prosecutus est, ad serenitatis speciem et fiducia vultu formato:

[9] There, being still uncertain as to the outcome of his main enterprise, as soon as the army had come together he summoned all the centuries, maniples, and cohorts to an assembly; and when the trumpets sounded and the plain was filled with the multitude, in order to make them the more inclined to carry out his orders, he took his place upon a high tribunal with a larger retinue than common, and assuming an expression of calm confidence, addressed them as follows:

[10] ‘Sollicitus semper nequid re levi vel verbo committam, inculpatæ parum congruens honestati, utque cautus navigandi magister, clavos pro fluctuum motibus erigens vel inclinans, compellor nunc apud vos, amantissimi viri, confiteri meos errores, quin potius (si dici liceat verum) humanitatem, quam credidi negotiis communibus profuturam. Proinde ut sciri facilius possit, quæ sit huius concilii convocandi materia, accipite quaeso aequis auribus et secundis.

[10] “Being always careful by no act or word, however slight, to allow myself to do anything inconsistent with faultless honour, and like a cautious steersman putting my helm up or down according to the movements of the waves, I am now constrained, dearly beloved soldiers, to confess to you my mistake, or rather (if I may be allowed to use the right word) my kindheartedness, which I believed would be profitable to the interests of all. Therefore, that you may the more readily know the ground for convoking this assembly, hear me, I pray you, with unprejudiced and favourable ears.

[11] Gallum patrualem meum tempore quo confundendis rebus pertinaciter Magnentius inhaerebat, quem obruere vestrae virtutes, potestate Caesaris sublimatum, ad Orientis praesidium misi. Qui cum a iustitia per multa visu relatuque nefaria defecisset, arbitrio punitus est legum.

[11] “At the time when Magnentius, whom your valorous deeds overthrew, was obstinately bent upon making general confusion in the state, I raised my cousin Gallus to the high rank of Caesar and sent him to defend the Orient. When he by many deeds abominable to witness and to rehearse had forsaken the path of justice, he was punished by the laws’ decree.

[12] Atque utinam hoc contenta fuisset Invidia, turbarum acerrima concitatrix, ut angat nos una sed secunda doloris praeteriti recordatio. At nunc aliud accidit, ausim dicere praeteritis maestius, quod per fortitudinem vobis ingentem, adiumenta caelestia coercebunt.

[12] And would to Heaven that Envy, that busiest inciter of trouble, had been content with that, in order that only this one recollection of grief now past, but unaccompanied by dangers, might disquiet me. But now another blow has fallen, more to be lamented, I might venture to say, than those that went before, which the aid of Heaven through your native valour will make harmless.

[13] Iulianus, quem dum circumfremescentes Illyricum nationes exteris oppugnatis, tuendis praefecimus Galliis, levium confidentia proeliorum, quæ cum Germanis gessit semermibus, ut vecors elatus, adscitis in societatem superbam auxiliaribus paucis, feritate speque postrema, ad perniciosam audaciam promptis, in noxam publicam conspiravit, aequitate calcata, parente nutriceque orbis Romani, quam tumentes spiritus tamquam favillas reflaturam

vindicaturamque, deinde ut scelesti factorum ulticem, et ipse expertus, et docente antiquitate facile credo.

[13] Julian, to whom we entrusted the defence of Gaul while you were fighting the foreign nations that raged around Illyricum, presuming upon some trivial battles which he fought with the half-armed Germans, exulting like a madman, has involved in his ambitious cabal a few auxiliaries, whom their savagery and hopeless condition made ready for a destructive act of recklessness; and he has conspired for the hurt of the state, treading under foot Justice, the mother and nurse of the Roman world, who, as I readily believe from experience and from the lessons of the past, will in the end, as the punisher of evil deeds, take vengeance on them, and will blow away their proud spirits like ashes.

[14] Quid igitur superest, nisi ut turbinibus excitis occurramus, subcrepantis rabiem belli, antequam pubescat validius, celeritatis remediis oppressuri? Nec enim dubium, favore numinis summi praesente, cuius perenni suffragio damnantur ingrati, ferrum impie praeparatum ad eorum interitum esse vertendum, qui non lacessiti, sed aucti beneficiis pluribus, ad insontium pericula surrexerunt.

[14] “What, then, remains but to meet the storms that have been raised, with the purpose of crushing by the remedies of speed the madness of the growing war before it attains greater strength? For there is no doubt that through the present help of the most high Deity, by whose eternal verdict the ungrateful are condemned, the sword that has impiously been whetted must inevitably be turned to the destruction of those who, not provoked, but made greater by many favours, have risen to endanger the guiltless.

[15] Ut enim mea mens augurat Iustitiaque rectis consiliis adfutura promittit, spondeo quod, si ventum fuerit comminus, ita pavore torpescent, ut nec oculorum vestrorum vibratae lucis ardorem, nec barritus sonum perferant primum.

[15] For, as my mind presages, and as Justice promises, who will aid right purposes, I give you my word that, when we come hand to hand, they will be so benumbed with terror as to be able to endure neither the flashing light of your eyes nor the first sound of your battle-cry.”

[16] Omnes post haec dicta in sententiam ducti suam hastasque vibrantes irati, post multa quae benivole responderant, petebant duci se protinus in rebellem. Qua gratia in laetitiam imperator versus ex metu, contione mox absoluta, Arbitionem ante alios faustum ad intestina bella sedanda, ex ante actis iam sciens, iter suum praeire cum Lanceariis et Mattiariis, et catervis expeditorum praecepit, et cum Laetis itidem Gomoarium, venturis in Succorum angustiiis opponendum, ea re aliis antelatum, quod ut contemptus in Galliis erat Iuliano

infestus. Praesagia mortis Constantii A. In hoc rerum adversarum tumultu, haerens eius fortuna iam et subsistens, adventare casum vitae difficilem, modo non loquentibus signis aperte monstrabat. Namque et nocturnis imaginibus terrebatur, et nondum penitus mersus in somnum, umbram viderat patris obtulisse pulchrum infantem, eumque susceptum et locatum in gremio suo, excussam sibi proiecisse longius sphaeram, quam ipse dextera manu gestabat. Id autem permutationem temporum indicabat, licet interpretantes placencia responderent.

[16] After these words all were led to his opinion, and brandishing their spears in anger they first replied with many expressions of good will, and then asked to be led at once against the rebel. This mark of favour turned the emperor's fear into joy; he at once dissolved the assembly and ordered Arbitio, whom he already knew from former experiences to be successful before all others in quelling civil wars, to go before him on his march with the lancers, the mattiarii, and the companies of light armed troops; also Gomoarius with the Laeti, to oppose the coming advance of the enemy in the pass of Succus, a man chosen before others because he was a bitter enemy of Julian, who had treated him with contempt in Gaul.

Omens of the death of Constantius Augustus.

In this welter of adverse events Constantius' fortune, already wavering and at a standstill, showed clearly by signs almost as plain as words, that a crisis in his life was at hand. For at night he was alarmed by apparitions, and when he was not yet wholly sunk in sleep, the ghost of his father seemed to hold out to him a fair child; and when he took it and set it in his lap, it shook from him the ball which he held in his right hand and threw it to a great distance. And this foretold a change in the state, although the seers gave reassuring answers.

[2] Post haec confessus est iunioribus proximis, quod tamquam desolatus, secretum aliquid videre desierit, quod interdum adfuisse sibi squalidius aestimabat, et putabatur genius esse quidam, tutelae salutis appositus, eum reliquisse mundo citius digressurum.

[2] After that he admitted to his more intimate attendants that, as though forsaken, he ceased to see a kind of secret something which he used to think occasionally appeared to him, though somewhat dimly; and it was supposed that a sort of guardian spirit, assigned to protect his life, had deserted him, since he was destined quickly to leave this world.

[3] Ferunt enim theologi in lucem editis hominibus cunctis, salva firmitate fatali, huius modi quaedam velut actus rectura numina sociari, admodum tamen paucissimis visa, quos multiplices auxere virtutes.

[3] For the theologians maintain that there are associated with all men at their birth, but without interference with the established course of destiny, certain

divinities of that sort, as directors of their conduct; but they have been seen by only a very few, whom their manifold merits have raised to eminence.

[4] Idque et oracula et auctores docuere praeclari. Inter quos est etiam Menander comicus, apud quem hi senarii duo leguntur: ἅπαντι δαίμων ἄνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου.

[4] And this oracles and writers of distinction have shown; among the latter is also the comic poet Menander, in whom we read these two senarii: A daemon is assigned to every man

At birth, to be the leader of his life.

[5] Itidem ex sempiternis Homeri carminibus intellegi datur, non deos caelestes cum viris fortibus collocutos, nec adfuisse pugnantibus vel iuvisse, sed familiaris genios cum eisdem versatos, quorum adminiculis freti praecipuis, Pythagoras enituisse dicitur et Socrates, Numaque Pompilius, et superior Scipio et (ut quidam existimant) Marius et Octavianus, cui Augusti vocabulum delatum est primo, Hermesque Termaximus, et Tyaneus Apollonius atque Plotinus, ausus quaedam super hac re disserere mystica, alteque monstrare, quibus primordiis hi genii animis conexi mortalium eas tamquam gremiis suis susceptas tuentur (quoad licitum est) docentique maiora, si senserint puras et a colluvione peccandi, immaculata corporis societate discretas. Moritur Constantius A. apud Mopsucrenas Ciliciae. Ingressus itaque Antiochiam festinando Constantius, ad motum certaminum civilium (ut solebat), avide surrecturus, paratis omnibus exire properabat immodice, renitentibus plurimis murmure tenus. Nec enim dissuadere palam audebat quisquam vel vetare.

[5] Likewise from the immortal poems of Homer we are given to understand that it was not the gods of heaven that spoke with brave men, and stood by them or aided them as they fought, but that guardian spirits attended them; and through reliance upon their special support, it is said, that Pythagoras, Socrates, and Numa Pompilius became famous; also the earlier Scipio, and (as some believe) Marius and Octavianus, who first had the title of Augustus conferred upon him, and Hermes Trismegistus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Plotinus, who ventured to discourse on this mystic theme, and to present a profound discussion of the question by what elements these spirits are linked with men's souls, and taking them to their bosoms, as it were, protect them (as long as possible) and give them higher instruction, if they perceive that they are pure and kept from the pollution of sin through association with an immaculate body.

Constantius Augustus dies at Mopsucrenae in Cilicia.

Constantius, therefore, having reached Antiochia by forced marches, intending (as was his custom) eagerly to encounter civil disturbances at their

outset, and having made all his preparations, was in immoderate haste to set out, although many opposed it, but only by murmurs; for no one dared openly to dissuade or to forbid him.

[2] Autumno iam senescente profectus, cum ad suburbanum venisset, disiunctum exinde tertio lapide, Hippocephalum nomine, lucente iam die, cadaver hominis interfecti, dextra iacens capite avulso conspexit, contra occiduum latus extensum: territusque omine, finem parantibus fati, destinatus ipse tendebat, venitque Tarsum, ubi levioze febri contactus, ratusque itinerario motu imminutae valetudinis excuti posse discrimen, petit per vias difficiles Mobsucrenas, Ciliciae ultimam hinc perguntibus stationem, sub Tauri montis radicibus positam, egredique secuto die conatus, illabente morbi gravitate detentus est: paulatimque urente calore nimio venas, ut ne tangi quidem corpus eius posset, in modum foculi fervens, cum usus deficeret medelarum, ultimum spirans, deflebat exitium, mentisque sensu tum etiam integro, successorem suae potestatis statuisset Iulianum.

[2] When autumn was already waning he began his march, and on coming to a suburban estate called Hippocephalus, distant three miles from the city, he saw in broad daylight on the right side of the road the corpse of a man with head torn off, lying stretched out towards the west. Terrified by the omen, although the fates were preparing his end, he kept on with the greater determination and arrived at Tarsus. There he was taken with a slight fever, but in the expectation of being able to throw off the danger of his illness by the motion of the journey he kept on over difficult roads to Mobsucrenae, the last station of Cilicia as you go from here, situated at the foot of Mount Taurus; but when he tried to start again on the following day, he was detained by the increasing severity of the disease. Gradually the extreme heat of the fever so inflamed his veins that his body could not even be touched, since it burned like a furnace; and when the application of remedies proved useless, as he breathed his last he lamented his end. However, while his mind was still unimpaired he is said to have designated Julian as the successor to the throne.

[3] Deinde anhelitu iam pulsante letali, conticuit, diuque cum anima colluctatus iam discessura, abiit e vita tertium nonarum Octobrium, imperii tricesimo octavo vitaeque anno quadragesimo quarto et mensibus paucis.

[3] Then the death-rattle began and he was silent, and after a long struggle with life now about to leave him, he died on the fifth of October, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign at the age of forty- four years and a few months.

[4] Post quae, supremis cum gemitu conclamatis, excitisque lamentis et luctu, deliberabant locum obtinentes in aula regia primum, quid agerent quidve moliri deberent: paucisque occulte super eligendo imperatore temptatis, incitante (ut ferebatur) Eusebio, quem noxarum conscientia stimulabat, cum novandis rebus imminens obsisteret Iulianus, mittuntur ad eum Theolaifus et

Aligildus tunc comites, mortem indicantes propinqui, et oraturi, ut mora omni depulsa, ad obtinendum obtemperare sibi paratum, tenderet Orientem.

[4] After this followed the last mournful call to the deceased, and grief and wailing broke out; then those who held the first rank in the royal court considered what they should do, or what they ought to attempt. And after a few had been sounded secretly as to the choice of an emperor, at the suggestion of Eusebius (as was reported), whom the consciousness of his guilt pricked, since Julian's nearness made an attempt at revolution inadvisable, Theolaifus and Aligildus, at that time counts, were sent to him, to report the death of his kinsman, and beg him to lay aside all delay and come to take over the Orient, which was ready to obey him.

[5] Fama tamen rumorque loquebatur incertus, Constantium voluntatem ordinasse postremam, in qua Iulianum (ut praediximus) scripsit heredem, et his quos diligebat, fidei commissa detulit et legata.

[5] However, rumour and an uncertain report had it that Constantius had made a last will, in which (as I have said) he wrote down Julian as his heir and gave commissions and legacies to those who were dear to him.

[6] Uxorem autem praegnantem reliquit, unde edita postuma eiusque nomine appellata, cum adolevisset, matrimonii iure copulata est Gratiano. Constantii A. virtutes, et vitia. Bonorum igitur vitiorumque eius differentia vere servata, praecipua prima conveniet expediri. Imperatoriae auctoritatis cothurnum ubique custodiens, popularitatem elato animo contemnebat et magno, erga tribuendas celsiores dignitates impendio parcus, nihil circa administrationum augmenta praeter pauca novari perpeusus, numquam erigens cornua militarium.

[6] Now he left his wife with child, and the posthumous daughter to whom she afterwards gave birth was called by his name, and when she grew up was united in marriage with Gratianus.

The virtues of Constantius Augustus, and his faults.

Observing, therefore, a true distinction between his good qualities and his defects, it will be fitting to set forth his good points first. He always maintained the dignity of imperial majesty, and his great and lofty spirit disdained the favour of the populace. He was exceedingly sparing in conferring the higher dignities, with few exceptions allowing no innovations in the way of additions to the administrative offices; and he never let the military lift their heads too high.

[2] Nec sub eo dux quisquam cum clarissimatu proventus est. Erant enim (ut nos quoque meminimus), perfectissimi: nec occurrebat magistro equitum provinciae rector nec contingi ab eo civile negotium permittebat. Sed cunctae

castrenses et ordinariae potestates, ut honorum omnium apicem, priscae reverentiae more, praefectos semper suspexere praetorio.

[2] Under him no leader of an army was advanced to the rank of *clarissimus*. For they were (according to my personal recollection) all *perfectissimi*. The governor of a province never officially met a commander of the cavalry, nor was the latter official allowed to take part in civil affairs. But all the military and civil officials always looked up to the praetorian prefects with the old-time respect, as the peak of all authority.

[3] In conservando milite nimium cautus, examinatore meritorum non numquam subscruposus, palatinas dignitates velut ex quodam tribuens perpendiculo, et sub eo nemo celsum aliquid acturus, in regia repentinus adhibitus est vel incognitus, sed qui post decennium officiorum magisterium vel largitiones vel simile quicquam esset recturus, apertissime noscebatur. Valdeque raro contigerat, ut militarium aliquis ad civilia regenda transiret, contraque non nisi pulvere bellico indurati, praeficiebantur armatis.

[3] In the maintenance of the soldiers he was exceedingly careful; somewhat critical at times in evaluating services, he bestowed appointments at court by the plumb-line, as it were. Under him no one who was to hold a high position was appointed to a post in the palace suddenly or untried, but a man who after ten years was to be marshal of the court, or head treasurer, or to fill any similar post, was thoroughly known. It very rarely happened that any military officer passed to a civil magistracy, and on the other hand, none were put in command of soldiers who had not grown hardy in the dust of battle.

[4] Doctrinarum diligens affectator, sed cum a rhetorice per ingenium desereretur obtunsum, ad versificandum transgressus, nihil operae pretium fecit.

[4] He made great pretensions to learning, but after failing in rhetoric because of dullness of mind, he turned to making verses, but accomplished nothing worth while.

[5] In vita parca et sobria, edendi potandique moderatione, valetudinem ita retinuit firmam, ut raros colligeret morbos, sed eos non procul a vitae periculis: id enim evenire corporibus a lascivia dimotis et luxu, diuturna experimenta et professiones medendi monstrarunt.

[5] By a prudent and temperate manner of life and by moderation in eating and drinking he maintained such sound health that he rarely suffered from illnesses, but such as he had were of a dangerous character. For that abstinence from dissipation and luxury have this effect on the body is shown by repeated experience, as well as by the statements of physicians.

[6] Somno contentus exiguo, cum id posceret tempus et ratio, perque spatia

vitae longissima impendio castus, ut nec malivolo citerioris vitae ministro saltem suspicione tenus posset redargui, quod crimen etiam si non invenit, malignitas fingit, in summarum licentia potestatum.

[6] He was content with little sleep when time and circumstances so required. Throughout the entire span of his life he was so extraordinarily chaste, that not even a suspicion could be raised against him even by an ill-disposed attendant on his private life, a charge which malice, even if it fails to discover it, still trumps up, having regard to the unrestrained liberty of supreme power.

[7] Equitandi et iaculandi, maximeque perite dirigendi sagittas, artiumque armorum pedestris perquam scientissimus. Quod autem nec os tersisse umquam vel nares in publico, nec spuisse, nec transtulisse in partem alterutram vultum aliquando est visus, nec pomorum quoad vixerat gustaverit (ut dicta saepius) praetermitto.

[7] In riding, in hurling the javelin, and especially in the skilful use of the bow, and in all the exercises of the foot-soldiers, he was an adept. That no one ever saw him wipe his mouth or nose in public, or spit, or turn his face in either direction, or that so long as he lived he never tasted fruit, I leave unmentioned, since it has often been related.

[8] Dinumeratis carptim bonis, quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explananda eius vitia veniamus. Cum esset in negotiis aliis principibus mediis comparandus, si affectatae dominationis amplam quandam falsam repperisset aut levem, hanc sine fine scrutando, fasque eodem loco ducens et nefas, Caligulae et Domitiani et Commodi immanitatem facile superabat, quorum aemulatus saevitiam inter imperandi exordia, cunctos sanguine et genere se contingentes, stirpitus interemit.

[8] Having given a succinct account of his merits, so far as I could know them, let us now come to an enumeration of his defects. While in administrative affairs he was comparable to other emperors of medium quality, if he found any indication, however slight or groundless, of an aspiration to the supreme power, by endless investigations, in which he made no distinction between right and wrong, he easily surpassed the savagery of Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus. For it was in rivalry of the cruelty of those emperors that at the beginning of his reign he destroyed root and branch all who were related to him by blood and race.

[9] Addebatur miserorum aerumnis, qui rei maiestatis imminutae vel laesae deferebantur, acerbitas eius et iracundia suspicionesque in huius modi cuncta distentae. Et siquid tale increpisset, in quaestiones acrius exsurgens quam civiliter, spectatores apponebat his litibus truces, mortemque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi, in eius modi controversiarum partibus etiam Gallieno ferocior.

[9] To add to the sufferings of the wretches who were reported to him for impairment of, or insult to, his majesty, his bitterness and angry suspicions were stretched to the uttermost in all such cases. If anything of the kind was bruited abroad, he gave himself up to inquisitions with more eagerness than humanity, and appointed for such trials merciless judges; and in the punishment of some he tried to make their death lingering, if nature allowed, in some particulars being even more ruthless than Gallienus in such inquisitions.

[10] Ille enim perduellionum crebris verisque appetitus insidiis, Aureoli et Postumi et Ingenui et Valentis, cognomento Thessalonici, aliorumque plurium, mortem factura crimina aliquotiens lenius vindicabat: hic etiam ficta vel dubia, adigebat videri certissima, vi nimia tormentorum.

[10] As a matter of fact, he was the object of many genuine plots of traitors, such as Aureolus, Postumus, Ingenuus, Valens surnamed Thessalonicus, and several others, yet he often showed leniency in punishing crimes which would bring death to the victim; but he also tried to make false or doubtful cases appear well-founded by excessively violent tortures.

[11] iustumque in eius modi titulis capitali odio oderat, cum maxime id ageret ut iustus aestimaretur et clemens. Et tamquam ex arida silva volantes scintillae, flatu leni ventorum, ad usque discrimina vicorum agrestium incohibili cursu perveniunt, ita ille quoque ex minimis causis, malorum congeries excitabat, Marci illius dissimilis principis verecundi, qui cum ad imperiale culmen in Syria Cassius surrexisset, epistularum fascem ab eo ad conscios missum, perlatore capto sibi oblatum, ilico signatum exuri praecepit, agens adhuc in Illyrico, ne insidiatoribus cognitis, invitus quosdam habere posset offensos.

[11] And in such affairs he showed deadly enmity to justice, although he made a special effort to be considered just and merciful. And as sparks flying from a dry forest even with a light breeze of wind come with irresistible course and bring danger to rural villages, so he also from trivial causes roused up a mass of evils, unlike that revered prince Marcus, who, when Cassius had mounted to imperial heights in Syria, and a packet of letters sent by him to his accomplices had fallen into the emperor's hands through the capture of their bearer, at once ordered it to be burned unopened, in order that, being at the time still in Illyricum, he might not know who were plotting against him, and hence be forced to hate some men against his will.

[12] Utque recte sentientes quidam arbitrabantur, virtutis erat potius indicium magnum, imperio eundem Constantium sine cruore cecidisse, quam vindicasse tam inclementer.

[12] And, as some right-thinking men believed, it would have been a striking

indication of true worth in Constantius, if he had renounced his power without bloodshed, rather than defended it so mercilessly.

[13] Ut Tullius quoque docet, crudelitatis increpans Caesarem, in quadam ad Nepotem epistula: 'Neque enim quicquam aliud est felicitas' inquit 'nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas. Vel ut alio modo definiam: felicitas est fortuna adiutrix consiliorum bonorum, quibus qui non utitur, felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus est, nulla potuit esse felicitas. Feliciorque meo iudicio Camillus exsulans quam temporibus eisdem Manlius, etiam si (id quod cupierat) regnare potuisset.'

[13] And this Tully also shows in a letter to Nepos, in which he taxes Caesar with cruelty, saying: "For happiness is nothing else than success in noble actions. Or, to express it differently, happiness is the good fortune that aids worthy designs, and one who does not aim at these can in no wise be happy. Therefore, in lawless and impious plans, such as Caesar followed, there could be no happiness. Happier, in my judgement, was Camillus in exile than was Manlius at that same time, even if (as he had desired) he had succeeded in making himself king."

[14] Id Ephesius quoque Heraclitus asserens monet, ab inertibus et ignavis, eventus variante fortuna, superatos aliquotiens viros fuisse praestantes; illud vero eminere inter praecipuas laudes, cum potestas, in gradu, velut sub iugum missa nocendi saeviendi cupiditate et irascendi, in arce victoris animi tropaeum erexit gloriosum.

[14] Heraclitus the Ephesian also agrees with this, when he reminds us that the weak and cowardly have sometimes, through the mutability of fortune, been victorious over eminent men; but that the most conspicuous praise is won, when high-placed power sending, as it were, under the yoke the inclination to harm, to be angry, and to show cruelty, on the citadel of a spirit victorious over itself has raised a glorious trophy.

[15] Ut autem in externis bellis hic princeps fuit saucius et afflictus, ita prospere succedentibus pugnis civilibus tumidus, et intestinis ulceribus rei publicae sanie perfusus horrenda: quo pravo proposito magis quam recto vel usitato, triumphalis arcus ex clade provinciarum sumptibus magnis erexit in Galliis et Pannoniis, titulis gestorum affixis, se (quoad stare poterunt monumenta) lecturis.

[15] Now, although this emperor in foreign wars met with loss and disaster, yet he was elated by his success in civil conflicts and drenched with awful gore from the internal wounds of the state. It was on this unworthy rather than just or usual ground that in Gaul and Pannonia he erected triumphal arches at great expense commemorating the ruin of the provinces, and added records of his deeds, that men might read of him so long as those monuments could last.

[16] Uxoribus et spadonum gracilentis vocibus et palatinis quibusdam nimium quantum addictus, ad singula eius verba plaudentibus, et quid ille aiaret aut neget (ut assentiri possint) observantibus.

[16] He was to an excessive degree under the influence of his wives, and the shrill-voiced eunuchs, and certain of the court officials, who applauded his every word, and listened for his “yes” or “no,” in order to be able to agree with him.

[17] Augebat etiam amaritudinem temporum, flagitatorum rapacitas inexplata, plus odiorum ei quam pecuniae conferentium. Hocque multis intolerantius videbatur, quod nec causam aliquando audivit, nec provinciarum indemnitati prospexit, cum multiplicatis tributis et vectigalibus vexarentur. Eratque super his adimere facilis quae donabat.

[17] The bitterness of the times was increased by the insatiate extortion of the tax-collectors, who brought him more hatred than money; and to many this seemed the more intolerable, for the reason that he never investigated a dispute, nor had regard for the welfare of the provinces, although they were oppressed by a multiplicity of taxes and tributes. And besides this, he found it easy to take away exemptions which he had once given.

[18] Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gravius excitavit discidia plurima, quae progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum iumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos (quas appellant), dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariae succideret nervos.

[18] The plain and simple religion of the Christians he obscured by a dotard’s superstition, and by subtle and involved discussions about dogma, rather than by seriously trying to make them agree, he aroused many controversies; and as these spread more and more, he fed them with contentious words. And since throngs of bishops hastened hither and thither on the public post-horses to the various synods, as they call them, while he sought to make the whole ritual conform to his own will, he cut the sinews of the courier-service.

[19] Figura tali situque membrorum: subniger, luce oculorum edita, cernensque acutum, molli capillo, rasis assidue genis lucentibus ad decorem, usque ad pubem ab ipsis colli confinis longior, brevissimis cruribus et incurvis, unde saltu valebat et cursu.

[19] His bodily appearance and form were as follows: he was rather dark, with bulging eyes and sharp-sighted; his hair was soft and his regularly shaven cheeks were neat and shining; from the meeting of neck and shoulders to the groin he was unusually long, and his legs were very short and bowed, for which reason he was good at running and leaping.

[20] Pollinctum igitur corpus defuncti, conditumque in loculis, Iovianus etiam tum protector domesticus, cum regia prosequi pompa, Constantinopolim usque iussus est, prope necessitudines eius humanum.

[20] When the corpse of the deceased emperor had been washed and placed in a coffin, Jovianus, who was at that time still an officer in the bodyguard, was ordered to escort it with regal pomp to Constantinople, to be interred beside his kinsfolk.

[21] Eique vehiculo insidenti, quod portabat reliquias, ut principibus solet, annonae militaris offerebantur indicia (ut ipsi nominant ‘probae’) et animalia publica monstrabantur, et ex usu crebrescebant occursus, quae et alia horum similia eidem Ioviano imperium quidem sed et cassum et umbratile (ut ministro rerum funebrium) portendebant.

[21] And as he sat in the carriage that bore the remains, samples of the soldiers’ rations (“probae,” as they themselves call them) were presented to him, as they commonly are to emperors, and the public courier-horses were shown to him, and the people thronged about him in the customary manner. These and similar things foretold imperial power for the said Jovianus, but of an empty and shadowy kind, since he was merely the director of a funeral procession

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LIBER XXII — BOOK XXII

[1] Iulianus A. metu Constantii A. subsistit in Dacia, et clam haruspices et augures consulit. Dum haec in diversa parte terrarum, Fortunae struunt volubiles casus, Iulianus inter multa, quae per Illyricum agitabat, exta rimabatur assidue, avesque suspiciens, praescire festinabat accidentium finem, sed responsis ambiguis et obscuris haerebat, futurorum incertus.

Julianus Augustus, through fear of Constantius Augustus, halts in Dacia and secretly consults soothsayers and augurs. While Fortune's mutable phases were causing these occurrences in a different part of the world, Julian in the midst of his many occupations in Illyricum was constantly prying into the entrails of victims and watching the flight of birds, in his eagerness to foreknow the result of events; but he was perplexed by ambiguous and obscure predictions and continued to be uncertain of the future.

[2] Eique tandem aruspicinae peritus, Aprunculis Gallus orator, promotus rector postea Narbonensis, nuntiavit eventus, inspectu iecoris (ut aiebat ipse) praedoctus, quod operimento duplici viderat tectum. Cumque ille timeret, ne cupiditati suae congruentia fingerentur, eratque ideo maestus, omen multo praesentius ipse conspexit, quod excessum Constantii dare monstrabat. Eodem enim puncto quo idem obierat in Cilicia, lapso milite qui se insessurum equo dextra manu erexit, humique prostrate, exclamavit ilico audientibus multis, cecidisse qui eum ad culmen extulerat celsum.

[2] At length, however, Aprunculus, a Gallic orator skilled in soothsaying, afterwards advanced to be governor of Gallia Narbonensis, told him what would happen, having learned it (as he himself declared) from the inspection of a liver which he had seen covered with a double lobe. And although Julian feared that it might be a fiction conformable to his own desire, and was therefore troubled, he himself saw a much more evident sign which clearly foretold the death of Constantius. For at the very moment when that emperor died in Cilicia, a soldier who lifted Julian with his right hand to mount his horse slipped and fell to the ground; and Julian at once cried in the hearing of many: "The man has fallen who raised me to my high estate."

[3] Et quamquam haec laetifica sciret, velut fixa tamen firmitate consistens, intra terminos Daciae se continebat, sic quoque plurima pertimescens. Nec enim cautum ducebat, coniecturis credere forsitan in contrarium erupturis. Iulianus cognita morte Constantii transcurrit Thracias, et Constantinopolim pacatam intrat, totumque imperium Rom. citra pugnam recipit. Inter quae tam suspensa advenere subito missi ad eum legati Theolaifus atque Aligildus, defunctum Constantium nuntiantes, addentesque quod eum voce suprema successorem suae fecerit potestatis.

[3] But although he knew that these were favourable signs, yet as if standing fast upon his guard he remained within the confines of Dacia, and even so was troubled with many fears. For he did not deem it prudent to trust the predictions which might perhaps be fulfilled by contraries. Julian, on learning of the death of Constantius, traverses Thrace and enters Constantinople without opposition, thus assuming the rule of the entire Roman empire without a struggle. Amid this state of suspense the envoys Theolaifus and Aligildus, who had been sent to him, suddenly appeared and reported the death of Constantius, adding that with his last words he had made Julian the successor to his power.

[2] Qua re cognita post exemptos periculorum aestus et bellicarum sollicitudinum turbas, in immensum elatus, iamque vaticiniis credens, et celeritatem negotiis suis aliquotiens profuisse expertus, edixit iter in Thracias, motisque propere signis, emensa declivitate Succorum Philippopolim petit, Eumolpiada veterem, alacri gradu sequentibus quos duxerat cunctis.

[2] On learning this, and being now saved from the fret of dangers and the throes of war's anxieties, he was hugely elated. And now believing in the prophecies, and knowing by experience that speed had often been helpful to his enterprises, he ordered a march into Thrace, quickly broke camp, and passing the slope of Succus, made for Philippopolis, the ancient Eumolpias, followed with eager step by all who were under his command.

[3] Advertebant enim imperium, quod ereptum ibant cum ultimorum metu discriminum, praeter spem ordinario iure concessum. Utque solet fama novitates augere, properabat exinde sublimior, uti quodam Triptolemi curru, quem ob rapidos circumgressus, aeriis serpentibus et pinnigeris fabulosa vetustas imponit: perque terras et maria formidatus, nullis obstantibus moris, Heracleam ingressus est Perinthum.

[3] For they perceived that the throne, which they were on their way to usurp in the face of the greatest dangers, had beyond their hope been granted to him by the ordinary course of law. And as rumour is wont to exaggerate all novelties, he hastened on from there, now raised still higher, as though in some chariot of Triptolemus, which the poets of old, because of its swift turnings, represented as drawn through the air by winged dragons; and dreaded by land and sea and opposed by no delays, he entered Heraclea, also called Perinthus.

[4] Quo apud Constantinopolim mox comperto, effundebatur aetas omnis et sexus, tamquam demissum aliquem visura de caelo. Exceptus igitur tertium Iduum Decembrium verecundis senatus officiis, et popularium consonis plausibus, stipatusque armatorum et togatorum agminibus, velut acie ducebatur instructa, omnium oculis in eum non modo contuitu destinato, sed cum admiratione magna defixis.

[4] When this was presently known at Constantinople, all ages and sexes poured forth, as if to look upon someone sent down from heaven. And so he was met on the eleventh of December with the respectful attendance of the senate and the unanimous applause of the people, and surrounded by troupes of soldiers and citizens he was escorted as if by an army in line of battle, while all eyes were turned upon him, not only with a fixed gaze, but also with great admiration.

[5] Somnio enim propius videbatur adultum adhuc iuvenem, exiguo corpore, factis praestantem ingentibus, post cruentos exitus regum et gentium, ab urbe in urbem inopina velocitate transgressum, quaqua incederet accessione opum et virium, famae instar cuncta facilius occupasse, principatum denique deferente nutu caelesti, absque ulla publicae rei suscepisse iactura. Constantiani quidem, pars iure, pars inuria damnantur. Brevi deinde Secundo Salutio, promoti praefecto praetorio, summam quaestionum agitarum ut fido commisit: Mamertino et Arbitio et Agilone atque Nevitta adiunctis, itidemque Iovino magistro equitum per Illyricum recens provecto.

[5] For it seemed almost like a dream that this young man, just come to his growth, of small stature but conspicuous for great deeds, after the bloodstained destruction of kings and nations had passed from city to city with unlooked-for speed; that increasing in power and strength wherever he went, he had easily seized upon all places as swiftly as rumour flies, and finally had received the imperial power, bestowed upon him by Heaven's nod without any loss to the state. Some adherents of Constantius are condemned to death, a part justly, others unjustly. Shortly after this Salutius Secundus was raised to the rank of praetorian prefect, and given, as a trustworthy official, the chief oversight of the inquisitions that were to be set on foot; and with him were associated Mamertinus, Arbitio, Agilo, and Nevitta, and also Jovinus, lately advanced to be commander of the cavalry in Illyricum.

[2] Qui omnes transgressi Chalcedona, praesentibus Iovianorum Herculanorumque principiis et tribunis, causas vehementius aequo bonoque spectaverunt, praeter paucas ubi veritas reos nocentissimos offerebat.

[2] These crossed all to Chalcedon, and in the presence of the generals and tribunes of the Joviani and the Herculiani examined the cases with more passion than was just and right, with the exception of a few, in which the evidence showed that the accused were most guilty.

[3] Et Palladium primum ex magistro officiorum in Brittannos exterminarunt, suspicione tenuis insinuatam, quaedam in Gallum composuisse apud Constantium, dum sub eodem Caesare officiorum esset magister.

[3] At first they banished to Britain Palladius, formerly chief marshal of the

court, who was brought before them merely on the suspicion of having made certain charges to Constantius against Gallus, when he held the same office under the said Gallus, who was at the time Caesar.

[4] Dein Taurum ex praefecto praetorio in exilium egere Vercellum, cuius factum apud iudices iustorum iniustorumque distinctores, videri potuit veniae dignum. Quid enim deliquit, si ortum turbinem veritus, ad tutelam principis sui confugit? Et acta super eo gesta non sine magno legebantur horrore, cum id voluminis publici contineret exordium: 'Consulatu Tauri et Florenti, inducto sub praeconibus Tauro.'

[4] Then Taurus, who had been praetorian prefect, was exiled to Vercellum, although before judges who could distinguish justice from injustice his action might have appeared deserving of pardon. For what sin did he commit, if in fear of a storm that had arisen he fled to the protection of his emperor? And the decisions that were passed upon him were read not without great horror in the public protocol, which contained this beginning: "In the consulate of Taurus and Florentius, when Taurus was summoned to court by the criers."

[5] Ad exitium itidem tale Pentadius trahebatur, cui id obiectum est, quod a Constantio missus, notis exceperit, quae propinquante pernicie, super multis interrogatus, responderat Gallus. Sed cum se iuste defenderet, tandem abiit innoxius.

[5] Pentadius also was threatened with the same fate, against whom the charge was made, that, being sent by Constantius he took down in shorthand the answers that Gallus had made to the many questions put to him when his ruin was approaching. But since he justified himself, he finally got off unpunished.

[6] Iniquitate simili Florentius tunc magister officiorum (Nigriniani filius) contrusus est in insulam Delmatiam Boas. Alter enim Florentius, ex praefecto praetorio consul etiamtum, rerum mutatione subita territus, cum coniuge periculis exemptus, diu delituit, nec redire ante mortem potuit Iuliani, capitis crimine tamen damnatus est absens.

[6] With like injustice Florentius (son of Nigrinianus), then chief marshal of the court, was imprisoned in the Dalmatian island of Boae. For a second Florentius, a former praetorian prefect and consul at the time, being alarmed by the sudden change in the state, saved himself from danger with his wife, lay hid for a long time, and could not return until after the death of Julian; yet he was condemned to death in his absence.

[7] Pari sorte Euagrius comes rei privatae, et Saturninus ex cura palatii, et Cyrinus ex notario, portati sunt in exilium. Ursuli vero necem largitionum comitis ipsa mihi videtur flesse Iustitia, imperatorem arguens ut ingratum. Cum enim Caesar in partes mitteretur occiduas, omni tenacitate stringendus, nullaue potestate militi quicquam donandi delata, ut pateret ad motus

asperiores exercitus, hic idem Ursulus datis litteris ad eum qui Gallicos tuebatur thesauros, quicquid posceret Caesar, procul dubio iusserat dari.

[7] In like manner Euagrius, count of the privy purse, and Saturninus, former steward of the Household, and Cyrinus, a former secretary, were all exiled. But for the death of Ursulus, count of the sacred largesses, Justice herself seems to me to have wept, and to have accused the emperor of ingratitude. For when Julian was sent as Caesar to the western regions, to be treated with extreme niggardliness, being granted no power of making any donative to the soldiers to the end that he might be exposed to more serious mutinies of the army, this very Ursulus wrote to the man in charge of the Gallic treasury, ordering that whatever the Caesar asked for should be given him without hesitation.

[8] Quo extincto cum maledictis execrationibusque multorum se Iulianus sentiret expositum, impurgabile crimen excusari posse existimans, absque conscientia sua hominem affirmabat occisum, praetendens quod eum militaris ira delevit, memor quae dixerat (ut ante rettulimus), cum Amidam vidisset excisam.

[8] After Ursulus' death Julian found himself the object of the reproaches and curses of many men, and thinking that he could excuse himself for the unpardonable crime, he declared that the man had been put to death without his knowledge, alleging that his taking off was due to the anger of the soldiers, who remembered his words (which we have reported before) when he saw the ruins of Amida.

[9] Ideoque timidus videbatur, vel parum intellegens quid conveniret, cum Arbitionem semper ambiguum et praetumidum his quaestionibus praefecisset, aliis specie tenus cum principiis legionum praesentibus, quem primum omnium saluti suae norat obiectum, ut decuit victoriarum civilium participem fortem.

[9] From this it was clear that Julian was timorous, or that he did not know what was fitting, when he put Arbitio, who was always untrustworthy and excessively haughty, in charge of these inquisitions, while the others, including the officers of the legions, were present merely for show; for Arbitio was a man whom he knew above all others to be a threat to his own safety, as was to be expected of one who had taken a valiant part in the victories of the civil wars.

[10] Et quamquam haec quae retulimus, eius displicuere fautoribus, sequentia tamen severitatis recto vigore sunt gesta.

[10] But, although these acts which I have mentioned displeased even Julian's supporters, yet those which follow were executed with proper vigour and severity.

[11] Apodemium enim ex agente in rebus, quem in Silvani necem et Galli, effrenatius arsisse docuimus, Paulumque notarium cognomento Catenam, cum multorum gemitu nominandum, vivos exustos, qui sperari debuit oppressit eventus.

[11] For Apodemius, of the imperial secret service, who, as we have said, showed unbridled eagerness for the death of Silvanus and Gallus, was burned alive, as well as Paulus the notary, surnamed Catena, a man to be mentioned by many with groans, who thus met the fate which was to have been hoped for.

[12] Eusebium super his, cui erat Constantiani thalami cura commissa, alte spirantem et dirum, addixere iudices poenae letali, quem ab ima sorte ad usque iubendum imperatoria paene elatum, ideoque intolerabilem, humanorum spectatrix Adrastia aurem (quod dicitur) vellens, monensque ut castigatius viveret, reluctantem, praecipitem tamquam e rupe quadam egit excelsa. Eunuchos omnes, et tonsores ac coquos palatio expellit Iulianus Aug. Et de palatinorum spadorum vitiis et de corrupta disciplina militum. Conversus post haec princeps ad palatinos, omnes omnino qui sunt quique esse possunt removit non ut philosophus veritatis indagandae professor.

[12] Eusebius besides, who had been made Constantius' grand chamberlain, a man full of pride and cruelty, was condemned to death by the judges. This man, who had been raised from the lowest station to a position which enabled him almost to give orders like those of the emperor himself, and in consequence had become intolerable, Adrastia, the judge of human acts, had plucked by the ear (as the saying is) and warned him to live with more restraint; and when he demurred, she threw him headlong, as if from a lofty cliff. Julianus Augustus drives all the eunuchs, barbers, and cooks from the palace. On the vices of the eunuchs of the court and the corruption of military discipline. After this the emperor turned his attention to the palace attendants, and dismissed all who belonged to that class or could be included in it, but not like a philosopher claiming to research into truth.

[2] Laudari enim poterat, si saltem moderatos quosdam licet paucos retinisset, morumque probitate compertos. Namque fatendum est, pleramque eorum partem vitiorum omnium seminarium effusius aluisse, ita ut rem publicam infecerint cupiditatibus pravis, plusque exemplis, quam peccandi licentia, laederent multos.

[2] For he might have been commended if he had at least retained some, few though they were, who were of modest behaviour or known to be of virtuous character. But it must be admitted that the major part of those creatures maintained a vast nursery of all the vices, to such a degree that they infected the state with evil passions, and rather by their example than by their license in wrong-doing injured many.

[3] *Pasti enim ex his quidam templorum spoliis et lucra ex omni odorantes occasione, ab egestate infima ad saltum sublati divitiarum ingentium nec largiendi nec rapiendi nec absumendi tenuere aliquem modum, aliena invadere semper assuefacti.*

[3] For some of them, fattened on the robbery of temples and scenting out gain from every source, on being raised from abject poverty at one bound to enormous wealth, knew no limit to bribery, robbery, and extravagance, always accustomed as they were to seize the property of others.

[4] *Unde fluxioris vitae initia pullularunt, et periuria, et nullus existimationis respectus, demensque superbia fidem suam probrosis quaestibus polluebat.*

[4] Hence sprang the seeds of a dissolute life, perjury, and disregard for good name, and their mad pride stained their honour by shameful gains.

[5] *Inter quae ingluvies et gurgites crevere praerupti conviviorum, et pro victorialibus epulares triumphi, ususque abundantes serici et textiles auctae sunt artes, et culinarum sollicitior cura, et ambitiosa ornatarum domorum exquisita sunt spatia, quorum mensuram si in agris consul Quinctius possedisset, amiserat etiam post dictaturam gloriam paupertatis.*

[5] Meanwhile, gluttony and deep abysses of banquets grew apace, and the place of triumphs won in battle was taken by those gained at the table. The lavish use of silk and of the textile arts increased, and more anxious attention to the kitchen. Showy sites for richly adorned houses were eagerly sought, of such dimensions that if the consul Quinctius had owned as much in farmland, he would have lost the glory of his poverty even after his dictatorship.

[6] *Quibus tam maculosis accessere flagitia disciplinae castrensis, cum miles cantilenas meditaretur, pro iubilo molliores: et non saxa (ut erant antehac) armato cubile, sed pluma et flexiles lectuli, et graviora gladiis pocula (testa enim bibere iam pudebat), quaerebantur et aedes marmoreae, cum scriptum sit antiquitatibus, Spartanum militem coercitum acriter, quod procinctus tempore ausus sit videri sub tecto.*

[6] To these conditions, shameful as they were, were added serious defects in military discipline. In place of the war-song the soldiers practised effeminate ditties; the warriors' bed was not a stone (as in days of yore), but feathers and folding couches; their cups were now heavier than their swords (for they were ashamed to drink from earthenware); they even procured houses of marble, although it is written in the records of old that a Spartan soldier was severely punished because during a campaign he dared to be seen under a roof.

[7] *Adeo autem ferox erat in suos illis temporibus miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus, ut per ambitiones otiumque opibus partis, auri et lapillorum varietates discerneret scientissime, contra quam recens memoria*

tradidit.

[7] Moreover, the soldiers of those times were so insolent and rapacious towards their countrymen, and so cowardly and weak in the presence of the enemy, that having acquired riches by patronage and idleness, they were adepts in distinguishing the varieties of gold and gems, contrary to the usage even of recent times.

[8] Notum est enim sub Maximiano Caesare vallo regis Persarum direpto, gregarium quendam post sacculum Parthicum (in quo erant margaritae) repertum, proiectis imperitia gemmis, abisse, pellis nitore solo contentum.

[8] For it is well known that under Caesar Maximianus, when a fortified camp of the Persian king was pillaged, a common soldier after finding a Parthian jewel-box containing pearls, threw away the gems in ignorance of their value, and went his way, quite satisfied with the beauty of the leather alone.

[9] Evenerat eisdem diebus, ut ad demendum imperatoris capillum, tonsor venire praeceptus, introiret quidam ambitiose vestitus. Quo viso Iulianus obstipuit, et ‘Ego’ inquit ‘non rationalem iussi, sed tonsorem acciri.’ Interrogatus tamen ille quid haberet ex arte compendii, vicens diurnas respondit annonas, totidemque pabula iumentorum, quae vulgo dictitant capita, et annum stipendium grave, absque fructuosis petitionibus multis.

[9] It happened at that same time that a barber, who had been summoned to trim the emperor’s hair, appeared in splendid attire. On seeing him, Julian was amazed, and said: “I sent for a barber, not a fiscal agent.” However, he asked the man what his trade brought him in; to which the barber replied twenty daily allowances of bread, and the same amount of fodder for pack-animals (these they commonly call *capita*), as well as a heavy annual salary, not to mention many rich perquisites.

[10] Unde motus omnes huius modi, cum cocis similibusque allis, eadem paene accipere consuetos (ut parum sibi necessarios) data quo velint eundi potestate, proiecit. Iulianus A. cultum deorum, antea dissimulatum, palam et libere profitetur, et Christianorum episcopos inter se committit. Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiae primis, inclinior erat erga numinum cultum, paulatimque adulescens, desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quaedam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat, occultissime.

[10] Incensed by this, Julian discharged all attendants of that kind (as being not at all necessary to him), as well as cooks and other similar servants, who were in the habit of receiving almost the same amount, giving them permission to go wherever they wished. Julianus Augustus openly and freely professes the worship of the gods, which he had previously practised secretly, and sets the bishops of the Christians at odds. Although Julian from the earliest days of his childhood had been more inclined towards the worship of the pagan gods, and

as he gradually grew up burned with longing to practise it, yet because of his many reasons for anxiety he observed certain of its rites with the greatest possible secrecy.

[2] Ubi vero abolitis quae verebatur, adesse sibi liberum tempus faciendi quae vellet advertit, pectoris patefecit arcana, et planis absolutisque decretis, aperire templa arisque hostias admovere, et restituere deorum statuit cultum.

[2] But when his fears were ended, and he saw that the time had come when he could do as he wished, he revealed the secrets of his heart and by plain and formal decrees ordered the temples to be opened, victims brought to the altars, and the worship of the gods restored.

[3] Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos, monebat civilius, ut discordiis consopitis, quisque nullo vetante, religioni suae serviret intrepidus.

[3] And in order to add to the effectiveness of these ordinances, he summoned to the palace the bishops of the Christians, who were of conflicting opinions, and the people, who were also at variance, and politely advised them to lay aside their differences, and each fearlessly and without opposition to observe his own beliefs.

[4] Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem, nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertus. Saepeque dictitabat: ‘Audite me quem Alamanni audierunt et Franci,’ imitari putans Marci principis veteris dictum. Sed parum advertit, hoc ab eo nimium discrepare.

[4] On this he took a firm stand, to the end that, as this freedom increased their dissension, he might afterwards have no fear of a united populace, knowing as he did from experience that no wild beasts are such enemies to mankind as are most of the Christians in their deadly hatred of one another. And he often used to say: “Hear me, to whom the Alamanni and the Franks have given ear,” thinking that in this he was imitating a saying of the earlier emperor Marcus. But he did not observe that the two cases were very different.

[5] Ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret, Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum faetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus, dolenter dicitur exclamasse: ‘O Marcomanni, o Quadi, o Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni.’ Qua arte complures litigatores Aegyptios, a quibus moleste interpellabatur, domum redire coegit. Per hoc idem tempus, rumoribus excitati variis, Aegyptii venire complures, genus hominum controversum et assuetudine perplexius litigandi semper laetissimum, maximeque avidum multiplicatum reposcere, si compulsori quicquam dederit, ut levare debito possit, vel certe commodius per dilationem inferre quae flagitantur, aut criminis vitandi formidine, divites pecuniarum repetundarum interrogare.

[5] For Marcus, as he was passing through Palestine on his way to Egypt, being often disgusted with the malodorous and rebellious Jews, is reported to have cried: “O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at last I have found a people more unruly than you.” The cleverness with which Julian forced several Egyptian petitioners, by whom he was annoyed and interrupted, to return to their homes. At this same time, induced by sundry rumours, there came a number of Egyptians, a contentious race of men, by custom always delighting in intricate litigation, and especially eager for excessive indemnification if they had paid anything to a collector of debts, either for the purpose of being relieved of the debt, or at any rate, to bring in what was demanded of them more conveniently by postponing it; or eager to charge wealthy men with extortion and threaten them with court proceedings.

[2] *Hi omnes densati in unum, principem ipsum, et praefectos praetorio, graculorum more strepentes, interpellabant incondite, modo non ante septuagensimum annum extorquentes, quae dedisse se iure vel secus plurimis affirmabant.*

[2] All these, crowding together and chattering like jays, unseasonably interrupted the emperor himself, as well as the praetorian prefects, demanding after almost seventy years moneys that they declared that they had paid, justly or otherwise, to many individuals.

[3] *Cumque nihil aliud agi permetterent, edicto proposito, universos iussit transire Chalcedona, pollicitus quod ipse quoque protinus veniet, cuncta eorum negotia finiturus.*

[3] And, since they prevented any other business from receiving attention, the emperor issued an edict, in which he bade them all go to Chalcedon; and he promised that he would himself also shortly come there, to settle all their claims.

[4] *Quibus transgressis, mandatum est navigiorum magistris, ultro citroque discurrentium, nequis transfretare auderet Aegyptium, hocque observato cura perpensiore, evanuit pertinax calumniandi propositum, et omnes spe praesumpta frustrati, redierunt ad lares.*

[4] After they had crossed, orders were given to the captains of ships going to or coming from that port not to dare to give an Egyptian passage; and since that order was strictly observed, this obstinate attempt at blackmail vanished, and they all returned to their homes, disappointed in the hopes that they had entertained.

[5] *Unde velut aequitate ipsa dictante lex est promulgata, qua cavetur nullum interpellari suffragatorem, super his quae eum recte constiterit accepisse. Iulianus Constantinopoli saepe ius dicit in curia, et dum ibi Thraciarum res ordinat, variis exterarum gentium legationibus aditur. Allapso*

itaque Calendarum Ianuariarum die cum Mamertini et Nevittae nomina suscepissent paginae consulares, humilior princeps visus est, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis, quod laudabant alii quidam ut affectatum et vile carpebant.

[5] Thereupon a law was passed, as if at the proposal of Justice herself, which provided that no advocate at court should be troubled about payments which it was recognised that he had justly received. Julian often holds court in the senate-house at Constantinople, and there, while he is setting in order the affairs of Thrace, he is approached by several deputations from foreign nations. And so the first of January came, when the consular annals took on the names of Mamertinus and Nevitta; and the emperor showed himself especially condescending by going on foot to their inauguration in company with other high officials, an action which some commended but others criticised as affected and cheap.

[2] Dein Mamertino ludos edente circenses, manu mittendis ex more inductis per admissionum proximum, ipse lege agi ocus dixerat, ut solebat, statimque admonitus iuris dictionem eo die ad alterum pertinere, ut errato obnoxium, decem libris auri semet ipse multavit.

[2] Then, when Mamertinus gave games in the Circus and the slaves that were to be manumitted were led in by the assistant master of ceremonies, the emperor himself, with too great haste, pronounced the usual formula, that it be done according to law; and on being reminded that the jurisdiction that day belonged to another, he fined himself ten pounds of gold, as guilty of an oversight.

[3] Frequentabat inter haec curiam agendo diversa, quae divisiones multiplices ingerebant. Et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti, venisse nuntiatus esset ex Asia philosophus Maximus, exsiluit indecore: et qui esset oblitus, effuso cursu a vestibulo longe progressus, exosculatum susceptumque reverenter, secum induxit per ostentationem intempestivam, nimius captator inanis gloriae visus, praeclarique illius dicti immemor Tulliani, quo tales notando ita relatum:

[3] Meanwhile, he came frequently into the senate house to give attention to various matters with which the many changes in the state burdened him. And when one day, as he was sitting in judgement there, and it was announced that the philosopher Maximus had come from Asia, he started up in an undignified manner, so far forgetting himself that he ran at full speed to a distance from the vestibule, and after having kissed the philosopher and received him with reverence, brought him back with him. This unseemly ostentation made him appear to be an excessive seeker for empty fame, and to have forgotten that splendid saying of Cicero's, which narrates the following in criticising such folk:

[4] 'Ipsi illi philosophi etiam in his libris, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt, ut in eo ipso, quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac se nominari velint.'

[4] "Those very same philosophers inscribe their names on the very books which they write on despising glory, so that even when they express scorn of honour and fame, they wish to be praised and known by name."

[5] Haud multo deinceps, duo agentes in rebus, ex his qui proiecti sunt, eum adiere fidentius, promittentes latebras monstrare Florentii, si eis gradus militiae redderetur, quos incessens delatoresque appellans addebat non esse imperatorium, obliquis flecti indiciis ad retrahendum hominem mortis metu absconditum, qui forte non diu latitare citra spem veniae permetteretur.

[5] Not long after this, two former members of the secret service who were among those who had been discharged approached the emperor confidently and promised to point out the hiding-place of Florentius on condition that their military rank be restored to them. But he rebuked them and called them informers, adding that it was not worthy of an emperor to be led by indirect information to bring back a man who had concealed himself through fear of death, and who perhaps would not be allowed to remain long in hiding without hope of pardon.

[6] Aderat his omnibus Praetextatus, praeclarae indolis gravitatisque priscae senator, ex negotio proprio forte repertus apud Constantinopolim, quem arbitrio suo Achaiae proconsulari praefecerat potestate.

[6] Present at all these events was Praetextatus, a senator of noble character and old-time dignity, whom Julian had chanced to find engaged in private business at Constantinople and on his own initiative had appointed governor of Achaia with proconsular authority.

[7] Nec tamen, cum corrigendis civilibus ita diligenter instaret, omisit castrensia, rectores militibus diu exploratos apponens, urbes quin etiam per Thracias omnes, cum munimentis reparans extimis, curansque sollicite, ne arma vel indumenta, aut stipendium vel alimenta deessent his quos per supercilia Histri dispersos, excursibusque barbarorum oppositos agere vigilanter audiebat et fortiter.

[7] But, although he was so diligently engaged in reforming civil abuses, he did not on that account neglect military affairs, but put in command of the soldiers men approved by long trial; nay more, he repaired all the cities throughout Thrace as well as the fortifications on the borders, and took particular pains that the troops posted along the banks of the Danube, who, as he heard, were meeting inroads of the savages with watchfulness and valour, should lack neither arms and clothing nor pay and supplies.

[8] Quae cum ita divideret, nihil segnius agi permittens, suadentibus proximis, ut aggrederetur propinquos Gothos, saepe fallaces et perfidos, hostes quaerere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas, per quos ubique sine condicionis discrimine venundantur.

[8] While he was so arranging these matters, tolerating no slackness in action, his intimates tried to persuade him to attack the neighbouring Goths, who were often deceitful and treacherous; but he replied that he was looking for a better enemy; that for the Goths the Galatian traders were enough, by whom they were offered for sale everywhere without distinction of rank.

[9] Haec eum curantem et talia, commendabat externis nationibus fama, ut fortitudine, sobrietate, militaris rei scientia, virtutumque omnium incrementis excelsum, paulatimque progrediens, ambitum oppleverat mundi.

[9] While he was attending to these and similar affairs he gained a reputation among foreign nations for eminence in bravery, sobriety, and knowledge of military affairs, as well as of all noble qualities; and his fame gradually spread and filled the entire world.

[10] Proinde timore eius adventus per finitimos longaeque distantes latius explicato, legationes undique solito ocus concurrebant: hinc Transtigritanis pacem obsecrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus ab usque Divis et Serendivis, ab australi plaga ad famulandum rei Romanae semet offerentibus Mauris, ab aquilone et regionibus solis, per quas in mare Phasis accipitur, Bosporanis aliisque antehac ignotis legationes vehentibus supplices, ut annua complentes sollemnia, intra terrarum genitalium terminos otiose vivere sinerentur. Descriptio Thraciarum, et sinus Pontici, regionumque ac nationum Ponto adiacentium. Appositum est (ut existimo) tempus, ad has partes nos occasione magni principis devolutos, super Thraciarum extimis situque Pontici sinus, visa vel lecta quaedam perspicua fide monstrare.

[10] Then, since the fear of his coming extended widely over neighbouring and far distant nations, deputations hastened to him from all sides more speedily than usual: on one side, the peoples beyond the Tigris and the Armenians begged for peace; on another, the Indian nations as far as the Divi and the Serendivi vied with one another in sending their leading men with gifts ahead of time; on the south, the Moors offered their services to the Roman state; from the north and the desert regions, through which the Phasis flows to the sea, came embassies from the Bosporani and other hitherto unknown peoples, humbly asking that on payment of their annual tribute they might be allowed to live in peace within the bounds of their native lands. A description of Thrace, of the Pontic sea, and of the regions and peoples adjacent to the latter. Now is a fitting time (I think), since the history of a great prince has opportunely brought us to these places, to give some account of the remote

parts of Thrace, and of the topography of the Pontic sea, with clearness and accuracy, partly from my own observation and partly from reading.

[2] Athos in Macedonia mons ille praecelsus navibus quondam Medicis pervius, et Caphereus Euboicus scopulus, ubi Nauplius Palamedis pater classem collisit Argivam, licet longo spatio controversi a Thessalo mari distinguunt Aegaeum, quod paulatim fusius adulescens, dextra (qua late protenditur) per Sporadas est insulosum atque Cycladas, ideo sic appellatas quod omnes ambiunt Delon partu deorum insignem, laeva Imbrum et Tenedum circumluens et Lemnum et Thasum, quando perflatur, Lesbo illiditur violentius.

[2] Athos, that lofty mountain in Macedonia through which the Medic ships once passed, and Caphereus, the headland of Euboea where Nauplius, Looking eastward. father of Palamedes, wrecked the Argive fleet, although they face each other at a long distance apart, separate the Aegean and the Thessalian seas. The Aegean gradually grows larger, and on the right, where it is of wide extent, is rich in islands through the Sporades and Cyclades, so-called because they are all grouped about Delos, famous as the cradle of the gods. On the left, it washes Imbros and Tenedos, Lemnos and Thasos, and when the wind is strong, dashes violently upon Lesbos.

[3] Unde gurgitibus refluus Apollinis Sminthii templum et Troada perstringit et Ilium heroicis casibus claram, efficitque Melana sinum oppositum Zephyro, cuius apud principium Abdera visitur Protagorae domicilium et Democriti, cruentaeque Diomedis Thracii sedes et convalles, per quas Hebrus sibi miscetur, et Maronea et Aenus, qua diris auspiciis coepta moxque relictas ad Ausoniam veterem ductu numinum properavit Aeneas.

[3] From there, with back-flowing current, it laves the temple of Apollo Sminthius, the Troad, and Ilium, famed for the death of heroes, and forms the bay of Melas, facing the west wind, at the entrance of which is seen Abdera, the home of Protagoras and Democritus, and the bloodstained dwelling of the Thracian Diomedes, and the vales through which the Hebrus flows into it, and Maronea and Aenos, a city which Aeneas began under unfavourable auspices, but presently abandoned it and hastened on to ancient Ausonia under the guidance of the gods.

[4] Hinc gracilescens paulatim et velut naturali quodam commercio ruens in Pontum eiusque partem ad se iungens, in speciem ϕ litterae Graecae formatur, exin Hellespontum a Rhodopa scindens, Cynossema (ubi sepulta creditur Hecuba) et Coelan praeterlabitur et Seston et Callipolin. Contra per Achillis Aiakisque sepulchra, Dardanum contingit et Abydon, unde iunctis pontibus Xerxes maria pedibus peragravit, dein Lampsacum Themistocli dono datam a rege Persarum, et Parion quam condidit Iasionis filius Paris.

[4] After this, the Aegean gradually grows narrower and flows as if by a kind of natural union into the Pontus; and joining with a part of this it takes the form of the Greek letter φ. Then it separates Hellespontus from the province of Rhodopa and flows past Cynossema, where Hecuba is supposed to be buried, and Coela, Sestos and Callipolis.³ On the opposite side it washes the tombs of Achilles and Ajax, and Dardanus and Abydus, from which Xerxes built a bridge and crossed the sea on foot; then Lampsacus, which the Persian king gave to Themistocles as a gift, and Parion, founded by Paris, the son of Iasion.

[5] Unde semiorbe curvenscens altrinsecus, lataque aperiens terrarum divortia, circumfluis spatiis Propontidos respergit ex eoo latere Cyzicum, et Dindyma (religiosa Matris Magnae delubra), et Apamiam Ciumque, ubi Hylam et Astacum secuto tempore Nicomediam a rege cognominatam, qua in occasum procedit Cherronesum pulsat et Aegospotamus, in quo loco lapides casuros ex caelo praedixit Anaxagoras, et Lysimachiam et civitatem, quam Hercules conditam Perinthis comitis sui memoriae dedicavit.

[5] Then swelling on both sides into the form of a half-circle and giving a view of widely separated lands, it laves with the spreading waters of the Propontis, on the eastern side Cyzicus and Dindyma, where there is a sacred shrine of the Great Mother, and Apamia and Cius, where Hylas was pursued and carried off by the nymph, and Astacus, in a later age called after King Nicomedes. Where it turns to the westward it beats upon the Cherronesus and Aegospotami, where Anaxagoras predicted a rain of stones from heaven, and Lysimachia and the city which Hercules founded and dedicated to the name of his comrade Perinthus;

[6] Et ut effecte pleneque φ litterae figura servetur, in meditullio ipso rotunditatis Proconesus insula est oblonga et Besbicus.

[6] and in order to keep the form of the letter φ full and complete, in the very middle of the circle lies the oblong island of Proconesus, and Besbicus.

[7] Post cuius summitatem in angustias rursus extenuatum Europam et Bithyniam intercurrens, per Chalcedona et Chrysopolim et stationes transit obscuras.

[7] After reaching the extreme end of this part, it again contracts into a narrow strait, and flowing between Europe and Bithynia, passes by Chalcedon, Chrysopolis, and some obscure stations.

[8] Nam supercilia eius sinistra Athyras portus despectat et Selymbria et Constantinopolis, vetus Byzantium, Atticorum colonia, et promuntorium Ceras praelucentem navibus vehens constructam celsius turrim, quapropter Ceratas appellatur ventus inde suetus oriri praegeligus.

[8] Its left bank, however, is looked down upon by the port of Athyras and Selymbria, and Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, a colony of the Athenians, and the promontory Ceras, which bears a tower built high and giving light to ships ; therefore a very cold wind which often blows from that quarter is called Ceratas.

[9] Hoc modo fractum et participatione maris utriusque finitum, iamque mitescens in aequoream panditur faciem, quantum potest cadere sub aspectum, late diffusum et longe.

[9] After being broken in this fashion and coming to an end through the mingling of the two seas, it now grows quieter and spreads out into the form of a flat of water extending in width and length as far as the eye can reach.

[10] Omnis autem eius velut insularis circuitus litorea navigatio viginti tribus dimensa milibus stadiorum, ut Eratosthenes affirmat et Hecataeus et Ptolomaeus aliique huius modi cognitionum minutissimi scitatores, in speciem Scythici arcus nervo coagmentati geographiae totius assensione formatur.

[10] The complete voyage around its shores, as one would encircle an island, is a distance of 23,000 stadia, as is asserted by Eratosthenes, Hecataeus, Ptolemy, and other very accurate investigators of such problems; and according to the testimony of all geographers it has the form of a drawn Scythian bow.

[11] Et qua sol oceano exsurgit eoo, paludibus clauditur Maeotidos: qua declinat in vesperum, Romanis provinciis terminatur: unde suspicit sidus arctoum, homines alit linguis et moribus dispares: latus eius austrinum molli devexitate subductum.

[11] And where the sun rises from the eastern ocean it comes to an end in the marshes of the Maeotis ; where it inclines towards the west it is bounded by Roman provinces; where it looks up to the Bears it breeds men of varying languages and habits; on the southern side it slopes downward in a gentle curve.

[12] Per haec amplissima spatia oppida sunt dispersa Graecorum, quae cuncta aetatibus variis praeter pauca Atheniensium coloni condidere Milesii, inter Ionas alios in Asia per Nileum multo ante locati, Codri illius filium, qui se pro patria bello fertur Dorico devovisse.

[12] Over this vast space are scattered cities of the Greeks, all of which, with a few exceptions, were founded at varying periods by the Milesians, who were themselves colonists of the Athenians. The Milesians in much earlier times were established among other Ionians in Asia by Nileus, the son of that Codrus who (they say) sacrificed himself for his country in the Dorian war.

[13] Extremitatis autem arcus utrumque tenus duo exprimunt Bospori, e regione sibi oppositi, Thracius et Cimmericus: hac causa Bospori vocitati, quod per eos quondam Inachi filia, mutata (ut poetae loquuntur) in bovem, ad mare Ionium permeavit.

[13] Now the tips of the bow on both sides are represented by the two Bospori lying opposite to each other, the Thracian and the Cimmerian; and they are called Bospori, as the poets say, because the daughter of Inachus, when she was changed into a heifer, once crossed through them to the Ionian sea.

[14] Dextram igitur inflexionem Bospori Thracii excipit Bithyniae litus, quam veteres dixere Mygdoniam, in qua Thynia et Mariandena sunt regiones et Amyci saevitia Bebryces exempti virtute Pollucis, remotaque statio, in qua volitantes minaciter harpyias Phineus vates horrebat; per quae litora in sinus oblongos curvatus Sangarius et Phyllis et Lycus et Rhebas fluvii funduntur in maria, quibus controversae cyaneae sunt Symplegades, gemini scopuli in vertices undique porrecti deruptos, assueti priscis saeculis obviam sibi cum horrendo fragore collis molibus ferri, cedentesque retrorsus acri assultu, ad ea reverti quae pulsarent. Per has saxorum dehiscentium concursantiumque crebritates si etiam ales intervolasset, nulla celeritate pinnarum eripi poterat quin interiret oppressa.

[14] The right-hand curve of the Thracian Bosphorus begins with the shore of Bithynia, which the men of old called Mygdonia, containing the provinces of Thynia and Mariandena, and also the Bebrycians, who were delivered from the cruelty of Amycus through the valour of Pollux; and a remote station, a place where the menacing harpies fluttered about the seer Phineus and filled him with fear. Along these shores, which curve into extensive bays, the rivers Sangarius and Phyllis, Lycus and Rheba pour into the sea; opposite them are the dark Symplegades, twin rocks rising on all sides into precipitous cliffs, which were wont in ages past to rush together and dash their huge mass upon each other with awful crash, and then to recoil with a swift spring and return to what they had struck. If even a bird should fly between these swiftly separating and clashing rocks, no speed of wing could save it from being crushed to death.

[15] Hi scopuli cum eos Argo prima omnium navis Colchos ad direptionem aurei properans velleris praeterisset innoxia, immobiles turbine circumfracto stetero concorporati, ut eos aliquando fuisse diremptos nulli nunc conspicantium credant, nisi super hoc congruerent omnes priscorum carminum cantus.

[15] But these cliffs, ever since the *Argo*, first of all ships, hastening to Colchis to carry off the golden fleece, had passed between them unharmed, have stood motionless with their force assuaged and so united that no one of those who now look upon them would believe that they had ever been separated, were it

not that all the songs of the poets of old agree about the story.

[16] Post Bithyniae partem provinciae Pontus et Paphlagonia protenduntur, in quibus Heraclea et Sinope et Polemonion, et Amisos amplae sunt civitates, et Tios et Amastris, omnes ab auspicio diligentia fundatae Graecorum, et Cerasus, unde advexit huius nominis poma Lucullus, insulaeque duae, et Trapezunta et Pityunta continentis oppida non obscura.

[16] Beyond one part of Bithynia extend the provinces of Pontus and Paphlagonia, in which are the great cities of Heraclea, Sinope, Polemonion and Amisos, as well as Ties and Amastris, all owing their origin to the activity of the Greeks; also Cerasus, from which Lucullus brought the fruits so-named. There are also two islands, on which are situated the celebrated cities of Trapezus and Pityus.

[17] Ultra haec loca Acherusium specus est, quod accolae μυχοπόντιον appellant, et portus Acone, fluviiue Acheron, idemque Arcadius, et Iris et Tiberis et iuxta Parthenius, omnes in mare ictu rapido decurrentes. Thermodon his amnis est proximus ab Armonio defluens monte, et Themiscyraeos interlabens lucos ad quos Amazonas quondam migrare necessitas subegerat talis.

[17] Beyond these places is the Acherusian cave, which the natives call Mychopontion, and the port of Acone, besides the rivers Acheron (also called the Arcadius), Iris, Thybris, and hard by, the Parthenius, all of which flow with swift course into the sea. The next river to these is the Thermodon, flowing from Mount Armonius and gliding through the Themiscyraean groves, to which the Amazons were forced to migrate in days of yore for the following reason.

[18] Attritis damnorum assiduitate finitimis, Amazones veteres, quae eos cruentis populabantur incursibus, altiora spirabant, viresque suas circumspectantes his, quae propinqua saepius appetebant, validiores, raptae praecipiti cupiditatis ardore, perruptis nationibus plurimis, manus Atheniensibus intulerunt, acrique concertatione effuse disiectae, omnes nudatis equitatus sui lateribus, corruere.

[18] The Amazons of old, after having by constant losses worn out their neighbours, and devastated them by bloody raids, had higher aspirations; and considering their strength and feeling that it was too great merely for frequent attacks upon their neighbours, being carried away besides by the headstrong heat of covetousness, they broke through many nations and made war upon the Athenians. But after a bitter contest they were scattered in all directions, and since the flanks of their cavalry were left unprotected, they all perished.

[19] Harum interitu cognito, residuae ut imbelles domi relictæ, extrema perpressæ, et vicinitatis repensantis similia, funestos impetus declinantes, ad

pacatiorem sedem transiere Thermodontis, quarum progenies longe deinde propagata, per numerosam subolem manu firmissima ad loca reverterat genitalia, secuto tempore populis diversarum originum formidabilis.

[19] Upon the news of their destruction the remainder, who had been left at home as unfit for war, suffered extreme hardship; and in order to avoid the deadly attacks of their neighbours, who paid them like for like, they moved to a quieter abode on the Thermodon. Thereafter their descendants, who had greatly increased, returned, thanks to their numerous offspring, with a very powerful force, and in later times were a cause of terror to peoples of divers nationalities.

[20] Haut procul inde attollitur Carambis, placide collis contra septentrionem Helicen exurgens, cuius e regione est Criumetopon, Tauricae promuntorium, duobus milibus et quingentis stadiis disparatum. Hocque ex loco omnis ora maritima, cuius initium Halys est amnis, velut longitudine lineali directa nervi efficit speciem, duabus arcus summitatibus complicati.

[20] Not far from there the hill called Carambis lifts itself with gentle slope, rising towards the Great Bear of the north, and opposite this, at a distance of 2500 stadia, is Criumetopon, a promontory of Taurica. From this point the whole seacoast, beginning at the river Halys, as if drawn in a straight line, has the form of the string joined to the two tips of the bow.

[21] His regionibus Dahae confines sunt, acerrimi omnium bellatores, et Chalybes, per quos erutum et domitum est primitus ferrum. Post quos terras patentes Byzares obtinent et Sapires et Tibareni et Mossynoeci et Macrones et Philyres, populi nulla nobis assuetudine cogniti.

[21] Bordering on these regions are the Dahae, the fiercest of all warriors, and the Chalybes, by whom iron was first mined and worked. Beyond these are open plains, inhabited by the Byzares, Sapires, Tibareni, Mossynoeci, Macrones and Philyres, peoples not known to us through any intercourse.

[22] A quibus brevi spatio distant virorum monumenta nobilem, in quibus Sthenelus est humatus et Idmon et Tiphys, primus Herculis socius, Amazonico bello letaliter vulneratus, alter augur Argonautarum, tertius eiusdem navis cautissimus rector.

[22] A short distance from these are the tombs of famous men, in which are buried Sthenelus, Idmon, and Tiphys; the first of these was a companion of Hercules, mortally wounded in the war with the Amazons, the second the augur of the Argonauts, the third the careful steersman of that same craft.

[23] Praetercursis partibus memoratis, Aulion antron est, et fluentia Callichori, ex facto cognominati, quod superatis post triennium Indicis nationibus, ad eos tractus Liber reversus, circa huius ripas viridis et opacas orgia pristina

reparavit et choros: trieterica huius modi sacra quidam existimant appellari.

[23] After passing the places mentioned, one comes to the grotto of Aulion and the river Callichorus, which owes its name to the fact that Bacchus, when he had after three years vanquished the peoples of India, returned to those regions, and on the green and shady banks of that river renewed the former orgies and dances; some think that this kind of festival was also called *trieterica*.

[24] Post haec confinia, Camaritarum pagi sunt celebres, et Phasis fremebundis cursibus Colchos attingit, Aegyptiorum antiquam subolem, ubi inter civitates alias Phasis est nomine fluvii dictitata, et Dioscurias nunc usque nota, cuius auctores Amphitus et Cercius Spartani traduntur, aurigae Castoris et Pollucis, quibus Heniochorum natio est instituta.

[24] Beyond these territories are the populous districts of the Camaritae, and the Phasis in impetuous course borders on the Colchians, an ancient race of Egyptian origin. There, among other cities, is Phasis, which gets its name from the river, and Dioscurias, well known even to this day, said to have been founded by Amphitus and Cercius of Sparta, the charioteers of Castor and Pollux, and founders of the nation of the Heniochi.

[25] Paulum ab his discernuntur Achaei, qui bello anteriore quodam apud Troiam consummate, non cum super Helena certaretur (ut auctores prodidere non nulli), usque in Pontum reflantibus ventis errore delati, cunctisque hostilibus, stabilem domicilii sedem nusquam reperientes, verticibus montium insedere semper nivalium, et horrore caeli districti, victum sibi cum periculis raptu parare assuefacti sunt, atque eo ultra omnem deinde ferociam saevierunt. Super Cercetis, qui eisdem annexi sunt, nihil memoratu traditur dignum.

[25] A short distance from these are the Achaei, who, after the end of an earlier war at Troy (not the one which was fought about Helen, as some writers have asserted), being carried out of their course by contrary winds to Pontus, and meeting enemies everywhere, were unable to find a place for a permanent home; and so they settled on the tops of mountains covered with perpetual snow, where, compelled by the rigorous climate, they became accustomed to make a dangerous living by robbery, and hence became later beyond all measure savage. About the Cercetae, who adjoin them, we have no information worth mentioning.

[26] Quorum post terga Cimmerici agitant incolae Bospori, ubi Milesiae sunt civitates, harumque velut mater omnium Panticapaeum, quam perstringit Hypanis fluvius, genuinis intumescens aquis et externis.

[26] Behind these dwell the inhabitants of the Cimmercial Bosporus, where Milesian cities are, and Panticapaeum, the mother, so to speak, of all; this the river Hypanis washes, swollen with its own and tributary waters.

[27] Itineribus hinc extensis, Amazones ad usque Caspium mare porrectae, circumcolunt Tanain, qui inter Caucasias oriens rupes per sinuosos labitur circumflexus, Asiamque disternens ab Europa, in stagnis Maeoticis delitescit.

[27] Next, at a considerable distance, are the Amazons, who extend to the Caspian Sea and live about the Tanaïs, which rises among the crags of Caucasus, flows in a course with many windings, and after separating Europe from Asia vanishes in the standing pools of the Maeotis.

[28] Huic Ra vicinus est amnis, in cuius superciliis quaedam vegetabilis eiusdem nominis gignitur radix, proficiens ad usus multiplicis medelarum.

[28] Near this is the river Ra, on whose banks grows a plant of the same name, the root of which is used for many medicinal purposes.

[29] Ultra Tanain panduntur in latitudinem Sauromatae, per quos amnes fluunt perpetui Marabius et Rombitus et Theophanes et Totordanes. Licet alia quoque distans immanibus intervallis, Sauromatarum praetenditur natio, litori iuncta, quod Coracem suscipiens fluvium in aequor eiecat Euxinum.

[29] Beyond the Tanaïs the Sauromatae have a territory of wide extent, through which flow the never - failing rivers Maraccus, Rombites, Theophanes and Totordanes. However, there is also another nation of the Sauromatae, an enormous distance away, extending along the shore which receives the river Corax and pours it far out into the Euxine Sea.

[30] Prope palus est Maeotis amplissimi circumgressus, ex cuius uberrimis venis per Panticapes angustias undarum magnitudo prorumpit in Pontum, cuius in dextro latere insulae sunt Phanagorus et Hermonassa studio constructae Graecorum.

[30] Nearby is the Maeotic Gulf of wide circuit, from whose abundant springs a great body of water bursts through the narrows of Panticapes into the Pontus. On its right side are the islands Phanagorus and Hermonassa, founded by the industry of the Greeks.

[31] Circa haec stagna ultima extremaque plures habitant gentes, sermonum institutorumque varietate dispariles, Iaxamatae et Maeotae et Iazyges, Roxolanique et Halani et Melanchlaenae et cum Gelonis Agathyrsi, apud quos adamantis est copia lapidis: aliique ultra latentes, quod sunt omnium penitissimi.

[31] Around these farthest and most distant marshes live numerous nations, differing in the variety of their languages and customs: the Ixomatae, Maeotae, Iazyges, Roxolani, Halani, Melanchlaenae, and with the Geloni, the Agathyrsi, in whose country an abundance of the stone called adamant is found; and farther beyond are other peoples, who are wholly unknown, since

they are the remotest of all men.

[32] Sed Maeotidos lateri laevo Cherronesus est propinqua, coloniarum plena Graecarum. Unde quieti sunt homines et sedati, adhibentes vomeri curam, et proventibus fructuariis victitantes.

[32] But near the left side of the Maeotis is the Cherronesus, full of Greek colonies. Hence the inhabitants are quiet and peaceful, plying the plough and living on the products of the soil.

[33] A quibus per varia regna diducti itineribus modicis Tauri dissociantur, inter quos immani diritate terribiles Arichi et Sinchi et Napaei, intendente saevitiam licentia diuturna, indidere mari nomen inhospitali, et a contrario per cavillationem Pontus εὔξεινος appellatur, ut εὐήθη Graeci dicimus stultum et noctem εὐφρόνην, et furias εὐμενίδας.

[33] At no great distance from these are the Tauri, divided into various kingdoms, among whom the Arichi, the Sinchi, and the Napaei are terrible for their ruthless cruelty, and since long continued license has increased their savageness, they have given the sea the name of Inhospitable; but in irony it is called by the contrary name of Pontus εὔξεινος, just as we Greeks call a fool εὐήθης, and night εὐφρόνη, and the Furies εὐμενίδες.

[34] Deos enim hostiis litantes humanis et immolantes advenas Dianae, quae apud eos dicitur Orsiloche, caesorum capita fani parietibus praefigebant, velut fortium perpetua monumenta facinorum.

[34] For these peoples offer human victims to the gods and sacrifice strangers to Diana, whom they call Orsiloche, and affix the skulls of the slain to the walls of her temple, as a lasting memorial of their valorous deeds.

[35] In hac Taurica insula Leuce sine habitatoribus ullis Achilli est dedicata. In quam si fuerint quidam forte delati, visis antiquitatis vestigiis temploque et donariis eidem heroi consecratis, vesperi repetunt naves: aiunt enim non sine discrimine vitae illic quemquam pernoctare. Ibi et aquae sunt, et candidae aves nascuntur, halcyonibus similes, super quarum origine et Hellespontiacis proeliis tempore disseremus.

[35] In this Tauric country is the island of Leuce, entirely uninhabited and dedicated to Achilles. And if any happen to be carried to that island, after looking at the ancient remains, the temple, and the gifts consecrated to that hero, they return at evening to their ships; for it is said that no one can pass the night there except at the risk of his life. At that place there are also springs and white birds live there resembling halcyons, of whose origin and battles in the Hellespont I shall speak at the appropriate time.

[36] Sunt autem quaedam per Tauricam civitates, inter quas eminet Eupatoria et Dandace, et Theodosia et minores aliae nullis humanis hostiis impiatae.

[36] Now there are some cities in the Taurica, conspicuous among which are Eupatoria, Dandace, and Theodosia, with other smaller towns, which are not contaminated with human sacrifices.

[37] *Hactenus arcus apex protendi existimatur. Eius nunc residua leniter sinuata, subiectaque ursae caelesti, ad usque laevum Bospori Thracii latus (ut ordo postulat) exsequemur, id admonentes, quod, cum arcus omnium gentium flexis curventur hastilibus, Scythici soli vel Parthici, circumductis utrimque introrsus pandis et patulis cornibus, effigiem lunae decrescentis ostendunt, medietatem recta et rotunda regula dividente.*

[37] So far the peak of the bow is thought to extend; the remainder of it, gently curved and lying under the Bear in the heavens, we shall now follow as far as the left side of the Thracian Bosphorus, as the order demands, with this warning; that while the bows of all other races are bent with the staves curved, in those of the Scythians alone, or the Parthians, since a straight rounded handle divides them in the middle, the ends are bent downwards on both sides and far apart, presenting the form of a waning moon.

[38] *Ergo in ipso huius compagis exordio, ubi Rhiphaei deficiunt montes, habitant Arimphaei, iusti homines placiditateque cogniti, quos amnes Chronius et Visula praeterfluunt; iuxtaque Massagetae, Halani et Sargetae, alique plures obscuri, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores.*

[38] Well then, at the very beginning of this district, where the Rhiphaean mountains sink to the plain, dwell the Aremphaei, just men and known for their gentleness, through whose country flow the rivers Chronius and Visula. Near them are the Massagetae, Halani, and Sargetae, as well as several other obscure peoples whose names and customs are unknown to us.

[39] *Interiectu deinde non mediocri Carcinites panditur sinus eiusdemque nominis fluvius, et religiosus per eas terras Triviae lucus.*

[39] Then at a considerable distance the Carcinitian gulf opens up, with a river of the same name, and the grove of Trivia, sacred in those regions.

[40] *Dein Borysthenes a montibus oriens Nerviorum, primigeniis fontibus copiosus concursuque multorum amnium adulescens, mari praeruptis undarum verticibus intimatur, cuius in marginibus nemorosis Borysthenes est civitas et Cephalonesus, et arae Alexandro Magno Caesarique Augusto sacratae.*

[40] Next the Borysthenes, rising in the mountains of the Nervii, rich in waters from its own springs, which are increased by many tributaries, and mingle with the sea in high-rolling waves. On its well-wooded banks are the cities of Borysthenes and Cephalonesus and the altars consecrated to Alexander the Great and Augustus Caesar.

[41] Longo exinde intervallo paene est insula, quam incolunt Sindi ignobiles, post eriles in Asia casus, coniugiis potiti dominorum et rebus, quibus subiectum gracile litus ὀχιλλέως vocant indigenae δρόμον, exercitiis ducis quondam Thessali memorabilem. Eique proxima est civitas Tyros, colonia Phoenicum, quam praestringit fluvius Tyras.

[41] Then, a long distance away, is a peninsula inhabited by the Sindi, people of low birth, who after the disaster to their masters in Asia got possession of their wives and property. Next to these is a narrow strip of shore which the natives call ὀχιλλέως δρόμος, memorable in times past for the exercises of the Thessalian leader. And next to it is the city Tyros, a colony of the Phoenicians, washed by the river Tyras.

[42] In medio autem spatio arcus, quod prolixae rotunditatis esse praediximus, quodque expedite viatori diebus conficitur quindecim, Europaei sunt Halani et Costobocae, gentesque Scytharum innumerae, quae porriguntur ad usque terras sine cognito fine distentas. Quarum pars exigua frugibus alitur, residuae omnes palantes per solitudines vastas, nec stivam aliquando nec sementem expertas, sed squalentes et pruinosas, ferarum taetro ritu vescuntur, eisque caritates et habitacula, vilesque suppellectiles plaustis impositae sunt corticibus tectis, et cum placuerit, sine obstaculo migrant, eodem carpenta quo libuerit convolventes.

[42] Now in the middle space of the bow, which, as I have said, is widely rounded out and is fifteen days' journey for an active traveller, are the European Halani, the Costobocae, and innumerable Scythian tribes, which extend to lands which have no known limit. Of these, only a small part live on the fruits of the earth; all the rest roam over desert wastes, which never knew plough nor seeds, but are rough from neglect and subject to frosts; and they feed after the foul manner of wild beasts. Their dear ones, their dwellings, and their poor belongings they pack upon wains covered with the bark of trees, and when the fancy takes them they change their abode without trouble, wheeling their carts to the place which has attracted them.

[43] Cum autem ad alium portuosum ambitum fuerit ventum, qui arcus figuram determinat ultimam, Peuce prominet insula, quam circumcolunt Trogodytae et Peucini, minoresque aliae gentes, et Histros quondam potentissima civitas, et Tomi et Apollonia et Anchialos et Odessos, aliae praeterea multae, quas litora continent Thraciarum.

[43] But when we have come to another bend, abounding in harbours, which forms the last part of the curve of the bow, the island of Peuce juts forth, and around this dwell the Trogodytae, the Peuci, and other lesser tribes. Here is Histros, once a powerful city, and Tomi, Apollonia, Anchialos, and Odessos, besides many other cities which lie along the Thracian coast.

[44] Amnis vero Danubius, oriens prope Rauracos montesque confines limitibus Raeticis, per latiore orbem praetentus, ac sexaginta navigabilis paene omnes recipiens fluvios, septem ostiis per hoc Scythicum litus erumpit in mare.

[44] But the river Danube, rising near Augst, and the mountains near the Raetian frontier, extends over a wide tract, and after receiving sixty tributaries, nearly all of which are navigable, breaks through this Scythian shore into the sea through seven mouths.

[45] Quorum primum est Peuce insula supra dicta, ut interpretata sunt vocabula Graeco sermone, secundum Naracustoma, tertium Calonstoma, quartum Pseudostoma; nam Borionstoma ac deinde Stenostoma longe minora sunt ceteris; septimum caenosum et palustri specie nigrum.

[45] The first of these, as their names are interpreted in the Greek tongue, is the aforesaid island of Peuce, the second Naracustoma, the third Calonstoma, the fourth Pseudostoma; but the Borionstoma and Stenostoma are far smaller than the others; the seventh is muddy and black like a swamp.

[46] Omnis autem circumfluo ambitu Pontus et nebulosus est, et dulcior aequorum ceteris et vadosus, quod et concrescit aer ex umorum spiramine saepe densatus, et irruentium undarum magnitudine temperatur, et consurgit in brevia dorsuosa, limum glebasque aggerente multitudine circumvenientium fluentorum.

[46] Now the entire Pontus throughout its whole circuit is misty, has sweeter waters than the other seas, and is full of shoals, since the air is often thickened and condensed from the evaporation of moisture, and is tempered by the great masses of water that flow into it; and, because the many rivers that pour into it from every side bring in mud and clods, it rises in shoals that are full of ridges.

[47] Et constat ab ultimis nostri finibus maris, agminatim ad hunc secessum pariendi gratia petere pisces, ut aquarum suavitate salubrius fetus educant in receptaculis cavis (qualia sunt ibi densissima), securi voracium beluarum: nihil enim in Ponto huius modi aliquando est visum, praeter innoxios delphinas et parvos.

[47] And it is a well-known fact that fish from the remotest bounds of our sea come in schools to this retreat for the purpose of spawning, in order that they may rear their young more healthfully in its sweet waters, and that in the refuge of the hollows, such as are very numerous there, they may be secure from voracious sea-beasts; for in the Pontus nothing of that kind has ever been seen, except small and harmless dolphins.

[48] Quicquid autem eiusdem Pontici sinus aquilone caeditur et pruinis, ita

perstringitur gelu, ut nec amnium cursus subtervolvi credantur, nec per infidum et labile solum, gressus hominis possit vel iumentum firmari, quod vitium numquam mare sincerum, sed permixtum aquis amnicis temptat. Prolati aliquanto sumus longius quam sperabamus, pergamus ad reliqua.

[48] But the part of that same Pontic gulf which is scourged by the north wind and by frosts is so completely bound in ice, that neither are the courses of the rivers believed to flow beneath the ice, nor can men or animals keep their footing on the treacherous and slippery surface, a defect which an unmixed sea never has, but only one which is mingled with water from rivers. But since I have been carried somewhat farther than I expected, let us hasten on to the rest of our story.

[49] Accesserat aliud ad gaudiorum praesentium cumulum, diu quidem speratum, sed dilationum ambage multiplici tractum. Nuntiatum est enim per Agilonem et Iovium, postea quaestorem, Aquileiae defensores longioris obsidii taedio, cognitoque Constanti excessu, patefactis portis egressos, auctores prodidisse turbarum, eisdemque vivis exustis (ut supra relatum est), omnes concessionem impetrasse delictorum et veniam. Iulianus A., aucta ornataque Constantinopoli, Antiochiam petit, ac in itinere Nicomediensibus ad reparandas urbis ruinas pecunias tribuit, Ancyrae iuris dictionibus vacat. At prosperis Iulianus elatior, ultra homines iam spirabat, periculis expertus assiduus, quod ei orbem Romanum placide iam regenti, velut mundanam cornucopiam Fortuna gestans propitia, cuncta gloriosa deferebat et prospera, antegressis victoriarum titulis haec quoque adiciens, quod, dum teneret imperium solus, nec motibus internis est concitus, nec barbarorum quisquam ultra suos exsiluit fines: et populi omnes, aviditate semper insectari praeterita, ut damnosa et noxia, in laudes eius studiis miris accendebantur.

[49] Another thing was added, to crown the present joys, something long hoped for it is true, but delayed by an extensive complex of postponements. For it was announced by Agilo and Jovius, who was later quaestor, that the defenders of Aquileia, through weariness of the long siege and having learned of the death of Constantius, had opened their gates, come out, and surrendered the instigators of the revolt; that these were burned alive (as was told above), and all the rest obtained indulgence and pardon for their offences. Julianus Augustus, after having enlarged and adorned Constantinople, went to Antioch. On the way he gave the people of Nicomedia funds for the restoration of their ruined city, and found time for holding court at Ancyra. But Julian, elated by his success, now felt more than mortal aspirations, since he had been tried by so many dangers and now upon him, the undisputed ruler of the Roman world, propitious Fortune, as if bearing an earthly horn of plenty, was bestowing all glory and prosperity; also adding this to the records of his former victories, that so long as he was sole ruler he was disturbed by no internal strife and no barbarians crossed his frontiers; but all nations, laying

aside their former eagerness for repeated attacks, as ruinous and liable to punishment, were fired with a wonderful desire of sounding his praises.

[2] Omnibus igitur, quae res diversae poscebant et tempora, perpensa deliberatione dispositis, et militibus orationibus crebris, stipendioque competenti, ad expedienda incidentia promptius animatis, cunctorum favore sublimis, Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis maximis fultam: natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam et colebat.

[3] Therefore, after everything that the times and the changed circumstances demanded had been arranged with careful deliberation, and the soldiers had by numerous addresses and by adequate pay been roused to greater readiness for carrying out the coming enterprises, exulting in the favour of all men, he hastened to go to Antioch, leaving Constantinople supported by great increase of strength; for it was there that he was born, and he loved and cherished the city as his natal place.

[3] Transgressus itaque fretum, praetercursa Chalcedone et Libyssa, ubi sepultus est Hannibal Poenus, Nicomediam venit, urbem antehac inclytam, ita magnis retro principum amplificatam impensis, ut aedium multitudine privatarum et publicarum, recte noscentibus regio quaedam urbis aestimaretur aeternae.

[3] Accordingly, having crossed the strait, and passed by Chalcedon and Libyssa, where Hannibal the Carthaginian was buried, he came to Nicomedia, a city famed of old and so enlarged at the great expense of earlier emperors, that because of the great number of its private and public buildings it was regarded by good judges as one of the regions, so to speak, of the Eternal City.

[4] Cuius moenia cum vidisset in favillas miserabiles consedissee, angorem animi tacitis fletibus indicans, pigriore gradu pergebat ad regiam, hoc maxime aerumnis eius illacrimans, quod ordo squalens occurrit et populus nimium quantum antehac florentissimus; et agnoscebat quosdam, ibidem ab Eusebio educatus episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat.

[4] When he saw that its walls had sunk into a pitiful heap of ashes, showing his distress by silent tears he went with lagging step to the palace: and in particular he wept over the wretched state of the city because the senate and the people, who had formerly been in a most flourishing condition, met him in mourning garb. And certain of them he recognised, since he had been brought up there under the bishop Eusebius, whose distant relative he was.

[5] Hic quoque pari modo ad reparanda, quae terrae subverterat tremor, abunde praestitis plurimis, per Nicaeam venit ad Gallograeciae fines, unde dextrorsus itinere declinato, Pessinunta convertit, visurus vetusta Matris magnae delubra,

a quo oppido bello Punico secundo, carmine Cumano monente, per Scipionem Nasicam simulacrum translatum est Romam.

[5] Having here also in a similar way generously furnished many things that were necessary for repairing the damage done by the earthquake, he went on past Nicaea to the borders of Gallograecia. From there he made a detour to the right and turned to Pessinus, in order to visit the ancient shrine of the Great Mother. It was from that town, in the second Punic war, that at the direction of the Cumaean verses her image was brought to Rome by Scipio Nasica.

[6] Cuius super adventu in Italiam pauca cum aliis huic materiae congruentibus, in actibus Commodi principis digessimus per excessum. Quam autem ob rem hoc nomine oppidum sit appellatum, variant rerum scriptores:

[6] Of its arrival in Italy, along with other matters relating to the subject, I have given a brief account by way of digression in telling of the acts of the emperor Commodus. But why the town was called by that name writers of history are not in agreement;

[7] quidam enim figmento deae caelitus lapso ἄπὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν (quod cadere nos dicimus) urbem asseruere cognominatam. Alii memorant Ilum, Trois filium Dardaniae regem, locum sic appellasse. At Theopompus non Ilum id egisse, sed Midam affirmat, Phrygiae quondam potentissimum regem.

[7] for some have maintained that since the image of the goddess fell from heaven, the city was named from πεσεῖν, which is the Greek word meaning "to fall." Others say that Ilus, son of Tros, king of Dardania, gave the place that name. But Theopompus asserts that it was not Ilus who did it, but Midas, the once mighty king of Phrygia.

[8] Venerato igitur numine, hostiisque litato et votis, Ancyram rediit : eumque exinde progredientem ulterius, multitudo inquietabat, pars violenter erepta reddi sibi poscentium, alii querentes consortiis se curialium addictos iniuste, non nulli sine respectu periculi agentes ad usque rabiem, ut adversarios suos laesae maiestatis criminibus illigarent.

[8] Then, after Julian had worshipped the deity and propitiated her with victims and vows, he returned to Ancyra. And as he continued his journey from there, the multitude annoyed him, some demanding the return of what had been wrested from them by violence, others complaining that they had unjustly been forced onto the boards of senators, while some, without regard to their own danger, exerted themselves to the point of madness to involve their opponents in charges of high treason.

[9] Verum ille iudiciis Cassiis tristior et Lycurgis, causarum momenta aequo iure perpendens, suum cuique tribuebat, nusquam a vero abductus, acrius in calumniatores exurgens, quos oderat, multorum huius modi petulantem saepe

dementiam, ad usque discrimen expertus, dum esset adhuc humilis et privatus.

[9] But he, a judge more severe than a Cassius, or a Lycurgus, weighed the evidence in the cases with impartial justice and gave every man his due, never deviating from the truth, and showing particular severity towards calumniators, whom he hated because he had experienced the impudent madness of many such folk even to the peril of his life, while he was still a humble private citizen.

[10] Exemplumque patientiae eius in tali negotio, licet sint alia plurima, id unum sufficiet poni. Inimicum quidam suum, cum quo discordabat asperissime, commisisse in maiestatem turbulentius deferebat, imperatoreque dissimulante, eadem diebus continuis replicans, interrogatus ad ultimum, qui esset quem argueret, respondit municipem locupletem Quo audito princeps renidens ‘Quibus indiciis’ ait ‘ad hoc pervenisti?’

[10] Of his patience in such matters it will suffice to give this single example, although there are many others. A certain man with great vehemence charged an enemy of his, with whom he was at bitter odds, of being guilty of high treason; and when the emperor ignored it, he repeated the same charge day after day. At last, on being asked who it was that he accused, he replied that it was a wealthy citizen. On hearing this, the emperor said with a smile: “On what evidence have you come to this conclusion?”

[11] Et ille ‘Purpureum sibi’ inquit ‘indumentum ex serico pallio parat,’ iussusque post haec ut vilis arduae rei vilem incusans, abire tacitus et innoxius, nihilo minus instabat. Quo taedio Iulianus defetigatus ad largitionum comitem visum propius ‘Iube’ inquit ‘periculoso garrulo pedum tegmina dari purpurea, ad adversarium perferenda, quem (ut datur intellegi), chlamydem huius coloris memorat sibi consarcinasse, ut sciri possit sine viribus maximis quid pannuli proficiant leves.’

[11] And the man answered: “He is making himself a purple robe out of a silk cloak”; and when after this he was bidden to depart in silence, but unpunished, as a low fellow making a serious charge against another of the same sort, he was none the less insistent. Whereupon Julian, wearied and disgusted with the man’s conduct, seeing his treasurer nearby, said to him: “Have a pair of purple shoes given to this dangerous chatterbox, to take to his enemy (who he says, so far as I can understand, has had a cloak of that colour sewn for him), in order that he may be able to learn what insignificant rags amount to without great power.”

[12] Sed ut haec laudanda et bonis moderatoribus aemulanda, ita illud amarum et notabile fuit, quod aegre sub eo a curialibus quisquam appetitus, licet privilegiis et stipendiorum numero et originis penitus alienae firmitudine communitus, ius obtinebat aequissimum, adeo ut plerique territi emercarentur

molestias pretiis clandestinis et magnis.

[12] But, although such conduct was laudable and worthy of imitation by good rulers, it was on the contrary hard and censurable that under his rule anyone who was sought by the *curiales*, even though protected by special privileges, by length of service in the army, or by proof that he was wholly ineligible by birth for such a position, could with difficulty obtain full justice; so that many of them through fear bought immunity from annoyance by secret and heavy bribes.

[13] Itineribus itaque emensis cum ad Pylas venisset, qui locus Cappadocas discernit et Cilicas, osculo susceptum rectorem provinciae, nomine Celsum, iam inde a studiis cognitum Atticis, asscitumque in consessum vehiculi, Tarsum secum induxit.

[13] Thus proceeding on his way and arriving at the Gates, a place which separates the Cappadocians from the Cilicians, he received with a kiss the governor of the province, Celsus by name, whom he had known since his student days in Athens, gave him a seat in his carriage, and took him with him into Tarsus.

[14] At hinc videre properans Antiochiam, orientis apicem pulcrum, usus itineribus solitis venit, urbique propinquans, in speciem alicuius numinis votis excipitur publicis, miratus voces multitudinis magnae, salutare sidus illuxisse eoīs partibus acclamantis.

[14] But hastening from there to visit Antioch, fair crown of the Orient, he reached it by the usual roads; and as he neared the city, he was received with public prayers, as if he were some deity, and he wondered at the cries of the great throng, who shouted that a lucky star had risen over the East.

[15] Evenerat autem eisdem diebus, annuo cursu completo, Adonea ritu veteri celebrari, amato Veneris (ut fabulae fingunt), apri dente ferali deletō, quod in adulto flore sectarum est indicium frugum. Et visum est triste, quod amplam urbem principumque domicilium introeunte imperatore tunc primum, ululabiles undique planctus et lugubres sonus audiebantur.

[15] Now, it chanced that at that same time the annual cycle was completed and they were celebrating, in the ancient fashion, the festival of Adonis (beloved by Venus, as the poet's tales say), who was slain by the death-dealing tusk of a boar—a festival which is symbolic of the reaping of the ripe fruits of the field. And it seemed a gloomy omen, as the emperor now for the first time entered the great city, the residence of princes, that on all sides melancholy wailing was heard and cries of grief.

[16] Hic patientiae eius et lenitudinis documentum leve quidem apparuit, sed mirandum. Thalassium quendam ex proximo libellorum, insidiatorem fratris

oderat Galli, quo adorare adesseque officio inter honoratos prohibito, adversarii, cum quibus litigabat in foro, postridie turba congregata superflua, adito imperatore ‘Thalassius’ clamitabant, ‘inimicus pietatis tuae nostra violenter eripuit.’

[16] It was here that he gave a proof of his patience and mildness, slight, it is true, but surprising. He hated a certain Thalassius, a former assistant master of petitions, who had plotted against his brother Gallus. When this man had been prohibited from greeting the emperor and attending at court among the other dignitaries, some enemies of his, with whom he had a suit in the forum, gathered together next day a huge throng of his remaining foes and approaching the emperor, shouted: “Thalassius, your majesty’s enemy, has lawlessly robbed us of our goods.”

[17] Et ille hac occasione hominem opprimi posse coniciens, ‘Agnosco’ respondit, ‘quem dicitis offendisse me iusta de causa, sed silere vos interim consentaneum est, dum mihi inimico potiori faciat satis.’ Mandavitque assidenti praefecto, ne audiretur eorum negotium, antequam ipse cum Thalassio rediret in gratiam, quod brevi evenit. Antiochiae hiemans Iulianus iura reddit, nec quemquam propter religionem gravat. Ibi hiemans ex sententia, nullis interim voluptatum rapiebatur illecebris, quibus abundant Syriae omnes, verum per speciem quietis, iudicialibus causis intentus, non minus quam arduis bellicisque, distrahebatur multiformibus curis, exquisita docilitate deliberans, quibus modis suum cuique tribueret, iustisque sententiis, et improbi modicis coercerentur suppliciis, et innocentes fortunis defenderentur intactis.

[17] But, although Julian believed that this was an opportunity to ruin the man, he replied: “I know that the person to whom you refer has given me just cause for offence, but it is proper for you to keep silence until he gives satisfaction to me, his opponent of higher rank.” And he ordered the prefect who was sitting in judgement not to listen to their charge until he himself was reconciled with Thalassius, which shortly happened. Julian, wintering at Antioch, holds court, but disturbs no one because of his religious beliefs. Passing the winter there to his heart’s content, he was meanwhile carried away by no incitements of the pleasures in which all Syria abounds; but as if for recreation devoting his attention to cases at law, not less than to difficult and warlike affairs, he was distracted by many cares, as with remarkable willingness to receive information he deliberated how he might give each man his due by righteous decisions, bringing the guilty to order with moderate punishments and protecting the innocent with the safety of their property.

[2] Et quamquam in disceptando aliquotiens erat intempestivus, quid quisque iurgantium coleret, tempore alieno interrogans, tamen nulla eius definitio litis a vero dissonans reperitur, nec argui umquam potuit, ob religionem vel

quodcumque aliud ab aequitatis recto tramite deviasse.

[2] And, although in arguing cases he was sometimes untimely, asking at some inopportune moment what the religion of each of the litigants was, yet it cannot be found that in the decision of any suit he was inconsistent with equity, nor could he ever be accused because of a man's religious views, or for any other cause, of having deviated from the straight path of justice.

[3] Iudicium enim hoc est optandum et rectum, ubi per varia negotiorum examina, iustum distinguitur et iniustum; a quo ille ne aberraret, tamquam scopulos cavebat abruptos. Hoc autem ideo assequi potuit, quod levitatem agnoscens commotioris ingenii sui, praefectis proximisque permittebat, ut fidenter impetus sues aliorum tendentes atque decebat, monitu opportune frenarent; monstrabatque subinde se dolere delictis et gaudere correctione.

[3] For that is desirable and proper judgement, when, after examination of all the circumstances, just is distinguished from unjust; and that he might not depart from this, he was as careful as of dangerous rocks. Now this he was able to accomplish for the reason that, recognising the hastiness of his somewhat excitable disposition, he allowed his prefects and associates freely to curb his impulses, when they led him away from what was fitting, by a timely admonition; and at times he showed that he regretted his errors and was glad to be corrected.

[4] Cumque eum defensores causarum, ut conscium rationis perfectae, plausibus maximis celebrarent, fertur id dixisse permotus: 'Gaudebam plane praeque me ferebam, si ab his laudarer, quos et vituperare posse adverterem, siquid factum sit secus aut dictum.'

[4] And when the defenders of causes greeted him with the greatest applause, declaring that he understood perfect justice, he is said to have replied with emotion: "I should certainly rejoice and show my joy, if I were praised by those whom I knew to have also the power to blame me in case I was wrong in deed or word."

[5] Sufficiet autem pro multis, quae clementer egit in litibus cognoscendis, hoc unum ponere nec abhorrens a proposito, nec absurdum. Inducta in iudicium femina quaedam, cum palatinum adversarium suum e numero proiectorum cinctum praeter spem conspexisset, hoc factum insolens tumultuando querebatur, et imperator 'Prosequere' ait 'mulier, siquid te laesam existimas; hic enim sic cinctus est, ut expeditius per lutum incedat: parum nocere tuis partibus potest.'

[5] But it will suffice, in place of many examples of the clemency that he showed in judicial processes, to set down this one, which is neither out of place nor ill-chosen. When a certain woman had been brought before the court, and contrary to her expectation saw that her accuser, who was one of

the court servants that had been discharged, wore his girdle, she loudly complained at this act of insolence. Whereupon the emperor said: "Go on with your charge, woman, if you think that you have been wronged in any way; for this man has thus girt himself in order to go through the mire the more easily; it can do little harm to your cause."

[6] Et aestimabatur per haec et similia, ut ipse dicebat assidue, vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, imperante eo reversa ad terras, ni quaedam suo ageret, non legum arbitrio, erransque aliquotiens, obnubilaret gloriarum multiplices cursus.

[6] And these and similar instances led to the belief, as he himself constantly affirmed, that the old goddess of Justice, whom Aratus takes up to heaven because she was displeased with the vices of mankind, had returned to earth during his reign, were it not that sometimes Julian followed his own inclination rather than the demands of the laws, and by occasionally erring clouded the many glories of his career.

[7] Post multa enim etiam iura quaedam correxerat in melius, ambagibus circumcisis, indicantia liquide, quid iuberent fieri vel vetarent. Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores. Georgius, Alexandriae episcopus ab ethnicis Alexandrinis cum duobus aliis per vicos trahitur, discerpiturque ac crematur impune. Eisdem diebus notarius ille Gaudentius, quem opponendum per Africam missum supra diximus a Constantio, Iulianus quin etiam ex vicario, earundem partium nimius fautor, retracti sub vinculis, morte periit poenali.

[7] For after many other things, he also corrected some of the laws, removing ambiguities, so that they showed clearly what they demanded or forbade to be done. But this one thing was inhumane, and ought to be buried in eternal silence, namely, that he forbade teachers of rhetoric and literature to practise their profession, if they were followers of the Christian religion. Georgius, bishop of Alexandria, with two others is dragged through the streets by the Pagans of Alexandria, torn to pieces, and burned to ashes; and no one was punished for it. At about that same time, that notorious state- secretary Gaudentius, who (as I said before) had been sent to Africa by Constantius to oppose Julian there, and also Julianus, a former vice-governor, an intemperate partisan of the same faction, were brought back in chains and punished with death.

[2] tunc et Artemius, ex duce Aegypti, Alexandrinis urgentibus atrocium criminum mole, supplicio capitali multatus est. Post quem Marcelli ex magistro equitum et peditum filius, ut iniectans imperio manus publica deletus est morte. Romanus quin etiam et Vincentius, scutariorum scholae primae secundaeque tribuni, agitasse convicti quaedam suis viribus altiora, acti sunt

in exilium.

[2] Then, too, Artemius, sometime military commander in Egypt, since the Alexandrians heaped upon him a mass of atrocious charges, suffered capital punishment. After him the son of Marcellus, at one time commander of the cavalry and infantry, was publicly executed, on the ground that he had aspired to the throne. Finally, even Romanus and Vincentius, tribunes of the first and the second corps of the targeteers, were convicted of designs beyond their powers and exiled.

[3] Cumque tempus interstetisset exiguum, Alexandrini, Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur, ne cum potestate reversus (id enim minatus est), multos laederet ut offensus, iram in Georgium verterunt episcopum, vipereis (ut ita dixerim), morsibus ab eo saepius appetiti.

[3] Hardly had a brief time elapsed, when the Alexandrians, on learning of the death of Artemius, whom they dreaded, for fear that he would return with his power restored (for so he had threatened) and do harm to many for the wrong that he had suffered, turned their wrath against the bishop Georgius, who had often, so to speak, made them feel his poisonous fangs.

[4] Is in fullonio natus (ut ferebatur), apud Epiphaniam Ciliciae oppidum, auctusque in damna complurium, contra utilitatem suam reique communis, episcopus Alexandriae est ordinatus, in civitate quae suoapte motu et ubi causae non suppetunt, seditionibus crebris agitur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides.

[4] The story goes that he was born in a fullery at Epiphania, a town of Cilicia, and flourished to the ruin of many people. Then, contrary to his own advantage and that of the commonwealth, he was ordained bishop of Alexandria, a city which on its own impulse, and without ground, is frequently roused to rebellion and rioting, as the oracles themselves show.

[5] His efferatis hominum mentibus, Georgius quoque ipse grave accesserat incentivum, apud patulas aures Constantii multos exinde incusans ut eius recalcitrantes imperiis, professionisque suae oblitus, quae nihil nisi iustum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebant.

[5] To the frenzied minds of these people Georgius himself was also a powerful incentive by pouring, after his appointment, into the ready ears of Constantius charges against many, alleging that they were rebellious against his authority; and, forgetful of his calling, which counselled only justice and mildness, he descended to the informer's deadly practices.

[6] Et inter cetera dicebatur id quoque maligne docuisse Constantium, quod in urbe praedicta aedificia cuncta solo cohaerentia, a conditore Alexandro magnitudine impensarum publicarum exstructa, emolumentis aerarii proficere

debent ex iure.

[6] And, among other matters, it was said that he maliciously informed Constantius also of this, namely, that all the edifices standing on the soil of the said city had been built by its founder, Alexander, at great public cost, and ought justly to be a source of profit to the treasury.

[7] Ad haec mala id quoque addiderat, unde paulo post actus est in exitium praeceps. Reversus ex comitatu principis cum transiret per speciosum Genii templum, multitudine stipatus ex more, flexis ad aedem ipsam luminibus ‘Quam diu’ inquit ‘sepulcrum hoc stabit?’ Quo audito, velut fulmine multi percussi, metuentesque ne illud quoque temptaret evertere, quicquid poterant in eius perniciem clandestinis insidiis concitabant.

[7] To these evil deeds he had added still another, which soon after drove him headlong to destruction. As he was returning from the emperor’s court and passed by the beautiful temple of the Genius, attended as usual by a large crowd, he turned his eyes straight at the temple, and said: “How long shall this sepulchre stand?” On hearing this, many were struck as if by a thunderbolt, and fearing that he might try to overthrow even that building, they devised secret plots to destroy him in whatever way they could.

[8] Ecce autem repente perlato laetabili nuntio, indicante exstinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato, vocibus horrendis infrendens, Georgium petit, raptumque diversis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans, divaricatis pedibus, interfecit.

[8] And lo! on the sudden arrival of the glad news that told of the death of Artemius, all the populace, transported by this unlooked-for joy, grinding their teeth and uttering fearful outcries, made for Georgius and seized him, maltreating him in divers ways and trampling upon him; then they dragged him about spread-eagle fashion, and killed him.

[9] Cumque eo Dracontius monetae praepositus et Diodorus quidam, veluti comes, iniectis per crura funibus simul exanimati sunt; ille quod aram in moneta quam regebat, recens locatam evertit; alter quod dum aedificandae praesset ecclesiae, cirros puerorum licentius detondebat, id quoque ad deorum cultum existimans pertinere.

[9] And with him Dracontius, superintendent of the mint, and one Diodorus, who had the honorary rank of count, were dragged about with ropes fastened to their legs and both killed; the former, because he overthrew an altar, newly set up in the mint, of which he had charge; the other, because, while overseer of the building of a church, he arbitrarily cut off the curls of some boys, thinking that this also was a fashion belonging to the pagan worship.

[10] Quo non contenta multitudo immanis, dilaniata cadavera peremptorum

camelis imposita, vexit ad litus, eisdemque subdito igne crematis, cineres proiecit in mare, id metuens (ut clamabat), ne collectis supremis, aedes illis exstruerentur, ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles poenas, ad usque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc martyres appellantur. Poterantque miserandi homines ad crudele supplicium ducti, Christianorum adiumento defendi, ni Georgii odio omnes indiscrete flagrabant.

[10] Not content with this, the inhuman mob loaded the mutilated bodies of the slain men upon camels and carried them to the shore; there they burned them on a fire and threw the ashes into the sea, fearing (as they shouted) that their relics might be collected and a church built for them, as for others who, when urged to abandon their religion, endured terrible tortures, even going so far as to meet a glorious death with unsullied faith; whence they are now called martyrs. And these wretched men who were dragged off to cruel torture might have been protected by the aid of the Christians, were it not that all men without distinction burned with hatred for Georgius.

[11] Hoc comperto imperator ad vindicandum facinus nefandum erectus, iamque expetiturus poenas a noxiis ultimas, mitigatus est lenientibus proximis, missoque edicto, acri oratione scelus detestabatur admissum, minatus extrema, si deinde temptatum fuerit aliquid quod iustitia vetet et leges. Expeditionem Iulianus parat in Persas, et ad praenoscendum belli eventum oracula consulit, victimasque innumerabiles caedit, totus haruspicinae et auguriis addictus. Inter haec expeditionem parans in Persas, quam dudum animi robore conceperat celso, ad ultionem praeteritorum vehementer elatus est, sciens et audiens, gentem asperrimam per sexaginta ferme annos inussisse Orienti caedum et direptionum monumenta saevissima, ad internecionem exercitibus nostris saepe deletis.

[11] The emperor, on hearing of this abominable deed, was bent upon taking vengeance, but just as he was on the point of inflicting the extreme penalty upon the guilty parties, he was pacified by his intimates, who counselled leniency. Accordingly, he issued an edict expressing, in the strongest terms, his horror at the outrage that had been committed, and threatened extreme measures in case in the future anything was attempted contrary to justice and the laws. Julian prepares for a campaign against the Persians, and in order to learn the outcome of the war, he consults the oracles and slays countless victims, abandoning himself wholly to soothsaying and prophecies. Meanwhile, Julian was preparing a campaign against the Persians, which he had long before planned with lofty strength of mind, being exceedingly aroused to punish their misdeeds in the past, knowing and hearing as he did that this savage people for almost three score years had branded the Orient with the cruelest records of murder and pillage, and had often all but annihilated our armies.

[2] Urebatur autem bellandi gemino desiderio, primo quod impatiens otii, lituos somniabat et proelia, dein quod in aetatis flore primaevae, obiectus efferatarum gentium armis, recalentibus etiam tum regum precibus et regalium, qui vinci magis posse quam supplices manus tendere credebantur, ornamentis illustrium gloriarum inserere Parthici cognomentum ardebat.

[2] He was inflamed besides with a twofold longing for war, first, because he was tired of inactivity and dreamed of clarions and battle; and then, exposed as he had been in the first flower of his youth to warfare with savage nations, while his ears were still warm with the prayers of kings and princes who (as it was believed) could more easily be vanquished than led to hold out their hands as suppliants, he burned to add to the tokens of his glorious victories the surname Parthicus.

[3] Quae maximis molibus festinari cernentes, obtrectatores desides et maligni, unius corporis permutationem tot ciere turbas intempestivas, indignum et perniciosum esse strebebant, studium omne in differendo procinctu ponentes. Et dictitabant, his praesentibus quos audita referre ad imperatorem posse rebantur, eum nō sedatius ageret in immodica rerum secundarum prosperitate, velut luxuriantes ubertate nimia fruges, bonis suis protinus occasurum.

[3] But his idle and envious detractors, seeing these mighty and hasty preparations, cried out that it was shameful and ruinous that through the exchange of one man for another so many untimely disturbances should be set on foot; and they devoted all their efforts to putting off the campaign. And they repeatedly said, in the presence of those who they thought could repeat to the emperor what they had heard, that if he did not conduct himself with more moderation in his excessive prosperity and success, like plants that grow rank from too great fertility, he would soon find destruction in his own good fortune.

[4] Et haec diu multumque agitantes, frustra virum circumlatrabant immobilem occultis iniuriis, ut Pygmaei vel Thiodamas agrestis homo Lindius Herculem.

[4] But though they kept up this agitation long and persistently, it was in vain that they barked around a man as unmoved by secret insults, as was Hercules by those of the Pygmies, or by those of the Lindian peasant Thiodamas.

[5] Ille tamen ut maioris praeter ceteros spiritus, nihilo lentius magnitudinem expeditionis secum commentans, in praeparandis congruis operam navabat enixam.

[5] But Julian, being a man of uncommonly high spirit, no less carefully considered the importance of his campaign, and used every effort to make corresponding preparations.

[6] Hostiarum tamen sanguine plurimo aras crebritate nimia perfundebat,

tauros aliquotiens immolando centenos, et innumeros varii pecoris greges, avesque candidas terra quaesitas et mari, adeo ut in dies paene singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina, victitantes incultius, potusque aviditate corrupti, umeris impositi transeuntium, per plateas ex publicis aedibus, ubi vindicandis potius quam cedendis conviviis indulgebant, ad sua diversoria portarentur, Petulantes ante omnes et Celtae, quorum ea tempestate confidentia creverat ultra modum.

[6] Nevertheless, he drenched the altars with the blood of an excessive number of victims, sometimes offering up a hundred oxen at once, with countless flocks of various other animals, and with white birds hunted out by land and sea; to such a degree that almost every day his soldiers, who gorged themselves on the abundance of meat, living boorishly and corrupted by their eagerness for drink, were carried through the squares to their lodgings on the shoulders of passers-by from the public temples, where they indulged in banquets that deserved punishment rather than indulgence; especially the Petulantes and the Celts, whose wilfulness at that time had passed all bounds.

[7] Augebantur autem cerimoniarum ritus immodice, cum impensarum amplitudine antehac inusitata et gravi: et quisque cum impraepedite liceret, scientiam vaticinandi professus, iuxta imperitus et docilis, sine fine vel praestitutis ordinibus, oraculorum permittebantur scitari responsa, et extispicia non numquam futura pandentia, oscinumque et auguriorum et ominum fides, si reperiri usquam posset, affectata varietate quaerebatur.

[7] Moreover, the ceremonial rites were excessively increased, with an expenditure of money hitherto unusual and burdensome. And, as it was now allowed without hindrance, everyone who professed a knowledge of divination, alike the learned and the ignorant, without limit or prescribed rules, were permitted to question the oracles and the entrails, which sometimes disclose the future; and from the notes of birds, from their flight, and from omens, the truth was sought with studied variety, if anywhere it might be found.

[8] Haecque dum more pacis ita procedunt, multorum curiosior Iulianus, novam consilii viam ingressus est, venas fatidicas Castalii recludere cogitans fontis, quem obstruxisse Caesar dicitur Hadrianus mole saxorum ingenti, veritus ne (ut ipse praecinentibus aquis capessendam rem publicam comperit), etiam alii similia docerentur: deumque adfatus circumhumata corpora statuit exinde transferri, eo ritu quo Athenienses insulam purgaverant Delon. Templi Apollinis Daphnaei incendium Iulianus A. immerito imputat Christianis, et maiorem Antiochiae ecclesiam claudi iubet. Eodem tempore diem undecimum kalendarum Novembrium amplissimum Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamentum, eiusque aequiperans magnitudinem, subita vi flammaram exustum est.

[8] While these things were thus going on, as if in time of peace, Julian devoted to many interests, entered upon a new way of consultation, and thought of opening the prophetic springs of the Castalian fount; this, it is said, Caesar Hadrian had blocked up with a huge mass of stones, for fear that (as he himself had learned from the prophetic waters that he was destined to become emperor), others also might get similar information. And Julian, after invoking the god, decided that the bodies which had been buried around the spring, should be moved to another place, under the same ceremonial with which the Athenians had purified the island of Delos. The burning of the temple of Apollo, at Daphne, is falsely attributed to the Christians by Julian, who therefore orders the greater church of Antioch to be closed. At that same time, on the twenty-second of October, the splendid temple of the Daphnaean Apollo, which that hot-tempered and cruel king Antiochus Epiphanes had built, and with it the statue of the god, a copy of that of the Olympian Zeus and of equal size, was reduced to ashes by a sudden fire.

[2] Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatorem ira provexit, ut quaestiones agitari iuberet, solito aciores, et maiorem ecclesiam Antiochiae claudi. Suspiciabatur enim id Christianos egisse, stimulos invidia, quod idem templum inviti videbant ambitioso circumdari peristylis.

[2] The unexpected destruction of this shrine by so terrible an accident inflamed the emperor with such anger, that he ordered stricter investigations than usual to be made, and the greater church at Antioch to be closed. For he suspected that the Christians had done the deed, aroused by jealousy and unwillingness to see the temple enclosed by a magnificent colonnade.

[3] Ferebatur autem licet rumore levissimo, hac ex causa conflagrasset delubrum, quod Asclepiades philosophus, cuius in actibus Magnenti meminimus, cum visendi gratia Iuliani peregre ad id suburbanum venisset, deae caelestis argenteum breve figmentum, quocumque ibat secum solitus ferre, ante pedes statuit simulacri sublimes, accensisque cereis ex usu cessit, unde medietate noctis emensa, cum nec adesse quisquam potuit nec iuvare, volitantes scintillae adhaesere materiis vetustissimis, ignisque aridis nutrimentis, omne quicquid contingi potuit (licet erecta discretum celsitudine) concremarunt.

[3] It was said, however, though on very slight evidence, that the cause of the burning of the temple was this: the philosopher Asclepiades, whom I have mentioned in the history of Magnentius, when he had come to that suburb from abroad to visit Julian, placed before the lofty feet of the statue a little silver image of the Dea Caelestis, which he always carried with him wherever he went, and after lighting some wax tapers as usual, went away. From these tapers after midnight, when no one could be present to render aid, some flying sparks alighted on the woodwork, which was very old, and the fire, fed by the dry fuel, mounted and burned whatever it could reach, at however great a

height it was.

[4] Eo anno sidere etiam tum instante brumali, aquarum incessit inopia metuenda, ut et rivi cassescerent quidam, et fontes antehac aquarum copiosis pulsibus abundantes, sed in integrum postea restituti sunt.

[4] In that year also, just as the winter season was at hand, there was such a fearful scarcity of water that some brooks dried up, as well as springs which had before over- flowed with plentiful jets of water; but later these were restored to their former condition.

[5] Et quantum nonas Decembres, vergente in vesperam die, reliqua Nicomedia collapsa est terrae motu, itidemque Nicaeae portio non mediocris. Iulianus A. in monte Casio Iovi sacra facit; cur Antiochensibus iratus Misopogonem scripserit. Quae tametsi maestitiam sollicito incuterent principi, residua tamen non contemnebat urgentia, dum pugnandi tempus ei veniret optatum. Inter praecipua tamen et seria illud agere superfluum videbatur, quod, nulla probabili ratione suscepta, popularitatis amore, vilitati studebat venalium rerum, quae non numquam secus quam convenit ordinata, inopiam gignere solet et famem.

[5] Then, on the second of December, just before evening, the rest of Nicomedia was wholly destroyed by an earthquake, as well as a good part of Nicaea. Julian offers sacrifice to Jupiter on Mt. Casius. Why he wrote the Misopogon through anger at the people of Antioch. Although these disasters filled the prince with sorrow and anxiety, yet he did not neglect the urgent duties that remained to be done before the longed- for time of battle arrived. All the same, amid such weighty and serious affairs, it did seem superfluous, that with no satisfactory reason for such a measure, but merely from a desire for popularity, he wished to lower the price of commodities; although sometimes, when this matter is not properly regulated, it is wont to cause scarcity and famine.

[2] Et Antiochensi ordine id tunc fieri, cum ille iuberet, non posse, aperte monstrante, nusquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris licet incruentus. Quocirca in eos deinceps saeviens ut obtrectatores et contumaces volumen composuit invectivum, quod Antiochense vel Misopogonem appellavit, probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans, addensque veritati complura: post quae multa in se facete dicta comperiens, coactus dissimulare pro tempore, ira sufflabatur interna.

[2] And, although the senate at Antioch clearly pointed out that this could not be done at the time when he ordered it, he in no wise gave up his plan, since he resembled his brother Gallus, though without his cruelty. Therefore raging against them one by one as recalcitrant and stubborn, he composed an invective, which he entitled *The Antiochian* or *Misopogon*, in which he

enumerated in a hostile spirit the faults of the city, including more than were justified. After this, finding that he was the object of many jests, he was forced at the time to disregard them, but was filled with suppressed wrath.

[3] Ridebatur enim ut Cercops, homo brevis humeros extentans angustos et barbam prae se ferens hircinam, grandiaque incedens tamquam Oti frater et Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum extollit, itidemque victimarius pro sacricola dicebatur ad crebritatem hostiarum alludentibus multis, et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratia, vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis laetabatur. Et quamquam his paribusque de causis indignaretur, tacens tamen motumque in animi retinens potestate, sollemnia celebrabat.

[3] For he was ridiculed as a Cercops, as a dwarf, spreading his narrow shoulders and displaying a billy-goat's beard, taking mighty strides as if he were the brother of Otus and Ephialtes, whose height Homer describes as enormous. He was also called by many a slaughterer instead of high-priest, in jesting allusion to his many offerings; and in fact he was fittingly criticised because for the sake of display he improperly took pleasure in carrying the sacred emblems in place of the priests, and in being attended by a company of women. But although he was indignant for these and similar reasons, he held his peace, kept control of his feelings, and continued to celebrate the festivals.

[4] Denique praestituto feriarum die Casium montem ascendit, nemorosum et tereti ambitu in sublime porrectum, unde secundis galliciniis videtur primo solis exortus. Cumque Iovi faceret rem divinam, repente conspexit quendam humi prostratum, supplici voce vitam precantem et veniam. Interrogantique ei, qui esset, responsum est praesidalem esse Theodotum Hierapolitanum, qui profectum a civitate sua Constantium inter honoratos deducens, adulando deformiter, tamquam futurum sine dubietate victorem, orabat, lacrimas fingens et gemitum, ut Iuliani ad eos mitteret caput, perduellis ingrati, specie illa, qua Magnenti circumlatum meminerat membrum.

[4] Finally, on a previously appointed festal day, he ascended Mount Casius, a wooded hill rising on high with a rounded contour, from which at the second cock-crow the sun is first seen to rise And as he was offering sacrifice to Jove, he suddenly caught sight of a man lying flat upon the ground, and in suppliant words begging for life and pardon. And when Julian asked who he was, the man answered that he was the ex-governor Theodotus of Hierapolis; that when in company with other dignitaries he was escorting Constantius as he set out from his city, he shamefully flattered him, in the belief that he would unquestionably be victorious, begging him with feigned tears and wailing to send them the head of Julian, that ungrateful rebel, just as he remembered that the head of Magnentius had been paraded about.

[5] Quibus auditis, 'Accepi' inquit, 'olim hoc dictum' imperator 'relatione

multorum, sed abi securus ad lares exutus omni metu dementia principis, qui (ut prudens definivit) inimicorum minuere numerum augereque amicorum sponte sua contendit ac libens.’

[5] Upon hearing this, the emperor answered: “I heard of this speech of yours long ago from the mouths of many; but go to your home carefree, relieved of all fear by the mercy of your prince, who (as the philosopher advised) of his own accord and willingly strives to diminish the number of his enemies and increase that of his friends.”

[6] Exinde sacrorum perfecto ritu digresso, offeruntur rectoris Aegypti scripta, Apim bovem operosa quaesitum industria, tandem post tempus inveniri potuisse firmantis, quod (ut earum regionum existimant incolae) faustum, et ubertatem frugum diversaue indicans bona.

[6] When he left there after completing the sacred rites, a letter was presented to him from the governor of Egypt, reporting that after laborious search for a new Apis bull, they had finally, after a time, been able to find one, which (in the belief of the people of that region) is an indication of prosperity, fruitful crops, and various blessings.

[7] Super qua re pauca conveniet expediri. Inter animalia antiquis observationibus consecrata, Mnevis et Apis sunt notiora: Mnevis Soli sacratur, super quo nihil dicitur memorabile; sequens Lunae. Est enim Apis bos diversis genitalium notarum figuris expressus, maximeque omnium corniculantis lunae specie latere dextro insignis, qui cum post vivendi spatium praestitutum, sacro fonte immersus e vita abierit (nec enim ultra eum trahere licet aetatem, quam secreta librorum praescribit auctoritas mysticorum), necatur choragio pari, bos femina, quae ei inventa cum notis certis offertur, quo perempto alter cum publico quaeritur luctu, et si omnibus signis consummatus reperiri potuerit, ducitur Memphim, urbem praesentia frequenti numinis Aesculapii claram.

[7] About this matter it will be in place to give a brief explanation. Among the animals consecrated by ancient religious observance, the better known are Mnevis and Apis. Mnevis is consecrated to the Sun, but about him there is nothing noteworthy to be said; Apis to the moon. Apis, then, is a bull distinguished by natural marks of various forms, and most of all conspicuous for the image of a crescent moon on his right side. When this bull, after its destined span of life, is plunged in the sacred fount and dies (for it is not lawful for him to prolong his life beyond the time prescribed by the secret authority of the mystic books), there is slain with the same ceremony a cow, which has been found with special marks and presented to him. After his death another Apis is sought amid public mourning; and if it has been possible to find one, complete with all its marks, it is taken to Memphis, famed for the frequent presence of the god Aesculapius.

[8] Cumque initiante antistitem numero centum, inductus in thalamum esse coeperit sacer, coniecturis apertis, signa rerum futurarum dicitur demonstrare, et adeuntes quosdam indiciis averti videtur obliquis, ut offerentem cibum aliquando Germanicum Caesarem (sicut lectum est) aversatus portenderat paulo post eventura. Descriptio rerum Aegyptiarum; et de Nilo, de crocodilo, de ibi, ac de pyramidibus. Strictim itaque, quoniam tempus videtur hoc flagitare, res Aegyptiacae tangantur, quarum notitiam in actibus Hadriani et Severi principum digessimus late, visa pleraque narrantes.

[8] And when he has been led into the city by a hundred priests and conducted to his chamber, he begins to be an object of worship; and it is said that by manifest signs he gives indications of coming events; and some of those who approach him he evidently rejects by unfavourable signs, as once (so we read) he turned away from Caesar Germanicus when he offered him food, and thus prophesied what soon after came to pass. A description of Egypt, and of the Nile, the crocodile, the ibis, and the Pyramids. Accordingly, since the occasion seems to demand it, let us touch briefly on matters Egyptian, of which I discoursed at length in connection with the history of the emperors Hadrian and Severus, telling for the most part what I myself had seen.

[2] Aegyptum gentem omnium vetustissimam, nisi quod super antiquitate certat cum Scythia, a meridiali latere Syrtes maiores et Phycus promuntorium et Borion et Garamantes nationesque varia claudunt; qua orientem e regione prospectat, Elephantinen et Meroen urbes Aethiopum, et Catadupos rubrumque pelagus, et Scenitas praetenditur Arabas, quos Sarracenos nunc appellamus; septentrioni supposita, terrarum situ cohaeret immenso, unde exordium Asia Syriarumque provinciae sumunt; a vespera Issiaco disiungitur mari, quod quidam nominavere Parthenium.

[2] The Egyptian nation is the most ancient of all, except that in antiquity it vies with the Scythians. It is bounded on the south by the Greater Syrtes, the promontories Phycus and Borion, by the Garamantes and various other nations. Where it looks directly east it extends to Elephantine and Meroë, cities of the Aethiopians, to the Catadupi and the Red Sea, and to the Scenitic Arabs, whom we now call the Sercacens. On the north it forms part of the boundless tract from which Asia and the provinces of Syria take their beginning. On the west its boundary is the Issiac Sea, which some have called the Parthenian.

[3] Pauca itaque super benivolo omnium flumine Nilo (quem Aegyptum Homerus appellat), praestringi conveniet, mox ostendendis aliis, quae sunt in his regionibus admiranda.

[3] Now it will be in place to touch briefly on the most helpful of all rivers, the Nile, which Homer calls the Aegyptus, and then to describe other remarkable things to be found in those lands.

[4] Origines fontium Nili, ut mihi quidem videri solet, sicut adhuc factum est, posteræ quoque ignorabunt aetates. Verum quoniam fabulantes poetae variantesque geographi, in diversa latentem notitiam scindunt, opiniones eorum veritati confines, ut arbitror, expediā paucis.

[4] The origin of the sources of the Nile (so at least I am wont to think) will be unknown also to future ages, as it has been up to the present. But, since the poets' tales and dissenting geographers give varying accounts of this unknown subject, I shall succinctly set forth such of their views as in my opinion approach the truth.

[5] Affirmant aliqui physicorum, in subiectis septentrioni spatiis cum hiemes frigidae cuncta constringunt, magnitudines nivium congelare, easque postea vi flagrantis sideris resolutas, fluxis umoribus nubes efficere gravidas, quae in meridianam plagam Etesiis flantibus pulsae, expressaeque tepore nimio incrementa ubertim suggerere Nilo creduntur.

[5] Some natural philosophers affirm that in the tracts lying beneath the north, when the cold winters freeze everything, great masses of snow are congealed; that afterwards when these are melted by the heat of the blazing sun, they form clouds filled with flowing moisture, which are then driven towards the south by the Etesian winds, and when melted by the excessive warmth, are believed to cause the rich overflow of the Nile.

[6] Ex Aethiopicis imbribus, qui abundanter in tractibus illis per aestus torridos cadere memorantur, exundationes eius erigi anni temporibus asserunt alii praestitutis: quod utrumque dissonare videtur a veritate. Imbres enim apud Aethiopas aut numquam aut per intervalla temporum longa cadere memorantur.

[6] Others assert that it is by the Aethiopian rains, which are said to fall in abundance in those regions in the season of torrid heat, that its floods are raised at the appointed season of the year; but both these reasons seem to be out of harmony with the truth. For it is reported that in the land of the Aethiopians rains fall either not at all or at long intervals of time.

[7] Opinio est celebrior alia, quod spirantibus Prodrumis, perque dies quadraginta et quinque, Etesiarum continuis flatibus repellentibus eius meatum, velocitate cohibita, superfusis fluctibus intumescit; et reluctante spiritu controverso adulescens in maius, hinc vi reverberante ventorum, inde urgente cursu venarum perennium, progrediens in sublime, contegit omnia, et humo suppressa, per supina camporum speciem exhibet maris.

[7] Another, more widespread opinion is, that when the *Prodromoi* blow and after them the Etesians for forty-five consecutive days, since they drive back the course of the river and check its speed, it swells with overflowing waves; and while the contrary wind blows against it, it increases more and more,

since on the one side the force of the wind hurls it back and on the other the flow of its perennial springs forces it onward; and rising high it covers everything, and hiding the ground, over the low-lying plains it has the appearance of a sea.

[8] Rex autem Iuba, Punicorum confisus textu librorum, a monte quodam oriri eum exponit, qui situs in Mauritania despectat oceanum, hisque indicis hoc proditum ait, quod pisces et herbae et beluae similes per eas paludes gignuntur.

[8] But King Juba, relying upon the testimony of Punic books, thinks that the Nile rises in a mountain situated in Mauritania and looking down upon the ocean, and he says that this is proved by the fact that in those marshes are found fishes, plants, and animals like those of the Nile.

[9] Aethiopiae autem partes praetermeans Nilus nominum diversitate decussa, quae ei orbem peragranti nationes indidere complures, aestuans inundatione ditissima, ad cataractas (id est praeruptos scopulos) venit, e quibus praecipitans, ruit potius quam fluit: unde Atos olim accolae usu aurium fragore assiduo deminuto, necessitas vertere solum ad quietiora coegit.

[9] But the river, flowing through the regions of Aethiopia, and going under various names, which many nations have given it in its course over the earth, swelling with its rich flood, comes to the cataracts, which are steep rocks, from which it plunges headlong rather than flows; for which reason the Ati, who formerly lived nearby, since their hearing was impaired by the continual roar, were forced to change their abode to a quieter spot.

[10] Exinde lenius means, per ostia septem, quorum singula perpetuorum amnium usum et faciem praebent, nullis per Aegyptum aquis externis adiutus eiectionatur. Et praeter amnis plurimos ex alveo derivatos auctore, cadentesque in suppres eis, septem navigabiles sunt et undosi, quibus subiecta vocabula veteres indiderunt: Heracleoticus, Sebennyiticus, Bolbiticus, Pathmiticus, Mendesius, Taniticus et Pelusiaticus.

[10] Flowing more gently from there, through seven mouths, each of which has the appearance of an uninterrupted river, and is equally usable, it empties into the sea without being increased by any tributaries in Egypt. And besides many streams which flow from the main channel and fall into others nearly as great, seven are full of surges and navigable, and to them the ancients gave the following names: the Heracleotic, Sebennyitic, Bolbitic, Pathmitic, Mendesian, Tanitic, and Pelusiatic.

[11] Oriens autem inde (ut dictum est) propellitur e paludibus ad usque cataractas, insulasque efficit plures, quarum aliquae ita porrectis spatiis dicuntur extentae, ut singulas aegre tertio die relinquat.

[11] Rising, then, in the quarter which has been mentioned, it passes from the marshes as far as the cataracts and forms many islands, some of which (it is said) extend over such wide-spread spaces that the stream hardly leaves each of them behind on the third day.

[12] Inter quas duae sunt clarae, Meroe et Delta, a triquetrae litterae forma hoc vocabulo signatius appellata. Cum autem sol per Cancri sidus coeperit vehi, augescens ad usque transitum eius in Libram, diebusque centum sublatius fluens, minuitur postea, et mitigatis ponderibus aquarum, navibus antea pervios equitabiles campos ostendit.

[12] Of these two are famous, namely Meroë and Delta, the latter clearly so-called from the form of the triangular letter. But when the sun has begun to ride through the sign of the Crab, the river increases until it passes into the Balance ; then, flowing at high water for a hundred days, the river becomes smaller, and as the weight of its waters decreases, it shows the plains that before were navigable for boats now suitable for riders on horseback.

[13] Abunde itaque luxurians ita est noxius, ut infructuosus, si venerit parcius: gurgitum enim nimietate umectans diutius terras culturas moratur agrorum, parvitate autem minatur steriles segetes. Eumque nemo aliquando extolli cubitis altius sedecim possessor optavit. Et si inciderit moderatius, aliquotiens iactae sementes in loco prae- pinguis cespitis cum augmento fere septuagesimo renascuntur: solusque fluminum auras nullas expirat.

[13] However, too great a rise of the Nile is as harmful to the crops as too small a one is unfruitful. For if it soaks the land for too long a time with an excess of water, it delays the cultivation of the fields; but if the rise is too small, it threatens a bad harvest. No landowner has ever wished for a higher rise than sixteen cubits. But if there is a more moderate rise, seeds sown on a place where the soil is very rich sometimes return an increase of nearly seventy-fold. And it is the only river that does not raise a breeze.

[14] Exuberat Aegyptus etiam pecudibus multis, inter quas terrestres sunt et aquatiles, aliaeque humi et in humoribus vivunt, unde ἀμφίβιοι nominantur. Et in aridis quidem capreoli vescuntur et bubali et spinturnicia omni deformitate ridicula, aliaeque monstra quae enumerare non refert.

[14] Egypt abounds also in many animals, some of which are terrestrial, some aquatic; and there are others which live both on land and in the water, and hence are called amphibious. And on the dry plains roebucks feed and antelopes and *spinturnicia*, laughable for their utter ugliness, and other monsters, which it is not worth while to enumerate.

[15] Inter aquatiles autem bestias, crocodilus ubique per eos tractus abundat, exitiale quadrupes malum, assuetum elementis ambobus, lingua carens, maxillam superiorem commovens solum, ordine dentium pectinato,

perniciosis morsibus quicquid contigerit pertinaciter petens, per ova edens fetus anserinis similia.

[15] Now among aquatic animals crocodiles abound everywhere in that region, a destructive four-footed monster, a curse to the land, accustomed to both elements. It has no tongue, and moves only its upper jaw; its teeth are arranged like those of a comb, and whatever it meets it persistently attacks with destructive bites. It produces its young from eggs resembling those of geese.

[16] Utque armatus est unguibus, si haberet etiam pollices, ad evertendas quoque naves sufficeret viribus magnis: ad cubitorum enim longitudinem octodecim interdum extensus, noctibus quiescens per undas, diebus humi vaporatur confidentia cutis, quam ita validam gerit, ut eius terga cataphracta vix tormentorum ictibus perforentur.

[16] And, if besides the claws with which it is armed it also had thumbs, its strength would be great enough to overturn even ships; for it sometimes attains a length of eighteen cubits. At night it remains quiet in the water; in the daytime it suns itself on land, trusting to its hide, which is so strong that its mail-clad back can hardly be pierced by the bolts of artillery.

[17] Et saevientes semper eadem ferae (quasi pacto foedere quodam castrensi), per septem caerimoniosos dies mitescunt, ab omni saevitia desciscentes, quibus sacerdotes Memphi natales celebrant Nili.

[17] Now, savage as these same beasts always are, during the seven festal days on which the priests at Memphis celebrate the birthday of the Nile, as if by a kind of military truce they lay aside all their fierceness and become mild.

[18] Praeter eos autem, qui fortuita pereunt morte, alii dirumpuntur suffossis alvis mollibus serratis ferarum dorsualibus cristis, quas delphinis similes nutrit fluvius ante dictus, alii exitio intereunt tali.

[18] Besides those that lose their lives through accident, some are destroyed by creatures resembling dolphins, which are found in that same river and with sawlike dorsal fins tear the crocodiles' soft bellies; and others die in the following manner.

[19] Trochilus avicula brevis, dum escarum minutias captat, circa cubantem feram volitans blande, genasque eius irritatus titillando pervenit ad usque ipsam viciniam gutturis. Quod factum contuens enhydrus, ichneumonis genus, oris aditum penetrat alite praevia patefactum, et populato ventre, vitalibus dilancinatis erumpit.

[19] The trochilus, a little bird, as it looks for bits of food, flutters and plays about the crocodile as it lies outstretched, and pleasantly tickling its cheeks, makes its way as far as its throat. Seeing this going on, a water rat, a kind of

ichneumon, enters the opening of the crocodile's mouth, to which the bird has shown the way, and after lacerating its belly and tearing its vitals to pieces, forces its way out.

[20] Audax tamen crocodilus monstrum fugacibus; ubi audacem senserit, timidissimum; et in terra acutius cernens, per quattuor menses hibernos, nullo vesci dicitur cibo.

[20] Yet daring as this monster is towards those who run from it, when it sees that it has a daring opponent it is most timorous. It has sharper sight when on land, and during the four winter months it is said to take no food.

[21] Hippopotami quoque generantur in illis partibus, ultra animalia cuncta ratione carentia sagacissimi, ad speciem equorum bifidos unguis habentes, caudasque breves, quorum sollertiae duo interim ostendere documenta sufficiet.

[21] Hippopotami also, or river-horses, are produced in those parts, animals sagacious beyond all unreasoning beasts, with cloven hooves like horses and short tails. Of their cunning it will suffice for the present to give two instances.

[22] Inter arundines celsas, ut squalentes nimia densitate, haec belua cubilibus positis, otium pervigili studio circumspectat, laxataque copia, ad segetes depascendas egreditur. Cumque iam coeperit redire distenta, aversis vestigiis distinguit tramites multos, ne unius plani itineris lineas insidiatores secuti, repertum sine difficultate confodiant.

[22] This monster makes its lair amid a thick growth of high and rough reeds and with watchful care looks about for a time of quiet; when free means are offered, it goes forth to feed upon the cornfields. And when it has finally begun to return, gorged with food, it walks backward and makes several paths, for fear that hunters, following the lines of one direct course, may find and stab it without difficulty.

[23] Item cum aviditate nimia extuberato ventre pigrescit, super calamos recens exsectos femora convolvit et crura, ut pedibus vulneratis cruor egestus sagina distentum faciat levem: et partes saucias caeno oblini quam diu in cicatrices convenient plagae.

[23] Also, when by excessive greed it has made its belly bulge and grown sluggish, it rolls its thighs and legs on freshly cut reeds, in order that the blood flowing from its wounded feet may relieve its repletion; and it keeps the injured parts covered with mud until the raw places scab over.

[24] Has monstruosas antehac raritates in beluis, in aedilitate Scauri vidit Romanus populus primitus, patris illius Scauri, quem defendens Tullius imperat Sardis, ut de familia nobili ipsi quoque cum orbis terrarum auctoritate sentirent, et per aetates exinde plures saepe huc ducti, nunc inveniri nusquam

possunt, ut coniectantes regionum incolae dicunt, insectantis multitudinis taedio ad Blemmyas migrasse compulsi.

[24] This monstrous and once rare kind of beast the Roman people first saw when Scaurus was aedile, the father of that Scaurus in whose defence Cicero spoke and bade the Sardinians also to conform with the authority of the whole world in their judgement of so noble a family; and for many ages after that more hippopotami were often brought to Rome. But now they can nowhere be found, since, as the inhabitants of those regions conjecture, they were forced from weariness of the multitude that hunted them to take refuge in the land of the Blemmyae.

[25] Inter Aegyptias alites, quarum varietas nullo comprehendi numero potest, ibis sacra est et amabilis, et innocua ideo, quod nidulis suis ad cibum suggerens ova serpentum, efficit ut rarecant mortiferae pestes absumptae.

[25] Among Egyptian birds, the variety of which is countless, the ibis is sacred, harmless, and beloved for the reason that by carrying the eggs of serpents to its nestlings for food it destroys and makes fewer those destructive pests.

[26] Occurrunt eadem volucres pinnatis agminibus anguium, qui ex Arabicis emergunt paludibus, venena maligna gignentes, mosque antequam finibus suis excedunt, proeliis superatos aeriis vorant, quas aves per rostra edere fetus accepimus.

[26] These same birds meet the winged armies of snakes which issue from the marshes of Arabia, producing deadly poisons, and before they leave their own lands vanquish them in battles in the air, and devour them. And it is said of those birds that they lay their eggs through their beaks.

[27] Serpentes quoque Aegyptus alit innumeras, ultra omnem perniciem saevientes: basiliscos et amphisbaenas et scytalas, et acontias et dipsadas et viperas, aliasque complures, quas omnes magnitudine et decore aspis facile supereminens, numquam sponte sua fluentia egreditur Nili.

[27] Egypt also breeds innumerable serpents, surpassing all their destructive kind in fierceness: basilisks, amphisbaenae, scytalae, acontiae, dipsades, vipers, and many others, all of which are easily surpassed in size and beauty by the asp, which never of its own accord leaves the bed of the Nile.

[28] Multa in illis tractibus pretium est operae ac maxima cernere; e quibus pauca conveniet explicari. Templum ubique molibus magnis exstructa. Pyramides ad miracula septem provectae, quarum diuturnas surgendi difficultates scriptor Herodotus docet, ultra omnem altitudinem, quae humana manu confici potest, erectae sunt turre, ab imo latissimae in summities acutissimas desinentes.

[28] Many and great things there are in that land which it is worth while to see;

of these it will be in place to describe a few. Everywhere temples of vast size have been erected. The Pyramids have been enrolled among the seven wonders of the world, and of their slow and difficult construction the historian Herodotus tells us. These are towers higher than any others which can be erected by human hands, extremely broad at the base and tapering to very pointed summits.

[29] Quae figura apud geometras ideo sic appellatur, quod ad ignis speciem (τοῦ πυρὸς, ut nos dicimus) extenuatur in conum. Quarum magnitudo quoniam in celsitudinem nimiam scandens, gracilescit paulatim, umbras quoque mechanica ratione consumit.

[29] The figure pyramid has that name among geometers because it narrows into a cone after the manner of fire, which in our language is called πῦρ; for their size, as they mount to a vast height, gradually becomes slenderer, and also they cast no shadows at all, in accordance with a principle of mechanics.

[30] Sunt et syringes subterranei quidam, et flexuosi secessus, quos (ut fertur) periti rituum vetustorum adventare diluvium praescii, metuentesque ne cerimoniarum oblitteraretur memoria, penitus operosis digestos fodinis per loca diversa struxerunt, et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpsērunt, et animalium species innumeras illas, quas hierographicas litteras appellarunt.

[30] There are also subterranean fissures and winding passages called syringes, which, it is said, those acquainted with the ancient rites, since they had foreknowledge that a deluge was coming, and feared that the memory of the ceremonies might be destroyed, dug in the earth in many places with great labour; and on the walls of these caverns they carved many kinds of birds and beasts, and those countless forms of animals which they called hierographic writing.

[31] Dein Syene, in qua solstitii tempore, quo sol aestivum cursum extendit, recta omnia ambientes radii excedere ipsis corporibus umbras non sinunt. Inde si stipitem quisquam fixerit rectum, vel hominem aut arborem viderit stantem, circa lineamentorum ipsas extremitates contemplabitur umbras absumi, sicut apud Meroen, Aethiopiae partem aequinoctiali circulo proximam, dicitur evenire, ubi per nonaginta dies umbrae nostris in contrarium cadunt, unde Antiscios eius incolae vocant.

[31] Then comes Syene, where at the solstice, to which the sun extends its summer course, its rays surround all upright bodies and do not allow their shadows to extend beyond the bodies themselves. At that time if one fixes a stake upright in the earth, or looks at a man or a tree standing anywhere, he will observe that the shadows are lost in the outer circumference of the figures. The same thing is said to happen at Meroë, a part of Aethiopia lying

next to the equinoctial circle, where for ninety days the shadows fall on the side opposite to ours, for which reason those who dwell there are called Antiscii.

[32] Quae quoniam miracula multa sunt, opusculi nostri propositum excedentia, ad ingenia celsa reiciamus, pauca super provinciis narraturi. De quinque Aegypti provinciis, deque claris eorum urbibus. Tres provincias Aegyptus fertur habuisse temporibus priscis, Aegyptum ipsam et Thebaida et Libyam, quibus duas adiecit posteritas, ab Aegypto Augustamnica et Pentapolim a Libya sicciore disparatam.

[32] But since there are many such wonders, which extend beyond the plan of my little work, let me refer them to lofty minds, since I wish to tell a few things about the provinces.

Of the five provinces of Egypt and their famous cities.

In early times Egypt is said to have had three provinces: Egypt proper, Thebais, and Libya. To these later times have added two: Augustamnica being taken from Egypt, and Pentapolis from the dryer part of Libya.

[2] Igitur Thebais multas inter urbes clariores aliis Hermopolim habet, et Copton et Antinou, quam Hadrianus in honorem Antinoi ephebi condidit sui: hecatompylos enim Thebas nemo ignorat.

[2] Now Thebais has these among cities that are especially famous: Hermopolis, Coptos and Antinoë, which Hadrian founded in honour of his favourite Antinoüs; for hundred-gated Thebes everyone knows.

[3] In Augustamnica Pelusium est oppidum nobile, quod Peleus Achillis pater dicitur condidisse, lustrari deorum monitu iussus in lacu, qui eiusdem civitatis alluit moenia, cum post interfectum fratrem nomine Phocum, horrendis furiarum imaginibus raptaretur, et Cassium, ubi Pompei sepulcrum est Magni, et Ostracine et Rhinocorura.

[3] In Augustamnica is the famous city of Pelusium, which Peleus, the father of Achilles, is said to have founded, being bidden by order of the gods to purify himself in the lake which washes the walls of that city, when after the murder of his brother, Phocus by name, he was hounded by the dread forms of the furies; also Cassium, where is the tomb of Pompey the Great, and Ostracine, and Rhinocorura.

[4] In Pentapoli Libya Cyrene est posita, urbs antiqua sed deserta, quam Spartanus condidit Battus, et Ptolemais et Arsinoe (eadem quae Teuchira) et Darnis et Berenice, quas Hesperidas appellant.

[4] In Pentapolis-Libya is Cyrene, an ancient city, but deserted, founded by the Spartan Battus, and Ptolemais, and Arsinoe, also called Teuchira, and Darnis

and Berenice, which two they call Hesperidae

[5] In sicciore vero Libye Paraetionion et Chaerecla et Neapolis inter municipia pauca et brevia.

[5] But in dry Libya are Paraetionion, Chaerecla, Neapolis, and a few small towns.

[6] Aegyptus ipsa, quae iam inde uti Romano imperio iuncta est, regio iure regitur a praefectis, exceptis minoribus multis, Athribi et Oxyryncho et Thmui et Memphi maximis urbibus nitet.

[6] Egypt itself, which from the time when it was joined with the Roman empire has been governed by prefects in place of kings, is adorned by the great cities of Athribis, Oxyrynchus, Thumis, and Memphis, to say nothing of many lesser towns.

[7] Alexandria enim vertex omnium est civitatum, quam multa nobilitant et magnifica, conditoris altissimi, et architecti sollertia Dinocratis, qui cum ampla moenia fundaret et pulchra, paenuria calcis ad momentum parum repertae, omnes ambitus lineales farina respersit, quod civitatem post haec alimentorum uberi copia circumfluere fortuito monstravit.

[7] But the crown of all cities is Alexandria, which is made famous by many splendid things, through the wisdom of its mighty founder and by the cleverness of the architect Dinocrates. The latter, when laying out its extensive and beautiful walls, for lack of lime, of which too little could at the time be found, sprinkled the whole line of its circuit with flour, which chanced to be a sign that later the city would abound with a plentiful store of food.

[8] Inibi aurae salubriter spirant, et aer est tranquillus et clemens atque, ut periculum docuit, per varias collectum aetates, nullo paene die incolentes hanc civitatem solem serenum non vident.

[8] There healthful breezes blow, the air is calm and mild, and as the accumulated experience of many ages has shown, there is almost no day on which the dwellers in that city do not see a cloudless sun.

[9] Hoc litus cum fallacibus et insidiosis accessibus affligeret antehac navigantes discriminibus plurimis, excogitavit in portu Cleopatra turrin excelsam, quae Pharos a loco ipso cognominatur, praelucendi navibus nocturna suggerens ministeria, cum quondam ex Parthenio pelago venientes vel Libyco, per pandas oras et patulas, montium nullas speculas vel collium signa cernentes, harenarum illisae glutinosae mollitiae frangerentur.

[9] Since this coast in former times, because of its treacherous and perilous approaches, involved seafarers in many dangers, Cleopatra devised a lofty tower in the harbour, which from its situation is called the Pharos and

furnishes the means of showing lights to ships by night; whereas before that, as they came from the Parthenian or the Libyan sea past flat and low shores, seeing no landmarks of mountains or signs of hills, they were dashed upon the soft, tenacious sandbanks and wrecked.

[10] Haec eadem regina heptastadium sicut vix credenda celeritate, ita magnitudine mira construxit, ob causam notam et necessariam. Insula Pharos, ubi Protea cum phocarum gregibus diversatum Homerus fabulatur inflatus, a civitatis litore mille passibus disparata, Rhodiorum erat obnoxia vectigali.

[10] This same queen built the Heptastadium, remarkable alike for its great size and for the incredible speed with which it was constructed, for a well-known and sufficient reason. The island of Pharos, where Proteus, as Homer relates in lofty language, lived with his herd of seals, lay a mile from the shore of the city, and was subject to tribute by the Rhodians.

[11] Quod cum hi die quodam nimium quantum petitori venissent, femina callida semper in fraudes, sollemnium specie feriarum eisdem publicanis secum ad suburbana perductis, opus iusserat inquietis laboribus consummari, et septem diebus totidem stadia molibus iactis in mari solo propinquante, terrae sunt vindicata; equorumque cum vehiculo ingressa riserat Rhodios, insularum non continentis portorium flagitantes.

[11] When they had come one day to collect this tax, which was excessive, the queen, who was ever skilled in deception, under pretence of a solemn festival, took the same tax-collectors with her to the suburbs, and gave orders that the work should be completed by unremitting toil. In seven days, by building dams in the sea near the shore, the same number of stadia were won for the land; then the queen rode to the spot in a carriage drawn by horses, and laughed at the Rhodians, since it was on islands and not on the mainland that they imposed a duty.

[12] His accedunt altis sufflata fastigiis templa, inter quae eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columnatis amplissimus, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in aeternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat.

[12] There are besides in the city temples pompous with lofty roofs, conspicuous among them the Serapeum, which, though feeble words merely belittle it, yet is so adorned with extensive columned halls, with almost breathing statues, and a great number of other works of art, that next to the Capitolium, with which revered Rome elevates herself to eternity, the whole world beholds nothing more magnificent.

[13] In quo bybliothecae fuerunt inaeestimabiles: et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, septingenta voluminum milia, Ptolomaeis regibus

vigliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino, dum diripitur civitas, sub dictatore Caesare conflagrasse.

[13] In this were invaluable libraries, and the unanimous testimony of ancient records declares that 700,000 books, brought together by the unremitting energy of the Ptolemaic kings, were burned in the Alexandrine war, when the city was sacked under the dictator Caesar.

[14] Canopus inde duodecimo disiungitur lapide, quem (ut priscae memoriae tradunt), Menelai gubernator sepultus ibi cognominavit. Amoenus impendio locus, et diversorii laetis exstructus, auris et salutari temperamento perflabilis, ita ut extra mundum nostrum morari se quisquam arbitretur, in illis tractibus agens, cum saepe aprico spiritu immurmurantes audierit ventos.

[14] At a distance of twelve miles from Alexandria is Canopus, which, according to the statements of ancient writers, got its name from the burial there of Menelai's steersman. The place is most delightful because of its beautiful pleasure-resorts, its soft air and healthful climate, so that anyone staying in that region believes that he is living outside of this world, as oftentimes he hears the winds that murmur a welcome with sunny breath.

[15] Sed Alexandria ipsa non sensim (ut aliae urbes), sed inter initia prima aucta per spatiosos ambitus internisque seditionibus diu aspere fatigata, ad ultimum multis post annis, Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus iurgiis ad certamina interneciva prolapsis, dirutisque moenibus, amisit regionum maximam partem, quae Bruchion appellabatur, diuturnum praestantium hominum domicilium.

[15] But Alexandria herself, not gradually (like other cities), but at her very origin, attained her wide extent; and for a long time she was grievously troubled by internal dissensions, until at last, many years later under the rule of Aurelian, the quarrels of the citizens turned into deadly strife; then her by Caesar has been greatly exaggerated. Strabo, who visited Alexandria twenty-three years later, found the Museum intact. The Bruchion library was destroyed A.D. 272; the Serapeum in A.D. 391. 400,000 volumes were destroyed in the Alexandrine war. See especially J. W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, Introd. walls were destroyed and she lost the greater part of the district called Bruchion, which had long been the abode of distinguished men.

[16] Unde Aristarchus grammaticae rei dumis excellens, et Herodianus artium minutissimus sciscitator, et Saccas Ammonius Plotini magister, alique plurimi scriptores multorum in litteris nobilium studiorum, inter quos Chalcenterus eminuit Didymus, multiplicis scientiae copia memorabilis, qui in illis sex libris, ubi non numquam imperfecte Tullium reprehendit, sillographos imitatus, scriptores maledicos, iudicio doctarum aurium incusatur, ut immania

frementem leonem trepidulis vocibus canis catulus longius circumlatrans.

[16] From there came Aristarchus, eminent in thorny problems of grammatical lore, and Herodian, a most accurate investigator in science and Saccas Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus, and numerous other writers in many famous branches of literature. Among these Didymus Chalcenterus was conspicuous for the abundance of his diversified knowledge, although in those six books in which he sometimes unsuccessfully criticises Cicero, imitating the scurrilous writers of Silli, he makes the same impression on learned ears as a puppy-dog barking from a distance with quavering voice around a lion roaring awfully.

[17] Et quamquam veteres cum his quorum memini florere complures, tamen ne nunc quidem in eadem urbe doctrinae variae silent; nam et disciplinarum magistri quodam modo spirant, et nudatur ibi geometrico radio quicquid reconditum latet, nondumque apud eos penitus exaruit musica, nec harmonia contigit, et recalet apud quosdam adhuc (licet raros), consideratio mundani motus et siderum, doctique sunt alii numeros; pauci super his scientiam callent, quae factorum vias ostendit.

[17] And although very many writers flourished in early times as well as these whom I have mentioned, nevertheless not even to-day is learning of various kinds silent in that same city; for the teachers of the arts show signs of life, and the geometrical measuring-rod brings to light whatever is concealed, the stream of music is not yet wholly dried up among them, harmony is not reduced to silence, the consideration of the motion of the universe and of the stars is still kept warm with some, few though they be, and there are others who are skilled in numbers; and a few besides are versed in the knowledge which reveals the course of the fates.

[18] Medicinae autem — cuius in hac vita nostra nec parca nec sobria, desiderantur adminicula crebra — ita studia augentur in dies ut (licet opus ipsum redoleat) pro omni tamen experimento sufficiat medico ad commendandam artis auctoritatem, Alexandriae si se dixerit eruditum.

[18] Moreover, studies in the art of healing, whose help is often required in this life of ours, which is neither frugal nor sober, are so enriched from day to day, that although a physician's work itself indicates it, yet in place of every testimony it is enough to commend his knowledge of the art, if he has said that he was trained at Alexandria.

[19] Et haec quidem hactenus. Sed si intellegendi divini editionem multiplicem, et praesensionum originem mente vegeta quisquam voverit replicare, per mundum omnem inveniet mathemata huius modi ab Aegypto circumlata,

[19] But enough on this point. If one wishes to investigate with attentive mind the many publications on the knowledge of the divine, and the origin of

divination, he will find that learning of this kind has been spread abroad from Egypt through the whole world,

[20] Ibi primum homines longe ante alios ad varia religionum incunabula (ut dicitur) pervenerunt et initia prima sacrorum caute tuentur condita scriptis arcanis.

[20] There, for the first time, long before other men, they discovered the cradles, so to speak, of the various religions, and now carefully guard the first beginnings of worship, stored up in secret writings.

[21] Hac institutus prudentia Pythagoras colens secretius deos, quicquid dixit aut voluit auctoritatem esse instituit ratam, et femur suum aureum apud Olympiam saepe monstrabat, et cum aquila colloquens subinde visebatur.

[21] Trained in this wisdom, Pythagoras, secretly honouring the gods, made whatever he said or believed recognised authority, and often showed his golden thigh at Olympia, and let himself be seen from time to time talking with an eagle.

[22] Hinc Anaxagoras lapides e caelo lapsuros et putealem limum contrectans, tremores futuros praedixerat terrae. Et Solon sententiis adiutus Aegypti sacerdotum, latis iusto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque iuri maximum addidit firmamentum. Ex his fontibus per sublimia gradiens, sermonum amplitudine Iouis aemulus Platon, visa Aegypto militavit sapientia gloriosa.

[22] From here Anaxagoras foretold a rain of stones, and by handling mud from a well predicted an earthquake. Solon, too, aided by the opinions of the Egyptian priests, passed laws in accordance with the measure of justice, and thus gave also to Roman law its greatest support. On this source, Plato drew and after visiting Egypt, traversed higher regions, and rivalled Jupiter in lofty language, gloriously serving in the field of wisdom.

[23] Homines autem Aegyptii plerique subfusculi sunt et atrati, magisque maestiores, gracilenti et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescentes, controversi et reposcenes acerrimi. Erubescit apud eos siqui non infigendo tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat. Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quae obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.

[23] Now the men of Egypt are, as a rule, somewhat swarthy and dark of complexion, and rather gloomy-looking, slender and hardy, excitable in all their movements, quarrelsome, and most persistent duns. Any one of them would blush if he did not, in consequence of refusing tribute, show many stripes on his body; and as yet it has been possible to find no torture cruel enough to compel a hardened robber of that region against his will to reveal his own name.

[24] Id autem notum est (ut annales veteres monstrant), quod Aegyptus omnis sub avitis erat antea regibus, sed superatis apud Actium bello navali Antonio et Cleopatra, provinciae nomen accepit, ab Octaviano Augusto possessa. Aridiorem Libyam supremo Apionos regis consecuti sumus arbitrio, Cyrenas cum residuis civitatibus Libyae Pentapoleos, Ptolomaei liberalitate suscepimus. Evectus longius ad ordinem remeabo coeptorum.

[24] Moreover, it is a well-known fact, as the ancient annals show, that all Egypt was formerly ruled by their ancestral kings; but after Antony and Cleopatra were vanquished in the sea-fight at Actium, the country fell into the power of Octavianus Augustus and received the name of a province. We acquired the dryer part of Libya by the last will of King Apion; we received Cyrene, with the remaining cities of Libya-Pentapolis, through the generosity of Ptolemy. After this long digression, I shall return to the order of my narrative

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LIBER XXIII — BOOK XXIII

[1] Iulianus A. templum apud Hierosolyma pridem dirutum, frustra instaurare conatur. Haec eo anno (ut praetereamus negotiorum minutias) agebantur. Iulianus vero iam tertio consul, adscito in collegium trabeae Sallustio praefecto per Gallias, quater ipse amplissimum inierat magistratum et videbatur novum adiunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum et Aristobulum, nullus meminerat gestum.

Julianus Augustus vainly tries to restore the temple at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed long before. These were the events of that year, to pass over minor details. But Julian, who had already been consul three times, assumed the chief magistracy for the fourth time, taking as his colleague in the office Sallustius, prefect of Gaul. And for a private citizen to be associated with the reigning emperor seemed an innovation which no one recalled to have been made since Diocletian and Aristobulus.

[2] Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicita mente praecipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret, diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam, magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano, posteaque Tito, aegre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi qui olim Britannias curaverat pro praefectis.

[2] And although he weighed every possible variety of events with anxious thought, and pushed on with burning zeal the many preparations for his campaign, yet turning his activity to every part, and eager to extend the memory of his reign by great works, he planned at vast cost to restore the once splendid temple at Jerusalem, which after many mortal combats during the siege by Vespasian and later by Titus, had barely been stormed. He had entrusted the speedy performance of this work to Alypius of Antioch, who had once been vice-prefect of Britain.

[3] Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, iuvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammaram prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquotiens operantibus inaccessum, hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum.

[3] But, though this Alypius pushed the work on with vigour, aided by the governor of the province, terrifying balls of flame kept bursting forth near the foundations of the temple, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom were burned to death; and since in this way the element persistently repelled them, the enterprise halted.

[4] Eisdem diebus, legatos ad se missos ab urbe aeterna, dare natos meritisque probabilis vitae compertos, imperator honoribus diversis affecit. Et Apronianum Romae decrevit esse praefectum, Octavianum proconsulem Africae, Venusto vicariam commisit Hispaniae, Rufinum Aradium comitem Orientis, in locum avunculi sui Iuliani, recens defuncti, provexit.

[4] At that same time envoys were sent to him from the eternal city, men illustrious by birth and approved by the services of a commendable life, on whom the emperor conferred various honours. Apronianus he appointed prefect of Rome, and Octavianus proconsular governor of Africa; to Venustus he entrusted the vice-governorship of Spain, Rufinus Aradius he raised to the rank of Count of the Orient in room of his uncle Julian, who had recently died.

[5] Quibus ut convenerat ordinatis, terrebatur omine quodam, ut docuit exitus, praesentissimo. Felice enim largitionum comite profluvio sanguinis repente extincto, eumque comite Iuliano secuto, vulgus publicos contuens titulos, Felicem Iulianum Augustumque pronuntiabat.

[5] When these matters had been arranged as planned, he was alarmed by an omen which, as the result showed, was most trustworthy. For when Felix, head of the public treasury, had suddenly died of a haemorrhage, and Count Julian had followed him to the grave, the people as they looked at the public inscriptions, uttered the names as Felix, Julianus and Augustus.

[6] Praecesserat aliud scaevum ; namque kalendis ipsis Ianuariis ascendente eo gradile Genii templum, e sacerdotum consortio quidam ceteris diuturnior, nullo pulsante, repente concidit animamque insperato casu efflavit, quod adstantes (incertum per imperitiam an adulandi cupiditate), memorabant consulum seniori portendi, nimirum Sallustio, sed (ut apparuit) non aetati sed potestati maiori, interitum propinquare monstrabat.

[6] Another unlucky thing had happened before this; for just on the Kalends of January, as the emperor was mounting the steps of the temple of the Genius, one of the college of priests who was older than the rest suddenly, without being pushed, fell and died of the unlooked-for accident. The bystanders — whether through ignorance or desire to flatter is uncertain — said that this surely pointed to Sallustius, the elder of the two consuls; but (as was evident) it showed that death was approaching, not the man of greater age, but the higher in rank.

[7] Super his alia quoque minora signa subinde quod acciderat ostendebant. Inter ipsa enim exordia procinctus Parthici disponendi, nuntiatum est Constantinopolim terrae pulsu vibratam: quod horum periti minus laetum esse pronuntiabant aliena pervadere molienti rectori. Ideoque intempestivo conatu desistere suadebant, ita demum haec et similia contemni oportere firmantes,

cum irruentibus armis externis, lex una sit et perpetua, salutem omni ratione defendere, nihil remittentem vigoris. Eisdem diebus nuntiatum est ei per litteras, Romae super hoc bello libros Sibyllae consultos, ut iusserat, imperatorem eo anno discedere a limitibus suis, aperto prohibuisse responso. Arsacem idem Armeniae regem ad bellum Persicum parari iubet, et cum exercitu ac Scytharum auxiliis transit Euphratem. Inter haec tamen legationes gentium plurimarum auxilia pollicentium, liberaliter susceptae remittebantur, speciosa fiducia principe respondente, nequaquam decere adventiciis adiumentis rem vindicari Romanam, cuius opibus foveri conveniret amicos et socios, si auxilium eos adegerit necessitas implorare.

[7] Besides these, other lesser signs also indicated from time to time what came to pass. For amid the very beginning of the preparations for the Parthian campaign word came that Constantinople had been shaken by an earthquake, which those skilled in such matters said was not a favourable omen for a ruler who was planning to invade another's territory. And so they tried to dissuade Julian from the untimely enterprise, declaring that these and similar signs ought to be disregarded only in the case of attack by an enemy, when the one fixed rule is, to defend the safety of the State by every possible means and with unremitting effort. Just at that time it was reported to him by letter, that at Rome the Sibylline books had been consulted about this war, as he had ordered, and had given the definite reply that the emperor must not that year leave his frontiers. Julian, after ordering Arsaces, king of Armenia, to get ready for a Persian war, crosses the Euphrates with his army and with Scythian auxiliaries. Meanwhile, however, embassies from many nations which promised aid were cordially received and sent back; for the emperor with laudable confidence replied, that it was by no means fitting for the Roman State to defend itself by means of foreign aid, since its duty was rather by its power to protect its friends and allies, if necessity forced them to apply for help.

[2] Solum Arsacem monuerat Armeniae regem, ut collectis copiis validis, iubenda operiretur, quo tenderet, quid deberet urgere, propere cogniturus. Proinde cum primam consultae rationes copiam praebuissent, rumore praecurso, hostiles occupare properans terras, nondum adulto vere, missa per militares numeros expeditionali tessera cunctos transire iussit Euphraten.

[2] Arsaces only, the king of Armenia, did he order to muster a strong army and await his orders, since he would shortly learn to what place he was to march and what he ought to push forward. Thereupon, as soon as regard for prudence offered the opportunity, he hastened to invade the enemy's country, outstripping the report of his coming; and spring had barely arrived, when he ordered all to cross the Euphrates, sending marching orders to every division of his army.

[3] Quo comperto omnes evolant ex hibernis, transmissique (ut textus docebat

scriptorum), dispersi per stationes varias adventum principis expectabant. Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum, Syriacae iuris dictioni praefecit, turbulentum et saevum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis huius modi iudicem convenire.

[3] As soon as this was known, all hastened from their winter quarters, and having crossed as their written orders directed, they dispersed to their several posts and awaited the coming of the emperor. He himself, when on the point of leaving Antioch, appointed as governor of Syria a certain Alexander of Heliopolis, who was hot-tempered and cruel; and he said that the man did not deserve the post, but was the kind of judge proper for the avaricious and rebellious people of Antioch.

[4] Cumque eum profecturum deduceret multitudo promiscua, itum felicem reditumque gloriosum exoptans, oransque ut deinde placibilis esset et lenior, nondum ira, quam ex compellationibus et probris conceperat, emollita, loquebatur asperius, se esse eos asserens postea non visurum.

[4] And when a crowd of all conditions of men escorted him as he was leaving the city, wishing him a successful march and a glorious return, and begging that in the future he might be more placable and mild, since the anger which their attacks and insults had aroused was not yet assuaged, he replied harshly, saying that they would never see him again.

[5] Disposuisse enim aiebat, hiemandi gratia per compendariam viam, consummate procinctu, Tarsum Ciliciae reversurum, scripsisseque ad Memorium praesidem, ut in eadem urbe cuncta usui congrua pararentur. Et hoc haud diu postea contigit. Corpus namque eius illuc relatum exsequiarum humili pompa, in suburbano sepultum est, ut ipse mandarat.

[5] For he said that he had arranged when the campaign was finished to return by a shorter route to Tarsus in Cilicia for the purpose of wintering, and that he had written to Memorius, the governor of that city, to prepare everything that was necessary for his use. And this not long afterwards came to pass; for his body was brought back there, and he was buried in a suburb of the city with simple rites, as he himself had directed.

[6] Iamque apricante caelo tertium nonas Martias profectus, Hierapolim solitis itineribus venit. Ubi cum introierit civitatis capacissimae portas, sinistra porticus subito lapsa, subter tendentes quinquaginta milites exceptis plurimis vulneratis, tignorum tegularumque pondere magno collisit.

[6] And when the season was now sunny, he set out on the fifth of March, and came by the usual route to Hierapolis. There, as he was entering the gates of the great city, a colonnade on his left suddenly collapsed and crushed with a great weight of timbers and tiles fifty soldiers who were encamped under it,

besides wounding many more.

[7] Unde contractis copiis omnibus, Mesopotamiam propere signa commovit, ut fama de se nulla praeversa — id enim curatius observarat, — improvisus Assyrios occuparet. Denique cum exercitu et Scytharum auxiliis, Euphrate navali ponte transmisso, venit ad Batnas, municipium Osdroenae, ibique illaetabile portentum offendit.

[7] Then, uniting all his forces, he marched to Mesopotamia so rapidly that, since no report of his coming had preceded him (for he had carefully guarded against that), he came upon the Assyrians unawares. Finally, having crossed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats, he arrived with his army and his Scythian auxiliaries at Batnae, a town of Osdroëne, where he met with a sad portent.

[8] Cum enim calorum frequens multitudo ad suscipiendum consuete pabulum prope acervum palarum stetisset, impendio celsum — hoc enim modo per regiones illas tales species construuntur, — rapientibus multis, quassata congeries inclinata est, parique exitio quinquaginta obruit homines, mole maxima ruinarum. Iuliano A. per Mesopotamiam iter facienti Saracenarum gentium reguli coronam auream et auxilia ultro offerunt; classis Romana milli et centum navium adveniens consternit Euphratem. Maestus exinde digressus, venit cursu propero Carras, antiquum oppidum, Crassorum et Romani exercitus aerumnis insigne. Unde duae ducentes Persidem viae regiae distinguuntur, laeva per Adiabenam et Tigridem, dextra per Assyrios et Euphraten.

[8] For when a great throng of ostlers, in order to get fodder as usual, had taken their place near a very high stack of chaff (such as are commonly constructed in that country), since many at once laid hold on what they wanted, the heap was broken and gave way, and fifty men at once met death by being buried under the huge mass that fell upon them. As Julianus Augustus marches through Mesopotamia, the princes of the Saracen nations of their own accord offer him a golden crown and auxiliary troops. A Roman fleet of 1100 ships arrives and bridges the Euphrates. Departing from there in sorrow, by a forced march he came to Carrae, an ancient town, notorious for the disaster of the Crassi and the Roman army. From there two different royal highways lead to Persia: the one on the left through Adiabene and over the Tigris; the other, on the right, through Assyria and across the Euphrates.

[2] Ibi moratus aliquot dies, dum necessaria parat, et Lunae (quae religiose per eos colitur tractus), ritu locorum fert sacra, dicitur ante aras, nullo arbitrorum admisso occulte paludamentum purpureum propinquo suo tradidisse Procopio, mandasseque arripere fidentius principatum, si se interisse didicerit apud Parthos.

[2] Having delayed there several days for necessary preparations, and to offer

sacrifices according to the native rites to the Moon, which is religiously venerated in that region, before the altar, with no witness present, Julian is said secretly to have handed his purple mantle to his relative Procopius, and to have ordered him boldly to assume the rule, if he learned that the emperor had died among the Parthians.

[3] Hic Iuliani quiescentis animus agitatus insomniis, eventurum triste aliquid praesagibat. Quocirca et ipse et visorum interpretes, praesentia contemplantes, diem secutum, qui erat quartum decimum kalendas Aprilis, observari debere pronuntiabant. Verum ut compertum est postea, hac eadem nocte Palatini Apollinis templum, praefecturam regente Aproniano, in urbe conflagravat aeterna, ubi ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammaram.

[3] Here, as Julian slept, his mind was disturbed by dreams, which made him think that some sorrow would come to him. Therefore, both he himself and the interpreters of dreams, considering the present conditions, declared that the following day, which was the nineteenth of March, ought to be carefully watched. But, as was afterwards learned, it was on that same night that the temple of the Palatine Apollo, under the prefecture of Apronianus, was burned in the eternal city; and if it had not been for the employment of every possible help, the Cumaeen books also would have been destroyed by the raging flames.

[4] Post quae ita digesta, agmina et commeatus omnis generis disponenti imperatori, procursatorum adventu anhelantium etiam tum indicatur, equestres hostium turmas vicino limite quodam perrupto, avertisse subito praedas.

[4] After these matters were thus arranged, just as Julian was busy with the army and in getting supplies of every kind, it was reported to him by scouts who arrived in breathless haste, that some bands of the enemy's horsemen had suddenly broken through a part of the neighbouring frontier and carried off booty.

[5] Cuius atrocitate mali perculsus, ilico (ut ante cogitaverat) triginta milia lectorum militum eidem commisit Procopio, iuncto ad parilem potestatem Sebastiano comite ex duce Aegypti, eisdemque praecepit, ut intra Tigridem interim agerent, vigilanter omnia servaturi, nequid inopinum ex incauto latere oreretur, qualia multa saepe didicerat evenisse, mandabatque eis ut (si fieri potius posset), regi sociarentur Arsaci, cumque eo per Corduenam et Moxoenam, Chiliocomo uberi Mediae tractu, partibusque aliis praestricto cursu vastatis, apud Assyrios adhuc agenti sibi concurrerent, necessitatum articulis adfuturi.

[5] Startled by this cruel disaster, Julian (as he had previously planned) instantly put 30,000 picked men under the command of the aforesaid

Procopius, and joined to him with equal powers Sebastianus, formerly a military commander in Egypt, and now a count, with orders to keep for the present on this side of the Tigris and to watch carefully everywhere and see that nothing unexpected should happen on the unprotected side, such as he had heard had often occurred. And he gave the order that (if it could be done to greater advantage) they should join King Arsaces, march with him through Corduene and Moxoëne, lay waste in passing by Chiliocomum, a fruitful region of Media, and other places, and meet him while he was still in Assyria, so as to aid him in cases of necessity.

[6] His ita ordinatis, ipse exitu simulato per Tigrim, quod iter etiam re cibaria de industria iusserat instrui, flexit dextrorsus, et quieta nocte emensa, mane iumentum quo veheretur ex usu poposcit, oblatusque ei equus Babylonius nomine, ictu torminum consternatus, dum dolorum impatiens volvitur, auro lapillisque ornamenta distincta conspersit. Quo ostento laetior exclamavit, plaudentibus proximis, Babylona humi procidisse ornamentis omnibus spoliata.

[6] After these arrangements had thus been made, he himself feigned a march across the Tigris, an expedition for which he had also ordered supplies to be carefully prepared, but then turned to the right and, after passing a quiet night, called next morning for the mount which he usually rode. And when the horse, called Babylonius, was brought to him, it was laid low by a missile from the artillery, and as it rolled on the ground in unbearable pain, it scattered about its ornaments, which were adorned with gold and precious stones. Delighted by this omen, Julian cried out amid expressions of joy from the bystanders, that Babylon had fallen to the ground, stripped of all its adornments.

[7] Et paulisper detentus, ut omen per hostias litando firmaret, Davanam venit castra praesidiaria, unde ortus Belias fluvius funditur in Euphraten. Hic corporibus cibo curatis et quiete, postridie ventum est ad Callinicum, munimentum robustum et commercandi opimitate gratissimum, ubi diem sextum kalendas Apriles, quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebrantur annuales, et carpentum, quo vehitur simulacrum, Almonis undis ablui perhibetur, sacrorum sollemnitate prisco more completa, somno per otium capto, exsultans pernoctavit et laetus.

[7] Then delaying for a time, in order to confirm the omen by favourable signs from victims, he came to the fortified camp of Davana at the source of the river Belias, a tributary of the Euphrates. Here we rested and took food, and on the following day arrived at Callinicum, a strong fortress, and most welcome because of its rich trade. There, on the twenty-seventh of March, the day on which at Rome the annual procession in honour of the Mother of the Gods takes place, and the carriage in which her image is carried is washed, as it is said, in the waters of the Almo, he celebrated the usual rites in the ancient

fashion and spent the night in peaceful sleep, happy and full of confidence.

[8] Luce vero secuta, profectus exinde per supercilia riparum fluvialium, aquis adulescentibus undique convenis, cum armigera gradiens manu, in statione quadam sub pellibus mansit, ubi Saracenarum reguli gentium, genibus supplices nixi, oblata ex auro corona, tamquam mundi nationumque suarum dominum adorarunt, suscepti gratanter, ut ad furta bellorum appositi.

[8] The next day he marched on from there along the brow of the river-banks, since the waters were rising from streams flowing in on all sides, and kept on with his armed force until he came to an outpost, where he encamped. There the princes of the Saracen nations as suppliants on bended knees presented him with a golden crown and did obeisance to him as lord of the world and of its peoples; and they were gladly received, since they were adapted for guerilla warfare.

[9] Dumque hos alloquitur, Xerxis illius potentissimi regis instar, classis advenit, tribuno Constantiano cum comite Lucilliano ductante, quae latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat, in qua mille erant onerariae naves, ex diversa trabe confectae, commeatus abunde ferentes, et tela, et obsidionales etiam machinas, quinquaginta aliae bellatrices, totidemque ad compaginandos necessariae pontes. Descriptiones muralium machinarum, ballistae, scorpionis vel onagri, arietis, helepoleos, ac malleoli. Re ipsa admoneor, breviter quantum mediocre potest ingenium, haec instrumentorum genera ignorantibus circumscripse monstrare; et ballistae figura docebitur prima.

[9] And while he was giving them audience his fleet arrived, equal to that of the mighty king Xerxes, under the command of the tribune Constantianus and Count Lucillianus; and the broad Euphrates was almost too narrow for it, consisting as it did of a thousand cargo-carriers of varied construction, and bringing an abundance of supplies, weapons, and also siege-engines; there were besides fifty warships and an equal number which were needed for making bridges. A description of mural artillery: the ballista, the scorpion or wild ass, the ram, the helepolis, and fire-darts. What I have just said suggests that I should, as briefly as my modest ability permits, give a concise description of engines of this kind, for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with them; and I shall first explain the form of the ballista.

[2] Ferrum inter axiculos duos firmum compaginatur et vastum in modum regulae maioris extentum, cuius ex volumine tereti, quod in medio pars polita componit, quadratus eminent stilus extentius, recto canalis angusti meatu cavatus, et hac multiplici chorda nervorum tortilium illigatus: eique cochleae duae lignae coniunguntur artissime, quarum prope unam assistit artifex contemplabilis, et subtiliter apponit in temonis cavamine, sagittam ligneam spiculo maiore conglutinatam, hocque facto, hinc inde validi iuvenes versant agiliter rotabilem flexum.

[2] Between two posts along, strong iron bars fastened, and projects like a great ruler; from its smooth, rounded surface, which in the middle is highly polished, a squared staff extends to a considerable distance, hollowed out along its length with a narrow groove, and bound there with a great number of twisted cords. To this two wooden rollers are very firmly attached, and near one of them stands the gunner who aims the shot. He carefully places in the groove of the projecting iron bar a wooden arrow, tipped with a great iron point. When this is done, strong young men on both sides quickly turn the rollers and the cords.

[3] Cum ad extremitatem nervorum acumen venerit summum, percita interno pulsu a ballista ex oculis avolat, interdum nimio ardore scintillans, et evenit saepius ut antequam telum cernatur, dolor letale vulnus agnoscat.

[3] When its point has reached the outermost ropes, the arrow, driven by the power within, flies from the ballista out of sight, sometimes emitting sparks because of the excessive heat. And it often happens that before the weapon is seen, the pain of a mortal wound makes it felt.

[4] Scorpionis autem (quem appellant nunc Onagrum) huius modi forma est. Dolantur axes duo quernei vel ilicei, curvanturque mediocriter, ut prominere videantur in gibbas, hique in modum serratoriae machinae conectuntur ex utroque latere patentius perforati, quos inter per cavernas funes colligantur robusti, compagem (ne dissiliat) continentes.

[4] The scorpion, which is now-a-days called the wild ass, has the following form. Two posts of oak or holm-oak are hewn out and slightly bent, so that they seem to stand forth like humps. These are fastened together like a sawing-machine and bored through on both sides with fairly large holes. Between them, through the holes, strong ropes are bound, holding the machine together, so that it may not fly apart.

[5] Ab hac medietate restium ligneus stilus exsurgens obliquius, et in modum iugalis temonis erectus, ita nervorum nodulis implicatur, ut altius tolli possit et inclinari, summitatique eius unci ferrei copulantur, e quibus pendet stuppea vel ferrea funda, cui ligno fulmentum prosternitur ingens, cilicium paleis confertum minutis, validis nexibus illigatum, et locatum super congestos caespites vel latericios aggeres. Nam muro saxeo huius modi moles imposita disiectat quidquid invenerit subter concussionem violenta, non pondere.

[5] From the middle of these ropes a wooden arm rises obliquely, pointed upward like the pole of a chariot, and is twined around with cords in such a way that it can be raised higher or depressed. To the top of this arm, iron hooks are fastened, from which hangs a sling of hemp or iron. In front of the arm is placed a great cushion of hair-cloth stuffed with fine chaff, bound on with strong cords, and placed on a heap of turf or a pile of sundried bricks; for

a heavy machine of this kind, if placed upon a stone wall, shatters everything beneath it by its violent concussion, rather than by its weight.

[6] Cum igitur ad concertationem fuerit ventum, lapide rotundo fundae imposito, quaterni altrinsecus iuvenes repagula quibus incorporati sunt funes, explicantes retrorsus, stilum paene supinum inclinant: itaque demum sublimis adstans magister, claustrum quod totius operis continet vincula, reserat malleo forti perculsum, unde absolutus ictu volucris stilus, et mollitudine offensus cilicii, saxum contorquet, quicquid incurrerit collisurum.

[6] Then, when there is a battle, a round stone is placed in the sling and four young men on each side turn back the bar with which the ropes are connected and bend the pole almost flat. Then finally the gunner, standing above, strikes out the pole-bolt, which holds the fastenings of the whole work, with a strong hammer, thereupon the pole is set free, and flying forward with a swift stroke, and meeting the soft hair-cloth, hurls the stone, which will crush whatever it hits.

[7] Et tormentum quidem appellatur ex eo quod omnis explicatio torquetur, scorpio autem quoniam aculeum desuper habet erectum, cui etiam onagri vocabulum indidit aetas novella ea re, quod asini feri cum venatibus agitantur, ita eminus lapides post terga calcitrando emittunt, ut perforent pectora sequentium aut perfractis ossibus capita ipsa displodant.

[7] And the machine is called *tormentum* as all the released tension is caused by twisting (*torquetur*); and scorpion, because it has an upraised sting; modern times have given it the new name *onager*, because when wild asses are pursued by hunters, by kicking they hurl back stones to a distance, either crushing the breasts of their pursuers, or breaking the bones of their skulls and shattering them.

[8] Hinc ad arietem veniemus. Eligitur abies vel ornus excelsa, cuius summitas duro ferro concluditur et prolixo, arietis efficiens prominulam speciem, quae forma huic machinamento vocabulum indidit, et sic suspensa utrimque, transversis asseribus et ferratis, quasi ex lance vinculis trabis alterius continetur, eamque quantum mensurae ratio patitur, multitudo retro repellens, rursus ad obvia quaeque rumpenda protrudit, ictibus validissimis, instar adsurgentis et cedentis arietis Qua crebritate velut reciproci fulminis impetu aedificiis scissis in rimas, concidunt structurae laxatae murorum.

[8] Now we shall come to the ram. A tall fir or mountain ash is selected, to the end of which is fastened a long, hard iron; this has the appearance of a projecting ram's head, and it is this shape which has given the machine its name. This is suspended between ironbound beams running across on both sides, so that it hangs from a third beam like the pan of a balance. Then a number of men, as great as the length of the pole permits, draw it back and

then shove it forward again with powerful blows, just as a ram charges and retreats, to break everything in its way. As this is renewed with the force of a repeated stroke of lightning, buildings are cracked and shattered as the structure of their walls is destroyed.

[9] Hoc genere operis si fuerit exserto vigore discussum, nudatis defensoribus muris, ideoque solutis obsidiis, civitates munitissimae recluduntur.

[9] If this kind of engine is worked with full vigour, the strongest cities, after their walls have been stripped of defenders, are laid open, and the siege is thus brought to an end.

[10] Pro his arietum meditamentis iam crebritate despectis, conditur machina scriptoribus historicis nota, quam ἑλέπολιν Graeci cognominamus. Cuius opera diuturna Demetrius, Antigoni filius regis, Rhodo aliisque urbibus oppugnatis, Poliorcetes est appellatus.

[10] In place of these devices of rams, which, because they are now so frequent, are in less esteem, a machine is made, well known to the historians, which we Greeks call helepolis. It was through the constant employment of this engine that Demetrius, the son of King Antigonus, after taking Rhodes and other cities gained the name of Poliorcetes.

[11] Aedificatur autem hoc modo: testudo compaginatur immanis, axibus roborata longissimis, ferreisque clavis aptata, et contegitur coriis bubulis, virgarumque recenti textura, atque limo asperguntur eius suprema, ut flammeos detrectet et missiles casus.

[11] It is built in the following manner: a huge mantlet is constructed of strong planks of great length fastened together with iron nails, and covered with ox-hides and hurdles of green twigs; and over these is spread mud, in order to protect it from fire and falling missiles.

[12] Conseruntur autem eius frontalibus trisulcae cuspides praeacutae, ponderibus ferreis graves, qualia nobis pictores ostendunt fulmina vel fictores, ut quicquid petierit, aculeis exsertis abrumpat.

[12] On its front side are set very sharp, three-pronged spear-points, of the form which our painters and sculptors give to thunderbolts, made heavy with iron weights, so that whatever it attacks it shatters with the projecting points.

[13] Hanc ita validam molem rotis et funibus regens, numerosus intrinsecus miles, languidiori murorum parti viribus admovet concitis, et nisi desuper propugnantium valuerint vires, collisis parietibus aditus patefacit ingentes.

[13] This powerful mass is guided by numerous soldiers within by means of wheels and ropes, and by their united efforts is brought up to the weaker part of the walls; and unless the strength of the defenders above is too great, it

shatters the walls and opens great breaches.

[14] *Malleoli autem, teli genus, figurantur hac specie: sagitta est cannea, inter spiculum et harundinem multifido ferro coagmentata, quae in muliebris coli formam (quo nentur lintea stamina), concavatur ventre subtiliter, et plurifariam patens, atque in alveo ipso ignem cum aliquo suscipit alimento.*

[14] But fire-darts (a kind of missile) are made in this form: the shaft is of reed, and between this and the point is a covering of bands of iron; it looks like a woman's distaff for making linen threads. It is skilfully hollowed out on the lower side with many openings, and in the cavity fire and some inflammable matter are placed.

[15] *Et si emissa lentius arcu invalido, — ictu enim rapidiore exstinguitur, — haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat, aquisque conspersa aciores excitat aestus incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam superiacto pulvere consopitur. Hactenus de instrumentis muralibus, e quibus pauca sunt dicta. Nunc ad rerum ordinem revertamur. Julianus A. apud Cercusium Aboram flumen cum omnibus copiis ponte navali transgreditur, et milites alloquitur. Adscitis Saracenorum auxiliis, quae animis obtulere promptissimis, tendens imperator agili gradu Cercusium, principio mensis Aprilis ingressus est, munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum, cuius moenia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes.*

[15] And if it is shot slowly from a somewhat loose bow (for it is extinguished by too swift a flight) and has stuck anywhere, it burns persistently, and water poured upon it rouses the fire to still greater heat; and there is no way of extinguishing it except by sprinkling it with dust. So much for mural engines, of which I have described only a few. Now let us return to the course of our narrative. Julianus Augustus with his whole army crosses the river Abora at Cercusium on a bridge of boats. He addresses his troops. After having received the auxiliaries of the Saracens, which they offered him with great willingness, the emperor marched at quick step to Cercusium, a very safe and skilfully built fortress, whose walls are washed by the Abora and Euphrates rivers, which form a kind of island, and entered it at the beginning of the month of April.

[2] *Quod Diocletianus exiguum antehac et suspectum, muris turribusque circumdedit celsis, cum in ipsis barbarorum confiniis interiores limites ordinaret, documento recenti perterritus, ne vagarentur per Syriam Persae, ita ut paucis ante annis cum magnis provinciarum contigerat damnis.*

[2] This place, which was formerly small and exposed to danger, Diocletian, alarmed by a recent experience, encircled with walls and lofty towers, at the time when he was arranging the inner lines of defence on the very frontiers of the barbarians, in order to prevent the Persians from overrunning Syria, as had

happened a few years before with great damage to the provinces.

[3] Namque, cum Antiochiae in alto silentio, scaenicis ludis mimus cum uxore immissus, e medio sumpta quaedam imitaretur, populo venustate attonito, coniunx 'Nisi somnus est' inquit 'en Persae,' et retortis plebs universa cervicibus, ex arce volantia in se tela declinans, spargitur passim. Ita civitate incensa, et obtruncatis pluribus, qui pacis more palabantur effusius, incensisque locis finitimis et vastatis, onusti praeda hostes ad sua remearunt innoxii, Mareade vivo exusto, qui eos ad suorum interitum civium duxerat inconsulte. Et haec quidem Gallieni temporibus evenerunt.

[3] For once upon a time at Antioch, amid deep silence, an actor of mimes, who with his wife had been presented in stage-plays, was presenting some scenes from everyday life. And while all the people were amazed at the charm of the performance, the wife suddenly cried: "Is it a dream, or are the Persians here?" Whereupon all the people turned their heads about and then fled in all directions, to avoid the arrows that were showered upon them from the citadel. Thus the city was set on fire, and many people who were carelessly wandering about, as in time of peace, were butchered; neighbouring places were burned and devastated, and the enemy, laden with plunder, returned home without the loss of a single man. Mareades, who had inconsiderately brought the Persians there to the destruction of his own people, was burned alive. This took place in the time of Gallienus.

[4] Iulianus vero dum moratur apud Cercusium, ut per navalem Aborae pontem exercitus et omnes sequelae transirent, litteras tristes Sallusti, Galliarum praefecti, suscepit, orantis suspendi expeditionem in Parthos, obtestantisque, ne ita intempestive, nondum pace numinum exorata, irrevocabile subiret exitium.

[4] But while Julian was lingering at Cercusium, to the end that his army with all its followers might cross the Abora on a bridge of boats, he received a sorrowful letter from Sallustius, prefect of Gaul, begging that the campaign against the Parthians might be put off, and that Julian should not thus prematurely, without having yet prayed for the protection of the gods, expose himself to inevitable destruction.

[5] Posthabito tamen suasore cautissimo, fidentius ultra tendebat, quoniam nulla vis humana vel virtus meruisse umquam potuit, ut quod praescriptis fatalis ordo non fiat. Statimque transgressus, pontem avelli praecepit, necui militum ab agminibus propriis revertendi fiducia remaneret.

[5] But the emperor, disregarding his cautious counsellor, pushed confidently on, since no human power or virtue has ever been great enough to turn aside what the decrees of fate had ordained. Immediately upon crossing the bridge he ordered it to be destroyed, so that no soldier in his own army might

entertain hope of a return.

[6] *Pari sorte hic quoque omen inlaetabile visum est, apparitoris cuiusdam cadaver extentum, carnificis manu deleti, quem praefectus Sallustius praesens, ea re supplicio capitali damnarat, quod intra praestitutum diem alimentorum augmentum exhibere pollicitus, casu impediante frustratus est. Sed miserando homine trucidato, postridie advenit, ut ille promiserat, alia classis, abunde vehens annonam.*

[6] Here also, with like fatality, an unfavourable omen appeared: the outstretched corpse of a certain attendant slain by the hand of an executioner, whom the resident prefect Salustius had condemned to death because, after promising to supply additional provisions within a designated time, he had been prevented by an accident from keeping his word. But on the day after the wretched man had been executed another fleet arrived, as he had promised, bringing an abundance of supplies.

[7] *Profecti exinde Zaitham venimus locum, qui olea arbor interpretatur. Hic Gordiani imperatoris longe conspicuum vidimus tumulum, cuius actus a pueritia prima, exercituumque felicissimos ductus, et insidiosum interitum, digessimus tempore competenti.*

[7] Setting out from there we came to a place called Zaitha, which means "Olive tree." Here we saw, conspicuous from afar, the tomb of the Emperor Gordianus, of whose deeds from early childhood, his successful campaigns, and his treacherous murder we have spoken at the appropriate time.

[8] *Ubi cum pro ingenua pietate consecrato principi parentasset, pergeretque ad Duram (desertum oppidum) procul militarem cuneum conspicatus, stetit immobilis, eique dubitanti quid ferrent, offertur ab eis immanissimi corporis leo, cum aciem peteret, multiplici telorum iactu confossus. Quo omine velut certiore iam spe status prosperioris elatus, exsultantius incedebat, sed incerto flatu fortunae, aliorum prorupit eventus. Obitus enim regis portendebatur, sed cuius, erat incertum.*

[8] When Julian had there, in accordance with his native piety, made offerings to the deified emperor, and was on his way to Dura (a deserted town), he saw a troop of soldiers in the distance and halted. And while he was in doubt what they were bringing, they presented him with a lion of huge size, which had attacked their line and had been slain by a shower of arrows. Elated by this omen, as if he now had surer hope of a successful outcome, the emperor pushed on with proud confidence, but since the breeze of fortune is uncertain, the result turned out otherwise; for the death of a king was foretold, but of which king was uncertain.

[9] *Nam et oracula dubia legimus, quae non nisi casus discrevere postremi, ut fidem vaticinii Delphici, quae post Halyn flumen transmissum, maximum*

regnum deiecturum praedixerat Croesus, et aliam quae Atheniensibus ad certandum contra Medos oblique destinaverat mare, sortemque his posteriorem, veram quidem, sed non minus ambiguum: aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.

[9] And, in fact, we read of other ambiguous oracles, the meaning of which only the final results determined: as, for example, the truth of the Delphic prediction which declared that Croesus, after crossing the river Halys, would overthrow a mighty kingdom; and another which in veiled language designated the sea as the place for the Athenians to fight against the Medes; and a later one than these, which was in fact true, but none the less ambiguous: Aeacus' son, I say, the Roman people can conquer.

[10] Etrusci tamen haruspices qui comitabantur gnaros prodigialium rerum, cum illis procinctum hunc saepe arcentibus, non crederetur, prolatis libris exercitibus, ostendebant signum hoc esse prohibitorium, principique aliena licet iuste invadenti, contrarium.

[10] However, the Etruscan soothsayers, who accompanied the other adepts in interpreting prodigies, since they were not believed when they often tried to prevent this campaign, now brought out their books on war, and showed that this sign was adverse and prohibitory to a prince invading another's territory, even though he was in the right.

[11] Sed calcabantur philosophis refragantibus, quorum reverenda tunc erat auctoritas, errantium subinde, et in parum cognitis perseverantium diu. Et enim ut probabile argumentum ad fidem implendam scientiae suae, id praetendebant, quod et Maximiano antehac Caesari, cum Narseo Persarum rege iam congressuro, itidem leo et aper ingens trucidati simul oblatis sunt, et superata gente discessit incolumis, illo minime contemplato, quod aliena petenti portendebatur exitium, et Narseus primus Armeniam Romano iuri obnoxiam occuparat.

[11] But they were spurned by the opposition of the philosophers, whose authority was then highly valued, but who were sometimes in error and very persistent in matters with which they had little acquaintance. They, indeed, advanced as a specious argument for establishing belief in their knowledge, that when the former Caesar Maximianus was already on the point of engaging with Narseus, king of the Persians, in the same way a lion and a huge boar that had been killed were brought to him, and that he came back safely after conquering the enemy. And there was no idea at all that such a portent threatened destruction to the invader of another's territory, although Narseus had first seized Armenia, which was subject to Roman jurisdiction.

[12] Secuto itidem die, qui erat septimum idus Aprilis, sole vergente iam in occasum, ex parva nubecula subito aere crassato, usus adimitur lucis, et post

minacem tonitruum crebritatem et fulgurum, Iovianus nomine miles ex caelo tactus cum duobus equis concidit, quos potu satiatos a flumine reducebat.

[12] Likewise, on the following day, which was the seventh of April, as the sun was already sloping towards its setting, starting with a little cloud thick darkness suddenly filled the air and daylight was removed; and after much menacing thunder and lightning a soldier named Jovian, with two horses which he was bringing back after watering them at the river, was struck dead by a bolt from the sky.

[13] Eoque viso, harum rerum interpretes arcessiti, interrogatique etiam id vetare procinctum fidentius affirmabant, fulmen consiliarium esse monstrantes: ita enim appellantur quae dissuadent aliquid fieri vel suadent. Ideoque hoc nimis cavendum, quod militem celsi nominis cum bellatoris iumentis exstinxit, et hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri.

[13] Upon seeing this, Julian again called in the interpreters of omens, and on being questioned they declared emphatically that this sign also forbade the expedition, pointing out that the thunderbolt was of the advisory kind; for so those are called which either recommend or dissuade any act. And so much the more was it necessary to guard against this one. because it killed a soldier of lofty name as well as war-horses, and because places which were struck in that manner — so the books on lightning declare — must neither be looked upon nor trodden.

[14] Contra philosophi, candorem ignis sacri repente conspecti, nihil significare aiebant, sed esse acrioris spiritus cursum, ex aethere aliqua vi ad inferiora detrusum, aut si exinde praenoscitur aliquid, incrementa claritudinis imperatori portendi, gloriosa coeptanti, cum constet flammas suapte natura nullo obstante ad sublimia convolare.

[14] The philosophers, on the other hand, maintained that the brilliance of the sacred fire which suddenly appeared signified nothing at all, but was merely the course of a stronger mass of air sent downward from the aether by some force; or if it did give any sign, it foretold an increase in renown for the emperor, as he was beginning a glorious enterprise, since it is well known that flames by their very nature mount on high without opposition.

[15] Fracto igitur (ut ante dictum est) ponte, cunctisque transgressis, imperator antiquissimum omnium ratus est militem alloqui, sui rectorisque fiducia properantem intrepide. Signo itaque per lituos dato, cum centuriae omnes et cohortes et manipuli convenissent, ipse aggeri glebali assistens, coronaque celsarum circumdatus potestatum, talia ore sereno disseruit favorabilis studio concordiae cunctorum:

[15] So when the bridge had been broken down (as was said before) and all had

crossed, the emperor thought that the most urgent of all his duties was to address the soldiers, who were advancing confidently through trust in themselves and their leader. Therefore, when the signal had been given with the trumpets, and all the centuries, cohorts and maniples had come together, he took his place upon a mound of earth, surrounded by a ring of high officials, and with calm countenance and favoured with the unanimous devotion of all, spoke as follows:

[16] ‘Contemplans maximis viribus et alacritate vos vigere, fortissimi milites, contionari disposui, docturus ratione multiplici, non nunc primitus (ut maledici mussitant) Romanos penetrasse regna Persidis. Namque ut Lucullum transeam vel Pompeium, qui per Albanos et Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac quoque natione perrupta, adivit Caspios lacus, Ventidium novimus Antoni legatum, strages per hos tractus innumeras edidisse.

[16] “Seeing the great vigour and eagerness that animate you, my valiant soldiers, I have resolved to address you, in order to explain in full detail that this is not the first time — as some evil-minded men mutter — that the Romans have invaded the Persian kingdom. For not to mention Lucullus and Pompey, who, passing through the Albani and the Massagetae, whom we now call the Alani, broke into this nation also and came to the Caspian Sea, we know that Ventidius, the lieutenant-general of Antony, inflicted innumerable sanguinary defeats in this region.

[17] Sed ut a vetustate discedam, haec quae tradidit recens memoria replicabo. Traianus et Verus et Severus hinc sunt digressi, victores et tropaeati, redissetque pari splendore iunior Gordianus, cuius monumentum nunc vidimus honorate, apud Resainan superato fugatoque rege Persarum, ni factione Philippi, praefecti praetorio, sceleste iuvantibus paucis, in hoc ubi sepultus est loco, vulnere impio cecidisset. Nec erravere diu manes eius inulti, quod velut facta librante Iustitia, omnes qui in eius conspiravere perniciem, cruciabilibus interiire suppliciis.

[17] But to leave ancient times, I will disclose what recent history has transmitted to us. Trajan, Verus, and Severus returned from here victorious and adorned with trophies, and the younger Gordianus, whose monument we just now looked upon with reverence, would have come back with equal glory, after vanquishing the Persian king and putting him to flight at Resaina, had he not been struck down by an impious wound inflicted by the faction of Philippus, the praetorian prefect, and a few wicked accomplices, in the very place where he now lies buried. But his shade did not long wander unavenged, for as if their deeds were weighed in the scales of Justice, all who had conspired against him perished by agonising deaths.

[18] Et illos quidem voluntas, ad altiora propensiores, subire impulit facinora memoranda, sors vero miseranda recens captarum urbium et inultae caesorum

exercituum umbrae, et damnorum magnitudines castrorumque amissiones, ad haec quae proposuimus agenda hortantur, votis omnium sociis ut medeamur praeteritis, et roborata huius lateris securitate re publica, quae de nobis magnifice loquatur posteritas relinquamus.

[18] Those emperors, indeed, their own desire, inclined as they were to lofty enterprises, drove to undertake noteworthy exploits, but we are urged on to our present purpose by the pitiful fate of recently captured cities, by the unavenged shades of armies destroyed, by the great disasters that have been suffered, and by the loss of many a camp. For everybody's desires are one with ours to make good the past and give strength to our country by making this side of her domain safe, and thus leave to future generations material for singing our praises.

[19] *Adero ubique vobis, adiumento numinis sempiterni, imperator et antesignanus et contormalis ominibus secundis (ut reor). At si fortuna versabilis in pugna me usquam fuderit, mihi vero pro Romano orbe memet vovisse sufficet, ut Curtii Muciique veteres, et clara prosapia Deciorum. Abolenda nobis natio molestissima, cuius in gladiis nondum nostrae propinquitatis exaruit cruor.*

[19] Everywhere shall I, with the help of the eternal deity, be by your side, as emperor, as leader, and as fellow horseman, and (as I think) under favourable auspices. But if fickle fortune should overthrow me in any battle, I shall be content with having sacrificed myself for the Roman world, after the example of the Curtii and Mucii of old and the noble family of the Decii. We must wipe out a most mischievous nation, on whose sword-blades the blood of our kinsmen is not yet dry.

[20] *Plures absumptae sunt maioribus nostris aetates, ut interirent radicitus quae vexabant. Devicta est perplexo et diuturno Marte Carthago, sed eam dux inclytus timuit superesse victoriae. Evertit funditus Numantiam Scipio, post multiplices casus obsidionis emensos. Fidenas ne imperio subcrescerent aemulae Roma subvertit, et Faliscos ita oppressit et Veios, et suadere nobis laborat monumentorum veterum fides, ut has civitates aliquando valuisse credamus.*

[20] Our forefathers spent many ages in eradicating whatever caused them trouble. Carthage was conquered in a long and difficult war, but our distinguished leader feared that she might survive the victory. Scipio utterly destroyed Numantia, after undergoing many vicissitudes in its siege. Rome laid Fidenae low, in order that no rivals of her power might grow up, and for that same reason crushed Falerii and Veii; and even trustworthy ancient histories would have difficulty in convincing us that those cities were ever powerful.

[21] Haec ut antiquitatum peritus exposui; superest ut aviditate rapiendi posthabita, quae insidiatrix saepe Romani militis fuit, quisque agmini cohaerens incedat, cum ad necessitatem congregiendi fuerit ventum, signa propria secuturus, sciens quod si remanserit usquam, exsectis cruribus relinquetur. Nihil enim praeter dolos et insidias hostium vereor, nimium callidorum.

[21] This I have set forth from my knowledge of ancient records; it remains for each of you, putting aside the desire for plunder, which has often tempted the Roman soldier, to keep with the army on its march, and when battle must be joined, to follow each his own standard, remembering that if anyone falls behind, he will be left hamstrung. For I fear nothing, save the craft and treachery of the over-cunning enemy.

[22] Ad summam polliceor universis, rebus post haec prospere mitigatis, absque omni praerogativa principum, qui quod dixerint vel censuerint, pro potestate auctoritatis iustum esse existimant, rationem me recte consultorum vel secus, siquis exegerit, redditurum.

[22] Finally, I promise one and all that when, after this, affairs shall be brought to a successful conclusion, waiving all prior rights of princes, who by reason of their full powers think that whatever they have said or resolved is just, I will give to anyone who demands it an account of what has been rightly or wrongly undertaken.

[23] Quocirca erigite iam nunc, quaeso, erigite animos vestros, multa praesumentes et bona, aequata sorte nobiscum quicquid occurrerit difficile subituri, et coniectantes aequitati semper solere iungi victoriam.'

[23] Therefore rouse, I pray you, at once rouse your courage, both in the anticipation of great success, since you will undergo whatever difficulty arises on equal terms with me, and with the conviction that victory must always attend the just cause."

[24] Conclusa oratione ad hunc gratissimum finem, ductoris gloria proeliorum miles exsultans, speque prosperorum elatior, sublatis altius scutis, nihil periculosum fore vel arduum clamitabat, sub imperatore plus sibi laboris quam gregariis indicente.

[24] After the speech had been brought to this most welcome conclusion, the warriors, exulting in the fame of their leader, and still more greatly fired with the hope of success, lifted their shields on high and cried that nothing would be dangerous or difficult under a leader who imposed more toil upon himself than on the common soldiers.

[25] Maxime omnium id numeri Gallicani fremitu laetiore monstrabant, memores aliquotiens eo ductante, perque ordines discurrente, cadentes vidisse

gentes aliquas alias supplicantes. Describuntur maiores provinciae xviii regni Persarum, una cum suis quaeque viribus, moresque nationum. Res adigit huc prolapsa ut in excessu celeri situm monstrare Persidis, descriptionibus gentium curiose digestis, in quibus aegre vera dixere paucissimi. Quod autem erit paulo prolixior textus, ad scientiam proficiet plenam. Quisquis enim affectat nimiam brevitem ubi narrantur incognita non quid signatius explicet, sed quid debeat praeteriri, scrutatur.

[25] In particular, the Gallic troops showed this feeling by joyful shouts, remembering how often under his command, and as he ran about from company to company, they had seen some nations overcome and others reduced to entreaties. A description of the eighteen greater provinces of the Persian kingdom, with the strength of each and the customs of their inhabitants. Affairs have reached a point where I am led in a rapid digression to explain the topography of the Persian kingdom, carefully compiled from the descriptions of the nations, in only a few of which the truth has been told, and that barely. My account, however, will be a little fuller, which will be to the advantage of complete knowledge. For anyone who aims at extreme brevity in telling of the unknown tries to discover what he ought to leave out rather than what he may explain more clearly.

[2] Hoc regnum quondam exiguum, multisque antea nominibus appellatum, ob causas quas saepe rettulimus, cum apud Babylona Magnum fata rapuissent Alexandrum, in vocabulum Parthi concessit Arsacis, obscuro geniti loco, latronum inter adulescentiae rudimenta ductoris, verum paulatim in melius mutato proposito, clarorum contextu factorum aucti sublimius.

[2] This kingdom, which was once small and for reasons which we have often given was called before by various names, after the fates had taken off Alexander the Great at Babylon, took its name from the Parthian Arsaces, a man of low birth; he had been a brigand chief during his younger days, but since his ideals gradually changed for the better, by a series of brilliant exploits he rose to greater heights.

[3] Qui post multa gloriose et fortiter gesta, superato Nicator Seleuco, eiusdem Alexandri successore, cui victoriarum crebritas hoc indiderat cognomentum, praesidiisque Macedonum pulsus, ipse tranquillius agens temperator oboedientium fuit et arbiter lenis.

[3] After many glorious and valiant deeds, and after he had conquered Seleucus Nicator, successor of the said Alexander, on whom his many victories had conferred that surname, and had driven out the Macedonian garrisons, he passed his life in quiet peace, and was a mild ruler and judge of his subjects.

[4] Denique post finitima cuncta vi vel aequitatis consideratione vel metu subacta, civitatum et castrorum castellorumque munimentis oppleta Perside,

assuefactaque timori esse accolis omnibus, quos antea formidabat, medium ipse agens cursum aetatis placida morte decessit. Certatimque summatum et vulgi sententiis concinentibus, astris, ut ipsi existimant, ritus sui consecratione permixtus est omnium primus.

[4] Finally, after all the neighbouring lands had been brought under his rule, by force, by regard for justice, or by fear, and he had filled Persia with cities, with fortified camps, and with strongholds, and to all the neighbouring peoples, which she had previously feared, he had made her a constant cause of dread, he died a peaceful death in middle life. And nobles and commons rivalling each other in agreement, he was placed among the stars according to the sacred custom of their country; and (as they believe) he was the first of all to be so honoured.

[5] Unde ad id tempus reges eiusdem gentis praetumidi, appellari se patiuntur Solis fratres et Lunae, utque imperatoribus nostris Augusta nuncupatio amabilis est et optata, ita regibus Parthicis abiectis et ignobilibus antea, incrementa dignitatum felicibus Arsacis auspiciis accessere vel maxima.

[5] Hence to this very day the over-boastful kings of that race suffer themselves to be called brothers of the Sun and Moon, and just as for our emperors the title of Augustus is beloved and coveted, so to the Parthian kings, who were formerly low and obscure, there fell the very greatest increase in distinction, won by the happy auspices of Arsaces.

[6] Quam ob rem numinis eum vice venerantur et colunt, eo usque propagatis honoribus, ut ad nostri memoriam temporis, non nisi Arsacides (si sit usquam) in suscipiendo regno cunctis anteposatur, et in qualibet civili concertatione, quae assidue apud eos eveniunt, velut sacrilegium quisque caveat, ne dextra sua Arsaciden arma gestantem feriat vel privatum.

[6] Hence they venerate and worship Arsaces as a god, and their regard for him has been carried so far, that even down to the memory of our time only a man who is of the stock of Arsaces (if there is one anywhere) is preferred to all in mounting the throne. Even in any civil strife, which constantly arises among them, everyone avoids as sacrilege the lifting of his hand against an Arsacid, whether he is bearing arms or is a private citizen.

[7] Satisque constat, hanc gentem regna populis vi superatis compluribus dilatasse ad usque Propontidem et Thracias, sed alte spirantium ducum superbia, licenter grassantium per longinqua, aerumnis maximis imminutam, primo per Cyrum, quem Bospori fretum cum multitudine fabulosa transgressum, ad internecionem delevit Tomyris, regina Scytharum, ultrix acerrima filiorum.

[7] It is well known that this nation, after vanquishing many peoples by its power, extended its domain as far as the Propontis and Thrace, but through

the arrogance of its haughty leaders, who lawlessly extended their raids to a great distance, it was weakened by severe losses: first through Cyrus, who crossed the Bosphorus with an army of incredible size, but was completely annihilated by the Scythian queen Tomyris, the fierce avenger of her sons.

[8] Deinde cum Dareus posteaque Xerxes, Graeciam elementorum usu mutato aggressi, cunctis paene copiis terra marique consumptis, vix ipsi tutum invenere discessum, ut bella praetereamus Alexandri, ac testamento nationem omnem in successoris unius iura translatam.

[8] Later, when Darius, and after him Xerxes, changed the use of the elements and attacked Greece, almost all their forces were destroyed by land and sea, and they themselves barely found a safe return; not to mention the wars of Alexander and the passing by his will and testament of the whole nation to the jurisdiction of a single successor.

[9] Quibus peractis, transcursisque temporibus longis sub consulibus et deinceps in potestatem Caesarum redacta re publica, nobiscum hae nationes subinde dimicarunt paribusque momentis interdum, aliquotiens superatae, non numquam abiire victrices.

[9] After this was done and a long time had passed, during which the Roman commonwealth was governed by consuls and later brought under the sway of the Caesars, these nations carried on wars with us from time to time, and sometimes the contest was equal, at other times they were conquered, and occasionally they came off victorious.

[10] Nunc locorum situm (quantum ratio sinit), carptim breviterque absolvam. Hae regiones in amplitudines diffusae longas et latas, ex omni latere insulosum et celebre, Persicum ambiunt mare, cuius ostia adeo esse perhibentur angusta, ut ex Harmozonte, Carmaniae promuntorio, contra oppositum aliud promuntorium, quod appellant incolae Maces, sine impedimento cernatur.

[10] I shall now describe the lie of the land — so far as my purpose allows — briefly and succinctly. These regions extend to a wide area in length and breadth, and run all along the Persian Gulf, which has many islands and peoples all round. The entrance to this sea (they say) is so narrow that from Harmoz, the promontory of Carmania, the other headland opposite it, which the natives call Maces, may be seen without difficulty.

[11] Quibus angustiis permeatis, cum latitudo patuerit nimis extensa, aequa navigatio ad usque urbem Teredona porrigitur, ubi post iacturas multiplices pelago miscetur Euphrates, omnisque sinus dimensione litorea in numerum viginti milium stadiorum velut spatio detornato, finitur, cuius per oras omnes oppidorum est densitas et vicorum, naviumque crebri discursus.

[11] After one has passed through this narrow strait, a wide expanse of sea opens, which is favourable to navigation as far as the city of Teredon, where after many losses the Euphrates mingles with the deep. The entire gulf is bounded by a shore of 20,000 stadia, which is rounded as if turned on a lathe. All along the coast is a throng of cities and villages, and many ships sail to and fro.

[12] Ergo permeatis angustis ante dictis venit ad Carmaniae sinum orienti obiectum. Inde longo intervallo cantichus nomine panditur sinus australis, haut procul inde alius, quem vocant Chaliten occiduo obnoxius sideri. Hinc praestricis pluribus insulis, e quibus paucae sunt notae, Indorum mari iunguntur oceano, qui ferventem solis exortum suscipit omnium primus, ipse quoque nimium calens.

[12] After passing the strait which has been mentioned, one comes to the bay of Carmania facing the east. Then, a long distance to the south, the bay of Canthicus opens, and not far off is another, called Chalites, facing the setting sun. Next, after one has skirted many islands, few of which are well known, those bays unite with the Indian ocean, which is first of all to receive the glowing sun when it rises, and is itself also exceedingly warm.

[13] Utque geographici stili formarunt, hac specie distinguitur omnis circuitus ante dictus. Ab arctoo cardine usque ad Caspiae portas, Cadusiis conterminat et Scytharum gentibus multis et Arimaspis hominibus luscis et feris. Ab occidua plaga contingit Armenios et Niphates et in Asia sitos Albanos, Mare Rubrum et Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit: Mesopotamiam sub axe meridiali despectat: orienti a fronte contrarius ad Gangem extenditur flumen, quod Indorum intersecans terras, in pelagus eiectionem australe.

[13] And as the pens of geographers have drawn it, the whole circuit just described has this form. In the northern direction, to the Caspian Gates it borders on the Cadusii, on many tribes of the Scythians, and on the Arimaspse, wild, one-eyed men. On the west it touches Armenia, Niphates, the Asiatic Albani, the Red Sea, and the Scenitic Arabs, whom men of later times called the Saracens. Under the southern heaven it looks down on Mesopotamia. Opposite the eastern front it extends to the Ganges river, which cuts through India and empties into the southern ocean.

[14] Sunt autem in omni Perside, hae regiones maximae, quas vitaxae (id est magistri equitum) curant, et reges et satrapae — nam minores plurimas recensere difficile est et superfluum — Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Carmania maior, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriani, Sogdiani, Sacae, Scythia infra Imaum et ultra eundem montem, Serica, Aria, Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia et Gedrosia.

[14] Now there are in all Persia these greater provinces, ruled by vitaxae, or commanders of cavalry, by kings, and by satraps-for to enumerate the great number of smaller districts would be difficult and superfluous-namely, Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Greater Carmania, Hyrcania, Margiana, the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Sacae, Scythia at the foot of Imaus, and beyond the same mountain, Serica, Aria, the Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Gedrosia.

[15] Citra omnes propinqua est nobis Assyria, celebritate et magnitudine et multiformi feracitate ditissima. Quae per populos pagosque amplos diffusa quondam et copiosos, ad unum concessit vocabulum et nunc omnis appellatur Assyria, ubi inter bacarum vulgariumque abundantiam frugum, bitumen nascitur prope lacum nomine Sosingiten, cuius alveo Tigris voratus, fluensque subterraneus, percursis spatiis longis emergit.

[15] Nearest to us of all the provinces is Assyria, famous for its large population, its size, and the abundance and great variety of its products. This province once spread over great and prosperous peoples and districts, then it was combined under a single name, and to-day the whole region is called Assyria. There, besides a great abundance of berries and common fruits, bitumen is found near the lake called Sosingites, in whose bed the Tigris is swallowed up, and then, after flowing under ground, and traversing a long distance, appears again.

[16] hic et naphtha gignitur picea specie glutinosa, similis ipsa quoque bitumini, cui etiam si avicula insederit brevis, praepedito volatu submersa penitus evanescit. Et cum hoc liquoris ardere coeperit genus, nullum inveniet humana mens praeter pulverem exstinguendi commentum.

[16] Here naphtha also is produced, a glutinous substance which looks like pitch. This too is similar to bitumen, and even a little bird, if it lights upon it, is prevented from flying, sinks, and disappears utterly. And when fluid of this kind catches fire, the mind of man will find no means of putting it out, except dust.

[17] In his pagis hiatus quoque conspicitur terrae, unde halitus letalis exsurgens, quodcumque animal proxime steterit, odore gravi consumit. Quae lues oriens a profundo quodam puteo, cum os eius excesserit, si in latum ante quam sublimius vagaretur, terras circumscitas inhabitabiles acerbitate fecisset.

[17] In these regions there is also to be seen a cleft in the earth, from which rises a deadly exhalation, which with its foul odour destroys every living creature that comes near it. If this pestilential stuff, rising from a kind of deep well, should spread out widely from its opening before rising on high, it would by its fetid odour have made the surrounding country a desert.

[18] Cuius simile foramen apud Hierapolim Phrygiae antehac (ut asserunt

aliqui), videbatur. Unde emergens itidem noxius spiritus, perseveranti odore quidquid prope venerat corrumpebat, absque spadonibus solis, quod qua causa eveniat, rationibus physicis permittatur.

[18] A similar opening was formerly to be seen (as some say) at Hierapolis in Phrygia. And from this also a noxious vapour with a penetrating stench came forth and was destructive to whatever came near it, excepting only eunuchs; and the reason for this may be left to natural philosophers to determine.

[19] Apud Asbamaei quoque Iovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus prope oppidum Tyana, stagno effluens fons cernitur, qui magnitudine aquarum inflatus, seseque resorbens, numquam extra margines intumescit.

[19] Also at the temple of Jupiter Asbamaeus in Cappadocia, where that famous philosopher Apollonius is said to have been born near the town of Tyana, a spring may be seen, flowing from a pool, which now is filled with an abundance of water, and again sucks itself back, and so never swells beyond its banks.

[20] Intra hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaque assuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum, ea re quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita, navigeros fluvios, adiri vado numquam potuit: transire enim διαβαίνειν dicimus Graeci. Et veteres quidem hoc arbitrantur.

[20] Within this area is Adiabena, called Assyria in ancient times, but by long custom changed to this name because, lying between the navigable rivers Ona and Tigris it could never be approached by a ford; for we Greeks for *transire* say διαβαίνειν. At least, this is the opinion of the ancients.

[21] Nos autem dicimus quod in his terris amnes sunt duo perpetui, quos ipsi transivimus, Diabas et Adiabas, iunctis navalibus pontibus, ideoque intellegi Adiabenam cognominatam ut a fluminibus maximis Aegyptos, Homero auctore, et India et Euphratensis ante hoc Commagena, itidemque Hiberia ex Hiberno (nunc Hispania) et a Baeti amne insigni provincia Baetica.

[21] But I myself say that there are two perpetually flowing rivers to be found in these lands, the Diabas and Adiabas, which I myself have crossed, and over which there are bridges of boats; and therefore it is to be assumed that Adiabena was named from them, as from great rivers Egypt was named, according to Homer, as well as India, and the Euphratensis, before my time called Commagena; likewise from the Hiberus, Hiberia (now Hispania), and the province of Baetica from the noble river Baetis.

[22] In hac Adiabena, Ninus est civitas, quae olim Persidis regna possederat, nomen Nini potentissimi quondam regis, Samiramidis mariti, declarans, et Ecbatana et Arbela et Gaugamela, ubi Dareum Alexander post discrimina

varia proeliorum, incitato Marte prostravit.

[22] In this Adiabena is the city of Ninus, which once possessed the rule over Persia, perpetuating the name of Ninus, once a most powerful king and the husband of Semiramis; also Ecbatana, Arbela, and Gaugamela, where Alexander, after various other battles, overthrew Darius in a hot contest.

[23] In omni autem Assyria, multae sunt urbes. Inter quas Apamia eminet, Mesene cognominata, et Teredon et Apollonia et Vologessia, hisque similes multae. Splendidissimae vero et pervulgatae hae solae sunt tres: Babylon cuius moenia bitumine Samiramis struxit — arcem enim antiquissimus rex condidit Belus — et Ctesiphon, quam Vardanes temporibus priscis instituit, posteaque rex Pacorus, incolarum viribus amplificatam et moenibus, Graeco indito nomine, Persidis effecit specimen summum. Post hanc Seleucia ambitiosum opus Nicatoris Seleuci.

[23] But in all Assyria there are many cities, among which Apamia, formerly called Mesene, and Teredon, Apollonia and Vologessia, and many similar ones are conspicuous. But these three are especially magnificent and widely known: Babylon, whose walls Semiramis built with bitumen (for the ancient king Belus built the citadel), and Ctesiphon, which Vardanes founded long ago; and later king Pacorus strengthened it with additional inhabitants and with walls, gave it a Greek name, and made it the crowning ornament of Persia. And finally there is Seleucia, the splendid work of Seleucus Nicator.

[24] Qua per duces Veri Caesaris (ut ante rettulimus), expugnata, avulsam sedibus simulacrum Comei Apollinis, perlatumque Romam, in aede Apollinis Palatini deorum antistites collocarunt. Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum, incensa civitate, milites fanum scrutantes invenere foramen angustum, quo reserato, ut pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis, labes primordialis exsiluit, quae insanabilium vi concepta morborum, eiusdem Veri Marcique Antonini temporibus, ab ipsis Persarum finibus ad usque Rhenum et Gallias, cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.

[24] When this city was stormed by the generals of Verus Caesar (as I have related before), the statue of Apollo Comaeus was torn from its place and taken to Rome, where the priests of the gods set it up in the temple of the Palatine Apollo. And it is said that, after this same statue had been carried off and the city burned, the soldiers in ransacking the temple found a narrow crevice; this they widened in the hope of finding something valuable; but from a kind of shrine, closed by the occult arts of the Chaldaeans, the germ of that pestilence burst forth, which after generating the virulence of incurable diseases, in the time of the same Verus and of Marcus Antoninus polluted everything with contagion and death, from the frontiers of Persia all the way to the Rhine and to Gaul.

[25] His prope Chaldaeorum est regio, altrix philosophiae veteris, ut memorant ipsi, apud quos veridica vaticinandi fides eluxit. Perfluunt autem has easdem terras potiores ante alios amnes, hi quos praediximus, et Marses et Flumen Regium et Euphrates, cunctis excellens. Qui tripertitus navigabilis per omnes est rivos, insulasque circumfluens, et arva cultorum industria diligentius rigans, vomeri et gignendis arbustis habilia facit.

[25] Near these is the land of the Chaldaeans, the foster-mother of the old-time philosophy — as they themselves say — where the true art of divination first made its appearance. Now the most important rivers that flow through those lands, besides the others that I have mentioned, are the Marses, the Royal River, and the Euphrates, greatest of all. The last-named divides into three branches, all of which are navigable, forms several islands, and often thoroughly waters the fields through the diligence of the farmers, and prepares them for the ploughshare and for tree-culture.

[26] His tractibus Susiani iunguntur, apud quos non multa sunt oppida. Inter alia tamen eminet Susa, saepe domicilium regum, et Arsiana et Sele et Aracha. Cetera brevina sunt et obscura. Fluvii vero multi per haec loca discurrunt, quibus praestant Oroates et Harax et Mosaeus, per harenosas angustias, quae a Rubro prohibent Caspium mare, aequoream multitudinem inundantes.

[26] Neighbours to these lands are the Susiani, who have few cities. Conspicuous among them, however, is Susa, often the residence of the kings, and Arsiana, Sele, and Aracha. The others are small and little known. On the other hand, many rivers flow through this region; most notable among them are the Oroates, Harax, and Mosaeus, which along the narrow sandy tract that separates the Caspian from the Red Sea overflow into a great number of pools.

[27] At in laeva Media confinis Hyrcano panditur mari: quam ante regnum Cyri superioris, et incrementa Persidis, legimus Asiae reginam totius, Assyriis domitis, quorum plurimos pagos in Atropatenae vocabulum permutatos, belli iure possedit.

[27] On the left Media extends, bordering on the Hyrcanian Sea. Of this province we read that before the reign of the elder Cyrus and the growth in Persia's power, it was the queen of all Asia, after it had overcome Assyria, whose many provinces, changed in name to Agropatena, it possessed by the right of conquest.

[28] Pugnatrice natio et formidanda post Parthos, quibus vincitur solis, regiones inhabitans ad speciem quadratae figurae formatas. Harum terrarum incolae omnes ad latitudinem nimiam extenduntur, eisque maximae celsitudines imminet montium, quos Zagrum et Orontem et Iasonium vocant.

[28] It is a warlike nation, and most of all to be feared next to the Parthians, by

whom alone it is surpassed, and its territory has the form of a rectangle. The inhabitants of these lands as a whole dwell in a most spacious country, overhung by very lofty mountains, which they call Zagrus, Orontes, and Iasonius.

[29] Coroni quoque montis altissimi partem habitantes occiduam, frumentariis agris affluunt et vinariis, pingui fecunditate laetissimi, et fluminibus fontiumque venis liquidis locupletes.

[29] Those who dwell on the western side of the lofty mountain Coronus abound in fields of grain and vineyards, enjoy the fertility of a productive soil, and are rich in rivers and clear springs.

[30] Edunt apud eos prata virentia fetus equorum nobilium, quibus (ut scriptores antiqui docent, nosque vidimus), ineuntes proelia viri summates vehi exsultantes solent, quos Nesaeos appellant.

[30] Their green meadows produce a noble breed of horses, on which their chiefs (as the writers of old say, and as I myself have seen) when entering battle are wont to ride full of courage. These horses they call Nesaeon.

[31] Abundat itaque civitatibus ditibus Media, et vicis in modum oppidorum exstructis, et multitudine incolarum. Utque absolute dicatur, uberrimum est habitaculum regum.

[31] Therefore Media abounds in rich cities, in villages built up like towns, and in a great number of inhabitants; it is (to speak briefly) the richest residence of the kings.

[32] In his tractibus Magorum agri sunt fertiles, super quorum secta studiisque, quoniam huc incidimus, pauca conveniet expediri. Magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, hagistiam esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darei pater.

[32] In these parts are the fertile fields of the Magi, about whose sects and pursuits — since we have chanced on this point — it will be in place to give a few words of explanation. According to Plato, the most eminent author of lofty ideas, magic, under the mystic name of *hagistia*, is the purest worship of the gods. To the science of this, derived from the secret lore of the Chaldaeans, in ages long past the Bactrian Zoroaster made many contributions, and after him the wise king Hystaspes, the father of Darius.

[33] Qui cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem, cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur, eorumque monitu, rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus (quantum colligere potuit) eruditus, ex

his, quae didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit, quae illi cum disciplinis praesentiendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem, posteris aetatibus tradunt.

[33] When Zoroaster had boldly made his way into the unknown regions of Upper India, he reached a wooded wilderness, whose calm silence the lofty intellects of the Brahmins control. From their teaching he learned as much as he could grasp of the laws regulating the movements of the earth and the stars, and of the pure sacrificial rites. Of what he had learned he communicated something to the understanding of the Magi, which they, along with the art of divining the future, hand on from generation to generation to later times.

[34] Ex eo per saecula multa ad praesens, una eademque prosapia, multitudo creata deorum cultibus dedicatur. Feruntque (si iustum est credi), etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis focolis custodiri, cuius portionem exiguam (ut faustam) praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt.

[34] From that time on for many ages down to the present a large class of men of one and the same descent have devoted themselves to the service of the gods. The Magi also say (if it is right to believe them) that they guard on ever-burning braziers a fire sent down from heaven in their country, and that a small portion of it, as a good omen, used to be carried before the Asiatic kings.

[35] Huius originis apud veteres numerus erat exilis, eiusque ministeriis Persicae potestates in faciendis rebus divinis sollemniter utebantur. Eratque piaculum aras adire, vel hostiam contrectare, antequam magus, conceptis precationibus, libamenta diffunderet praecursoria. Verum aucti paulatim, in amplitudinem gentis solidae concesserunt et nomen, villasque inhabitantes, nulla murorum firmitudine communitas, et legibus suis uti permissi, religionis respectu sunt honorati.

[35] The number of Magi of this origin in old times was very small, and the Persian potentates made regular use of their services in the worship of their gods. And it was sin to approach an altar, or touch a sacrificial victim, before one of the Magi, with a set form of prayer, poured the preliminary libations. But they gradually increased in number and became a strong clan, with a name of their own; they possessed country residences, which were protected by no great walls, and they were allowed to live in accordance with their own laws, and through respect for religion were held in high esteem.

[36] Ex hoc magorum semine septem post mortem Cambysis, regnum inisse Persidos antiqui memorant libri, docentes eos Darei factione oppresses, imperitandi initium equino hinnitu sortiti.

[36] From this seed of the Magi, as the ancient records relate, seven men after the death of Cambyses mounted the Persian throne, but (we are told), they were overthrown by the party of Darius, who made himself king by the

neighing of a horse.

[37] In hac regione oleum conficitur Medicum, quo illitum telum, si emissum lentius laxiore arcu (nam ictu exstinguitur rapido) haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat, et si aqua voluerit obruere quisquam, aestus excitat acriores incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam iactu pulveris consopitur.

[37] In this neighbourhood the Medic oil is made. If a missile is smeared with this oil and shot somewhat slowly from a loosened bow (for it is extinguished by a swift flight), wherever it lands it burns persistently; and if one tries to put it out with water, he makes it burn the more fiercely, and it can be quelled in no other way than by throwing dust upon it.

[38] Paratur autem hoc modo. Oleum usus communis herba quadam infectum, condiunt harum rerum periti, ad diurnitatem servantes et coalescens, dum ex materia venenatur. Alia similis oleo crassiori species gignitur apud Persas, quam (ut diximus) naphtham vocabulo appellavere gentili.

[38] Now, the oil is made in this way. Those who are skilled in such matters take oil of general use, mix it with a certain herb, and let it stand for a long time and thicken, until it gets magic power from the material. Another kind, like a thicker sort of oil, is native to Persia, and (as I have said) is called in that language naphtha.

[39] Per haec loca civitates dispersae sunt plures, quis omnibus praestant Zombis et Patigran et Gazaca. Inter quas opibus et magnitudine moenium conspicuae sunt Heraclia et Arsacia et Europos et Cyropolis et Ecbatana, sub Iasonio monte in terris sitae Syromedorum.

[39] In these lands are many scattered cities; greater than all the rest are Zombis, Patigran and Gazaca. Conspicuous for their wealth and their mighty walls are Heraclia, Arsacia, Europos, Cyropolis and Ecbatana, all situated at the foot of Mount Iasonius in the land of the Syromedi.

[40] Amnes has regiones praetereunt multi quorum maximi sunt Choaspes et Gyndes et Amardus et Charinda et Cambyses et Cyrus, cui magno et specioso, Cyrus ille superior rex amabilis, abolito vetere, id vocabulum dedit, cum ereptum ire regna Scythica festinaret, quod et fortis est (ut ipse etiam ferebatur), et vias sibi ut ille impetu ingenti molitus in Caspium delabatur mare.

[40] Many streams flow through this country, of which the greatest are the Choaspes, Gyndes, Amardus, Charinda, Cambyses, and Cyrus. To this last, a great and beautiful river, the elder Cyrus, that lovable king, when he was hastening on his way to seize the realms of the Scythians, gave that name in place of its older one, because it is valiant, as he himself also was said to be, and forcing its way with the exercise of great power, as he did, flows into the

Caspian Sea.

[41] Per tractus meridianos expansa post haec confinia litoribus proxima Persis habitatur antiqua, minutis frugibus dives et palmite, aquarumque copia iucundissima. Amnes quippe multi per eam ante dictum influunt sinum, quorum maximi sunt Batradites et Rogomanus et Brisoana atque Bagrada.

[41] Beyond these tracts, but extending farther to the south, next to the seacoast lies Old Persia, rich in small fruits, date-palms, and an abundance of excellent water. For many rivers flow through it into the above-mentioned gulf, the greatest of which are the Batradites, Rogomanus, Brisoana, and Bagrada.

[42] Oppida vero mediterranea sunt ampliora — incertum enim qua ratione per oras maritimas nihil condiderunt insigne — inter quae Persepolis est clara et Ardea et Obroatis atque Tragonice. Insulae vero visuntur ibi tres tantum, Tabiana et Fara et Alexandria.

[42] But the inland cities are the greater -and it is uncertain for what reason they built nothing conspicuous along the seacoast-notable among which are Persepolis, Ardea, Habroatis, and Tragonice. But only three islands are to be seen there: Tabiana, Fara, and Alexandria.

[43] His propinquant Parthyaiei, siti sub aquilone, colentes nivales terras et pruinosas, quorum regiones Choatres fluvius interscindit ceteris abundantior: et haec potiora residuis sunt oppida: Oenunia, Moesia, Charax, Apamia, Artacana et Hecatompylos a cuius finibus per Caspia litora ad usque portarum angustias stadia quadraginta numerantur et mille.

[43] Near these to the north are the Parthians, dwelling in lands abounding in snow and frost. Their land is cut by Choatres river, more copious than the rest, and the following cities are more important than the others: Oenunia, Moesia, Charax, Apamia, Artacana, and Hecatompylos, from which place one reckons along the Caspian Sea to the Caspian Gates 1040 stadia.

[44] Feri sunt illic habitatores pagorum omnium atque pugnaces, eosque ita certamina iuvant et bella, ut iudicetur inter alios omnes beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam. Excedentes enim e vita morte fortuita conviciis insectantur ut degeneres et ignavos.

[44] There the inhabitants of all the districts are savage and warlike, and take such pleasure in war and conflict, that one who loses his life in battle is regarded as happy beyond all others. For those who depart from this life by a natural death they assail with insults, as degenerate and cowardly.

[45] Quibus ab orientali australique plaga Arabes beati conterminant, ideo sic appellati quod frugibus iuxta et fetibus et palmite odorumque suavitate multiplici sunt locupletes, magnaeque eorum partes mare rubrum a latere dextro contingunt, laeva Persico mari collimant, elementi utriusque potiri

bonis omnibus assueti.

[45] On the south-eastern border of these are the “Happy” Arabs, so-called because they are rich in the fruits of the field, as well as in cattle, dates, and many varieties of perfumes. A great part of their lands border to the right on the Red Sea, and on the left form the boundary of the Persian Sea, and the people know how to avail themselves of all the advantages of both elements.

[46] Ubi et stationes et portus tranquilli sunt plures, et emporia densa, et diversoria regum ambitiosa nimium et decora, aquarumque suapte natura calentium saluberrimi fontes et rivorum fluminumque multitudo perspicua, sospitalisque temperies caeli, ut recte spectantibus nihil eis videatur ad felicitatem deesse supremam.

[46] On that coast there are both many anchorages and numerous safe harbours, trading cities in an uninterrupted line, uncommonly splendid and richly adorned residences of their kings, natural hot springs of remarkable curative powers, a conspicuous abundance of brooks and rivers, and a very salubrious climate; so that to men of good judgement they evidently lack nothing for supreme happiness.

[47] Ac licet abundet urbibus mediterraneis atque maritimis, campisque copiosis et vallibus, has tamen civitates habet eximias: Geapolim et Nascon et Baraba, itidemque Nagara et Maephm et Tapphara et Dioscurida. Insulas autem complures habet per utrumque proximas mare, quas dinumerare non refert. Insignior tamen aliis Turgana est, in qua Serapidis maximum esse dicitur templum.

[47] And while they have an abundance of towns, inland and on the coast, as well as fruitful plains and valleys, yet the choicest cities are Geapolis and Nascos, Baraba, and also Nagara, Maephe, Taphra, and Dioscuris. Moreover, in both seas, and near to the shore, there are many islands, which it is not worth while to enumerate. The most prominent among them is Turgana, on which there is said to be a great temple of Serapis.

[48] Post huius terminos gentis, Carmania maior verticibus celsis erigitur, ad usque Indicum pertinens mare, fructuariis arboreisque fetibus culta, sed obscurior Arabum terris multo et minor. Fluminibus tamen ipsa quoque non minus abundans, caespiteque ubere iuxta fecunda.

[48] Beyond the frontier of this people Greater Carmania rises with lofty peaks, extending as far as the Indian Sea, supplied with products of the soil and fruit trees, but far inferior in fame and in extent to the lands of the Arabs; however, the country is no less rich in rivers, and equally blest with a fertile soil.

[49] Amnes autem sunt hic ceteris notiores, Sagareus et Saganis et Hydracus. Sunt etiam civitates, licet numero paucae, victu tamen et cultu perquam

copiosae, inter quas nitet Carmana omnium mater et Portospana et Alexandria et Hermupolis.

[49] The rivers better known than the rest are the Sagareus, Saganis, and Hydracus. There are also cities which, though few in number, are very rich in all that contributes to the maintenance and enjoyment of life. Conspicuous among them are Carmana, mother city of them all, Portospana, Alexandria, and Hermupolis.

[50] Interius vero pergenti occurrunt Hyrcani, quos eiusdem nominis alluit mare. Apud quos glebae macie internecante sementes, ruris colendi cura est levior, sed vescuntur venatibus, quorum varietate immane quantum exuberant. Ubi etiam tigridum milia multa cernuntur, feraeque bestiae plures, quae cuiusmodi solent capi commentis, dudum nos meminimus rettulisse.

[50] Proceeding inland, one meets with the Hyrcanians, whose coast the sea of the same name washes. Among them, since the leanness of their soil kills the seeds, less attention is given to agriculture, but they live upon game, of which there is a monstrous great variety and abundance. There are also many thousand tigers, and numerous other wild beasts, and by what kind of devices they are usually taken I recall that I gave an account long ago.

[51] Nec ideo tamen stivam ignorant, sed seminibus teguntur aliquae partes, ubi solum est pinguius, nec arbusta desunt in locis habilibus ad plantandum, et marinis mercibus plerique sustentantur.

[51] But for all that, they are not unacquainted with the plough-tail, but some districts, where the soil is richer, are covered over with sown fields. Groves of trees, too, are not lacking in places suited for planting them, and many people support themselves by commerce on the sea.

[52] Hic amnes duo pervulgat sunt nominis, Oxus et Maxera, quos urgente inedia, superantes natatu, aliquotiens tigres improvisae finitima populantur. Habent etiam civitates inter minora municipia validas, duas quidem maritimas, Socanda et Saramanna, mediterraneas alias Asmurnam et Salen et his nobiliorem Hyrcanam.

[52] Here are two rivers well known by name, the Oxus and the Maxera, over which tigers, driven by hunger, sometimes swim and unexpectedly cause great losses to the neighbouring places. They also have some strong cities, among lesser towns; two are on the sea, Socanda and Saramanna, and others inland, Asmurna, Sale, and, better known than these, Hyrcana.

[53] Contra hanc gentem sub aquilone dicuntur Abii versari, genus piissimum, calcare cuncta mortalia consuetum, quos (ut Homerus fabulosius canit) Iuppiter ab Idaeis montibus contuetur.

[53] Over against this people to the north the Abii are said to dwell, a most

kindly race, accustomed to trample on all mortal things, on whom, as Homer sings as part of his tale, Jupiter looks with favour from the mountains of Ida.

[54] *Sedes vicinas post Hyrcanos sortiti sunt Margiani, omnes paene collibus altis undique circumsaepiti, ideo a mari discreti. Et quamquam pleraque sunt ibi deserta soli aquarum penuria, quaedam tamen habent oppida; sed Iasonion et Antiochia et Nigaea sunt aliis notiora.*

[54] Next after the Hyrcanians the Margiani have found homes, a people all but wholly surrounded by lofty hills, and thus separated from the sea. And although the greater part of their soil, from dearth of water, is a desert, they nevertheless have some towns; but Iasonion, Antiochia, and Nigaea are better known than the others.

[55] *Proximos his limites possident Bactriani, natio antehac bellatrix et potentissima, Persisque semper infesta, antequam circumситos populos omnes ad dicionem gentilitatemque traheret nominis sui, quam rexere veteribus saeculis etiam Arsaci formidabiles reges.*

[55] The lands next to these the Bactriani possess, a nation formerly warlike and very powerful, and always at odds with the Persians, until they reduced all the peoples about them to submission and incorporated them under their own name. In ancient times they were ruled by kings who were formidable even to Arsaces.

[56] *Eius pleraeque partes ita ut Margiana, procul a litoribus sunt disparatae, sed humi gignentium fertiles, et pecus quod illic per campestria loca vescitur et montana, membris est magnis compactum et validis, ut indicio sunt cameli, a Mithridate exinde perducti, et primitus in obsidione Cyzicena visi Romanis.*

[56] Many parts of this land, like Margiana, are widely separated from the coast, but rich in vegetation; and the herds which graze on their plains and mountains are thickset, with strong limbs, as appears from the camels brought from there by Mithridates and seen for the first time by the Romans at the siege of Cyzicus.

[57] *Gentes eisdem Bactrianis oboediunt plures, quas exsuperant Tochari, et ad Italiae speciem crebris fluminibus inundantur, E quibus Artamis et Zariaspes ante sibi consociati, itidemque Ochus et Dargomanes, iuncti convenis aquis augment immania Oxi fluenta.*

[57] Several peoples are subject to these same Bactrians, notably the Tochari, and like Italy the country is watered by many rivers. Of these, the Artamis and Zariaspes first unite, as well as the Ochus and Orgomanes, and when joined they increase the mighty flow of the Oxus with their combined waters.

[58] *Sunt et hic civitates, quas amnes diversi perstringunt, his cedentes ut melioribus, Chatracharta et Alicodra et Astacana et Menapilae et Bactris ipsis,*

unde regnum et vocabulum nationis est institutum.

[58] There are also cities here which are laved by other rivers, but they recognise these as their betters: namely, Chatracharta, Alicodra, Astatia, Menapila, and Bactra itself, from which the kingdom and the nation have derived their name.

[59] Hinc Sogdiani agunt sub imis montium pedibus, quos appellant Sogdios, inter quos amnes duo fluunt navium capacissimi, Araxates et Dymas, qui per iuga vallesque praecipites, in campestrum planitiem fluvii decurrentes, Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt, late longeque diffusam. Hie inter alia oppida celebrantur Alexandria et Cyreschata et Drepsa metropolis.

[59] Next the Sogdiani dwell at the foot of the mountains which they call the Sogdii, through whose territories two rivers flow which are navigable by ships, the Araxates and the Dymas. These streams rush headlong over mountains and valleys into a level plain and form a lake, Oxia by name, which is both long and broad. Here among other towns Alexandria, Cyreschata, and the metropolis, Drepsa, are famous.

[60] His contigui sunt Sacae natio fera, squalentia incolens loca, solum pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta. Cui Ascanimia mons imminet et Comedus. Praeter quorum radices et vicum, quem Lithinon pyrgon appellant, iter longissimum patet, mercatoribus pervium, ad Seras subinde comitantibus.

[60] Next to these are the Sacae, a tribe of savages, inhabiting a rough country rich only for cattle, and hence without cities. It is overhung by the mountains Ascanimia and Comedus, along the base of which and through a village, which they call Lithinos Pyrgos, a very long road extends, which is the route taken by the traders who journey from time to time to the land of the Seres.

[61] Circa defectus et crepidines montium, quos Imavos et Apurios vocant, Scythae sunt varii, intra Persicos fines Asianis contermini Sarmatis, Halanorumque latus tangentes extremum. Qui velut agentes quodam secessu, coalitique solitudine, per intervalla dispersi sunt longa, assueti victu vili et paupertino.

[61] Along the slopes and at the foot of the mountains which they call Imavi and Apurii, various Scythian tribes dwell within the Persian territories, bordering on the Asiatic Sarmatians and reaching to the outermost side of the Halani. These, as if living in a nook of the world, and brought up in solitude, are widely scattered, and are accustomed to common and poor food.

[62] Et gentes quidem variae hos incolunt tractus, quas nunc recensere, alio properans, superfluum puto. Illud tamen sciendum est, inter has nationes paene ob asperitatem nimiam inaccessas homines esse quosdam mites et pios,

ut Iaxartae sunt et Galactophagi, quorum meminit vates Homerus in hoc versu
glaktofa/gwn)Abi/wn te dikaiota/twn

[62] And various other tribes dwell in these parts, which at present I think it superfluous to enumerate, since I am hastening on to another topic. It is necessary only to know, that among these nations, which because of the extreme roughness of their land are almost inaccessible, there are some mild and kindly folk, such as the Iaxartae and the Galactophagi, whom the bard Homer mentions in this verse :”Of the Galactophagi and Abii, righteous men.”

[63] Inter flumina vero multa, quae per has terras vel potioribus iungit natura, vel lapsu ipso trahit in mare, Rhyrmus celebris est et Iaxartes, et Daicus. Civitates autem non nisi tres solas habere noscuntur, Aspabota et Chauriana et Saga.

[63] Now, among the many rivers of this land, which nature either joins with larger streams or by their own flow carries on to the sea, the Rhyrmus, Iaxartes and Daicus are celebrated. But there are only three cities which the region is known to have, namely, Aspabota, Chauriana, and Saga.

[64] Ultra haec utriusque Scythiae loca, contra orientalem plagam in orbis speciem consertae, celsorum aggerum summitates ambiunt Seras, ubertate regionum et amplitudine circumspectos, ab occidentali latere Scythia adnexos, a septentrione et orientali nivosa solitudini cohaerentes: qua meridiem spectant ad usque Indiam porrectos et Gangem. Appellantur autem ibidem montes Anniba et Auzacium et Asmira et Emodon et Opurocorra.

[64] Beyond these lands of both Scythias, towards the east, the summits of lofty walls form a circle and enclose the Seres, remarkable for the richness and extent of their country. On the west they are bounded by the Scythians, and on the north and the east they extend to a snowclad waste; on the south they reach India and the Ganges. There are mountains there, called Anniba, Nazavicium, Asmira, Emodon, and Opurocorra.

[65] Hanc itaque planitiem undique prona declivitate praeruptam, terrasque lato situ distentas, duo famosi nominis flumina Oechardes et Bautis lentiore meatu percurrunt. Et dispar est tractuum diversorum ingenium: hic patulum alibi molli devexitate subductum, ideoque satietate frugum et pecoribus et arbustis exuberat.

[65] Through this land, consisting of a plain of wide extent, surrounded on all sides by precipitous cliffs, two rivers of famous name, the Oechartis and the Bautis, flow in a somewhat slow course. The nature of the various tracts is unlike, being now open and flat and now descending in gentle slopes; and therefore the land overflows in grain, flocks, and orchards.

[66] Incolunt autem fecundissimam glebam variae gentes, e quibus Anthropophagi et Annibi et Sizyges et Chardi aquilonibus obiecti sunt et pruinis. Exortum vero solis suspiciunt Rabannae et Asmirae, et Essedones omnium splendidissimi, quibus Athagurae ab occidentali parte cohaerent et Aspacarae. Baetae vero australi celsitudine montium inclinati, urbibus licet non multis, magnis tamen celebrantur et opulentis, inter quas maximae Asmira et Essedon et Aspacara et Sera nitidae sunt et notissimae.

[66] On this very fruitful soil dwell various peoples, of which the Anthropophagi, Anibi, Sizyges and Chardi lie towards the north and the snows. Towards the rising sun are the Rabannae, Asmirae, and the Essedones, the most famed of all; close to them, on the west, are the Athagorae, and the Aspacarae. In the south are the Baetae, dwelling on the slopes of high mountains. They are famed for cities which, though not numerous, are large and prosperous; the greatest of these, Asmira, Essedon, Asparata, and Sera, are beautiful and well known.

[67] Agunt autem ipsi quietius Seres, armorum semper et proeliorum expertes, utque hominibus sedatis et placidis otium est voluptabile, nulli finitimorum molesti. Caeli apud eos iucunda salubrisque temperies, aeris facies munda, leniumque ventorum commodissimus flatus, et abunde silvae sublucidae, a quibus arborum fetus aquarum asperginibus crebris, velut quaedam vellera molientes, ex lanugine et liquore mixtam subtilitatem tenerrimam pectunt, nentesque subtegmina conficiunt sericum, ad usus nobilium antehac, nunc etiam infimorum sine ulla discretione proficiens.

[67] The Seres themselves live a peaceful life, for ever unacquainted with arms and warfare; and since to gentle and quiet folk ease is pleasurable, they are troublesome to none of their neighbours. Their climate is agreeable and healthful, the sky is clear, the winds gentle and very pleasant. There is an abundance of well-lighted woods, the trees of which produce a substance which they work with frequent sprinkling, like a kind of fleece; then from the wool-like material, mixed with water, they draw out very fine threads, spin the yarn, and make sericum, formerly for the use of the nobility, but nowadays available even to the lowest without any distinction.

[68] Ipsi praeter alios frugalissimi pacatoris vitae cultores, vitantes reliquorum mortalium coetus. Cumque ad coemenda fila vel quaedam alia fluvium transierint advenae, nulla sermonum vice propositarum rerum pretia solis oculis aestimantur, et ita sunt abstinentes, ut apud se tradentes gignentia, nihil ipsi comparent adventicium.

[68] The Seres themselves are frugal beyond all others, live a quiet life, and avoid intercourse with the rest of mortals. And when strangers, in order to buy threads or anything else, cross the river, their wares are laid out and with no exchange of words their value is estimated by the eye alone; and they are so

abstemious, that they hand over their own products without themselves getting any foreign ware in return.

[69] Ariani vivunt post Seras, Boreae obnoxii flatibus, quorum terras amnis vehendis sufficiens navibus, Arias perfluit nomine, faciens lacum ingentem, eodem vocabulo dictitatum. Abundat autem haec eadem Aria oppidis, inter quae sunt celebria Vitaxa Sarmatina et Sotira et Nisibis et Alexandria, unde naviganti ad Caspium mare quingenta stadia numerantur et mille.

[69] Beyond the Seres live the Ariani, exposed to the blasts of the north wind; through their lands flows a river called the Arias, large enough to carry ships, which forms a great lake called by the same name. Moreover, this same Aria has many cities, among which the following are renowned: Vitaxa Sarmatina, Sotira, Nisibis, and Alexandria, from which the voyage to the Caspian Sea is reckoned as fifteen hundred stadia.

[70] His locis Paropanisadae sunt proximi, Indos ab oriente, Caucasumque ab occidentali latere prospectantes, ipsi quoque montium defectibus inclinati, quos residuis omnibus maior, Gordomaris interluit fluvius a Bactrianis exurgens. Habent autem etiam civitates aliquas, quibus clariores sunt Agazaca et Naulibus et Ortospa, unde litorea navigatio ad usque Mediae fines, portis proximos Caspiis stadiorum sunt duo milia et ducenta.

[70] Neighbours to these places are the Paro- panisadae, facing the Indi on the east, and the Caucasus on the west; they themselves also dwell on the slopes of the mountains and through their country (besides some smaller rivers) flows the Gordomaris, rising in Bactria. And they also have some cities, of which the better-known are Agazaca, Naulibus, and Ortospa, from which the distance along the bank of the river to the frontiers of Media next to the Caspian Gates is 2200 stadia.

[71] Ante dictis continui sunt Drangiani collibus cohaerentes, quos flumen alluit Arabium nomine ideo appellatum, quod inde exoritur, interque alia duobus municipiis exultantes, Prophthasia et Ariaspe, ut opulentis et claris.

[71] Joining the aforesaid are the Drangiani, connected with them by hills. Their land is washed by the river Arabius, so-called from the place of its rise. Among other towns they are proud of two, Prophthasia and Ariaspe, because of their wealth and fame.

[72] Post quos exadversum Arachosia visitur, dextrum vergens in latus, Indis obiecta, quam ab Indo fluviorum maximo (unde regiones cognominatae sunt) amnis multo minor exoriens, aquarum alluit amplitudine, efficitque paludem quam Arachotoscrenen appellant. Hic quoque civitates sunt inter alias viles, Alexandria et Arbaca et Choaspa.

[72] Then, opposite to these, we see Arachosia, on the right facing the Indi.

From a much smaller river, flowing out from the mighty Indus, from which the whole region takes its name, Arachosia receives an abundance of water; this river forms a lake, called Arachotoscrene. Here also among insignificant cities, are Alexandria, Arbaca, and Choaspa.

[73] At in penitissima parte Persidos, Gedrosia est dextra terminos contingens Indorum, inter minores alios Arabio uberius flumine, ubi montes deficiunt Arbitani, quorum ex pedibus imis emergentes alii fluvii Indo miscentur, amittentes nomina magnitudine potioris. Civitates autem etiam hic sunt inclyta epraeter insulas, sed Ratira et Gynaecon limen meliores residuis aestimantur.

[73] Now far within Persia lies Gedrosia, on the right reaching the frontiers of the Indi; it is made fertile by the Artabius, in addition to smaller streams. Here the Arbitani mountains come to an end, and from their bases flow other rivers, which mingle with the Indus, losing their names through the size of the greater stream. But here, too, there are famous cities, in addition to islands; but Ratira and Gynaecon limen are more highly esteemed than the rest.

[74] Ne igitur orae maritimae spatia alluentia Persidos extremitates per minutias demonstrantes, a proposito longius aberremus, id sufficiet dici, quod mare praetentum a Caspiis montibus per borium latus ad usque memoratas angustias, novem milium stadiorum, australe vero ab ostiis Nili fluminis ad usque principia Carmanorum, quattuordecim milium stadiorum numero definitur.

[74] But we would not give a detailed account of the seacoast at the extremities of Persia, and wander too far from our subject. So it will be enough to say that the sea extending from the Caspian mountains along the northern side to the above-mentioned strait is 9000 stadia; but the southern frontier, from the mouths of the river Nile to where Carmania begins, is reckoned at 14,000 stadia.

[75] Per has nationes dissonas et multiplices, hominum quoque diversitates sunt ut locorum. Sed ut generaliter corpora describamus, et mores, graciles paene sunt omnes, subnigri vel livido colore pallentes, caprinis oculis torvi, et superciliis in semiorbium speciem curvatis iunctisque, non indecoribus barbis, capillisque promissis hirsuti, omnes tamen promiscue vel inter epulas festosque dies gladiis cincti cernuntur. Quem Graecorum veterum morem abieciisse primos Athenienses, Thucydides est auctor amplissimus.

[75] Among these many men of differing tongues there are varieties of persons, as well as of places. But, to describe their bodily characteristics and their customs in general, they are almost all slender, somewhat dark, or of a leaden pallor, with eyes grim as goats', eyebrows joined and curved in the form of a half-circle, not uncomely beards, and long, shaggy hair. All of them without

exception, even at banquets and on festal days, appear girt with swords; an old Greek custom which, according to the trustworthy testimony of Thucydides, the Athenians were the first to abandon.

[76] Effusius plerique soluti in venerem, aegreque contenti multitudine pelicum, puerilium stuprorum expertes, pro opibus quisque adsciscens matrimonia plura vel pauca. Unde apud eos per libidines varias caritas dispersa torpescit, munditias conviviorum et luxum maximeque potandi aviditatem vitante ut luem.

[76] Most of them are extravagantly given to venery, and are hardly contented with a multitude of concubines; they are free from immoral relations with boys. Each man according to his means contracts many or few marriages, whence their affection, divided as it is among various objects, grows cold. They avoid as they would the plague splendid and luxurious banquets, and especially, excessive drinking.

[77] Nec apud eos extra regales mensas hora est praestituta prandendi, sed venter uni cuique velut solarium est, eoque monente quod incident editur, nec quisquam post satietatem superfluos sibi ingerit cibos.

[77] Except for the kings' tables, they have no fixed hours for meal-times, but every man's belly is, as it were, his sundial; when this gives the call, they eat whatever is at hand, and no one, after he is satisfied, loads himself with superfluous food.

[78] Inmane quantum restricti et cauti, ut inter hostiles hortos gradientes non numquam et vineta, nec cupiant aliquid nec contingant, venenorum et secretarum artium metu.

[78] They are immensely moderate and cautious, so much so that they sometimes march through an enemy's gardens and vineyards without coveting or touching anything, through fear of poison or magic arts.

[79] Super his nec stando mingens nec ad requisita naturae secedens, facile visitur Persa: ita observantius haec aliaque pudenda declinant.

[79] Besides this, one seldom sees a Persian stop to pass water or step aside in response to a call of nature; so scrupulously do they avoid these and other unseemly actions.

[80] Adeo autem dissoluti sunt et artuum laxitate, vagoque incessu se iactitantes, ut effeminatos existimes, cum sint acerrimi bellatores, sed magis artifices quam fortes, minusque terribiles, abundantes inanibus verbis, insanumque loquentes et ferum, magnidici et graves ac taetri, minaces iuxta in adversis rebus et prosperis, callidi superbi crudeles, vitae necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros: cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt, particulatim vel solidas, nec ministranti apud eos famulo mensaeque adstanti,

hiscere vel loqui licet vel spuer: ita praestratis pellibus labra omnium vinciuntur.

[80] On the other hand, they are so free and easy, and stroll about with such a loose and unsteady gait, that one might think them effeminate; but, in fact, they are most gallant warriors, though rather crafty than courageous, and to be feared only at long range. They are given to empty words, and talk madly and extravagantly. They are boastful, harsh and offensive, threatening in adversity and prosperity alike, crafty, haughty, cruel, claiming the power of life and death over slaves and commons. They flay men alive, either bit by bit or all at once, and no servant who waits upon them, or stands at table, is allowed to open his mouth, either to speak or to spit; to such a degree, after the skins are spread, are the mouths of all fettered.

[81] Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, inter quas diritate exsuperant latae contra ingratos et desertores, et abominandae aliae per quas ob noxam unius, omnis propinquitas perit.

[81] They stand in special fear of the laws, among which those dealing with ingrates and deserters are particularly severe; and some laws are detestable, namely, those which provide that because of the guilt of a single person all his relatives are put to death.

[82] Ad iudicandum autem usu rerum spectati destinantur et integri, parum alienis consiliis indigentes, unde nostram consuetudinem rident, quae interdum facundos, iurisque publici peritissimos, post indoctorum collocat terga. Nam quod supersidere corio damnati ob iniquitatem iudicis, iudex alius cogebatur, aut finxit vetustas, aut olim recepta consuetudo cessavit.

[82] For the office of judge, upright men of proved experience are chosen, who have little need of advice from others; therefore they ridicule our custom, which at times places eloquent men, highly skilled in public law, behind the backs of judges without learning. But that one judge was forced to take his seat on the skin of another who had been condemned to death for injustice is either a fiction of antiquity, or, if once customary, has long since been given up.

[83] Militari cultu ac disciplina proludiisque continuis rei castrensis et armaturae, quam saepe formavimus, metuendi vel exercitibus maximis, equitatus virtute confisi, ubi desudat nobilitas omnis et splendor. Pedites enim in speciem mirmillonum contexti, iussa faciunt ut calones. Sequiturque semper haec turba, tamquam addicta perenni servitio, nec stipendiis aliquando fulta nec donis. Et gentes plurimas praeter eas quas abunde perdomuit, sub iugum haec natio miserat, ita audax et ad pulveres Martios erudita, ni bellis civilibus externisque assidue vexarentur.

[83] Through military training and discipline, through constant exercise in

warfare and military manoeuvres, which we have often described, they cause dread even to great armies; they rely especially on the valour of their cavalry, in which all the nobles and men of rank undergo hard service; for the infantry are armed like the *murmillo*s, and they obey orders like so many horse-boys. The whole throng of them always follows in the rear, as if doomed to perpetual slavery, without ever being supported by pay or gifts. And this nation, so bold and so well trained for the dust of Mars, would have brought many other peoples under the yoke in addition to those whom they fully subdued, were they not constantly plagued by domestic and foreign wars.

[84] *Indumentis plerique eorum ita operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus vario, ut (licet sinus lateraque dissuta relinquant flatibus agitari ventorum) inter calceos tamen et verticem nihil videatur intectum. Armillis uti monilibusque aureis, et gemmis, praecipue margaritis, quibus abundant, assuefacti post Lydiam victam et Croesum.*

[84] Most of them are so covered with clothes gleaming with many shimmering colours, that although they leave their robes open in front and on the sides, and let them flutter in the wind, yet from their head to their shoes no part of the body is seen uncovered. To the use of golden armlets and neckchains, gems, and especially pearls, of which they possess a great number, they first became accustomed after their victory over Lydia and Croesus.

[85] *Restat ut super ortu lapidis huius, pauca succinctius explicentur. Apud Indos et Persas, margaritae reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis et candidis, permixtione roris anni tempore praestituto conceptae. Cupientes enim velut coitum quendam, humores ex lunari aspergine capiunt, densius oscitando. Exindeque gravidulae, edunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel uniones, ideo sic appellatas quod evisceratae conchulae singulas aliquotiens pariunt, sed maiores.*

[85] It remains for me to speak briefly about the origin of this gem. Among the Indians and the Persians pearls are found in strong, white sea-shells, being conceived at a definite time of the year by mixture with dew. For at that time they desire, as it were, a kind of copulation, and by often opening and shutting quickly they take in moisture by sprinkling with moonlight. Thereby becoming pregnant, they each bear two or three small pearls, or else *uniones*, so called because the shell-fish, when opened, sometimes yield only one pearl, but in that case they are of greater size.

[86] *Idque indicium est aetheria potius derivatione, quam saginis pelagi hos oriri fetus et vesci, quod guttae matutini roris eisdem infusae, claros efficiunt lapillos et teretes, vespertini vero flexuosos contra et rutilos et maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel magna pro qualitate haustum figurantur, casibus variatis. Conclusae vero saepissime metu fulgurum inanescunt, aut debilia pariunt, aut certe vitiis diffluunt abortivis.*

[86] And it is a proof that they are of ethereal origin, rather than that they are conceived and fed from nourishment derived from the sea, that when drops of morning dew fall upon these gems, they make them brilliant and round, but the dew of evening, on the contrary, makes them irregular, red, and sometimes spotted; and they become large or small under varying conditions, according to the quality of what they have taken in. Very often the shell-fish close through fear of thunderstorms, and either produce imperfect stones or none at all; or at any rate, it melts away as the result of abortion.

[87] *Capturas autem difficiles et periculosas, et amplitudines pretiorum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, ut quidam coniciunt, circa devios scopulos et marinorum canum receptacula delitescunt.*

[87] Their taking is difficult and dangerous, and their price is high, for the reason that they avoid shores that are usually frequented, to escape the snares of the pearlfishers, as some believe, and hide amid solitary rocks and the lairs of sea-hounds.

[88] *Quod genus gemmae etiam in Britannici secessibus maris gigni legique (licet dignitate dispari) non ignoramus.*

[88] That this kind of gem is found and gathered in the lonely bays of the Britannic Sea, although of less value than these, is well known to us

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LIBER XXIV — BOOK XXIV

[1] Iulianus cum exercitu Assyriam ingreditur, et Anathan castellum ad Euphratem in fidem recipit, et incendit. Post exploratam alacritatem exercitus, uno parique ardore impetrabilem principem superari non posse, deum usitato clamore testati, Iulianus summae rei finem imponendum maturius credens, restricta quiete nocturna, itinerarium sonare lituos iubet et praestructis omnibus quae difficultates arduae belli poscebant, candente iam luce, Assyrios fines ingressus, celso praeter alios spiritu obequitans ordinibus, aemulatione sui cunctos ad officia fortitudinis incendebat.

Julian with his army invades Assyria; he receives the fortress of Anathas on the Euphrates into surrender, and destroys it by fire. After thus testing the spirit of the soldiers, who with unanimous eagerness and the usual acclaim called God to witness that so successful a prince could not be vanquished, Julian, believing that their main purpose must speedily be accomplished, cut short the night's rest and ordered the trumpets to give the signal for the march. And having made every preparation which the difficulties of a dangerous war demanded, just as the clear light of day was appearing he passed the frontiers of Assyria, riding in a lofty spirit above all others from rank to rank, and firing every man with a desire to rival him in deeds of valour.

[2] Utque ductor usu et docilitate firmatus, metuens ne per locorum insolentiam insidiis caperetur occultis, agminibus incedere quadratis exorsus est. Excursatores quidem quingentos et mille sensim praeire disposuit, qui cautius gradientes ex utroque latere, itidemque a fronte, nequis repentinus irrueret, prospectabant. Ipse vero medios pedites regens, quod erat totius roboris firmamentum, dextra legiones aliquas cum Nevitta, supercilia fluminis praestringere iussit Euphratis. Cornu vero laevum cum equitum copiis Arintheo tradidit et Ormizdae, ducendum confertius, per plana camporum et mollia. Agmina vero postrema Dagalaifus covebat et Victor, ultimusque omnium Osdrueae dux Secundinus.

[2] And being a general trained by experience and study of the art of war, and fearing lest, being unacquainted with the terrain, he might be entrapped by hidden ambuscades, he began his march with his army in order of battle. He also arranged to have 1500 mounted scouts riding a little ahead of the army, who advancing with caution on both flanks, as well as in front, kept watch that no sudden attack be made. He himself in the centre led the infantry, which formed the main strength of his entire force, and ordered Nevitta on the right with several legions to skirt the banks of the Euphrates. The left wing with the cavalry he put in charge of Arintheus and Ormisda, to be led in close order through the level fields and meadows. Dagalaifus and Victor brought up the rear, and last of all was Secundinus, military leader in Osdruea.

[3] Deinde ut hostibus (si erupissent usquam) vel conspicantibus procul timorem multitudinis maioris incuteret, laxatis cuneis iumenta dilatavit et homines, ut decimo paene lapide postremi dispararentur a signiferis primis, quod arte mira saepe fecisse, Pyrrhus ille rex dicitur Epirotes, opportunis in locis castra metandi, armorumque speciem diffundendi ex industria vel attenuandi perquam scientissimus, ut ubi convenisset plures aestimarentur aut pauci.

[3] Then in order to fill the enemy (if they should burst out anywhere), even when they saw him from afar, with fear of a greater force than he had, by a loose order he so extended the ranks of horses and men, that the hindermost were nearly ten miles distant from the standard-bearers in the van. This is the wonderful device that Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, is said often to have used; for he was most skilful in choosing suitable places for his camp, and able to disguise the look of his forces so that the enemy might think them greater or fewer as it suited him.

[4] Sarcinas vero et calones et apparationem imbellem, impedimentorumque genus omne inter utrumque latus instituit procedentium ordinatim, nequa vi subita raperentur (ut saepe contigit) improtecta. Classis autem licet per flumen ferebatur assiduis flexibus tortuosum, nec residere nec praecurrere sinebatur.

[4] His packs, servants, unarmed attendants, and every kind of baggage he placed between two divisions of the rank and file, in order that they might not be carried off (as often happens) by a sudden attack, if they were left unprotected. The fleet, although the river along which it went winds with many a bend, was not permitted to lag behind or get ahead.

[5] Emenso itaque itinere bidui, prope civitatem venimus Duram desertam, marginibus amnis impositam. In quo loco greges cervorum plures inventi sunt, quorum alii confixi missilibus, alii ponderibus inlisi remorum, ad satietatem omnes paverunt; pars maxima natatu assueta veloci, alveo penetrate, incohibili cursu evasit ad solitudines notas.

[5] After making a march of two days in this manner, we approached the deserted city of Dura, situated on the river bank. Here so many herds of deer were found, some of which were slain with arrows, others knocked down with heavy oars, that all ate to satiety; but the greater number of the animals, accustomed to rapid swimming, leaped into the river and with a speed that could not be checked escaped to their familiar deserts.

[6] Exin dierum quattuor itinere levi peracto vespera incedente, cum expeditis mille impositis navibus, Lucillianus comes imperatu principis mittitur Anathan munimentum expugnaturus, quod (ut pleraque alia) circumluitur fluentis Euphratis. Et navibus (ut praeceptum est) per opportuna dispersis, insula obsidebatur nebulosa nocte obumbrante impetum clandestinum.

[6] Then, after completing a leisurely march of four days, just as evening was coming on Count Lucillianus, with a thousand light-armed troops embarked in ships, was sent, by the emperor's order, to capture the fortress of Anatha, which, like many others, is girt by the waters of the Euphrates. The ships, according to orders, took suitable positions and blockaded the island, while a misty night hid the secret enterprise.

[7] Sed postquam advenit lux certa, aquatum quidam egressus, visis subito hostibus, ululabili clamore sublato, excitos tumultuosis vocibus propugnatores armavit. Et mox a specula quadam altissima explorato situ castrorum, quam ocissime cum duarum praesidio navium, amnem supermeat imperator, pone sequentibus navigiis multis, quae obsidionales machinas advehebant.

[7] But as soon as daylight appeared, a man who went out to fetch water, suddenly catching sight of the enemy, raised a loud outcry, and by his excited shouts called the defenders to arms. Then the emperor, who from an elevated point had been looking for a site for a camp, with all possible haste crossed the river, under the protection of two ships, followed by a great number of boats carrying siege-artillery.

[8] Iamque muris propinquans, cum non absque discriminibus multis consideraret esse certandum, sermone cum leni tum aspero et minaci, hortabatur ad deditionem defensores, qui ad colloquium petito Ormizda, promissis eius et iuramentis illecti, multa sibi de lenitudine Romana spondebant.

[8] But on drawing near the walls he considered that a battle must be accompanied by many dangers, and accordingly, partly in mild terms, partly in harsh and threatening language, he urged the defenders to surrender. They asked for a conference with Ormizda, and were induced by his promises and oaths to expect much from the mercy of the Romans.

[9] Denique prae se bovem coronatum agentes, quod est apud eos susceptae pacis indicium, descendere suppliciter, et statim munimento omni incenso, Pusaеus eius praefectus, dux Aegypti postea, honore tribunatus affectus est. Reliqui vero cum caritatibus suis et suppellectili, humaniore cultu ad Syriacam civitatem Chalcida transmissi sunt.

[9] Finally, driving before them a garlanded ox, which with them indicates the acceptance of peace, they came down in suppliant guise. At once the whole fortress was set on fire; Pusaеus, its commander, later a general in Egypt, was given the rank of tribune. As for the rest, they were treated kindly, and with their families and possessions were sent to Chalcis, a city of Syria.

[10] Inter hos miles quidam, cum Maximianus perrupisset quondam Persicos fines, in his locis aeger relictus, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, ut aiebat, uxores sortitus gentis ritu complures cum numerosa subole tunc senex

incurvus, exultans, proditiōisq̄ auctor, ducebatur ad nostra, testibus affirmans et praescisse se olim et praedixisse, quod centenario iam contiguus, sepelietur in solo Romano. Post quae Saraceni procuratores partis cuiusdam hostium obtulere laetissimo principi, et munerati ad agenda similia sunt remissi.

[10] Among them was a soldier who, when in former times Maximianus made an inroad into the Persian territory, had been left in these parts because of illness; he was then a young man, whose beard was just beginning to grow. He had been given several wives (as he told us) according to the custom of the country, and was on our arrival a bent old man with numerous offspring. He was overjoyed, having advised the surrender, and when taken to our camp, he called several to witness that he had known and declared long ago that he, when nearly a hundred years old, would find a grave on Roman soil. After this the Saracens, to the emperor's great delight, brought in some skirmishers belonging to a division of the enemy, and after receiving rewards were sent back to engage in like activities.

[11] Acciderat aliud postridie dirum. Ventorum enim turbo exortus, pluresque vertigines concitans, ita confuderat omnia, ut tabernacula multa conscinderentur, et supini plerique milites sternerentur vel proni, venti spiritum stabilitatem vestigiū subvertente. Nec minus eodem die aliud periculosum evenit. Amne enim repente extra margines evagato, mersae sunt quaedam frumentariae naves, cataractis avulsis, ad defundendas reprimendasque aquas rigare suetas opere saxeo structis: quod utrum per insidias an magnitudine acciderit fluentorum, sciri non potuit.

[11] On the following day another thing happened, this time a disaster. For a hurricane arose, which stirred up numerous whirlwinds and caused such general confusion, that many tents were rent asunder and numerous soldiers were prevented by the force of the gale from keeping a firm footing and were hurled to the ground on their faces or on their backs. On that same day another equally dangerous thing happened. For the river suddenly overflowed its banks and some grain-ships were sunk, since the sluices built of masonry, which served to hold in or let out the water used for irrigating the fields, were broken through; but whether this was a device of the enemy or was due to the weight of the waters could not be learned.

[12] Post perruptam incensamque urbem omnium primam, et captivos transmissos, certiore iam spe provectus exercitus ad fiduciam, elatis vocibus in favores principis consurgebat, adfore sibi etiam deinde dei caelestis existimans curam.

[12] After storming and burning the first city to which we had come, and moving the prisoners to another place, the hopes of the army were raised to fuller confidence and with loud shouts they rose to praise the prince,

convinced that even now the protection of the god of heaven would be with them.

[13] Et cui per regiones ignotas de obscuris erat suspectior cura, astus gentis et ludificandi varietas timebatur. Ideoque imperator nunc antesignanus nunc agminibus cogendis insistens, cum expeditis velitibus, nequid lateret abstrusum, frutecta squalida vallesque scrutabatur, licentiores militum per longinqua discursus affabilitate nativa prohibendo vel minis.

[13] And for one who was traversing unknown regions greater precautions against hidden dangers were necessary, since the craft and many wiles of the nation were to be feared. Therefore the emperor, with light-armed skirmishers, now took his place at the head of the army, and now brought up the rear; and in order that no hidden danger might escape his notice, he scanned the rough thickets and valleys, using either his native affability or threats to keep his men from scattering too loosely or too far.

[14] Hostiles tamen agros omni frugum genere divites, cum segetibus et tuguriis inflammari permisit, ita demum cum usui necessaria abunde sibi quisque collegisset, et hoc modo sauciabatur salus hostium nesciorum.

[14] However, he allowed the enemy's fields, abounding in fruits of every kind, to be set on fire with their crops and huts, but only after each man had fully supplied himself with everything that he needed; and in this way the safety of their foes was impaired before they knew it.

[15] Bellatores enim libenter quaesitis dextris propriis utebantur, alia virtutis suae horrea repperisse existimantes, et laeti quod vitae subsidiis affluentes, alimenta servabant, quae navigiis vehebantur.

[15] For the warriors gladly made use of what they had won with their own hands, thinking that their valour had found new granaries; and they were delighted to have an abundance of provisions and at the same time save the food that was carried in the ships.

[16] Hic vino gravis quidam temerarius miles ad ulteriorem ripam nullo urgente transgressus, in conspectu nostro ab hostilibus captus, occisus est. Imperator, castellis et oppidis allis intentatis, aliis quae deserta erant incensis, Pirisaboram in deditionem accipit succenditque. Quibus tali casu patratis, ad castra pervenimus nomine Thilutha, in medio fluminis sita, locum immenso quodam vertice tumescentem, et potestate naturae, velut manu circumsaeptum humana, cuius ad deditionem incolae temptati mollius (ut decebat), quoniam asperitas edita vim superabat armorum, intempestivam tunc defectionem esse firmabant. Sed hactenus responderunt, quod cum interiora occupaverint protinus gradientes Romani, se quoque utpote regnorum sequellas, victoribus accessuros.

[16] At this place a drunken soldier, who had rashly and without orders crossed to the opposite bank, was seized by the enemy before our eyes and killed. The emperor, after passing by some fortresses and towns and burning others, that had been abandoned, receives the surrender of Pirisabora and destroys it by fire. After these successful operations we reached a fortress called Thilutha, situated in the middle of the river, a place rising in a lofty peak and fortified by nature's power as if by the hand of man. Since the difficulty and the height of the place made it impregnable, an attempt was made with friendly words (as was fitting) to induce the inhabitants to surrender; but they insisted that such defection then would be untimely. But they went so far as to reply, that as soon as the Romans by further advance had got possession of the interior, they also would go over to the victors, as appendages of the kingdom.

[2] Et post haec praetermeantes moenia ipsa, naves nostras verecunda quiete spectabant immobiles. Quo transito cum ad munimentum aliud Achaiachalam nomine venissemus, fluminis circumitione vallatum, arduumque transcensu, refutati pari responso discessimus. Alia postridie castra ob muros invalidos derelicta, praetereuntur incensa.

[2] After this, as our ships went by under their very walls, they looked on in respectful silence without making any move. After passing this place we came to another fortress, Achaiachala by name, also protected by the encircling river, and difficult of ascent; there too we received a similar refusal and went on. The next day another castle, which because of the weakness of its walls had been abandoned, was burned in passing.

[3] Postera igitur et insequenti die stadiis ducentis emensis, ventum est ad locum Baraxmalcha. Unde amne transito miliario septimo disparata, Diacira invaditur civitas, habitatoribus vacua, frumento et salibus nitidis plena, in qua templum alti culminis arci vidimus superpositum, qua incensa caesisque mulieribus paucis, quae repertae sunt, traiecto fonte scatenti bitumine, Ozogardana occupavimus oppidum, quod formidine advenientis exercitus itidem deseruere cultores. In quo principis Traiani tribunal ostendebatur.

[3] Then during the following two days we covered 200 stadia and arrived at a place called Baraxmalcha. From there we crossed the river and entered the city of Diacira, seven miles distant. This place was without inhabitants, but rich in grain and fine white salt; there we saw a temple, standing on a lofty citadel. After burning the city, and killing a few women whom we found, we passed over a spring bubbling with bitumen and took possession of the town of Ozogardana, which the inhabitants had likewise deserted through fear of the approaching army. Here a tribunal of the emperor Trajan was to be seen.

[4] Hac quoque exusta, biduo ad refectionem corporum dato, prope extremum noctis quae secundum diem secuta est, Surena post regem apud Persas promeritae dignitatis, et Malechus Podosacis nomine, phylarchus

Saracenorum Assanitarum, famosi nominis latro, omni saevitia per nostros limites diu grassatus, structis Ormizdae insidiis, quem ad speculandum exiturum (incertum unde) praesenserant, ideo sunt temptamento frustrati, quod angusta fluminis interluvies et praealta transiri vado non potuit.

[4] After burning this city also, and taking two days' rest, towards the end of the night which followed the second day, the Surena, who among the Persians has won the highest rank after the king, and the Malechus, Podosaces by name, phylarch of the Assanitic Saracens, a notorious brigand, who with every kind of cruelty had long raided our territories, laid an ambushade for Ormizda, who, as they had learned (one knew not from what source), was on the point of setting out to reconnoitre. But their attempt failed, because the river at that point is narrow and very deep, and hence could not be forded.

[5] Et primo lucis exordio, cum essent hostes iam in contuitu, visi tune primitus corusci galeis et horrentes indutibus rigidis, milites in procinctum impetu veloci tendentes, eos involavere fortissime. Et quamvis arcus validis viribus flecterentur, et splendor ferri intermicans, Romanorum metum augeret, ira tamen aciente virtutem, clipeorum densitate contacti, ne possint emittere, coegerunt.

[5] At daybreak the enemy were already in sight, and we then saw them for the first time in their gleaming helmets and bristling with stiff coats of mail; but our soldiers rushed to battle at quick step, and fell upon them most valiantly. And although the bows were bent with strong hand and the flashing gleam of steel added to the fear of the Romans, yet anger whetted their valour, and covered with a close array of shields they pressed the enemy so hard that they could not use their bows.

[6] Animatus his vincendi primitiis, miles ad vicum Macepracta pervenit, in quo semiruta murorum vestigia videbantur, qui priscis temporibus in spatia longa protenti, tueri ab externis incursibus Assyriam dicebantur.

[6] Inspired by these first-fruits of victory, our soldiers came to the village of Macepracta, where the half-destroyed traces of walls were seen; these in early times had a wide extent, it was said, and protected Assyria from hostile inroads.

[7] Hinc pars fluminis scinditur, largis aquarum agminibus ducens ad tractus Babylonios interiores, usui agris futura et civitatibus circumiectis, alia Naarmalcha nomine, quod fluvius regum interpretatur, Ctesiphonta praetermeat, cuius in exordio turris in modum Phari celsior surgit. Hanc peditatus omnis pontibus caute digestis, transivit.

[7] Here a part of the river is drawn off by large canals which take the water into the interior parts of Babylonia, for the use of the fields and the neighbouring cities; another part, Naarmalcha by name, which being

interpreted means “the kings’ river,” flows past Ctesiphon. Where it begins, a tower of considerable height rises, like the Pharos. Over this arm of the river all the infantry crossed on carefully constructed bridges.

[8] Equites vero cum iumentis armati, clementiores gurgites fluminis obliquati transnarunt, pars flumine absumpta interierunt, alia multitudine subita petiti telorum hostilium. Quos egressi auxiliares ad cursum levissimi, fugientiumque cervicibus insistentes. laniatu avium prostraverunt.

[8] But the cavalry with the pack-animals swam across in full armour where a bend in the river made it less deep and rapid; some of them were carried off by the current and drowned, others were assailed by the enemy with a sudden shower of arrows; but a troop of auxiliaries, very lightly equipped for running, sallied forth, followed hard on the backs of the flying foe, and like so many birds of prey, struck them down.

[9] Quo negotio itidem gloriose perfecto, ad civitatem Pirisaboram ventum est, amplam et populosam, ambitu insulari circumvallatam. Cuius obequitans moenia imperator et situm, obsidium omni cautela coeptabat, quasi sola formidine oppidanos a propugnandi studio summoturus. Quibus per colloquia saepe temptatis, cum nec promissis quisquam flecteretur nec minis, suscipitur oppugnandi exordium, et armatorum triplici corona circumdatis muris, a die primo ad usque noctis initium, missilibus certabatur.

[9] When this undertaking also had been accomplished with glory, we came to the large and populous city of Pirisabora, surrounded on all sides by the river. The emperor, after riding up and inspecting the walls and the situation, began the siege with all caution, as if he wished by mere terror to take from the townsmen the desire for defence. But after they had been tried by many conferences, and not one could be moved either by promises or by threats, the siege was begun. The walls were surrounded by a triple line of armed men, and from dawn until nightfall they fought with missiles.

[10] Tum defensores animo praestantes et viribus, per propugnacula ciliciis undique laxius pansis, quae telorum impetus cohiberent, obtecti scutis vimine firmissimo textis et crudorum tergorum densitate vestitis, validissime resistebant, ferrea nimirum facie omni: quia lamminae singulis membrorum lineamentis cohaerenter aptatae, fido operimento, totam hominis speciem contegebant.

[10] Then the defenders, who were strong and full of courage, spread over the ramparts everywhere loose strips of haircloth to check the force of the missiles, and themselves protected by shields firmly woven of osier and covered with thick layers of rawhide, resisted most resolutely. They looked as if they were entirely of iron; for the plates exactly fitted the various parts of their bodies and fully protecting them, covered them from head to foot.

[11] Et aliquotiens Ormizdae ut indigenae et regalis colloquia petentes obnixae, propinquantem probris atque conviciis ut male fidum incessebant et desertorem. Hac lenta cavillatione diei maxima parte exempta, tenebrarum silentio primo, multiformes admotae sunt machinae, coeptaque altitudo complanari fossarum.

[11] And again and again they earnestly demanded an interview with Ormizda, as a fellow countryman and of royal rank, but when he came near they assailed him with insults and abuse, as a traitor and a deserter. This tedious raillery used up the greater part of the day, but in the first stillness of night many kinds of siege-engines were brought to bear and the deep trenches began to be filled up.

[12] Quae vixdum ambigua luce, defensores intentius contemplati, eo accedente quod angularem turrim ictus foravit arietis violentior, relictis civitatis duplicibus muris, continentem occupant arcem, asperi montis interrupta planitie superpositam, cuius medietas in sublime consurgens, tereti ambitu Argolici scuti speciem ostendebat, nisi quod e septemtrione, id quod rotunditati defuerat, in Euphratis fluentia proiectae cautes eminentius tuebantur, in qua excellebant minae murorum, bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatae, quo aedificii genere nihil esse tutius constat.

[12] When the defenders, who were watching intently, made this out by the still uncertain light, and besides, that a mighty blow of the ram had breached a corner tower, they abandoned the double walls of the city and took possession of the citadel connected with them, which stood on a precipitous plateau at the top of a rough mountain. The middle of this mountain rose to a lofty height, and its rounded circuit had the form of an Argolic shield, except that on the north side, where its roundness was broken, cliffs which descended into the current of the Euphrates still more strongly protected it. On this stronghold, battlements of walls rose high, and were built of bitumen and baked brick, a kind of structure (as is well known) than which nothing is safer.

[13] Iamque ferocior miles, pervasa urbe quam viderat vacuum, adversus oppidanos ab arce multimoda tela fundentes, acri contentione pugnabat. Cum enim idem prohibitores catapultis nostrorum urgerentur atque ballistis, ipsi quoque ex edito arcus erigebant fortiter tensos, quibus panda utrimque surgentia cornua ita lentius flectebantur, ut nervi digitorum acti pulsibus violentis, harundines ferratas emitterent, quae corporibus illisae contrariis, letaliter fiebantur.

[13] And now the soldiers with greater confidence rushed through the city, seeing it deserted, and fought fiercely with the inhabitants, who from the citadel showered upon them missiles of many kinds. For although those same defenders were hard pressed by our catapults and ballistae, they in turn set up on the height strongly stretched bows, whose wide curves extending on both

sides were bent so plially that when the strings were let go by the fingers, the iron- tipped arrows which they sent forth in violent thrusts crashed into the bodies exposed to them and transfixed them with deadly effect.

[14] *Dimicabatur nihilo minus utrubique saxorum manualium nimbis, et neutrobi inclinato momento, proelium atrox a lucis ortu ad initium noctis destinatione magna protractum, pari sorte diremptum est. Proinde die secuto, cum certaretur asperime, multique funderentur altrinsecus, et aequi vigores gesta librent, imperator omnes aleae casus inter mutuas clades experiri festinans, cuneatim stipatus, densetisque clipeis ab ictu sagittarum defensus, veloci saltu comitantibus promptis, prope portam venit hostilem, crasso ferro crustatam.*

[14] Nevertheless both armies fought with clouds of stones thrown by hand; neither side gave way, but the hot fight continued with great determination from dawn until nightfall, and ended indecisively. Then, on the following day, they continued the battle most fiercely, many fell on both sides, and their equal strength held the victory in balance. Whereupon the emperor, hastening to try every lucky throw amid the mutual slaughter, surrounded by a band in wedge-formation, and protected from the fall of arrows by shields held closely together, in swift assault with a company of vigorous warriors, came near the enemy's gate, which was heavily overlaid with iron.

[15] *Et licet saxis et glande, ceterisque telis, cum periculi sociis premeretur, fodicare tamen paratos valvarum latera ut aditum patefacerent, vocibus increpans crebris, non ante discessit, quam telorum congerie, quae superiaciebantur, se iam cerneret obruendum.*

[15] And although he and those who shared in his peril were assailed with rocks, bullets from slings, and other missiles, nevertheless he often cheered on his men as they tried to break in the leaves of the folding gates, in order to affect an entrance, and he did not withdraw until he saw that he must soon be overwhelmed by the volleys that were being hurled down upon him.

[16] *Evasit cum omnibus tamen, paucis levius vulneratis, ipse innoxius, verecundo rubore suffusus. Legerat enim Aemilianum Scipionem, cum historiarum conditore Polybio, Megalopolitano Arcade, et triginta militibus, portam Carthagini impetu simili subfodisse. Sed fides recepta scriptorum veterum recens factum defendit.*

[16] After all, he got back with all his men; a few were slightly wounded, he himself was unhurt, but bore a blush of shame upon his face. For he had read that Scipio Aemilianus, accompanied by the historian Polybius of Megalopolis in Arcadia and thirty soldiers, had undermined a gate of Carthage in a like attack. But the admitted credibility of the writers of old upholds the recent exploit.

[17] Aemilianus enim testudine lapidea tectam successerat portam, sub qua tutus et latens, dum moles saxeas detegunt hostes, urbem nudatam irrupit, Iulianus vero locum patentem aggressus, obumbrata caeli facie fragmentis montium et missilibus aegre repulsus, abscessit.

[17] For Aemilianus had come close up to the gate, and it was protected by an arch of masonry, under which he was safely hidden while the enemy were trying to lift off the masses of stone ; and he broke into the city when it was stripped of its defenders. But Julian attacked an exposed place, and was forced to retreat only when the face of heaven was darkened by fragments of mountains and other missiles showered upon him; and then with difficulty.

[18] His raptim ac tumultuarie agitatis, cum operositas vinearum et aggerum impeditissima ceteris urgentibus cerneretur, machinam quae cognominatur helepolis, iussit expeditius fabricari, qua (ut supra docuimus) rex usus Demetrius, superatis oppidis pluribus, Poliorcetes appellatus est.

[18] These actions went on in haste and confusion, and since it was evident that the construction of mantlet-sheds and mounds was greatly interfered with by other pressing matters, Julian gave orders that the engine called helepolis should quickly be built, by the use of which, as I have said above, King Demetrius overcame many cities and won the name of Poliorcetes.

[19] Ad hanc molem ingentem, superaturam celsarum turrium minas, prohibitores oculorum aciem intentius conferentes, itidemque instantiam obsidentium perpensantes, subito vertuntur ad preces, circumfusique per turre ac moenium minas, et fidem Romanam pansis manibus protestantes, vitam cum venia postulabant.

[19] To this huge mass, which would rise above the battlements of the lofty towers, the defenders turned an attentive eye, and at the same time considering the resolution of the besiegers, they suddenly fell to their prayers, and standing on the towers and battlements, and with outstretched hands imploring the protection of the Romans, they craved pardon and life.

[20] Cumque cessasse opera et munitores nihil temptare viderent ulterius, quod quietis erat indicium certum, copiam sibi dari conferendi sermonis cum Ormuzda poscebant.

[20] And when they saw that the works were discontinued, and that those who were constructing them were attempting nothing further, which was a sure sign of peace, they asked that an opportunity be given them of conferring with Ormuzda.

[21] Hocque impetrato, Mamersidis praesidiorum praefectus, demissus per funem, ductusque ad imperatorem (ut obsecravit), vita cum impunitate sibi consortibusque suis firmiter pacta, redire permissus est. Gestisque nuntiatis,

plebs omnis utriusque sexus ad sententiam suam cunctis acceptis, pace foederata cum religionum consecrationibus fidis, patefactis egreditur portis, salutarem genium affulsisse sibi clamitans Caesarem, magnum et lenem.

[21] When this was granted, and Mamersides, commander of the garrison, was let down on a rope and taken to the emperor, he obtained (as he besought) a sure promise of life and impunity for himself and his followers, and was allowed to return. When he reported what he had accomplished, all the people of both sexes, since everything that they desired had been accepted, made peace with trustworthy religious rites. Then the gates were thrown open and they came out, shouting that a potent protecting angel had appeared to them in the person of a Caesar great and merciful.

[22] Numerata sunt autem dediticiorum duo milia et quingenti; nam cetera multitudo obsidium ante suspectans, navigiis parvis permeato amne discessit. In hac arce armorum alimentorumque copia reperta est maxima, unde necessariis sumptis, reliqua cum loco ipso exussere victores. Julianus Augustus ob rem bene gestam centenos viritim militibus promittit, et exiguum donativum dedignantes modesta oratione ad sanitatem revocat. Postera die quam haec acta erant, perfertur ad imperatorem, cibos per otium capientem, nuntius gravis, Surenam Persicum ducem, procursatorum partis nostrae tres turmas inopinum aggressum paucissimos trucidasse, inter quos strato tribuno, unum rapuisse vexillum.

[22] The prisoners numbered only 2500; for the rest of the population, in anticipation of a siege, had crossed the river in small boats and made off. In this citadel there was found a great abundance of arms and provisions; of these the victors took what they needed and burned the rest along with the place itself. Julianus Augustus promises the soldiers a hundred denarii each, as a reward for their good services, and when they express contempt for so small a gift, he recalls them to their senses in a temperate address. The day after these events the serious news came to the emperor, while he was quietly at table, that the Persian leader called the Surena had unexpectedly attacked three squadrons of our scouting cavalry, had killed a very few of them, including one of their tribunes, and carried off a standard.

[2] Statimque concitus ira immani, cum armigera manu, festinatione ipsa tutissimus pervolavit, et grassatoribus foeda consternatione depulsis, residuos duos tribunos sacramento solvit (ut desides et ignavos): decem vero milites ex his qui fugerant, exauctoratos, capitali addixit supplicio, secutus veteres leges.

[2] At once roused to furious anger, Julian hurried forth with an armed force, — his safest course lay in his very speed — and routed the marauders in shameful confusion; he cashiered the two surviving tribunes as inefficient and cowardly, and following the ancient laws, discharged and put to death ten of the soldiers who had fled from the field.

[3] Incensa denique urbe (ut memoratum est), constructo tribunali insistens, actis gratiis exercitui convocato, cunctos ad paria facienda deinceps hortabatur, et argenteos nummos centenos viritim pollicitus, cum eos parvitate promissi percitos tumultuare sensisset, ad indignationem plenam gravitatis erectus:

[3] Then, after the city was burned (as has been told), Julian mounted a tribunal erected for the purpose and thanked the assembled army, urging them all to act in the same way in the future, and promised each man a hundred pieces of silver. But when he perceived that the smallness of the promised sum excited a mutinous uproar, he was roused to deep indignation and spoke as follows:

[4] ‘En’ inquit ‘Persae, circumfluentes rerum omnium copiis: ditare vos poterit opimitas gentis, si unum spirantibus animis fortiter fecerimus. Ex immensis opibus egentissima est — tandem credite Romana res publica, per eos qui (ut augerent divitias) docuerunt principes auro quietem a barbaris redemptare.

[4] “Behold the Persians,” said he, “abounding in wealth of every kind. The riches of this people can enrich you, if we show ourselves brave men of united purpose. But from endless resources (believe me, pray) the Roman empire has sunk to extremest want through those men who (to enrich themselves) have taught princes to buy peace from the barbarians with gold.

[5] Direptum aerarium est, urbes exinanitae, popolatae provinciae: mihi nec facultates nec propinquitas generis suppetit, quamvis ortus sim nobilis, praeter pectus omni liberum metu: nec pudebit imperatorem, cuncta bona in animi cultu ponentem, profiteri paupertatem honestam. Nam et Fabricii familiari re pauperes, rexere bella gravissima, gloria locupletes.

[5] The treasury has been pillaged, cities depopulated, provinces laid waste. I have neither wealth nor family connections (although I am of noble birth), only a heart that knows no fear; and an emperor who finds his sole happiness in the training of his mind will feel no shame in admitting an honourable poverty. For the Fabricii too, though poor in worldly goods, conducted serious wars and were rich in glory.

[6] Haec vobis cuncta poterunt abundare, si imperterriti deo meque (quantum humana ratio patitur), caute ductante, mitius egeritis: sin resistitis ad seditionum revoluti dedecora pristinorum, iam pergitte.

[6] All this you may possess in abundance, if you fearlessly follow God’s lead and your general’s, who will be careful (so far as human foresight can provide), and if you act with moderation; but if you oppose me and repeat the shameful scenes of former revolts, go to it now!

[7] Ut imperatorem decet, ego solus confecto tantorum munerum cursu, moriar stando, contempturus animam quam mihi febricula eripiet una, aut certe

discedam; nec enim ita vixi, ut non possim aliquando esse privatus. Praeque me fero et laetor, ductores spectatissimos esse nobiscum, perfectos bellicarum omni genere doctinarum.'

[7] I alone, as becomes a commander, having reached the end of a career of great deeds, will die standing on my feet, indifferent to a life which one little fever may take from me; or at any rate I will abdicate, since I have not lived such a life that I cannot some time be a private citizen. And I may say with pride and joy that we have with us thoroughly tried generals, perfect in their knowledge of every kind of warfare."

[8] Hac modesta imperatoris oratione, inter secunda et aspera medii, miles pro tempore delenitus, assumpta cum meliorum expectatione fiducia, regibilem se fore pollicitus et morigerum, cunctorum adspirante consensu, auctoritatem eius sublimitatemque cordis extollebat in caelum, quod cum vere atque ex animo dicitur, solet armorum crepitu leni monstrari.

[8] By this address of an emperor self-contained amid prosperity and adversity the soldiers were quieted for the time, and, gaining confidence through the anticipation of better days, they promised to be obedient and compliant. With unanimous applause they lauded his leadership and high spirit to the skies; and when such utterances are sincere and come from the heart, it is usually shown by a slight clashing of shields.

[9] Repetitis post haec tentoriis, pro copia rei praesentis victu se recreavit et quiete nocturna. Animabat autem Iulianus exercitum, cum non per caritates, sed per inchoatas negotiorum magnitudines deieraret assidue: 'Sic sub iugum mitteret Persas, ita quassatum recrearet orbem Romanum.' Ut Traianus fertur aliquotiens iurando dicta consuesse firmare 'Sic in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam; sic pontibus Histrum et Euphratem, superem,' et similia plurima.

[9] After this they retired to their tents and (so far as the circumstances allowed) refreshed themselves with food and sleep. It gave courage to the army besides that Julian constantly took oath, not by those dear to him, but by the great deeds that he planned, saying: "As I hope to send the Persians under the yoke"; "As I hope to restore the shattered Roman world." Just as Trajan is said sometimes to have emphasized a statement by the oaths: "As I hope to see Dacia reduced to the form of a province"; "As I hope to cross the Hister and the Euphrates on bridges"; and many other oaths of the same kind.

[10] Post haec decursis milibus passuum quattuordecim, ad locum quendam est ventum arva aquis abundantibus fecundantem, quo itinere nos ituros Persae praedocti, sublati cataractis undas evagari fusius permiserunt.

[10] Next, after a march of fourteen miles, we came to a place where the fields are made fertile by an abundance of water; but the Persians, having learned in

advance that we should take that route, had broken the dykes and allowed the water to flow everywhere without restraint.

[11] Itaque humo late stagnante, altero die militi requie data, imperator ipse praegressus, constratis periculis multis ex utribus pro copia pontibus, itidemque navibus confectis e palmarum trabibus exercitum non sine difficultate traduxit.

[11] Therefore, as the ground was covered far and wide with standing pools, the emperor gave the soldiers another day of rest, and went on himself; and after overcoming many dangers, he made such bridges as he could from bladders, as well as boats from the trunks of palm trees, and so got his army across, though not without difficulty.

[12] In his regionibus agri sunt plures, consiti vineis varioque pomorum genere, ubi oriri arbores assuetae palmarum, per spatia ampla ad usque Mesenen et mare pertinent magnum, instar ingentium nemorum. Et quaqua incesserit quisquam, termites et spadica cernit assidua, quorum ex fructu mellis et vini conficitur abundantia, et maritari palmae ipsae dicuntur facileque sexus posse discerni.

[12] In these regions there are many fields, planted with vineyards and various kinds of fruits. Here too palm trees are wont to grow, extending over a wide expanse as far as Mesene and the great sea, in mighty groves. And wherever anyone goes, one constantly sees palm branches with and without fruit, and from their yield an abundance of honey and wine is made. The palms themselves are said to couple, and the sexes may easily be distinguished.

[13] Additur etiam generare feminas seminibus illitas marium, feruntque eas amore mutuo delectari, hocque inde clarere, quod contra se vicissim nutantes, ne turgidis quidem flatibus avertuntur. Et si ex more femina maris non illita fuerit semine, abortus vitio fetus amittit intempestivos. Et siqua femina cuius arboris amore perculsa sit ignoretur, unguento ipsius inficitur truncus, et arbor alia naturaliter odoris dulcedinem concipit, hisque indicibus velut coeundi quaedam proditur fides.

[13] It is also said that the female trees conceive when smeared with the seeds of the male, and they assert that the trees take pleasure in mutual love, and that this is evident from the fact that they lean towards each other, and cannot be parted even by gales of wind. And if the female tree is not smeared in the usual way with the seed of the male, it suffers abortion and loses its fruit before it is ripe. And if it is not known with what male any female tree is in love, her trunk is smeared with her own perfume, and the other tree by a law of nature is attracted by the sweet odour. It is from these signs that the belief in a kind of copulation is created.

[14] Qua cibi copia satur exercitus, plures praetergressus est insulas, et ubi

formidabatur inopia, ibi timor saginae gravis incessit. Sagittariorum denique hostilium impetu latenti temptatus, neque inultus, prope locum venit ubi pars maior Euphratis in rivos dividitur multifidos. Oppidum Maiozamalcha expugnatum a Romanis atque excisum. In hoc tractu civitas ob muros humiles ab incolis Iudaeis deserta, iratorum manu militum conflagravit. Quibus actis pergebat ulterius imperator, placida ope numinis (ut arbitrabatur), erectior.

[14] Abundantly supplied with food of that kind, our army passed by several islands, and where formerly there was dread of scarcity there was now serious danger of over-eating. Finally, they were assailed by a hidden attack of the enemy's archers, but not unavenged; and came to a place where the main body of the Euphrates is divided into many small streams.

The town of Maiozamalcha is stormed and sacked by the Romans.

In this tract a city which, because of its low walls, had been abandoned by its Jewish inhabitants, was burned by the hands of the angry soldiers. This done, the emperor went on farther, still more hopeful because of the gracious aid of the deity, as he interpreted it.

[2] Cumque Maiozamalcham venisset, urbem magnam et validis circumdatam moenibus, tentoriis fixis providit sollicite, ne castra repentino equitatus Persici turbarentur accursu, cuius fortitudo in locis patentibus, immane quantum gentibus est formidata.

[2] And when he had come to Maiozamalcha, a great city surrounded by strong walls, he pitched his tents and took anxious precautions that the camp might not be disturbed by a sudden onset of the Persian cavalry, whose valour in the open field was enormously feared by all peoples.

[3] Et hoc disposito stipatus velitibus paucis, ipse quoque pedes civitatis situm diligenti inquisitione exploraturus, in perniciosas praecipitatus insidias, ex ipso vitae discrimine tandem emersit.

[3] After making this provision, attended by a few light-armed soldiers and himself also marching on foot, Julian planned to make a careful examination of the position of the city; but he fell into a dangerous ambushade, from which he escaped only with difficulty and at the risk of his life.

[4] Namque per latentem oppidi portam, Persae decem armati degressi, imaque clivorum pervadentes, poplitibus subsidendo, repentino impetu nostros aggressi sunt. E quibus duo conspectiorem habitu principem gladiis petiere districtis, sed occurrit ictibus erectum altius scutum, quo contextus magna elataque fiducia unius lateri ferrum infixit, alterum stipatores multiplicatis ictibus occiderunt. Residuis e quibus vulnerati sunt aliqui, disiectis in fugam, spoliatisque ambobus, reducens incolumes socios, cum exuviis remeavit ad castra, omnium laetitia magna susceptus.

[4] For through a secret gate of the town ten armed Persians came out, and after crossing the lower slopes on bended knees made a sudden onslaught on our men. Two with drawn swords attacked the emperor, whose bearing made him conspicuous, but he met their strokes by lifting up his shield. Thus protected, with great and lofty courage he plunged his sword into the side of one assailant, while his followers with many a stroke cut down the other. The rest, of whom some were wounded, fled in all directions. After stripping the two of their arms, Julian returned to the camp with the spoils, bringing back his companions uninjured, and was received by all with great joy.

[5] Sustulit in hoste prostrato aureum colli monile Torquatus, fudit confidentissimum Gallum alitis propugnatione Valerius, postea cognomento Corvinus, hacque gloria posteritati sunt commendati; non invidemus: accedat hoc quoque monumentis veteribus facinus pulchrum.

[5] Torquatus once took from a prostrate foe his golden neck-chain; Valerius, afterwards surnamed Corvinus, laid low a bold and bragging Gaul with the aid of a crow, and by these glorious deeds they gained fame with posterity. We do not begrudge the praise; let this fine exploit also be added to the records of the past.

[6] Constratis postridie pontibus, exercituque travecto, et metatis alibi salubrius castris, vallo duplici circumductis, quoniam (ut diximus) timebantur solitudines planae, oppidi suscepit obsidium, periculosum fore existimans, si gradiens prorsus, a tergo relinqueret quos timeret.

[6] On the following day bridges were built and the army led across, and a camp was measured off in another and more advantageous place and girt by a double palisade, since (as I have said) Julian feared the open plains. Then he began the siege of the town, thinking that it would be dangerous to advance farther, and leave behind him an enemy whom he feared.

[7] Haec dum magno molimine comparantur, Surena hostium dux iumenta adortus, quae in lucis palmaribus vescebantur, a cohortibus nostris repulsorii cum paucorum exitio habitus frustra discessit.

[7] While great preparations were being made for the siege, the Surena, who was in command of the enemy, made an attack on the pack-animals, which were grazing in the palm-groves; but he was met by our scouting-cohorts, and after loss of a few of the men, was baffled by our forces and withdrew.

[8] Et duarum incolae civitatum, quas amnes amplexi faciunt insulas, parva sui fiducia trepidi, ad Ctesiphontis moenia se contulerunt, pars per silvarum densa, alii per paludes vicinas, alveis arborum cavatarum inventi, ad unicum auxilium et potissimum itineris longi, quod supererat, dilabuntur, ulteriora petitori terrarum.

[8] The inhabitants of two cities, which were on islands made by the winding river, alarmed and distrustful of their strength, tried to make their way to the walls of Ctesiphon; some of them slipped off through the thick woods, others crossed the neighbouring pools in their boats made from hollowed trees, thinking this their only hope and the best means for making the long journey which confronted them, if they were to reach that distant land.

[9] E quibus resistentes aliquos nostri milites trucidabant, ipsi quoque lintribus et cymbis per varia discurrentes, captivos alios subinde perducebant. Id enim erat librata ratione dispositum, ut, dum copiae pedestres muros oppugnant, equestres turmae divisae per globos, abigendis insisterent praedis: hocque proviso, nullo provincialium damno, miles visceribus hostium pascebatur.

[9] Some of them, who offered resistance, were slain by our troops, who also rushed about everywhere in skiffs and boats and from time to time brought in others as prisoners. For Julian had provided with balanced care, that while the infantry were besieging the town, the cavalry forces, divided into detachments, should give their attention to driving off booty; and through this arrangement the soldiers, without burdening the provincials at all, fed upon the vitals of the enemy.

[10] Iamque imperator munitum muris duplicibus oppidum, ordine circumdatum trino scutorum, spe patrandi incepti, maximis viribus oppugnabat. Sed ut erat necessarius appetitus, ita effectu res difficillima. Nam accessus undique rupibus anfractu celsiore discissis, flexuosisque excessibus ob periculum anceps, adeundi copiam denegabat, maxime quoniam turres crebritate et altitudine formidandae, montem saxeum arcis naturaliter editum, aequabant, et proclivis planities flumini imminens, propugnaculorum firmitate muniebatur.

[10] And now the emperor, having surrounded, with a triple line of shields, the town, which had a double wall about it, assailed it with all his might, in the hope of gaining his end. But necessary as the attack was, so was it very difficult to bring it to a successful issue. For on every side the approaches were surrounded by high and precipitous cliffs and many windings made them doubly perilous and the town inaccessible, especially since the towers, formidable for both their number and their height, rose to the same elevation as the eminence of natural rock which formed the citadel, while the sloping plateau overlooking the river was fortified with strong battlements.

[11] Accedebat his haut levius malum, quod lecta manus et copiosa (quae obsidebatur) nullis ad deditionem illecebris flectebatur, sed tamquam superatura, vel devota cineribus patriae, resistebat. Adversus eam aegre retentabatur, inferens se protervius miles, et pugnam vel aequo campo, iustoque proelio poscens, cumque receptui caneretur, assidue animosis hostem urgendi conatibus urebatur.

[11] Added to this was an equally serious disadvantage, in that the large and carefully chosen force of the besieged could not by any enticements be led to surrender, but resisted as though resolved either to be victorious or to die amid the ashes of their native city. But our soldiers could with difficulty be kept from the attack, mutinously pressing on and demanding a pitched battle even in the open field; and when the trumpet sounded the recall, they continually tormented themselves with spirited attempts to assail the enemy.

[12] Vicit tamen nostrorum consilium contentionem virium maximam, divisisque operibus, officia quisque distributa capessit ocissime. Hinc enim ardui suggestus erigebantur, inde fossarum altitudines alii complanabant, terrarum latibula concava oblongis tramitibus alibi struebantur, locabant etiam artifices tormenta muralia, in funestos sonitus proruptura,

[12] However, the judgement of our leaders overcame their extreme violence; the work was divided, and each man undertook with all speed the task assigned him. For here lofty embankments were being raised, there others were filling up the deep ditches; elsewhere long passages were being constructed in the bowels of the earth, and those in charge of the artillery were setting up their hurling engines, soon to break out with deadly roar.

[13] Et cuniculos quidem cum vineis, Nevitta et Dagalaifus curabant, ineundis autem conflictibus, et defendendis ab incendio vel eruptionibus machinis, praeerat imperator. Cumque apparatu omni excindendae urbis labore multiplici consummato, pugna flagitaretur, Victor nomine dux reversus est ad usque Ctesiphonta, itineribus exploratis, nulla obstacula nuntians offendisse.

[13] Nevitta and Dagalaifus had charge of the mines and mantelets; the opening of the attack, and the protection of the artillery from fire or sallies was undertaken by the emperor in person. And when all the preparations for destroying the city had been completed with much painful toil, and the soldiers demanded battle, the general named Victor, who had reconnoitred the roads as far as Ctesiphon, returned and reported that he had found no obstacles.

[14] Quo efferati gaudio milites omnes, elatique firmioribus animis, ad certandum signum operiebantur armati.

[14] Upon this all the soldiers were wild with joy, and aroused to greater confidence awaited under arms the signal for battle.

[15] Iamque clangore Martio sonantibus tubis, strepebant utrimque partes, et primi Romani hostem undique lamminis ferreis in modum tenuis plumae contextum, fidentemque, quod tela rigentis ferri lapsibus impacta resiliebant, crebris procursationibus et minaci murmure lacescebant: non numquam compage scutorum, qua velut testudine infigurabilium fornicum operiebantur aptissime, assiduis motibus laxius dehiscente. Contra Persae muris obstinatius

adhaerentes, quantum facere nitique poterant, eludere et frustrari exitiales impetus conabantur.

[15] And now, as the trumpets sounded their martial note, both sides raised a loud shout. The Romans were the first with repeated onslaughts and threatening roars to attack the foe, who were covered with plates of iron as if by a thin layer of feathers, and were full of confidence since the arrows flew back as they struck the folds of the hard iron; but at times the covering of joined shields, with which our men skilfully covered themselves as if by the protection of irregularly shaped arches, because of their continual movements yawned apart. The Persians, on the other hand, obstinately clinging to their walls, tried with every possible effort to avoid and baffle the death-dealing attacks.

[16] Verum ubi vimineas crates prae se ferentes, oppugnatores iam moenia perurgerent, cum sagittariis funditores, alii quin etiam saxa volventes ingentia, cum facibus et malleolis eos longius propulsabant, tum aptatae ligneis sagittis ballistae, flexus stridore torquebantur, creberrima spicula funditantes, et scorpiones quocumque manus peritae duxissent, rotundos lapides evibrabant.

[16] But when the besiegers, carrying before them hurdles of wicker work, were already threatening the walls, the enemy's slingers and archers, others even rolling down huge stones, with torches and fiery shafts tried to keep them at a distance; then ballistae adapted for wooden arrows were bent and plied with screaming sound, sending forth showers of missiles; and scorpions, hauled to various places by skilled hands, hurled round stones.

[17] Iterum deinde ac saepe geminatis congressibus, aestus in meridiem crescens, effervescente vaporatus sole, apparatu operum et studio proeliandi intentos, cunctos revocaverat fatigatos et sudore perfusos.

[17] But after renewed and repeated contests, as the heat increased towards the middle of the day and the sun burnt like fire, both sides, though intent upon the preparation of the siege-works and eager for battle, were forced to retire worn out and drenched with sweat.

[18] Eodem mentis proposito, secuto quoque die, per varia certaminum genera controversae partes dimicantes instanter, aequis manibus et pari fortuna discedunt. Verum in omne discrimen armatis proximus princeps civitatis urgebat excidium, ne circa muros diu excubans, omitteret maiora quae temptabat.

[18] With the same fixity of purpose, the contending parties on the following day also carried on the battle persistently with contests of various kinds, and separated on equal terms and with indecisive result. But in the face of every danger, the emperor, in closest company with combatants, urged on the destruction of the city, lest by lingering too long about its walls, he should be

forced to abandon his greater projects.

[19] Sed in districtis necessitatibus, nihil tam leve est quod non interdum etiam contra sperata, rerum adferat momenta magnarum. Cum enim (ut saepe) discessurae partes levius concertarent, abusive incusso ariete, qui paulo ante erat admotus, sternitur residuis omnibus altior turris, latere coctili firmissime structa, cuius ruina muri contiguum latus secum immani fragore protraxit.

[19] But in case of dire necessity nothing is so trifling that it may not at times, even contrary to expectation, tip the balance in some great undertaking. For when, as often, the combatants were on the point of separating and the fighting slackened, a more violent blow from a ram which had shortly before been brought up shattered a tower which was higher than all the rest and strongly built of kiln-dried brick; and in its fall it carried with it amid a tremendous crash the adjacent side of the wall.

[20] Ibi tum varietate casuum obsidentium labor, obsessorumque industria vicissim facinoribus speciosis inclaruit. Nihil enim asperum ira et dolore succenso militi videbatur, nihil prohibitoribus erat pro salute concurrentibus, metuendum aut dirum. Nam cum anceps proelium diutius fervens, sanguine utrimque multis caedibus fuso, diei finisset occasus, tum fatigationi consulitur.

[20] Thereupon, according to changes of the situation, the vigour of the besiegers and in turn the energy of the besieged was shown by splendid deeds. For nothing seemed too hard for our soldiers, inflamed as they were with wrath and resentment, nothing was formidable or terrible in the eyes of the defenders as they joined issue for their lives. For it was not until the fight had raged for a long time without result and blood had been shed in much slaughter on both sides, that the close of the day brought it to an end and the combatants then yielded to fatigue.

[21] Dumque haec luce agerentur ac palam, nuntiatur imperatori, pervigili cura distento, legionarios milites, quibus cuniculorum erant fodinae mandatae, cavatis tramitibus subterraneis, sublicibusque suspensis, ima penetrasse fundamentorum, iam (si ipse disposuerit) evasuros.

[21] While this was going on in the light of day and before the eyes of all, it was reported to the emperor, who kept a watchful eye on everything, that the legionary soldiers to whom the laying of the mines had been assigned, having completed their underground passages and supported them by beams, had made their way to the bottom of the foundations of the walls, and were ready to sally out when he himself should give the word.

[22] Cum itaque noctis plerumque processisset, aeneatorum accentu, signo dato progrediendi ad pugnam, ad arma concursus est: et consulto murorum invaduntur utrimque frontes, ut dum propulsaturi pericula, defensores ultro citroque discurrunt, nec proxima fodientis audiretur ferri tinnitus, nec

quoquam intrinsecus obsistente, cuniculariorum subito manus emergat.

[22] Therefore, although the night was far advanced, the trumpets sounded, and at the given signal for entering battle they rushed to arms. And, as had been planned, the fronts of the wall were attacked on two sides in order that while the defenders were rushing here and there to avert the danger, the clink of the iron tools digging at the parts close by might not be heard, and that with no hindrance from within, the band of sappers might suddenly make its appearance.

[23] Quibus ita (ut convenerat) ordinatis, et occupatis prohibitoribus, patefactisque latebris, evolat Exsuperius, de Victorum numero miles, post quem Magnus tribunus, et Iovianus notarius, quos audax multitudo secuta, his prius confossis, quos in aede per quam in lucem prodierant, invenerunt, suspensis gradibus procedentes obtruncarunt vigiles omnes, ex usu moris gentici iustitiam felicitatemque regis sui canoris vocibus extollentes.

[23] When these matters were arranged as had been determined, and the defenders were fully occupied, the mines were opened and Exsuperius, a soldier of a cohort of the Victores, leaped out; next came Magnus, a tribune and Jovianus, a notary, followed by the whole daring band. They first slew those who were found in the room through which they had come into daylight; then advancing on tiptoe they cut down all the watch, who, according to the custom of the race, were loudly praising in song the justice and good fortune of their king.

[24] Existimabatur Mars ipse (si misceri hominibus numina maiestatis iura permittunt), adfuisse castra Lucanorum invadenti Luscino. Hocque ideo creditum est quod in congressu flagranti, scalas vehens visus formidandae vastitatis armatus, postridie cum recenseretur exercitus, praecipuo studio quaesitus, reperiri non potuit, cum se ultro offerret, si miles fuisset, memorabilis conscius facti. Sed ut tunc qui esset pulchri facinoris auctor penitus est ignoratum, ita nunc enituerunt hi qui fecere fortissime, obsidionalibus coronis donati, et pro contione laudati, veterum more.

[24] It was thought that Mars himself (if it is lawful for the majesty of the gods to mingle with mortals) had been with Luscinius, when he stormed the camp of the Lucanians; and this was believed because in the heat of battle an armed warrior of formidable size was seen carrying scaling-ladders, and on the following day, when the army was reviewed, could not be found, although he was sought for with particular care; whereas, if he had been a soldier, from consciousness of a memorable exploit he would have presented himself of his own accord. But although then the doer of that noble deed was wholly unknown, on the present occasion those who had fought valiantly were made conspicuous by gifts of siege-crowns, and according to the ancient custom were commended in the presence of the assembled army.

[25] Tandem nudata, reseratis aditibus multis, lapsura invaditur civitas, et sine sexus discrimine vel aetatis, quicquid impetus repperit, potestas iratorum absumpsit, alii exitii imminentis timore, cum hinc ignis inde mucrones urgerent, ultimum flentes, e muris acti sua sponte praecipites, membrisque omnibus infirmati, vitam morte funestiores paulisper, dum caederentur egerunt.

[25] At last the city, stripped of its defenders, laid open with many breaches and on the point of falling, was entered, and the violence of the enraged soldiers destroyed whatever they found in their way, without distinction of age or sex; others, in fear of imminent death, being threatened on one side by fire, on the other by the sword, shedding their last tears voluntarily hurled themselves headlong from the walls, and with all their limbs shattered endured for a time a life more awful than death, until they were put out of their misery.

[26] Extractus est autem vivus cum satellitibus octoginta Nabdates, praesidiorum magister, quem oblatum sibi cum aliis servari iussit intactum, serenus imperator et clemens. Divisa itaque perpensis meritis et laboribus praeda, ipse (ut erat parvo contentus), mutum puerum oblatum sibi suscepit gesticularium, multa quae callebat, nutibus venustissimis explicantem, e tribus aureis nummis, partae victoriae praemium iucundum (ut existimabat) et gratum.

[26] Nabdates, however, the commandant of the garrison, with eighty followers, was dragged out alive, and when he was brought before the emperor, who was happy and inclined to mercy, orders were given that he be spared unharmed with the others and kept in custody. Then when the booty was divided according to the estimate of merit and hard service, the emperor, being content with little, took only a dumb boy who was offered to him, who was acquainted with sign- language and explained many things in which he was skilled by most graceful gestures, and was valued at three pieces of gold; and this he considered a reward for the victory that he had won that was both agreeable and deserving of gratitude.

[27] Ex virginibus autem, quae speciosae sunt captae ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulcritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre, Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui haec declinabant, ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique praestiterunt.

[27] But as to the maidens who were taken prisoners (and they were beautiful, as is usual in Persia, where the women excel in that respect) he refused to touch a single one or even to look on her, following the example of Alexander and Africanus, who avoided such conduct, lest those who showed themselves unwearied by hardships should be unnerved by passion.

[28] Inter haec certamina nostrae partis architectus, cuius nomen non suppetit,

post machinam scorpionis forte assistens, reverberate lapide quem artifex titubanter aptaverat fundae, obliiso pectore supinatus, profudit animam disiecta compage membrorum, adeo ut ne signa quidem totius corporis noscerentur.

[28] In the course of these contests a builder on our side, whose name I do not recall, happened to be standing behind a scorpion, when a stone which one of the gunners had fitted insecurely to the sling was hurled backward. The unfortunate man was thrown on his back with his breast crushed, and killed; and his limbs were so torn asunder that not even parts of his whole body could be identified.

[29] Exin profecturo imperatori, index nuntiaverat certus, circa muros subversi oppidi fallaces foveas et obscuras, quales in tractibus illis sunt plurimae, subsedis manum insidiatricem latenter, ut inproviso inde exorta, agminis nostri terga feriret extrema.

[29] The emperor was on the point of leaving the spot, when a trustworthy informant reported that in some dark and hidden pits near the walls of the destroyed city, such as are numerous in those parts, a band of the enemy was treacherously lying in wait, intending to rush out unexpectedly and attack the rear of our army.

[30] Confestimque ad extrahendam eam missi sunt compertae fortitudinis pedites. Qui cum neque pervadere foraminum aditus, nec amendatos intus prolicere possent ad decernendum, collectam stipulam et sarmenta specuum faucibus aggrasserunt. Unde fumus angustius penetrans, ideoque spissior, quosdam vitalibus obstructis necavit, alios ignium afflatu semustos, prodire in perniciem coegit abruptam, et ita omnibus ferro incendioque consumptis, ad signa repedavit ocus miles. Hoc modo civitas ampla et populosa virtute roboris excisa Romani, in pulverem concidit et ruinas.

[30] At once a band of foot soldiers of tried valour was sent to dislodge them, and when they could neither force an entrance through the openings nor lure to battle those hidden within, they gathered straw and faggots and piled them before the entrances of the caves. The smoke from this, becoming thicker the narrower the space which it penetrated, killed some by suffocation; others scorched by the blast of fires, were forced to come out and met a swift death; and so, when all had fallen victims to steel or flame, our men quickly returned to their standards. Thus a great and populous city, destroyed by Roman strength and valour, was reduced to dust and ruins.

[31] Post quae tam gloriosa, transitis pontibus multorum annium concursu continuatis, ad munimenta gemina venimus, aedificiis cautis exstructa, ubi Victorem comitem exercitus praevium, a transitu fluminis regis filius progressus a Ctesiphonte, cum optimatibus et multitudine armata, prohibere conatus, catervis sequentium militum visis, abscessit. Munitissimum situ et

opere castellum expugnant Romani ac incendunt. Pergentes itaque protinus, ad lucos venimus, agrosque pube variorum seminum laetos, ubi reperta regia Romano more aedificata, quoniam id placuerat, mansit intacta.

[31] After these glorious deeds we passed over a series of bridges, made necessary by the union of many streams, and came to two fortresses built with special care. Here a son of the Persian king, who had come from Ctesiphon with some magnates and an armed force, tried to prevent Count Victor, who was leading our van, from crossing the river; but on seeing the throng of soldiers that followed, he retreated. The Romans capture and burn a stronghold well fortified by its position and by defensive works. Then going on, we came to groves and fields rich with the bloom of many kinds of fruits; there we found a palace built in Roman style, with which we were so pleased that we left it untouched.

[2] Erat etiam in hac eadem regione extensum spatium et rotundum, loricae ambitu circumclausum, destinatas regiis voluptatibus continens feras, cervicibus iubatis leones, armisque hispidos apros, et ursos (ut sunt Persici) ultra omnem rabiem saevientes, et alia lecta immania corpora bestiarum: quas omnes diffractis portarum obicibus, equites nostri venatoriis lanceis et missilium multitudine confoderunt.

[2] There was also in that same region an extensive round tract, enclosed by a strong fence and containing the wild beasts that were kept for the king's entertainment: lions with flowing manes, boars with bristling shoulders, and bears savage beyond all manner of madness (as they usually are in Persia), and other choice animals of enormous size; our cavalry burst the fastenings of the gates and butchered them all with hunting-spears and showers of missiles.

[3] Quae loca pingua satis et cultu, quibus Coche (quam Seleuciam nominant) haut longius disparatur, ubi vallatis opere tumultuario castris, et exercitu omni per aquarum et pabuli opportuna biduo recreato, antegressus cum procursatoribus princeps, et civitatem desertam collustrans, a Caro principe quondam excisam, in qua perpetuus fons stagnum ingens eiecat, in Tigridem defluens, corpora vidit suffixa patibulis multa necessitudinum eius, quem prodidisse civitatem Pirisaboram rettulimus supra.

[3] This district is fruitful in fields of grain and in cultivation. Not far from it is Coche, which they call Seleucia; there a camp was hastily fortified, and the entire army because of the convenience of water and fodder rested for two days. But the emperor went on ahead with some light-armed skirmishers, in order to visit a deserted city destroyed in former days by the emperor Carus; in this there is an ever flowing spring forming a great pool which empties into the Tigris. There he saw the impaled bodies of many kinsmen of the man who (as I have already said) had surrendered the city of Pirisabora.

[4] Hic et Nabdates vivus exustus est, quem extractum cum octoginta e latebris expugnatae docui civitatis, eo quod inter exordia obsidii coepti, clam pollicitus prodere, dimicavit acerrime, adeptusque veniam inspiratam, ad id proruperat insolentiae, ut Ormizdam laceraret omnibus probris.

[4] Here too Nabdates, who (as I have said) was dragged with eighty men from a hiding-place in a captured city, was burned alive, because early in the beginning of the siege he had secretly promised to betray the town, but had fought most vigorously, and after obtaining an un hoped-for pardon had gone to such a pitch of insolence as to assail Ormisda with every kind of insult.

[5] Itaque aliquantum progressi, tristi percellimur facto. Dum enim tres procursatorum cohortes expeditae cum cuneo Persico decertarent, quem patefactis subito portis, profuderat civitas, proruptores alii ex contraria fluminis ripa, iumenta nos sequentia cum pabulatoribus paucis, licenter palantibus, intercipiunt et obtruncant.

[5] We had gone on some distance, when we were shocked by a sad misfortune. For while three cohorts of light-armed skirmishers were fighting with a band of Persians which had burst forth from the suddenly opened gates of a town, others who had sallied forth from the opposite side of the river, cut off and butchered the pack-animals that followed us, along with a few foragers who were carelessly roaming about.

[6] Unde profectus imperator iratus et frendens, iamque regionibus Ctesiphontis propinquans, celsum castellum offendit et munitissimum, ad quod explorandum ausus accedere, obscurior (ut ipse rebatur) cum paucis obequitans muros, pauloque avidius intra ictum telorum repertus, latere non potuit: statimque diversorum missilium nube exagitatus oppetisset tormento murali, ni vulnerato armigero, qui lateri eius haerebat, ipse scutorum densitate contextus, evitato magno discrimine, discessisset.

[6] The emperor left the spot in a rage, grinding his teeth, and was already nearing the vicinity of Ctesiphon, when he came upon a lofty, well-fortified stronghold. He ventured to approach and examine the place, riding up to the walls with a few followers and thinking that he was not recognized; but when with somewhat too great rashness he appeared within arrow-shot, he could not escape recognition, and was at once exposed to a rain of various missiles and all but met death from a mural engine. But only his armour-bearer, who was close at his side, was wounded; he himself was protected by a close array of shields, and so escaped the great danger and went his way.

[7] Qua causa concitus ira immani, munimentum disposuit obsidere, prohibitoribus acriter ad resistendum intentis, quod loco fidebant, propemodum inaccessso, quodque rex cum ambitiosis copiis passibus citis incedens, propediem affore credebatur.

[7] Fearfully enraged because of this, he resolved to besiege the fortress, and its garrison was intent upon a vigorous resistance, trusting to their position, which was all but inaccessible, and believing that the king, who was rapidly advancing with an impressive force, would shortly make his appearance.

[8] *Iamque vineis et residuis omnibus, quae poscebat obsidium, paratis, vigilia secunda praecipiti, cum nox casu tunc lunari nitens splendore, his qui propugnaculis insistebant, aperte cuncta monstraret, repente in unum pondus coacta, multitudo patefactis subito portis erupit, cohortemque nec opinantem adorta nostrorum, cecidit complures, inter quos etiam tribunus peremptus est, periculum propulsare conatus.*

[8] Already the mantlets and all the other equipment required for a siege were being made ready, when, as the night chanced to be clear and the bright moonlight clearly revealed everything to those who stood upon the battlements, near the end of the second watch a throng quickly gathered and burst from the suddenly opened gates, and falling unawares on one of our cohorts, killed a great number, including also a tribune who tried to avert the danger.

[9] *Quae dum ita aguntur, pari modo ut antea, Persae ex adversa fluminis ripa, partem adorti nostrorum, interfectis quibusdam vivos cepere non nullos. Et timore simul quia venisse in maiorem numerum copiae putabantur hostiles, egere nostri tune segnius, sed ubi animis in audaciam restitutis, armisque raptis inter tumultum, exercitus cantu concitus bucinarum, cum minaci murmure festinaret, eruptores perterriti reverterunt intacti.*

[9] While this was going on, the Persians, in the same way as before, attacked a part of our men from the opposite side of the river, killed some, and took a few alive. And from fear, and at the same time because they thought that the enemy had gained greater numbers, our men for a time were held irresolute; but when they had recovered their courage, had armed themselves as well as they could in the confusion, and our army, aroused by the trumpets' blast, was hastening to the spot with threatening cries, the attacking force retreated in terror, though without loss.

[10] *Et imperator ira gravi permotus, reliquos ex ea cohorte, qui abiecte sustinuerant impetum grassatorum, ad pedestrem compegit militiam (quae onerosior est) dignitatibus imminutis.*

[10] The emperor, roused to bitter anger, reduced the surviving members of the cohort, who had shown no spirit in resisting the marauders' attack, to the infantry service (which is more burdensome) with loss of rank.

[11] *Flagrans post haec ad eruendum castellum, ubi periclitatus est, operam convertit et curam, nusquam ab antesignanis ipse digrediens, ut inter primos dimicans militi ad fortiter faciendum esset exemplo, spectator probatorque*

gestorum. Quo inter discriminum vertices diu multumque versato, varietate munitionum atque telorum, et conspiratione oppugnantorum, idem castellum incenditur captum.

[11] This set him afire to destroy the fortress before which he had been so endangered, and he devoted his energies and thoughts to that end, never himself leaving the van, in order that by fighting among the foremost he might by his personal example rouse the soldiers to deeds of valour, as the witness and judge of their conduct. And so when he had exposed himself valiantly and long to extreme peril, after using every kind of attack and weapons, through the unanimous valour of the besiegers that same fortress was at last taken and destroyed by fire.

[12] Post quae consideratis asperitatibus ante gestarum rerum et impendentium, requievit exercitus, labore nimio quassatus, multis victui congruis adfatim distributis. Vallum tamen sudibus densis et fossarum altitudine cautius deinde struebatur, cum a vicina iam Ctesiphonte, repentini excursus et alia formidarentur occulta. Persarum duobus millibus et quingentis interfectis, et vix LXX suorum amissis, Iulianus multos coronis pro contione donat. Ventum est hinc ad fossile flumen, Naarmalcha nomine (quod amnis regum interpretatur), tunc aridum. Id antehac Traianus, posteaque Severus, egesto solo fodiri in modum canalis amplissimi, studio curaverat summo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfusus, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent.

[12] After this, in consideration of the difficult tasks already performed and those which impended, the army, exhausted by excessive toil, was given a rest and many kinds of provisions were distributed in abundance. However, after that time the palisade of the camp was more carefully constructed with a close array of stakes and a deep moat, since there was fear of sudden sallies and other secret attempts from Ctesiphon, which was now not far distant. After killing 2500 Persians with the loss of barely seventy of his own men, Julian presents many of his soldiers with crowns in the presence of the assembled army. Then we came to an artificial river, by name Naarmalcha, meaning "the kings' river," which at that time was dried up. Here in days gone by Trajan, and after him Severus, had with immense effort caused the accumulated earth to be dug out, and had made a great canal, in order to let in the water from the Euphrates and give boats and ships access to the Tigris.

[2] Tutissimumque ad omnia visum est, eadem loca purgari, quae quondam similia Persae timentes, mole saxorum obruere multorum. Hacque valle purgata, avulsis cataractis undarum magnitudine classis secure, stadiis triginta decursis, in alveum eiecta est Tigridis, et contextis ilico pontibus transgressus exercitus iter Cochen versus promovit.

[2] It seemed to Julian in all respects safest to clean out that same canal, which formerly the Persians, when in fear of a similar invasion, had blocked with a

huge dam of stones. As soon as the canal was cleared, the dams were swept away by the great flow of water, and the fleet in safety covered thirty stadia and was carried into the channel of the Tigris. Thereupon bridges were at once made, and the army crossed and pushed on towards Coche.

[3] *Utque lassitudini succederet quies opportuna, in agro consedimus opulento, arbustis et vitibus et cupressorum viriditate laetissimo, cuius in medio diversorium opacum est et amoenum, gentiles picturas per omnes aedium partes ostendens, regis bestias venatione multiplici trucidantis; nec enim apud eos pingitur vel fingitur aliud, praeter varias caedes et bella.*

[3] Then, so that a timely rest might follow the wearisome toil, we encamped in a rich territory, abounding in orchards, vineyards, and green cypress groves. In its midst is a pleasant and shady dwelling, displaying in every part of the house, after the custom of that nation, paintings representing the king killing wild beasts in various kinds of hunting; for nothing in their country is painted or sculptured except slaughter in divers forms and scenes of war.

[4] *Proinde cunctis ex sententia terminatis, Augustus altius iam contra difficultates omnes incedens, tantumque a fortuna sperans nondum afflicta, ut propius temeritatem multa crebro auderet, validiores naves ex his quae alimenta portabant et machinas, deoneratas octogenis implevit armatis, retentoque secum classis robore firmiore, quam in tres diviserat partes, unam cum Victore comite quiete prima noctis emitti disposuit, ut flumine raptim transmisso, ripae occuparentur hostiles.*

[4] Since thus far everything had resulted as he desired, the Augustus now with greater confidence strode on to meet all dangers, hoping for so much from a fortune which had never failed him that he often dared many enterprises bordering upon rashness. He unloaded the stronger ships of those which carried provisions and artillery, and manned them each with eight hundred armed soldiers; then keeping by him the stronger part of the fleet, which he had formed into three divisions, in the first quiet of night he sent one part under Count Victor with orders speedily to cross the river and take possession of the enemy's side of the stream.

[5] *Quod cum acri metu territi duces, concordii precatu fieri prohibere temptarent, neque destinationem flecterent principis, sublato vexillo, ut iussum est, evolant e conspectu quinque subito naves, et cum ripas iam adventarent, facibus et omni materia, qua alitur ignis, petitae assiduis iactibus, cum militibus iam conflagrassent, ni veloci vigore pectoris excitus imperator, signum sibi datum nostros quod margines iam tenerent (ut mandatum est), erexisse proclamans, classem omnem properare citis remigiis adegisset.*

[5] His generals in great alarm with unanimous entreaties tried to prevent him from taking this step, but could not shake the emperor's determination. The

flag was raised according to his orders, and five ships immediately vanished from sight. But no sooner had they reached the opposite bank than they were assailed so persistently with firebrands and every kind of inflammable material, that ships and soldiers would have been consumed, had not the emperor, carried away by the keen vigour of his spirit, cried out that our soldiers had, as directed, raised the signal that they were already in possession of the shore, and ordered the entire fleet to hasten to the spot with all the speed of their oars.

[6] Quo facto et naves incolumes sunt receptae, et residuus miles, quamquam saxis et varietate telorum ex edito vexaretur, post concertationem acerrimam, praealtas ripas et arduas supergressus, stabat immobilis.

[6] The result was that the ships were saved uninjured, and the surviving soldiers, although assailed from above with stones and every kind of missiles, after a fierce struggle scaled the high, precipitous banks and held their position unyieldingly.

[7] Et miratur historia, Rhodanum arma et loricam retinente Sertorio, transnatatum, cum eo momento turbati quidam milites, veritique ne remanerent, post signum erectum, scutis, quae patula sunt et incurva, proni firmius adhaerentes, eaque licet imperite regendo, per voraginosum amnem velocitatem comitati sunt navium.

[7] History acclaims Sertorius for swimming across the Rhone with arms and cuirass; but on this occasion some panic-stricken soldiers, fearing to remain behind after the signal had been given, lying on their shields, which are broad and curved, and clinging fast to them, though they showed little skill in guiding them, kept up with the swift ships across the eddying stream.

[8] Contra haec Persae obiecerunt instructas cataphractorum equitum turmas, ita confertas, ut lamminis cohaerenter aptati corporum flexus, splendore praestringerent occurrentes obtutus, operimentis scorteis equorum multitudine omni defensa, quorum in subsidiis manipuli locati sunt peditum, contacti scutis oblongis et curvis, quae texta vimine et coriis crudis gestantes densius se commovebant. Post hos elephanti gradientium collium specie, motuque immanium corporum, propinquantibus exitium intentabant, documentis praeteritis formidati.

[8] The Persians opposed to us serried bands of mail-clad horsemen in such close order that the gleam of moving bodies covered with closely fitting plates of iron dazzled the eyes of those who looked upon them, while the whole throng of horses was protected by coverings of leather. The cavalry was backed up by companies of infantry, who, protected by oblong, curved shields covered with wickerwork and raw hides, advanced in very close order. Behind these were elephants, looking like walking hills, and, by the movements of

their enormous bodies, they threatened destruction to all who came near them, dreaded as they were from past experience.

[9] Hinc imperator catervis peditum infirmis medium inter acies spatium secundum Homericam dispositionem praestituit, ne locati priores, cedentesque deformiter, cunctos averterent secum, aut postsignani pone omnes reiecti centurias, nullo retinente licentius verterent terga, ipse cum levis armaturae auxiliis, per prima postremaque discurrens.

[9] Hereupon the emperor, following Homeric tactics, filled the space between the lines with the weakest of the infantry, fearing that if they formed part of the van and shamefully gave way, they might carry off the rest with them; or if they were posted in the rear behind the centuries, they might run off at will with no one to check them. He himself with the light-armed auxiliaries hastened now to the front, and now to the rear.

[10] Ergo ubi vicissim contiguae se cernerent partes, cristatis galeis corusci Romani, vibrantesque clipeos, velut pedis anapaesti praecincentibus modulis, lenius procedebant, et praepilatis missilibus per procuratores principiiis pugnae temptatis, excita undique humus rapido turbine portabatur.

[10] So, when both sides were near enough to look each other in the face, the Romans, gleaming in their crested helmets and swinging their shields as if to the rhythm of the anapaestic foot, advanced slowly; and the light-armed skirmishers opened the battle by hurling their javelins, while the earth everywhere was turned to dust and swept away in a swift whirlwind.

[11] Et cum undique solito more conclamaretur, virorumque alacritatem sonans classicum iuaret, hastis et mucronibus strictis, hinc inde cominus pugnabatur: sagittarum periculo miles erat immunis, quantum interiora festinatus occupabat. Inter quae Iulianus pulsos fulcire subsidiis, incitareque tardantes, quasi contumalis strenuus properabat et rector.

[11] And when the battle-cry was raised in the usual manner by both sides and the trumpets' blare increased the ardour of the men, here and there they fought hand-to-hand with spears and drawn swords; and the soldiers were freer from the danger of the arrows the more quickly they forced their way into the enemy's ranks. Meanwhile Julian was busily engaged in giving support to those who gave way and in spurring on the laggards, playing the part both of a valiant fellow-soldier and of a commander.

[12] Laxata itaque acies prima Persarum, leni ante, dein concito gradu, calefactis armis retrorsus gradiens propinquam urbem petebat, quam sequebatur miles itidem fessus in campis torridis ad usque diei finem a lucis ortu decernens, eiusque occipitiis pertinacius haerens, omnem cum Pigrane et Surena et Narseo, potissimis ducibus, ad usque Ctesiphontis muros egit praecipitem, adversorum feriens suras et terga.

[12] Finally, the first battle-line of the Persians began to waver, and at first slowly, then at quick step, turned back and made for the neighbouring city with their armour well heated up. Our soldiers pursued them, wearied though they also were after fighting on the scorching plains from sunrise to the end of the day, and following close at their heels and hacking at their legs and backs, drove the whole force with Pigranes, the Surena, and Narseus, their most distinguished generals, in headlong flight to the very walls of Ctesiphon.

[13] *Perrupissetque civitatis aditus lapsorum agminibus mixtus, ni dux Victor nomine manibus erectis prohibuisset et vocibus, et ipse umerum sagitta praestricus, et timens ne intra moenium ambitus rapidus miles inconsulte repertus nullosque inveniens exitus, multitudinis pondere circumveniretur.*

[13] And they would have pressed in through the gates of the city, mingled with the throng of fugitives, had not the general called Victor, who had himself received a flesh-wound in the shoulder from an arrow, raising his hand and shouting, restrained them; for he feared that the excited soldiers, if they rashly entered the circuit of the walls and could find no way out, might be overcome by weight of numbers.

[14] *Sonent Hectoreas poetae veteres pugnas, fortitudinem Thessali ducis extollant, longae loquantur aetates Sophanem et Aminiam et Callimachum et Cynaegirum, Medicorum egregia culmina illa bellorum: non minus illo die quorundam ex nostris inclaruissse virtutem, omnium confessione monstratur.*

[14] Let the poets of old sing of Hector's battles and extol the valour of the Thessalian leader; let long ages tell of Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, Cynaegirus, those glorious high lights of the Medic wars: but not less distinguished was the valour of some of our soldiers on that day, as is shown by the admission of all men.

[15] *Post timorem depositum, calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum, iusto sanguine miles etiam tum cruentus, ad imperatoris tentoria congregatus, laudes ei perhibebat et gratias, quod ignoratus ubique dux esset an miles, magis aliorum quam suum respiciens commodum, ita rem prospere gesserat ut caesis Persarum plus minusve duobus milibus et quingentis, septuaginta caderent soli nostrorum.*

[15] After their fear was past, trampling on the overthrown bodies of their foes, our soldiers, still dripping with blood righteously shed, gathered at their emperor's tent, rendering him praise and thanks because he had won so glorious a victory, everywhere without recognition whether he was leader or soldier, and considering the welfare of others rather than his own. For as many as 2500 Persians had been slain, with the loss of only seventy of our men.

[16] *Qui appellans plerosque nominatim, quos stabili mente aliquid clarum*

fecisse, ipse arbiter perspexit, navalibus donavit coronis et civicis et castris.

[16] Julian addressed many of them by name, whose heroic deeds performed with unshaken courage he himself had witnessed, and rewarded them with naval, civic, and camp crowns.

[17] Abunde ratus post haec prosperitates similis adventare, complures hostias Marti parabat ultori, et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti, voluntate sua novem procubuere tristissimi, decimus vero, qui diffractis vinculis lapsus aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis, exclamavit indignatus acriter Iulianus Iovemque testatus est, nulla Marti iam sacra facturum: nec resecuravit, celeri morte praereptus. Imperator a Ctesiphontis obsidione deterritus, cunctas naves suas temere iubet exuri, et a flumine recedit. Digesto itaque consilio cum primatibus super Ctesiphontis obsidio, itum est in voluntatem quorundam, facinus audax et importunum esse noscentium id aggredi, quod et civitas situ ipso inexpugnabilis defendebatur, et cum metuenda multitudine protinus rex adfore credebatur.

[17] Fully convinced that similar successes would follow these, he prepared to offer many victims to Mars the Avenger; but of ten fine bulls that were brought for this purpose nine, even before they were brought to the altar, of their own accord sank in sadness to the ground; but the tenth broke his bonds and escaped, and after he had been with difficulty brought back and sacrificed, showed ominous signs. Upon seeing these, Julian in deep indignation cried out, and called Jove to witness, that he would make no more offerings to Mars; and he did not sacrifice again, since he was carried off by a speedy death. The emperor, after being deterred from besieging Ctesiphon, rashly orders all his ships to be burned, and retreats from the river. Having held council with his most distinguished generals about the siege of Ctesiphon, the opinion of some was adopted, who felt sure that the undertaking was rash and untimely, since the city, impregnable by its situation alone, was well defended; and, besides, it was believed that the king would soon appear with a formidable force.

[2] Vicit sententia melior, cuius utilitate princeps sollertissimus approbata, Arintheum cum manu peditum expedita, ad populandas regiones circumscitas misit, armentis laetas et frugibus, hostes pari persecuturum industria, quos dispalatos nuper densi tramites et latebrae texere notissimae.

[2] So the better opinion prevailed, and the most careful of emperors, recognizing its advantage, sent Arintheus with a band of light-armed infantry, to lay waste the surrounding country, which was rich in herds and crops; Arintheus was also bidden, with equal energy to pursue the enemy, who had been lately scattered and concealed by impenetrable by-paths and their

familiar hiding-places.

[3] Sed ille avidae semper ad ulteriora cupiditatis, parvi habitis vetantium dictis, et increpitis optimatibus, quod ob inertiam otiique desiderium, amitti suaderent prope iam parta regna Persidis, flumine laeva relicto, infaustis ductoribus praevis, mediterraneas vias arripere citato proposuit gradu.

[3] But Julian, ever driven on by his eager ambitions, made light of words of warning, and upbraiding his generals for urging him through cowardice and love of ease to loose his hold on the Persian kingdom, which he had already all but won; with the river on his left and with ill-omened guides leading the way, resolved to march rapidly into the interior.

[4] Et tamquam funesta face Bellonae subiectis ignibus exuri cunctas iusserat naves, praeter minores duodecim, quas profuturas pangendis pontibus disposuit vehi carpentis, idque putabat utiliter ordinasse, ne relicta classis usui hostibus foret, aut certe (ut ab expeditionis primordio factum est), armatorum fere viginti milia in trahendis occuparentur eisdem navibus et regendis.

[4] And it seemed as if Bellona herself lighted the fire with fatal torch, when he gave orders that all the ships should be burned, with the exception of twelve of the smaller ones, which he decided to transport on wagons as helpful for making bridges. And he thought that this plan had the advantage that the fleet, if abandoned, could not be used by the enemy, or at any rate, that nearly 20,000 soldiers would not be employed in transporting and guiding the ships, as had been the case since the beginning of the campaign.

[5] Dein cum metuens sibi quisque mussaret, monstraretque perspicua veritas, quod repulsus forsitan ariditate vel altitudine montium, ad aquas redire non poterit miles, tortique perfugae aperte faterentur se fefellisse, concursu maximo exstingui iussae sunt flammae. Et quoniam ignis auctus immaniter plerasque consumpsit, duodecim tantum modo naves potuerunt intactae servari, quae ut possint custodiri discretae sunt.

[5] Then, as every man murmured, in fear for his life, and manifest truth made clear, that if the dryness of the country or high mountains made it necessary to retreat, they could not return to the waters; and as the deserters, on being put to the torture, openly confessed that they had used deceit, orders were given to use the greatest efforts of the army to put out the flames. But the frightful spread of the fire had already consumed the greater number of the ships, and only the twelve could be saved unharmed which had been set aside to be kept.

[6] Hoc casu classe cum non oporteret abolita, Iulianus consociato fretus exercitu, cum armatorum nulli per diversa dstringerentur, numero potior ad interiora tendebat, alimenta adfatim opulentis suggerentibus locis.

[6] By this disaster the fleet was needlessly lost, but Julian, trusting to his

united army, since none of the soldiers was distracted by other duties, and now stronger in numbers, advanced into the interior, where the fruitful country furnished an abundance of supplies.

[7] Quo cognito hostes, ut inedia nos cruciarent, herbas cum adultis segetibus incenderunt, et conflagratione procedere vetiti, stativis castris dum flammae senescerent tenebamur. Insultantesque nobis longius Persae, nunc de industria se diffundebant, aliquotiens confertius resistentes, ut procul conspicantibus viderentur advenisse iam regis auxilia, ideoque eos aestimaremus erupisse ad audaces excursus, et insolita temptamenta.

[7] On learning this the enemy, in order to torment us with hunger, set fire to the plants and the ripe grain; and we, being prevented from advancing by the conflagration, were forced to stay in a permanent camp until the flames should die down. The Persians, too, began to harass us at long range, now purposely spreading out, sometimes opposing us in close order, so that from a distance it seemed as if the king's aid had already arrived; and we were led to think that it was for that reason that they had made such bold attacks and unusual attempts.

[8] Maerebat tamen ob haec imperator et miles, quod nec contabulandi pontis erat facultas, amissis navibus temere, nec occurri poterat hostis adventicii motibus, quem adesse coruscus nitor indicabat armorum, arte pro singulis membris inflexus. Hisque accedebat aliud haud exiguum malum, quod nec adminicula quae praestolabamur cum Arsace et nostris ducibus apparebant, ob causas impedita praedictas. Imperator cum iam nec pontes facere, nec parti copiarum suarum adiungi, per Corduenam reverti statuit. Has ob res ut solaretur anxios milites princeps, captives graciles suapte natura, ut omnes paene sunt Persae, et macie iam confectos, iussit in medium duci, nostrosque respiciens, 'En' inquit 'quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, deformes illuvie capellas et taetras, utque crebri docuerunt eventus, antequam manus conferant abiectis armis vertentes semet in fugam.'

[8] Yet the emperor and the soldiers were troubled for this reason — that since the ships had been rashly destroyed, there was no means of making a bridge; and the movements of the advancing enemy could not be halted, whose approach was shown by the bright gleam of their armour, which skilfully fitted every limb. And there was also another great evil, in that the reinforcements that were awaited under Arsaces and our other generals did not appear, being hindered by the reasons already mentioned. Since the emperor could no longer make bridges nor join the rest of his troops, he decided to return by way of Corduena. Under these conditions, in order to reassure the anxious soldiers, the emperor gave orders that some of the prisoners, who were naturally slender, as almost all the Persians are, besides being now thin from exhaustion, should be placed before them; then, looking towards our men, he said: "Behold those whom your heroic hearts think to be

men, mere ugly she-goats disfigured with filth, who, as abundant experience has shown, throw away their arms and take to flight before they come to grips.”

[2] Quibus dictis remotisque captivis, super rerum summa consultabatur. Et multis ultro citroque dictitatis, cum reverti debere per loca qua venimus, plebs vociferaretur imprudens, resistebat intentius princeps, multis cum eo id nequaquam fieri posse monstrantibus, per effusam planitiem pabulo absumpto et frugibus, vicorumque reliquiis exustorum inopia squalentibus ultima: quodque liquentibus iam brumae pruinis, omne immaduerat solum, et ruptis riparum terminis aucti, inhorruere torrentes.

[2] After these words the prisoners were led away, and a council was held to discuss the situation. And after much interchange of opinion, the inexperienced mob crying that we must return by the way we had come, and the emperor steadfastly opposing them, while he and many others pointed out that it was out of the question to go back through a flat country of wide extent where all the fodder and crops had been destroyed, and where what remained of the burnt villages was hideous from the utmost destitution; moreover, since the frosts of winter were now melting the whole soil was soaked, and the streams had passed the bounds of their banks and become raging torrents.

[3] Eo etiam ad difficultatem accedente negotii, quod per eas terras vapore sideris calescentes, muscarum et culicum multitudine referta sunt omnia, earumque volatu dies et astrorum noctu micantium facies obumbratur.

[3] Still another difficulty faced the undertaking, in that in those lands heated by the sun's rays, every place is filled with such swarms of flies and gnats that their flight hides the light of day and the sight of the stars that twinkle at night.

[4] Et cum nihil humani proficerent sensus, diu fluctuantes et dubii, exstructis aris caesisque hostiis, consulta numinum scitabamur, utrum nos per Assyriam reverti censerent, an praeter radices montium lenius gradientes, Chiliocomum prope Corduenam sitam ex improvviso vastare: quorum neutrum extis inspectis, confore dicebatur.

[4] And since human wisdom availed nothing, after long wavering and hesitation we built altars and slew victims, in order to learn the purpose of the gods, whether they advised us to return through Assyria, or to march slowly along the foot of the mountains and unexpectedly lay waste Chiliocomum, situated near Corduena; but on inspection of the organs it was announced that neither course would suit the signs.

[5] Sedit tamen sententia, ut omni spe meliorum succisa, Corduenam arriperemus, et sextum decimum Kalendas Iulias promotis iam signis, progressu imperatore cum lucis exordio, fumus vel vis quaedam turbinata pulveris apparebat, ut opinari daretur asinorum esse greges agrestium, quorum

multitudo in tractibus est illis innumera, ideo simul incedens, ut constipatione densa feroces leonum frustrentur assultus.

[5] Nevertheless it was decided, since all hope of anything better was cut off, to seize upon Corduena. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of June, camp was broken, and the emperor was on his way at break of day, when smoke or a great whirling cloud of dust was seen; so that one was led to think that it was herds of wild asses, of which there is a countless number in those regions, and that they were travelling together so that pressed body to body they might foil the fierce attacks of lions.

[6] Quidam arbitrabantur, Arsacen ac duces adventare iam nostros, rumoribus percitos, quod imperator Ctesiphonta magnis viribus oppugnaret, non nulli Persas nobis viantibus incubuisse firmabant.

[6] Some believed that Arsaces and our generals were coming at last, aroused by the reports that the emperor was besieging Ctesiphon with great forces; and some declared that the Persians had waylaid us.

[7] Ideo inter haec ita ambigua, nequid adversum accideret, revocantibus agmina classicis, in valle graminea prope rivum, multiplicato scutorum ordine in orbiculatam figuram metatis tutius quievimus castris. Nec enim ad usque vesperam, aere concreto, discerni potuit quidnam esset, quod squalidius videbatur.

[7] Under such uncertain conditions, in order that no disaster might befall, the trumpets called the ranks together and we encamped in a grassy valley near a stream; and after measuring off a camp we rested in safety behind a multiple row of shields arranged in a circle. For, not until evening, because of the thick dust, could we make out what it was that we saw so dimly.

LIBER XXV — BOOK XXV

[1] Persae Romanos iter facientes adorti, fortiter reprimuntur. Et hanc quidem noctem nullo siderum fulgore splendentem, ut solet in artis rebus et dubiis, exegimus, nec sedere quoquam auso, nec flectere in quietem lumina prae timore. Ubi vero primum dies inclaruit, radiantes loricae limbis circumdatae ferreis, et corusci thoraces, longe prospecti, adesse regis copias indicabant.

The Persians attack the Romans on their march, but are bravely repulsed. Now this night, which was lighted by the gleam of no stars, we passed as is usual in difficult and doubtful circumstances, as fear prevented anyone from daring to sit down or to close his eyes in sleep. But no sooner had the first light of day appeared, than the glittering coats of mail, girt with bands of steel, and the gleaming cuirasses, seen from afar, showed that the king's forces were at hand.

[2] Hocque viso accensum, properantem congredi militem, dirimente fluvio brevi, prohibuit imperator, et non procul a vallo ipso inter excursatores nostros et Persicos, proelio acri conserto, Machameus cecidit, ductor unius agminis nostri. Cui propugnaturus Maurus frater (dux postea Phoenices) cum germani trucidasset interfectorem, obvium quemque perterrens, infirmatus et ipse umerum telo, pallescentem morte propinqua, Machameum extrahere pugna viribus valuit magnis.

[2] Our soldiers, inflamed by this sight, since only a small stream separated them from the enemy, were in haste to attack them, but the emperor restrained them; however, a fierce fight took place not far from our very rampart between our outposts and those of the Persians, in which Machameus, general of one of our battalions, fell. His brother Maurus, later a general in Phoenicia, tried to protect him, and after cutting down the man who had killed his brother, he terrified all who came in his way, and although he was himself partly disabled by an arrow through his shoulder, by main strength he succeeded in bringing off Machameus, already pale with approaching death, from the fray.

[3] Et cum fatiscerent vix toleranda aestuum magnitudine, crebrisque congressibus partes, ad ultimum hostiles turmae gravi sunt repulsa discussae. Hinc recedentibus nobis, longius Saraceni secuti sunt et nostrorum metu peditum repedare compulsi, paulo post innexi Persarum multitudini tutius irruebant, Romana impedimenta rapturi, verum viso imperatore, ad alas subsidiarias reverterunt.

[3] And when, because of the almost unendurable heat and the repeated attacks, both sides were growing weary, finally the enemy's troops were utterly routed and fled in all directions. As we withdrew from the spot, the

Saracens followed us for some distance but were forced to retreat through fear of our infantry; a little later they joined with the main body of the Persians and attacked with greater safety, hoping to carry off the Romans' baggage; but on seeing the emperor they returned to the cavalry held in reserve.

[4] Qua ex regione profecti ad Hucumbra nomine villam pervenimus, ubi per biduum omnibus ad usum congruis et satietate quaesita frumenti, ultra spem recreati discessimus, et confestim absque his, quae tempus vehi permisit, reliqua flammis exusta sunt.

[4] Leaving this region we came to an estate called Hucumbra, where contrary to our expectation we refreshed ourselves for two days, procuring everything that was useful and an abundance of grain; then we moved on after immediately burning everything except such things as time allowed us to carry off.

[5] Postridie exercitu sedatius procedente, extremos qui eo die forte cogendorum agminum officia sustinebant, necopinantes Persae adorti, negotio levi interfecissent, ni proximus equitatus noster hoc citius intellecto, per patulas valles late diffusus, tantam molem discriminis, vulneratis qui supervenerant, repulisset.

[5] On the following day, as the army was advancing more quietly, the Persians unexpectedly attacked the last division, which on that day chanced to have the duty of bringing up the rear, and would have slain them with little trouble, had not our cavalry, who were near by, quickly noticed this, and, spreading widely over the open valleys, prevented so great a disaster, inflicting wounds on those who came up with them.

[6] In hac cecidit pugna Adaces, nobilis satrapa, legatus quondam ad Constantium principem missus, ac benigne susceptus, cuius exuviis interfector Iuliano oblatis, remuneratus est ut decebat.

[6] In this battle Adaces, a distinguished satrap, fell; he had once been sent as an envoy to the emperor Constantius and kindly received. The man who killed him brought his armour to Julian and received the reward which he deserved.

[7] Eodem die Tertiacorum equestris numerus a legionibus incusatus est, quod cum ipsae hostium adversas irrumperent acies, illi paulatim dilapsi, alacritatem paene totius minuissent exercitus.

[7] On that same day the legions made complaint of the cavalry troop of the Tertiaci, on the ground that just as they themselves were forcing their way into the opposing lines of the enemy, the Tertiaci had gradually given way and so had damped the ardour of almost the entire army.

[8] Unde ad indignationem iustam imperator erectus, ademptis signis hastisque diffractis, omnes eos qui fugisse arguebantur, inter impedimenta et sarcinas et

captivos agere iter imposuit, ductore eorum, qui solus fortiter decertarat, aliae turmae apposito, cuius tribunus turpiter proelium deservisse convincebatur.

[8] At this the emperor was roused to righteous indignation, had their standards taken from them and their lances broken, and forced all those who were charged with running away to march with the packs, baggage, and prisoners; but their leader, who alone had fought bravely, was given the command of another troop, whose tribune was found guilty of having shamefully left the field.

[9] Abiecti sunt autem sacramento etiam alii quattuor ob flagitium simile vexillationum tribuni: hoc enim correctionis moderamine leniori, impendentium consideratione difficultatum, contentus est imperator.

[9] Also four other tribunes of the cavalry were dismissed for similar disgraceful conduct; for in view of the impending difficulties the emperor contented himself with this mild form of punishment.

[10] Progressi itaque stadia septuaginta, attenuata rerum omnium copia, herbis frumentisque crematis, ex flammis ipsis raptas fruges et pabula, ut quisque vehere potuit, conservavit.

[10] We then advanced for seventy stadia, while every kind of supplies grew less, since the grass and grain had been burned and every man had to snatch from the very flames whatever produce and fodder he could carry.

[11] Hoc etiam loco relicto, cum ad tractum Maranga appellatum, omnis venisset exercitus, prope lucis confinia immensa Persarum apparuit multitudo, cum Merene equestris magistro militiae, filiisque regis duobus, et optimatibus plurimis.

[11] Leaving this place as well, the whole army had come to a district called Maranga, when near daybreak a huge force of Persians appeared with Merena, general of their cavalry, two sons of the king, and many other magnates.

[12] Erant autem omnes catervae ferratae, ita per singula membra densis lamminis tectae, ut iuncturae rigentes compagibus artuum convenirent, humanorumque vultuum simulacra, ita capitibus diligenter apta, ut inbracteatis corporibus solidis, ibi tantum incidentia tela possint haerere, qua per cavernas minutas, et orbibus oculorum affixas, parcius visitur, vel per supremitates narium angusti spiritus emittuntur.

[12] Moreover, all the companies were clad in iron, and all parts of their bodies were covered with thick plates, so fitted that the stiff joints conformed with those of their limbs; and the forms of human faces were so skilfully fitted to their heads, that, since their entire bodies were plated with metal, arrows that fell upon them could lodge only where they could see a little through tiny openings fitted to the circle of the eye, or where through the tips of their noses

they were able to get a little breath.

[13] *Quorum pars contis dimicatura, stabat immobilis, ut retinaculis aereis fixam existimares, iuxtaque sagittarii, cuius artis fiducia ab incunabulis ipsi gens praevaluit maxima, tendebant divaricatis brachiis flexiles arcus, ut nervi mammas praestringerent dexteras, spicula sinistris manibus cohaerent, summaque peritia digitorum pulsibus argutum sonantes, harundines evolabant, vulnera perniciose portantes.*

[13] Of these some, who were armed with pikes, stood so motionless that you would think them held fast by clamps of bronze. Hard by, the archers (for that nation has especially trusted in this art from the very cradle) were bending their flexible bows with such wide-stretched arms that the strings touched their right breasts, while the arrow-points were close to their left hands; and by a highly skilful stroke of the fingers the arrows flew hissing forth and brought with them deadly wounds.

[14] *Post hos elephantorum fulgentium formidandam speciem et truculentos hiatus, vix mentes pavidae perferebant, ad quorum stridorem odoremque et insuetum aspectum magis equi terrebantur.*

[14] Behind them the gleaming elephants, with their awful figures and savage, gaping mouths could scarcely be endured by the faint-hearted; and their trumpeting, their odour, and their strange aspect alarmed the horses still more.

[15] *Quibus insidentes magistri, manubriatos cultros dexteris manibus illigatos gestabant, acceptae apud Nisibin memores cladis, et si ferociens animal, vires exsuperasset regentis, ne reversum per suos (ut tunc acciderat) collisam sterneret plebem, venam quae caput a cervice disternat, ictu maximo terebrabant. Exploratum est enim aliquando ab Hasdrubale Hannibalis fratre, ita citius vitam huius modi adimi beluarum.*

[15] Seated upon these, their drivers carried knives with handles bound to their right hands, remembering the disaster suffered at Nisibis; and if the strength of the driver proved no match for the excited brute, that he might not turn upon his own people (as happened then) and crush masses of them to the ground, he would with a mighty stroke cut through the vertebra which separates the head from the neck. For long ago Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, discovered that in that way brutes of this kind could quickly be killed.

[16] *Quibus non sine magno terrore perspectis, stipatus armatarum cohortium globis, cum primatibus fidentissimus imperator, ut flagitabat maior vis et atrocior, lunari acie sinuatisque lateribus, occursuros hosti manipulos instruebat.*

[16] Although these sights caused no little fear, the emperor, guarded by troops

of armed men and with his trustworthy generals, full of confidence, as the great and dangerous power of the enemy demanded, drew up his soldiers in the form of a crescent with curving wings to meet the enemy.

[17] Et ne sagittariorum procursus nostrorum cuneos disiectaret, illatis concitatus signis, spiculatorum impetum fregit, datoque ad decernendum sollemniter signo, denseti Romani pedites confertas hostium frontes, nisu protruserunt acerrimo.

[17] And in order that the onset of the bowmen might not throw our ranks into confusion, he advanced at a swift pace, and so ruined the effectiveness of the arrows. Then the usual signal for battle was given, and the Roman infantry in close order with mighty effort drove the serried ranks of the enemy before them.

[18] Et fervente certaminum mole, clipeorum sonitus et virorum, armorumque lugubre sibilantium fragor, nihil perpetiens iam remissum, campos cruore et corporum strage contextit, effusius cadentibus Persis, quibus saepe languidis in conflictu, artius pes pede collatus, graviter obsistebat, pugnare fortiter eminus consuetis, et si inclinatas suorum copias senserint, cedendo in modum imbrium pone versus directis sagittis, hostes a persequendi fiducia detertere. Pulsis igitur pondere magnarum virium Parthis, miles solis cursu flammeo diu lassatus, signo in receptum dato ex more, in tentoria repedit ad audenda deinceps maiora sublatum.

[18] And in the heat of the combat that followed, the clash of shields, the shouts of the men, and the doleful sound of the whirring arrows continued without intermission. The plains were covered with blood and dead bodies, but the Persian losses were greater; for they often lacked endurance in battle and could with difficulty maintain a close contest man to man, since they were accustomed to fight bravely at long range, but if they perceived that their forces were giving way, as they retreated they would shoot their arrows back like a shower of rain and keep the enemy from a bold pursuit. So by the weight of great strength the Parthians were driven back, and when the signal for retreat was given in the usual manner, our soldiers, long wearied by the fiery course of the sun, returned to their tents, encouraged to dare greater deeds of valour in the future.

[19] In hoc proelio Persarum maior, ut dictum est, apparuit strages, nostrorum admodum levis. Eminuit tamen inter varies certaminum casus Vetricianus mors viri pugnacis, qui legionem Zannorum regebat. Inopia frumenti et pabuli premittitur exercitus. Iulianus terretur ostentis. Post quae triduo indutiis destinato, dum suo quisque vulnere medetur vel proximi, commeatibus nos destitutos inedia cruciabat iam non ferenda: et quoniam frugibus exustis et pabulis, homines in discrimen ultimum venerant et iumenta, ex eo cibo, quem animalia tribunorum vehebant et comitum, imae quoque militum plebi penitus

indigenti, pars distributa est magna.

[19] In this battle (as was said) the loss of the Persians was clearly the greater, while that of our men was very slight. But noteworthy among the various calamities of the combats was the death of Vetrano, a valiant fighter, who commanded the legion of the Zianni. The army is hard pressed by scarcity of grain and fodder. Julian is alarmed by omens. After this three days were devoted to a truce, while each man gave attention to his own wound or his neighbour's, but since we were without supplies we were tormented by hunger that was already unendurable; and because grain and fodder had everywhere been burned, and both men and animals experienced extreme danger, a great part of the food which the pack-animals of the tribunes and generals carried was distributed even to the lowest soldiers, who were in dire want.

[2] Et imperator, cui non cuppediae ciborum, ex regio more, sed sub columellis tabernaculi parvis cenaturo, pultis portio parabatur exigua, etiam munifici fastidienda gregario quicquid ad ministeria postulabatur, per contubernia paupertina sui securus egressit.

[2] And the emperor, who had no dainties awaiting him, after the manner of princes, but a scant portion of porridge under the low poles of a humble tent — a meal which would have been scorned even by one who served as a common soldier — regardless of himself distributed through the tents of the poorer of his men whatever was demanded for his own needs.

[3] Ipse autem ad sollicitam suspensamque quietem paulisper protractus, cum somno ut solebat depulso, ad aemulationem Caesaris Iulii quaedam sub pellibus scribens, obscuro noctis altitudine sensus cuiusdam philosophi teneretur, vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen, conspexit in Galliis, velata cum capite Cornucopia per aulaea tristius discedentem.

[3] Moreover, when he was forced for a time to indulge in an anxious and restless sleep, he threw it off in his usual manner, and, following the example of Julius Caesar, did some writing in his tent. Once when in the darkness of night he was intent upon the lofty thought of some philosopher, he saw somewhat dimly, as he admitted to his intimates, that form of the protecting deity of the state which he had seen in Gaul when he was rising to Augustan dignity, but now with veil over both head and horn of plenty, sorrowfully passing out through the curtains of his tent.

[4] Et quamquam ad momentum haesit stupore defixus, omni tamen superior metu, ventura decretis caelestibus commendabat, relictoque humi strato cubili, adulta iam excitus nocte, et numinibus per sacra depulsoria supplicans, flagrantissimam facem cadenti similem visam, aeris parte sulcata, evanuisse

existimavit, horroreque perfusus est, ne ita aperte minax Martis apparuerit sidus.

[4] And although for a moment he remained sunk in stupefaction, yet rising above all fear, he commended his future fate to the decrees of heaven, and now fully awake, the night being now far advanced, he left his bed, which was spread on the ground, and prayed to the gods with rites designed to avert their displeasure. Then he thought he saw a blazing torch of fire, like a falling star, which furrowed part of the air and disappeared. And he was filled with fear lest the threatening star of Mars had thus visibly shown itself.

[5] Erat autem nitor igneus iste, quem διαίσσοντα nos appellamus, nec cadens umquam nec terram contingens. Corpora enim qui credit caelitus posse labi, profanus merito iudicatur, et demens. Fit autem hic habitus modis compluribus, e quibus sufficiet pauca monstrare.

[5] That fiery brilliance was of the kind that we call διαίσσων, which never falls anywhere or touches the earth; for anyone who believes that bodies can fall from heaven is rightly considered a layman, or a fool. But this sort of thing happens in many ways, and it will be enough to explain a few of them.

[6] Scintillas quidam putant ab aethereo candentes vigore, parumque porrectius tendere sufficientes, extinguui, vel certe radiorum flammas iniectas nubibus densis, acri scintillare contactu, aut cum lumen aliquod cohaeserit nubi. Id enim in stellae speciem figuratum, decurrit quidem, dum viribus ignium sustentatur: amplitudine vero spatiorum exinanitum in aerium solvitur corpus, ad substantiam migrans, cuius attritu incaluit nimio.

[6] Some believe that sparks glowing from the ethereal force, are not strong enough to go very far and then are extinguished; or at least that beams of light are forced into thick clouds, and because of the heavy clash throw out sparks, or when some light has come in contact with a cloud. For this takes the form of a star, and falls downward, so long as it is sustained by the strength of the fire; but, exhausted by the greatness of the space which it traverses, it loses itself in the air, passing back into the substance whose friction gave it all that heat.

[7] Confestim itaque ante lucis primitias, Etrusci haruspices accersiti, consultiue quid astri species portenderet nova, vitandum esse cautissime responderunt nequid tunc temptaretur: ex Tarquitianis libris in titulo de rebus divinis, id relatum esse monstrantes, quod face in caelo visa committi proelium vel simile quicquam non oportebit.

[7] Accordingly, before dawn the Etruscan soothsayers were hastily summoned, and asked what this unusual kind of star portended. Their reply was, that any undertaking at that time must be most carefully avoided, pointing out that in the Tarquitian books, under the rubric “On signs from

heaven” it was written, that when a meteor was seen in the sky, battle ought not to be joined, or anything similar attempted.

[8] Quo etiam id inter alia multa spernente, orabant haruspices, saltem aliquot horis profectionem differri, et ne hoc quidem sunt adepti, imperatore omni vaticinandi scientia reluctantē, sed exorto iam die promoti sunt castra. Imperator, dum ad repellendos Persas, qui undique instabant, omīssa lorica, temere se proeliis inserit, hasta vulneratur, ac in tabernaculum refertur, ubi circumstantes alloquitur, ac post epotam frigidam moritur. Hinc nos egressos, Persae cum saepe afflictī, peditum stabiles pugnas horrerent, structis insidiis, occulte comitabantur, altrinsecus viantes catervas a celsis collibus explorando, ut id suspicans miles, ad usque perpetuum diem nec vallum erigeret nec sudibus se communiret.

[8] When the emperor scorned this also, as well as many other signs, the soothsayers begged that at least he would put off his departure for some hours; but even this they could not gain, since the emperor was opposed to the whole science of divination, but since day had now dawned, camp was broken. When the emperor rushed into battle rashly without his coat of mail, in order to drive back the Persians, who were pressing us on all sides, he was wounded by a spear and taken to his tent; there he addresses those who stood about him and after a draught of cold water dies. When we marched on from this place, the Persians, since their frequent losses made them dread regular battles with the infantry, laid ambuscades, and secretly attended us, from the high hills on both sides watching our companies as they marched, so that the soldiers, suspicious of this, all day long neither raised a palisade nor fortified themselves with stakes.

[2] Dumque teguntur firmiter latera, et exercitus pro locorum situ quadratis quidem sed laxis incedit agminibus, invasa subito terga pone versus arma cogentium principi indicatur, etiam tum inermi ad speculanda anteriora progresso.

[2] And while the flanks were strongly protected and the army, as the nature of the ground made necessary, advanced in square formation, but with the battalions in open order, it was reported to the emperor, who even then unarmed had gone forward to reconnoitre, that the rear guard had suddenly been attacked from behind.

[3] Qua concitus clade, oblitus loricae, scuto inter tumultum adrepto, properans ultimis ferre suppetias, revocatur alio metu, qui etiam antesignanos, unde discesserat, paria perpeti nuntiabat.

[3] Excited by the misfortune, he forgot his coat of mail, and merely caught up a shield in the confusion; but as he was hastening to bring aid to those in the rear, he was recalled by another danger — the news that the van, which he

had just left, was just as badly off.

[4] Quae dum sine respectu periculi sui, redintegrare festinat, ex alia parte cataphractorum Parthicus globus centurias adoritur medias, ac sinistro cornu inclinato acriter superfusus, factorem stridoremque elephantorum impatienter tolerantibus nostris, contis et multiplicatis missilibus decernebat.

[4] While he was hastening to restore order there without regard to his own peril, a Parthian band of mailed cavalry on another side attacked the centre companies, and quickly overflowed the left wing, which gave way, since our men could hardly endure the smell and trumpeting of the elephants, they were trying to end the battle with pikes and volleys of arrows.

[5] Verum principe volitante inter prima discrimina proeliorum, exilivit nostra succinctior armatura, aversorumque Persarum et beluarum, suffragines concidebat et dorsa.

[5] But while the emperor rushed hither and thither amid the foremost ranks of the combatants, our light-armed forces leaped forth upon them, and as the Persians turned in flight, they hacked at their legs and backs, and those of the elephants.

[6] Quos cum Iulianus cavendi immemor, diffluxisse trepidos elatis vociferando manibus aperte demonstrans, irasque sequentium excitans, audenter effunderet semet in pugnam, clamabant hinc inde candidati (quos disiecerat terror) ut fugientium molem tamquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret, et (incertum unde) subita equestris hasta, cute brachii eius praestricta, costis perfossis, haesit in ima iecoris fibra.

[6] Julian, careless of his own safety, shouting and raising his hands tried to make it clear to his men that the enemy had fled in disorder, and, to rouse them to a still more furious pursuit, rushed boldly into the fight. His guards, who had scattered in their alarm, were crying to him from all sides to get clear of the mass of fugitives, as dangerous as the fall of a badly built roof, when suddenly — no one knows whence — a cavalryman's spear grazed the skin of his arm, pierced his ribs, and lodged in the lower lobe of his liver.

[7] Quam dum avellere dextra manu conatur, acuto utrimque ferro digitorum nervos sensit excisos, et provolutus iumento, praesentiumque veloci concursu, relatus in castra, medicinae ministeriis fovebatur.

[7] While he was trying to pluck this out with his right hand, he felt that the sinews of his fingers were cut through on both sides by the sharp steel. Then he fell from his horse, all present hastened to the spot, he was taken to camp and given medical treatment.

[8] Moxque ubi lenito paulisper dolore, timere desiit, magno spiritu contra exitum certans, arma poscebat et equum, ut reviso proelio suorum fiduciam

repararet, ac videretur sui securus, alienae salutis sollicitudine vehementer adstringi: eo vigore, licet in negotio dispari, quo Epaminondas ille dux inclitus letaliter apud Mantiniam saucius et revector ex acie cura quaerebat sollicita scutum. Quod cum vidisset propius laetior, vi vulneris interiit, et qui animam interpidus amittebat, iacturam clipei formidavit.

[8] And soon, as the pain diminished somewhat, he ceased to fear, and fighting with great spirit against death, he called for his arms and his horse in order by his return to the fight to restore the confidence of his men, and troubling nothing about himself, to show that he was filled with great anxiety for the safety of the others; with the same vigour, though under different conditions, with which the famous leader Epaminondas, when mortally wounded at Mantinia and carried from the field, took particular care to ask for his shield. And when he saw it near him, he died of his terrible wound, happy; for he who gave up his life without fear dreaded the loss of his shield.

[9] Sed cum vires parum sufficerent voluntati, sanguinique profluvio vexaretur, mansit immobilis, ideo spe deinceps vivendi absumpta, quod percunctando, Phrygiam appellari locum ubi ceciderat comperit. Hic enim obitum se praescripta audierat sorte.

[9] But since Julian's strength was not equal to his will, and he was weakened by great loss of blood, he lay still, having lost all hope for his life because, on inquiry, he learned that the place where he had fallen was called Phrygia. For he had heard that it was fate's decree that he should die there.

[10] Sed reducto ad tentoria principe, incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque ardore, miles ad vindictam ira et dolore ferventior involabat, hastis ad scuta concrepans, etiam mori (si tulisset fors) obstinatus. Et quamvis offundebatur oculis altitudo pulveris et aestus calescens officeret alacritati membrorum, tamen velut exauctoratus, amisso ductore, sine parsimonia ruebat in ferrum.

[10] But when the emperor had been taken to his tent, the soldiers, burning with wrath and grief, with incredible vigour rushed to avenge him, clashing their spears against their shields, resolved even to die if it should be the will of fate. And although the high clouds of dust blinded the eyes, and the burning heat weakened the activity of their limbs, yet as though discharged by the loss of their leader, without sparing themselves, they rushed upon the swords of the enemy.

[11] Contra animosius Persae sagittarum volantium crebritate, conspectum sui rapiebant oppositis, quos elephanti tardius praecedentes, magnitudine corporum, cristarumque a horrore, pavorem iumentis incutiebat et viris. Concursus itaque armorum, et cadentium gemitus, equorum flatus et tinnitus ferri procul audiebatur, quamdiu satietate vulnerum partibus fessis, nox diremit certamina iam tenebrosa.

[11] On the other hand, the exulting Persians sent forth such a shower of arrows that they prevented their opponents from seeing the bowmen. Before them slowly marched the elephants, which with their huge size of body and horrifying crests, struck terror into horses and men. Further off, the trampling of the combatants, the groans of the falling, the panting of the horses, and the ring of arms were heard, until finally both parties were weary of inflicting wounds and the darkness of night ended the battle.

[13] *Quinquaginta tum Persarum optimates et satrapae cum plebe maxima ceciderunt, inter has turbas Merena et Nohodare potissimis ducibus interfectis. Obstupescat magniloquentia vetustatis diversis in locis proelia viginti Marcelli: Sicinium Dentatum adiciat ornatum militarium multitudine coronarum: miretur super his Sergium, qui viciens et ter vulneratus est in variis pugnis (ut fertur), cuius posteritatis ultimus Catilina claras gloriarum adoreas, sempiternis maculis obumbravit. Deformabat tamen tristitia laetiores eventus.*

[13] On that day fifty Persian grandees and satraps fell, besides a great number of common soldiers, and among them the distinguished generals Merena and Nohodares were slain. The boastfulness of antiquity may view with amazement the twenty battles of Marcellus in various places; it may add Sicinius Dentatus, honoured with a multitude of military crowns; it may besides admire Sergius, who (they say) was wounded twenty-three times in different battles, and whose last descendant Catiline tarnished the glorious renown of these victories with an indelible stain. Yet the joy in our success was marred by sorrow.

[14] *Dum haec enim post discessum ducis ubique aguntur, exercitus cornu dextro defatigato, et Anatolio interfecto, qui tunc erat officiorum magister, Sallustius praefectus, actus in exitium praeceps, et opera sui apparitoris ereptus, Phosphorio amisso consiliario, qui ei aderat casu, evasit; palatini quidam militesque per multa discrimina, occupato castelli vicini praesidio, post diem denique tertium, iungi exercitui potuerunt.*

[14] For while the fight went on everywhere after the withdrawal of the leader, the right wing of the army was exhausted, and Anatolius, at that time chief marshal of the court, was killed. Salustius, the prefect, was in extreme danger, but was saved by the help of his adjutant, and by a fortunate chance escaped death, while Phosphorius, a councillor who chanced to be at his side, was lost. Some of the court officials and soldiers, amid many dangers, took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, and were able to rejoin the army only after three days.

[15] *Quae dum ita aguntur, Iulianus in tabernaculo iacens, circumstantes allocutus est demissos et tristes: ‘Advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus e vita impendio tempestivum, quam reposcenti naturae, ut debitor bonae fidei redditurus, exulto, non (ut quidam opinantur) afflicto et maerens,*

philosophorum sententia generali perdoctus, quantum corpore sit beatior animus, et contemplans, quotiens condicio melior a deteriore secernitur, laetandum esse potius quam dolendum. Illud quoque advertens, quod etiam dii caelestes quibusdam piissimis mortem tamquam summum praemium persolverunt.

[15] While all this was going on, Julian, lying in his tent, addressed his disconsolate and sorrowful companions as follows: “Most opportunely, friends, has the time now come for me to leave this life, which I rejoice to return to Nature, at her demand, like an honourable debtor, not (as some might think) bowed down with sorrow, but having learned from the general conviction of philosophers how much happier the soul is than the body, and bearing in mind that whenever a better condition is severed from a worse, one should rather rejoice than grieve. Thinking also of this, that the gods of heaven themselves have given death to some men of the greatest virtue as their supreme reward.

[16] Munus autem id mihi delatum optime scio, ne difficultatibus subcumberem arduis, neve me proiciam umquam, aut prosternam, expertus quod dolores omnes ut insultant ignavis, ita persistentibus cedunt.

[16] But this gift, I know well, was given to me, that I might not yield to great difficulties, nor ever bow down and humiliate myself; for experience teaches me that all sorrows overcome only weaklings, but yield to the steadfast.

[17] Nec me gestorum paenitet aut gravis flagitii recordatio stringit, vel cum in umbram et angustias amendarer, vel post principatum susceptum, animum tamquam a cognatione caelitum defluentem, immaculatum (ut existimo) conservavi et civilia moderatius regens, et examinatis rationibus, bella inferens et repellens, tametsi prosperitas simul utilitasque consultorum non ubique concordent, quoniam coeptorum eventus superae sibi vindicant potestates.

[17] I do not regret what I have done, nor does the recollection of any grave misdeed torment me; either when I was consigned to the shade and obscurity, or after I attained the principate, I have preserved my soul, as taking its origin from relationship with the gods, stainless (in my opinion), conducting civil affairs with moderation, and making and repelling wars only after mature deliberation. And yet success and well-laid plans do not always go hand in hand, since higher powers claim for themselves the outcome of all enterprises.

[18] Reputans autem iusti esse finem imperii, oboedientium commodum et salutem, ad tranquilliora semper (ut nostis) propensior fui, licentiam omnem actibus meis exterminans, rerum corruptricem et morum, gaudensque abeo, sciens quod ubicumque me velut imperiosa parens consideratis periculis obiecit res publica, steti fundatus, turbines calcare fortuitorum assuefactus.

[18] Considering, then, that the aim of a just rule is the welfare and security of its subjects, I was always, as you know, more inclined to peaceful measures, excluding from my conduct all license, the corrupter of deeds and of character. On the other hand, I depart rejoicing that, so often as the state, like an imperious parent, has exposed me deliberately to dangers, I have stood four-square, accustomed as I am to tread under foot the storms of fate.

[19] *Nec fateri pudebit, interitum me ferro, dudum didici fide fatidica praecinente. Ideoque sempiternum veneror numen, quod non clandestinis insidiis, nec longa morborum asperitate, vel damnatorum fine decedo, sed in medio cursu florentium gloriarum, hunc merui clarum ex mundo digressum. Aequo enim iudicio iuxta timidus est et ignavus, qui cum non oportet, mori desiderat, et qui refugiat cum sit opportunum.*

[19] And I shall not be ashamed to admit, that I learned long ago through the words of a trustworthy prophecy, that I should perish by the sword. And therefore I thank the eternal power that I meet my end, not from secret plots, nor from the pain of a tedious illness, nor by the fate of a criminal, but that in the mid-career of glorious renown I have been found worthy of so noble a departure from this world. For he is justly regarded as equally weak and cowardly who desires to die when he ought not, or he who seeks to avoid death when his time has come.

[20] *Hactenus loqui, vigore virium labente sufficiet. Super imperatore vero creando, caute reticeo, ne per imprudentiam dignum praeteream, aut nominatum quemabilem reor, anteposito forsitan alio, ad discrimen ultimum trudam. Ut alumnus autem rei publicae frugi, opto bonum post me reperiri rectorem.*

[20] So much it will be enough to say, since my vital strength is failing. But as to the choice of an emperor, I am prudently silent, lest I pass over some worthy person through ignorance, or if I name someone whom I consider suitable, and perhaps another is preferred, I may expose him to extreme danger. But as an honourable foster-child of our country, I wish that a good ruler may be found to succeed me.”

[21] *Post haec placide dicta, familiares opes iunctioribus velut supremo distribuens stilo, Anatolium quae-sivit, officiorum magistrum, quem cum beatum fuisse Salutius respondisset praefectus, intellexit occisum, acriterque amici casum ingemuit, qui data mente contempserat suum.*

[21] After having spoken these words in a calm tone, wishing to distribute his private property to his closer friends, as if with the last stroke of his pen, he called for Anatolius, his chief court-marshal. And when the prefect Salutius replied “He has been happy,” he understood that he had been slain, and he who recently with such courage had been indifferent to his own fate, grieved

deeply over that of a friend.

[22] Et flentes inter haec omnes qui aderant, auctoritate integra etiam tum increpabat, humile esse, caelo sideribusque conciliatum lugeri principem dicens.

[22] Meanwhile, all who were present wept, where- upon even then maintaining his authority, he chided them, saying that it was unworthy to mourn for a prince who was called to union with heaven and the stars.

[23] Quibus ideo iam silentibus, ipse cum Maximo et Prisco philosophis super animorum sublimitate perplexius disputans, hiantē latius suffossi lateris vulnere, et spiritum tumore cohibente venarum, epota gelida aqua quam petiit, medio noctis horrore, vita facilius est absolutus, anno aetatis altero et tricensimo, natus apud Constantinopolim, a pueritia usque parentis obitu destitutus Constanti, quem post fratris Constantini excessum, inter complures alios turba consumpsit imperii successorum, et Basilina matre iam inde a maioribus nobili. Virtutes eius et vitia, forma corporis et statura. Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis, claritudine rerum et coalita maiestate conspicuus. Cum enim sint (ut sapientes definiunt), virtutes quattuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, eisque accedentes extrinsecus aliae, scientia rei militaris, auctoritas felicitas atque liberalitas, intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas.

[23] As this made them all silent, he himself engaged with the philosophers Maximus and Priscus in an intricate discussion about the nobility of the soul. Suddenly the wound in his pierced side opened wide, the pressure of the blood checked his breath, and after a draught of cold water for which he had asked, in the gloom of midnight he passed quietly away in the thirty-second year of his age. Born in Constantinople, he was left alone in childhood by the death both of his father Constantius (who, after the decease of his brother Constantinus, met his end with many others in the strife for the succession to the throne) and of his mother Basilina, who came from an old and noble family.

Julian's merits and defects, his bodily form and stature.

He was a man truly to be numbered with the heroic spirits, distinguished for his illustrious deeds and his inborn majesty. For since there are, in the opinion of the philosophers, four principal virtues, moderation, wisdom, justice, and courage and corresponding to these also some external characteristics, such as knowledge of the art of war, authority, good fortune, and liberality, these as a whole and separately Julian cultivated with constant zeal.

[2] Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venereum attigisse eum constaret ; illud advertens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragoediarum scriptorem, aetate grandaevum,

interrogatum ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem, id adiecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem ut rabiosum quandam effugisse dominum et crudelem.

[2] In the first place, he was so conspicuous for inviolate chastity that after the loss of his wife it is well known that he never gave a thought to love: bearing in mind what we read in Plato, that Sophocles, the tragic poet, when he was asked, at a great age, whether he still had congress with women, said no, adding that he was glad that he had escaped from this passion as from some mad and cruel master.

[3] Item ut hoc propositum validius confirmaret, relegebat saepe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat iucunde, id asserentis, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Quam labem in adulto robore iuventutis, ita caute vitavit, ut ne suspicione quidem tenus libidinis ullius, vel citerioris vitae ministris incusaretur, ut saepe contingit.

[3] Also, to give greater strength to this principle, Julian often repeated the saying of the lyric poet Bacchylides, whom he delighted to read, who declares that as a skilful painter gives a face beauty, just so chastity gives charm to a life of high aims. This blemish in the mature strength of manhood he avoided with such care, that even his most confidential attendants never (as often happens) accused him even of a suspicion of any lustfulness.

[4] Hoc autem temperantiae genus crescebat in maius, iuvante parsimonia ciborum et somni, quibus domi forisque tenacius utebatur. Namque in pace victus eius mensarumque tenuitas erat recte noscentibus admiranda, velut ad pallium mox reversuri, per varios autem procinctus, stans interdum more militiae, cibum brevem vilemque sumere visebatur.

[4] Moreover, this kind of self-restraint was made still greater through his moderation in eating and sleeping, which he strictly observed at home and abroad. For in time of peace the frugality of his living and his table excited the wonder of those who could judge aright, as if he intended soon to resume the philosopher's cloak. And on his various campaigns, he was often seen partaking of common and scanty food, sometimes standing up like a common soldier.

[5] Ubi vero exigua dormiendi quiete, recreasset corpus laboribus induratum, expergefactus, explorabat per semet ipsum vigiliarum vices et stationum, post haec seria ad artes confugiens doctrinarum.

[5] As soon as he had refreshed his body, which was inured to toil, by a brief rest in sleep, he awoke and in person attended to the changing of the guards and pickets, and after these serious duties took refuge in the pursuit of learning.

[6] Et si nocturna lumina, inter quae lucubrabat, potuissent voce ulla testari, profecto ostenderant, inter hunc et quosdam principes multum interesse, quem quidem norant voluptatibus ne ad necessitatem quidem indulsisse naturae.

[6] And if the nightly lamps amid which he worked could have given oral testimony, they would certainly have borne witness that there was a great difference between him and some other princes, since they knew that he did not indulge in pleasure, even to the extent which nature demanded.

[7] Dein prudentiae eius indicia fuere vel plurima, e quibus explicari sufficiet pauca. Armatae rei scientissimus et togatae, civilitati admodum studens, tantum sibi arrogans quantum a contemptu et insolentia distare existimabat: virtute senior quam aetate: studiosus cognitionum omnium et indeclinabilis aliquotiens iudex: censor in moribus regendis acerrimus, placidus opum contemptor, mortalia cuncta despiciens, postremo id praedicabat, turpe esse sapienti, cum habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore.

[7] Then there were very many proofs of his wisdom, of which it will suffice to mention a few. He was thoroughly skilled in the arts of war and peace, greatly inclined to courtesy, and claiming for himself only so much deference as he thought preserved him from contempt and insolence. He was older in virtue than in years. He gave great attention to the administration of justice, and was sometimes an unbending judge; also a very strict censor in regulating conduct, with a calm contempt for riches, scorning everything mortal; in short, he often used to declare that it was shameful for a wise man, since he possessed a soul, to seek honour from bodily gifts.

[8] Quibus autem iustitiae inclaruit bonis, multa significant, primo quod erat pro rerum et hominum distinctione, sine crudelitate terribilis, deinde quod paucorum discrimine vitia cohibebat, tum autem quod minabatur ferro potius quam utebatur.

[8] By what high qualities he was distinguished in his administration of justice is clear from many indications: first, because taking into account circumstances and persons, he was awe-inspiring but free from cruelty. Secondly, because he checked vice by making examples of a few, and also because he more frequently threatened men with the sword than actually used it.

[9] Postremo ut multa praeteream, constat eum in apertos aliquos inimicos insidiatores suos ita consurrexisse mitissime, ut poenarum asperitatem genuina lenitudine castigaret.

[9] Finally, to be brief, it is well known that he was so merciful towards some open enemies who plotted against him, that he corrected the severity of their punishment by his inborn mildness.

[10] Fortitudinem certaminum crebritas ususque bellorum ostendit, et patientia frigorum immanium et fervoris. Cumque corporis munus a milite, ab imperatore vero animi poscitur, ipse trucem hostem ictu confecit, audacter congressus, ac nostros cedentes obiecto pectore suo, aliquotiens cohibuit solus: regnaque furentium Germanorum excindens, et in pulvere vaporato Persidis, agebat fiduciam militis, dimicans inter primos.

[10] His fortitude is shown by the great number of his battles and by his conduct of wars, as well as by his endurance of excessive cold and heat. And although bodily duty is demanded from a soldier, but mental duty from a general, yet he once boldly met a savage enemy in battle and struck him down, and when our men gave ground, he several times alone checked their flight by opposing his breast to them. When destroying the kingdoms of the raging Germans and on the burning sands of Persia he added to the confidence of his soldiers by fighting among the foremost.

[11] Castrensium negotiorum scientiam, plura declarant et nota: civitatum oppugnationes et castellorum, inter ipsos discriminum vertex, acies figura multiformi compositae, salubriter et caute castra metata, praetenturae stationesque agrariae, tutis rationibus ordinatae.

[11] There are many notable evidences of his knowledge of military affairs: the sieges of cities and fortresses, undertaken amid the extremest dangers, the varied forms in which he arranged his lines of battle, the choice of safe and healthful places for camps, the wisely planned posting of frontier guards and field pickets.

[12] Auctoritas adeo valuit, ut dilectus artissime, dum timetur, ac si periculi socius et laborum, et inter concertationes acerrimas, animadverti iuberet in desides, et Caesar adhuc sine stipendio regeret militem, feris oppositum gentibus, ut dudum est dictum; allocutusque tumentes armatos, discessurum ad vitam minaretur privatam, ni tumultuare desisterent.

[12] His authority was so well established that, being feared as well as deeply loved as one who shared in the dangers and hardships of his men, he both in the heat of fierce battles condemned cowards to punishment, and, while he was still only a Caesar, he controlled his men even without pay, when they were fighting with savage tribes, as I have long ago said. And when they were armed and mutinous, he did not fear to address them and threaten to return to private life, if they continued to be insubordinate.

[13] Denique id pro multis nosse sufficit: exhortatum eum simplici contione militem Gallicanum, pruinis assuetum et Rheno, peragratis spatiis regionum extentis, per tepentem Assyriam ad usque confinia traxisse Medorum.

[13] Finally, one thing it will be enough to know in token of many, namely, that merely by a speech he induced his Gallic troops, accustomed to snow and to

the Rhine, to traverse long stretches of country and follow him through torrid Assyria to the very frontiers of the Medes.

[14] Felicitas ita eminuit, ut ipsis quodammodo cervicibus Fortunae aliquamdiu bonae gubernatricis evectus, victoriosis cursibus difficultates superstaret immensas. Et postquam ex occidua plaga digressus est, quoad fuit in terris, quievire nationes omnes immobiles, ac si quodam caduceo leniente mundano.

[14] His success was so conspicuous that for a long time he seemed to ride on the shoulders of Fortune herself, his faithful guide as he in victorious career surmounted enormous difficulties. And after he left the western region, so long as he was on earth all nations preserved perfect quiet, as if a kind of earthly wand of Mercury were pacifying them.

[15] Liberalitatis eius testimonia plurima sunt et verissima, inter quae indicta sunt tributorum admodum levia, coronarium indultum, remissa debita multa, diuturnitate congesta, aequata fisci iurgia cum privatis, vectigalia civitatibus restituta cum fundis, absque his quos velut iure vendidere praeteritae potestates, quodque numquam augendae pecuniae cupidus fuit, quam cautius apud dominos servari existimabat, id aliquotiens praedicans, Alexandrum Magnum, ubi haberet thesauros interrogatum, ‘apud amicos’ benivole respondisse.

[15] There are many undoubted tokens of his generosity. Among these are his very light imposition of tribute, his remission of the crown-money, the cancellation of many debts made great by long standing, the impartial treatment of disputes between the privy purse and private persons, the restoration of the revenues from taxes to various states along with their lands, except such as previous high officials had alienated by a kind of legal sale; furthermore, that he was never eager to increase his wealth, which he thought was better secured in the hands of its possessors; and he often remarked that Alexander the Great, when asked where his treasures were, gave the kindly answer, “in the hands of my friends.”

[16] Digestis bonis quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explicanda eius vitia veniamus, licet dicta sint carptim. Levioris ingenii, verum hoc institute rectissimo temperabat, emendari se cum deviaret a fruge bona permittens.

[16] Having set down his good qualities, so many as I could know, let me now come to an account of his faults, although they can be summed up briefly. In disposition he was somewhat inconsistent, but he controlled this by the excellent habit of submitting, when he went wrong, to correction.

[17] Linguae fusioris, et admodum raro silentis, praesagiorum sciscitationi nimium deditus, ut aequiperare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum, superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur (si revertisset de Parthis), boves

iam defuturos, Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accipimus dictum: οἱ βόες οἱ λευκοὶ μάρκῳ τῷ καίσαρι χαιρεῖν. Ἄν πάλι νικήσης, ἄμμες ἀπωλόμεθα.

[17] He was somewhat talkative, and very seldom silent; also too much given to the consideration of omens and portents, so that in this respect he seemed to equal the emperor Hadrian. Superstitious rather than truly religious, he sacrificed innumerable victims without regard to cost, so that one might believe that if he had returned from the Parthians, there would soon have been a scarcity of cattle; like the Caesar Marcus, of whom (as we learn) the following Greek distich was written: We the white steers do Marcus Caesar greet.

Win once again, and death we all must meet.

[18] Vulgi plausibus laetus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans appetitor, popularitatis cupiditate, cum indignis loqui saepe affectans.

[18] He delighted in the applause of the mob, and desired beyond measure praise for the slightest matters, and the desire for popularity often led him to converse with unworthy men.

[19] Verum tamen cum haec ita essent, aestimari poterat (ut ipse aiebat), vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, eo imperante redisse rursus ad terras, ni quaedam ad arbitrium agens, interdum ostenderet se dissimilem sui.

[19] But yet, in spite of this, his own saying might be regarded as sound, namely, that the ancient goddess of Justice, whom Aratus raised to heaven because of her impatience with men's sins, returned to earth again during his rule, were it not that sometimes he acted arbitrarily, and now and then seemed unlike himself.

[20] Namque et iura condidit non molesta, absolute quaedam iubentia fieri vel arcentia, praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum.

[20] For the laws which he enacted were not oppressive, but stated exactly what was to be done or left undone, with a few exceptions, For example, it was a harsh law that forbade Christian rhetoricians and grammarians to teach, unless they consented to worship the pagan deities.

[21] Illud quoque itidem parum ferendum, quod municipalium ordinum coetibus, patiebatur iniuste quosdam annecti vel peregrinos, vel ab his consortiis privilegiis aut origine longe discretos.

[21] And also it was almost unbearable that in the municipal towns he unjustly allowed persons to be made members of the councils, who, either as

foreigners, or because of personal privileges or birth, were wholly Exempt from such assemblies.

[22] Figura tali situque membrorum. Mediocris erat staturae, capillis tamquam pexis et mollibus, hirsuta barba in acutum desinente vestitus, venustate oculorum micantium flagrans, qui mentis eius argutias indicabant, superciliis decoris, et naso rectissimo, ore paulo maiore, labro inferiore demisso, opima et incurva cervice, umeris vastis et latis, ab ipso capite usque unguium summitates, liniamentorum recta compage, unde viribus valebat et cursu.

[22] The figure and proportion of his body were as follows. He was of medium stature. His hair lay smooth as if it had been combed, his beard was shaggy and trimmed so as to end in a point, his eyes were fine and full of fire, an indication of the acuteness of his mind. His eyebrows were handsome, his nose very straight, his mouth somewhat large with a pendulous lower lip. His neck was thick and somewhat bent, his shoulders large and broad. Moreover, right from top to toe he was a man of straight well-proportioned bodily frame and as a result was strong and a good runner.

[23] Et quoniam eum obtrectatores novos bellorum tumultus, ad perniciem rei communis, insimulant concitasse, sciant docente veritate perspicue, non Iulianum, sed Constantinum ardores Parthicos succendisse, cum Metrodori mendaciis avidius acquiescit, ut dudum rettulimus plene.

[23] And since his detractors alleged that he had stirred up the storms of war anew, to the ruin of his country, they should know clearly through the teachings of truth, that it was not Julian, but Constantine, who kindled the Parthian fires, when he confided too greedily in the lies of Metrodorus, as I explained fully some time ago.

[24] Unde caesi ad internecionem exercitus nostri, capti militares aliquotiens numeri, urbes excisae, rapta munimenta vel diruta, provinciae gravibus impensis exhaustae, et ad effectum tendentibus minis, cuncta petebantur a Persis, ad usque Bithynos et litora Propontidis.

[24] This it was that caused the annihilation of our armies, the capture so often of whole companies of soldiers, the destruction of cities, the seizure or overthrow of fortresses, the exhaustion of our provinces by heavy expenses, and the threats of the Persians which were soon brought into effect, as they claimed everything as far as Bithynia and the shores of the Propontis.

[25] At in Galliis barbarico tumore gliscente, diffusis per nostra Germanis, iamque Alpius ad vastandam Italiam perrumpendis nihil (multa et nefanda perpeccis hominibus), praeter lacrimas supererat et terrores, ubi et praeteritorum recordatio erat acerba, et expectatio tristior impendentium. Quae omnia iuvenis iste, ad occiduam plagam specie Caesaris missus, regesque pro mancipiis agitans ignobilibus, cuncta paene mira dictu celeritate

correxit.

[25] But in Gaul, where barbarian arrogance grew apace, as the Germans swarmed through our territories, and the Alps were on the point of being forced with the resulting devastation of Italy, after the inhabitants had suffered many unspeakable woes, nothing was left save tears and fears, since the recollection of the past was bitter and the anticipation of what threatened was sadder still: all this that young man, sent to the western region, a Caesar in name only, wholly corrected with almost incredible speed, driving kings before him like common slaves.

[26] Ita que ut Orientem pari studio recrearet, adortus est Persas, triumphum exinde relaturus, et cognomentum, si consiliis eius et factis illustribus decreta caelestia congruissent.

[26] And in order to restore the Orient with similar energy, he attacked the Persians, and he would have won from them a triumph and a surname, if the decrees of heaven had been in accord with his plans and his splendid deeds.

[27] Et cum sciamus adeo experimenta quosdam ridere improvidos, ut bella interdum victi, et naufragi repetant maria, et ad difficultates redeant quibus succubere saepissime, sunt qui reprehendant paria repetisse principem ubique victorem. Iovianus, primicerius domesticorum protectorum, tumultuarie eligitur imperator. Nec fuit post haec lamentis aut fletibus locus. Corpore enim curato pro copia rerum et temporis, ut ubi ipse olim statuerat, conderetur, principio lucis secutae, quae erat quintum Kalendas Iulias, hostibus ex omni latere circumfusi, collecti duces exercitus, advocatisque legionum principiis et turmarum, super creando principe consultabant.

[27] And although we know that some men thoughtlessly laugh at experience to such an extent that they sometimes renew wars when defeated, and go to sea again after shipwreck, and return to meet difficulties to which they have often yielded, there are some who blame a prince who had been everywhere victorious for trying to equal his past exploits. Jovian, commander of the household troops, in tumultuous haste is chosen emperor. After this there was no time for laments or tears. For after caring for Julian's body as well as the means at hand and the circumstances allowed, in order that he might be laid to rest in the place which he had previously chosen, at dawn of the following day, which was the twenty-seventh of June, with the enemy swarming about us on every side, the generals of the army assembled, and having called in the commanders of the legions and of the squadrons of cavalry, they consulted about choosing an emperor.

[2] Discissique studiis turbulentis, Arintheus et Victor, et e palatio Constanti residui, de parte sua quendam hilem scrutabantur; contra Nevitta et Dagalaifus proceresque Gallorum virum talem ex commilitio suo

quaeritabant.

[2] They were divided into turbulent factions, for Arintheus and Victor, with the other survivors of the palace officials of Constantius, looked around for a suitable man from their party; on the other hand, Nevitta and Dagalaifus, as well as the chiefs of the Gauls, sought such a man among their fellow-soldiers.

[3] Quae dum ambiguntur, nulla variante sententia, itum est voluntate omnium in Salutium, eoque causante morbos et senectutem, honoratior aliquis miles, advertens destinatus reluctantem, 'Et quid ageretis,' ait 'si id bellum vobis curandum, commisisset absens (ut saepe factum est) imperator? Nonne posthabitis ceteris, militem instantibus aerumnis eriperetis? Id nunc agite et si Mesopotamiam videre licuerit, utriusque exercitus consociata suffragia legitimum principem declarabunt.'

[3] After some discussion, all by general agreement united on Salutius, and when he pleaded illness and old age, one of the soldiers of higher rank, perceiving Salutius' determined opposition, said: "What would you do if the emperor (as often happens) had in his absence committed to you the conduct of this war? Would you not put aside everything else and save the soldiers from the threatening dangers? Do that now, and if we are permitted to see Mesopotamia, the united votes of both armies will decide upon a lawful emperor."

[4] Inter has exiguas ad tantam rem moras, nondum pensatis sententiis, tumultuantibus paucis (ut in rebus extremis saepe est factum), Iovianus eligitur imperator, domesticorum ordinis primus, paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis. Erat enim Varroniani, notissimi comitis, filius, haut dudum post depositum militiae munus ad tranquilliora vitae digressi.

[4] During this delay, which was slight considering the importance of the matter, before the various opinions had been weighed, a few hot-headed soldiers (as often happens in an extreme crisis) chose an emperor in the person of Jovianus, commander of the household troops, who had claims for some slight consideration because of the services of his father. For he was the son of Varronianus, a well-known count, who not long since, after ending his military career, had retired to a quieter life.

[5] Et confestim indumentis circumdatus principalibus, subitoque productus e tabernaculo, per agmina iam discurrebat, proficisci parantia.

[5] Now Jovian, as soon as he had been clothed in the imperial robes and suddenly brought out from his tent, already hastening through the ranks of the soldiers, who were getting ready to march.

[6] Et quoniam acies ad usque lapidem quartum porrigebatur, antesignani

clamare quosdam Iovianum audientes Augustum, eadem multo maius sonabant: gentilitate enim prope perciti nominis, quod una littera discernebat, Iulianum recreatum arbitrati sunt deduci magnis favoribus ut solebat. Verum cum incurvus ille visus et longior adventaret, suspicati quod acciderat, in lacrimas effusi sunt omnes, et luctum.

[6] And since the army extended for four miles, those in the van, on hearing some men shouting “Jovianus Augustus,” repeated the same sounds much more loudly; for struck by the near relationship of the name, since it differed in only one letter, they thought that Julian had recovered and was being brought out amid the usual great acclaim. But when Jovianus a taller and bent men was seen advancing, they suspected what had happened, and all burst into tears and lamentation.

[7] Quod si gravis quidam aequitatis spectator, in ultimo rerum spiritu factum criminatur improvide, nauticos idem iustius incusabit, si amisso perito navigandi magistro, saevientibus flabris et mari, clavos regendae navis cuilibet periculi socio commiserunt.

[7] But if any onlooker of strict justice with undue haste blames such a step taken in a moment of extreme danger, he will, with even more justice, reproach sailors, if after the loss of a skilled pilot, amid the raging winds and seas, they committed the guidance of the helm of their ship to any companion in their peril, whoever he might be.

[8] His ita caeco quodam iudicio fortunae peractis, Iovianorum signifer quos Varronianus rexerat dudum, cum novo dissidens principe, etiam tum privato, ut patris eius obtrectator molestus, periculum ex inimico metuens iam communia supergresso, discessit ad Persas, ac data dicendi copia quae sciret, docet Saporem iam propinquantem, extincto quem verebatur, turbine concitato calorum, ad umbram imperii Iovianum adhuc protectorem adscitum, inertem quendam et mollem. Hoc ille audito, quod semper trepidis votis optaverat et inopina prosperitate elatus, multitudine ex regio equitatu adiuncta his, qui dimicavere nobiscum, celeri disposuit gradu, agminis nostri invadi terga postremi. Romanos ex Perside redire properantes, procedentesque, crebris proeliis lacesunt Persae et Saraceni, ac magno cum detrimento repelluntur. Quae dum ultro citroque ordinantur, hostiis pro Ioviano caesis, extisque inspectis, pronuntiatum est eum omnia perditurum, si intra vallum remansisset (ut cogitabat), superiorem vero fore profectum.

[8] When this had been done as described, as if by the blind decree of fortune, the standard-bearer of the Joviani, formerly commanded by Varronianus, who was at odds with the new emperor even when he was still a private citizen, just as he had been a persistent critic of his father, fearing danger from an enemy who had now risen above the ordinary rank, deserted to the Persians. And as soon as he had the opportunity of telling what he knew to Sapor, who

was already drawing near, he informed the king that the man whom he feared was dead, and that an excited throng of camp-followers had chosen a mere shadow of imperial power in the person of Jovian, up to that time one of the bodyguard, and a slothful, weak man. On hearing this news, for which he had always longed with anxious prayers, the king, elated by the unexpected good fortune, added a corps of the royal cavalry to the army opposed to us and hastened on, ordering an attack upon the rear of our army. The Romans, hastening to return from Persia, and already on their way, are assailed in frequent battles by the Persians and Saracens, but repel them with great loss. While these arrangements were being made on both sides, in Jovian's behalf victims were killed, and when the entrails were inspected it was announced that he would ruin everything, if he remained within the rampart of his camp (as he thought of doing), but would be victor if he marched out.

[2] Proinde egredi iam coeptantes, adoriuntur nos elephantis praevis Persae, ad quorum fremitum inaccessum terribilemque, equis inter initia turbatis et viris, Ioviani et Herculiani, occisis beluis paucis, cataphractis equitibus acriter resistebant.

[2] But when we accordingly were just beginning to leave, the Persians attacked us, with the elephants in front. By the unapproachable and frightful stench of these brutes horses and men were at first thrown into confusion, but the Joviani and Herculiani, after killing a few of the beasts, bravely resisted the mail clad horsemen.

[3] Dein legiones Ioviorum atque Victorum, laborantibus suis ferentes auxilium, elephantos duo straverunt cum hostium plebe non parva, et in laevo proelio viri periere fortissimi, Iulianus et Macrobius et Maximus, legionum tribuni, quae tunc primas exercitus obtinebant.

[3] Then the legions of the Jovii and the Victores came to the aid of their struggling companions and slew two elephants, along with a considerable number of the enemy. On our left wing some valiant warriors fell, Julianus, Macrobius and Maximus, tribunes of the legions which then held first place in our army.

[4] Hisque sepultis, ut rerum angustiae permiserunt, prope confinia noctis, cum ad castellum Sumere nomine, citis passibus tenderemus, iacens Anatolii corpus est agnitum quod tumultuaria opera terrae mandatum est. Hic et milites sexaginta cum palatinis recepimus, quos in munimentum vacuum confugisse rettulimus.

[4] Having buried these men as well as the pressing conditions allowed, when towards nightfall we were coming at rapid pace to a fortress called Sumere, we recognized the corpse of Anatolius lying in the road, and it was hastily committed to the earth. Here, too, we recovered sixty soldiers with some court

officials, who (as I have related above) had taken refuge in a deserted stronghold.

[5] *Secuto deinde die, pro capto locorum, reperta est in valle lata planities, in qua castra ponuntur, velut murali ambitu circumclausa, praeter unum exitum eundemque patentem, undique in modum mucronum praeacutis sudibus fixis.*

[5] On the next day we pitched our camp in the best place we could find, a broad plain in a valley; it was surrounded as if by a natural wall, and had only one exit, which was a wide one, and all about it we set stakes with sharp ends like the points of swords.

[6] *Hocque viso, e saltibus nos hostes diversitate telorum et verbis turpibus incessebant, ut perfidos, et lectissimi principis peremptores: audierant enim ipsi quoque referentibus transfugis, rumore iactato incerto, Iulianum telo cecidisse Romano.*

[6] On seeing this, the enemy from the wooded heights assailed us with weapons of all kinds and with insulting language, as traitors and murderers of an excellent prince. For they also had heard from the mouths of deserters, in consequence of an unfounded rumour, that Julian had been killed by a Roman weapon.

[7] *Ausi denique inter haec equitum cunei, porta perrupta praetoria, prope ipsum tabernaculum principis advenire, occisis multis suorum et vulneratis, vi repulsi sunt magna.*

[7] Finally, some troops of horsemen meanwhile ventured to break through the praetorian gate and to come near the very tent of the emperor, but with the loss of many killed and wounded they were vigorously driven back.

[8] *Egressi exinde proxima nocte, Charcham occupavimus locum, ideo tuti, quod riparum aggeribus humana manu instructis, ne Saraceni deinceps Assyriam persultarent, nostrorum agmina nullus ut ante vexabat.*

[8] Then we set out on the following night and took possession of the place called Charcha; here we were safe because there were mounds along the banks, constructed by men's hands to prevent the Saracens from continually making raids on Assyria, and no one harassed our lines, as had been done before this.

[9] *Cumque hinc Kalendis Iuliis stadiis triginta confectis, civitatem nomine Duram adventaremus, fatigatis iumentis, vectores eorum novissimi pedibus incedentes, a Saracena multitudo circumsaepiti, protinus interissent, ni expeditiores turmae nostrorum opem laborantibus attulissent.*

[9] And from here, having completed a march of thirty stadia, on the first of July we reached a city called Dura. Our horses were tired, and their riders,

who marched on foot and fell to the rear, were surrounded by a throng of Saracens, and would at once have perished, had not some squadrons of our light-armed cavalry brought help to them in their distress.

[10] Hos autem Saracenos ideo patiebamur infestos, quod salaria muneraque plurima a Iuliano, ad similitudinem praeteriti temporis, accipere vetiti, questique apud eum, solum audierant, imperatorem bellicosum et vigilantem ferrum habere, non aurum.

[10] We found these Saracens hostile for the reason that they had been prevented by Julian's order from receiving pay and numerous gifts, as in times past, and when they complained to him, had received the simple reply that a warlike and watchful emperor had steel and not gold.

[11] In hoc loco Persarum obstinatione tritum est quadriduum. Nam progredientes nos sequebantur, crebris lacesitionibus retrahentes; cum staremus ut pugnaturi, gradum sensim referentes moris diuturnis excruciabant. Iamque (ut solent extrema metuentibus etiam ficta placere), fama circumlata fines haud procul limitum esse nostrorum, exercitus vociferans immodeste, dari sibi copiam transeundi Tigridis flagitabat.

[11] In this place the persistence of the Persians delayed us for four days. For when we began to march, they followed us, and by frequent onsets forced us to turn back; if we halted to do battle with them, they little by little retired and harassed us by continual delays. But now (since to those who are in fear of the worst even false reports are commonly welcome) the rumour was circulated that the frontiers of our possessions were not far distant; whereupon the army, with mutinous bluster, demanded that they be allowed to cross the Tigris.

[12] Quibus oppositus cum rectoribus imperator, tumentemque iam canis exortu sideris amnem ostendens, ne se periculis committerent gurgitibus exorabat, nandi imperitos asserens esse complures, simulque adiciens, hostiles manus hinc inde margines superfusi fluminis occupasse.

[12] The emperor, as well as the generals, opposed them, and pointing to the river, which was in flood, since the dog-star had already risen, begged them not to trust themselves to the dangerous currents, declaring that very many could not swim, and adding that scattered bands of the enemy had beset the banks of the swollen stream in various places.

[13] Sed cum haec saepe congeminando, refragaretur in cassum, milesque conclamans magno contentionis fragore, minaretur extrema, id impetratur aegerrime, ut mixti cum arctois Germanis, Galli amnem primi omnium penetrarent, ut his magnitudine fluentorum abreptis residuorum pertinacia frangeretur, aut si id perfecissent innocui, transitus fidentior temptaretur.

[13] But when these warnings, though several times repeated, had no effect, and

the loud shouts of the excited soldiers threatened violence, Jovian reluctantly consented that the Gauls, mingled with the northern Germans, should enter the river first of all, to the end that if these were swept away by the force of the stream, the obstinacy of the rest might be broken down; or if they accomplished their purpose without harm, the rest might try to cross with greater confidence.

[14] *Electique sunt ad id negotium habiles, qui maxima prae ceteris flumina transmeare in regionibus genuinis a prima pueritia sunt instituti, et cum latendi copiam nocturna quies daret, tamquam e transenna simul emissi, spe citius ripas occupavere contrarias, Persarumque conculcatis pluribus et truncatis, quos loca servare dispositos, securitas placido vinxerat somno, efficacis audaciae signum, elatis manibus contortisque sagulis, ostendebant.*

[14] For this attempt the most skilful men were chosen, who from early childhood were taught in their native lands to cross the greatest of all rivers. and as soon as the quiet of night gave an opportunity for concealment, as if starting all together in a race, they gained the opposite bank more quickly than could have been expected, and after trampling under foot and killing a great number of the Persians, who had been posted to guard the places, but from a feeling of security were buried in quiet sleep, they raised their hands and waved their mantles, to show that their bold attempt had succeeded.

[15] *Hoc longe conspecto, ardens ad transitum miles ea mora tantummodo tenebatur quod utribus e caesorum animalium coriis, coagmentare pontes architecti promittebant. Fame et inopia suorum adductus Iovianus A. pacem cum Sapore necessariam sed turpissimam facit, traditis V regionibus cum Nisibi et Singara. Quae dum vanis conatibus agitantur, rex Sapor et procul absens et cum prope venisset, exploratorum perfugarumque veris vocibus docebatur, fortia facta nostrorum, foedas suorum strages, et elephantos, quot numquam se regnante meminerat, interfectos, exercitumque Romanum continuis laboribus induratum post casum gloriosi rectoris non saluti suae (ut memorabat) consulere, sed vindictae, difficultatemque rerum instantium aut victoria summa aut morte memorabili finitum.*

[15] When this was seen from afar, the soldiers, now eager to cross, were delayed only by the promise of the pontoon builders to make bridges of bladders from the hides of slain animals. Jovianus Augustus, led by the hunger and want of his men, makes a peace with Sapor which was necessary, but shameful, giving up five provinces, as well as Nisibis and Singara. While these vain attempts were being made, King Sapor, both when far away and when he had come near, learned from the true accounts of scouts and deserters of the brave deeds of our men and the shameful defeats of his army, accompanied by a greater loss of elephants than he had ever known in his reign; also that the Roman army, inured to constant hardship after the loss of their glorious leader, were looking out (as they said), not for their safety, but

for revenge, and would end the difficulties of their situation by either a decisive victory or a glorious death.

[2] Ob quae reputabat multa et formidanda, diffusum abunde militem per provincias, levi tessera colligi posse expertus, et sciens populum suum, post amissam maximam plebem, ultimis terroribus deformatum, simul comperiens, in Mesopotamia relictum haut multo minorem exercitum.

[2] This news filled his mind with fear for many reasons: for he knew by experience that the troops scattered in great numbers through the provinces could easily be assembled by one little ticket, and he was aware that his own subjects, after the loss of so many men were in a state of extreme panic, and, besides, that in Mesopotamia a Roman army had been left which was not much smaller.

[3] Quae super omnia hebetarunt eius anxiam mentem, uno parique natatu quingenti viri transgressi tumidum flumen incolumes, custodibusque confossis, reliquos consortes suos ad similem fiduciam concitasse.

[3] More than all, it dulled his anxious mind that five hundred men together in one swim had crossed unharmed the swollen river, had slain his guards, and had roused their comrades who had remained behind to similar boldness.

[4] Haec inter cum neque pontes compaginari, paterentur undae torrentes, et absumptis omnibus quae poterant mandi, sine utilibus ullis, acto miserabiliter biduo, furebat inedia iraque percitus miles, ferro properans quam fame, ignavissimo genere mortis, absumi.

[4] Meanwhile our men, since the raging waters prevented bridges from being made, and everything edible had been used up, passed two days in wretchedness, deprived of everything useful; excited by hunger and wrath, they were in a state of frenzy and eager to lose their lives by the sword rather than by starvation, the most shameful kind of death.

[5] Erat tamen pro nobis numen dei caelestis aeternum, et Persae praeter sperata priores, super fundanda pace oratores Surenam et optimatem alium mittunt, animos ipsi quoque despondentes, quos omnibus paene proeliis pars Romana superior gravius quassabat in dies.

[5] However, the eternal power of God in heaven was on our side, and the Persians, beyond our hopes, took the first step and sent as envoys for securing peace the Surena and another magnate, being themselves also low in their minds, which the fact that the Roman side was superior in almost every battle shook more and more every day.

[6] Condiciones autem ferebant difficiles et perplexas, fingentes humanorum respectu, reliquias exercitus redire sinere clementissimum regem, si quae iubet impleverit cum primatibus Caesar.

[6] Nevertheless, they offered conditions which were difficult and involved, for they pretended that from feelings of humanity the most merciful of kings would allow the remnants of the army to return, if the emperor and his most distinguished generals would comply with his demands.

[7] *Contra hos cum Salutio praefecto mittitur Arintheus, et dum deliberatur examinatus, quid finiri deberet, dies quattuor sunt evoluti. inedia cruciabiles, et omni supplicio tristiores.*

[7] In reply to this Arintheus was sent to him with the prefect Salutius, but, while a deliberate discussion was going on as to what ought to be determined, four days passed by, full of torments from hunger and worse than any death.

[8] *Quo temporis spatio, antequam hi mitterentur, si exabusus princeps paulatim terris hostilibus excessisset, profecto venisset ad praesidia Corduenae, uberis regionis et nostrae, ex eo loco in quo haec agebantur, centesimo lapide disparatae.*

[8] If the emperor, before letting these envoys go, had used this space of time to withdraw gradually from the enemy's territories, he could surely have reached the protection of Corduena, a rich region belonging to us, and distant only a hundred miles from the spot where all this took place.

[9] *Petebat autem rex obstinatius, ut ipse aiebat, sua dudum a Maximiano erepta, ut docebat autem negotium, pro redemptione nostra quinque regiones Transtigritanas: Arzanenam et Moxoenam et Zabdicenam, itidemque Rehimenam et Corduenam cum castellis quindecim, et Nisibin et Singaram et Castra Maurorum, munimentum perquam opportunum.*

[9] Now the king obstinately demanded the lands which (as he said) were his and had been taken from him long ago by Maximianus; but, in fact, as the negotiations showed, he required as our ransom five provinces on the far side of the Tigris: Arzanena, Moxoëna, and Zabdicena, as well as Rehimena and Corduena with fifteen fortresses, besides Nisibis, Singara and Castra Maurorum, a very important stronghold.

[10] *Et cum pugnari deciens expediret, ne horum quicquam dederetur, adulatorum globus instabat timido principi, Procopii metuendum subserens nomen, eumque affirmans, si redit cognito Iuliani interitu, cum intacto milite quem regebat, novas res nullo renitente facile moliturum.*

[10] And whereas it would have been better to fight ten battles than give up any one of these, the band of flatterers pressed upon the timid emperor, harping upon the dreaded name of Procopius, and declaring that if he returned on learning of the death of Julian, he would with the fresh troops under his command easily and without opposition make himself emperor.

[11] *Hac perniciose verborum ille assiduitate nimia succensus, sine cunctatione*

tradidit omnia, quae petebantur, difficile hoc adeptus, ut Nisibis et Singara sine incolis transirent in iura Persarum, a munimentis vero alienandis, reverti ad nostra praesidia Romani permetterentur.

[11] Jovian, inflamed by these dangerous hints too continually repeated, without delay surrendered all that was asked, except that with difficulty he succeeded in bringing it about that Nisibis and Singara should pass into control of the Persians without their inhabitants, and that the Romans in the fortresses that were to be taken from us should be allowed to return to our protection.

[12] Quibus exitiale aliud accessit et impium, ne post haec ita composita, Arsaci poscenti, contra Persas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis semper et fido. Quod ratione gemina cogitatum est, ut puniretur homo qui Chiliocomum mandatu vastaverat principis, et remaneret occasio, per quam subinde licenter invaderetur Armenia. Unde postea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arsaces, et Armeniae maximum latus, Medis conterminans, et Artaxata, inter dissensiones et turbamenta raperent Parthi.

[12] To these conditions there was added another which was destructive and impious, namely, that after the completion of these agreements, Arsaces, our steadfast and faithful friend should never, if he asked it, be given help against the Persians. This was contrived with a double purpose, that a man who at the emperor's order had devastated Chiliocomum might be punished, and that the opportunity might be left of presently invading Armenia without opposition. The result was that later this same Arsaces was taken alive, and that the Parthians amid various dissensions and disturbances seized a great tract of Armenia bordering on Media, along with Artaxata.

[13] Quo ignobili decreto firmato, nequid committeretur per indutias contrarium pactis, obsidatus specie viri celebres altrinsecus dantur Nemota et Victor ex parte nostrorum, et Bellovaedius, insignium numerorum tribuni, ex parte vero diversa, Bineses e numero nobilium optimatum, tresque alii satrapae non obscuri.

[13] When this shameful treaty was concluded, lest anything contrary to the agreements should be done during the truce, distinguished men were given on both sides as hostages: from our side Nemota, Victor, and Bellovaedius, tribunes of famous corps, and from the opposite party Bineses, one of the distinguished magnates, and three satraps besides of no obscure name.

[14] Foederata itaque pace annorum triginta, eaque iuris iurandi religionibus consecrata, reversi itineribus aliis, quoniam loca contigua flumini ut confragosa vitabantur et aspera, potus inopia premebamur et cibi. Romani fluvio Tigri transito, post diuturnam et maximam cibarium inopiam fortiter toleratam, tandem in Mesopotamiam perveniunt. Iovianus A. res Illyrici atque

Galliarum utcumque ordinat. Et pax specie humanitatis indulta, in perniciem est versa multorum, qui fame ad usque spiritum lacerati postremum, ideoque latenter progressi, aut imperitia nandi gurgite fluminis sorbebantur, aut si undarum vi superata venirent ad ripas, rapti a Saracenis vel Persis, quos (ut diximus paulo ante), exturbavere Germani, caedebantur ut pecora, vel longius amendati sunt venundandi.

[14] And so a peace of thirty years was made and consecrated by the sanctity of oaths; but we returned by other routes, and since the places near the river were avoided as rough and uneven, we suffered from lack of water and food. The Romans, after crossing the river Tigris and suffering continued and great scarcity of food, which they endured with fortitude, at length arrive in Mesopotamia. Jovianus Augustus sets in order, so far as possible, the affairs of Illyricum and Gaul. But the peace which was granted under pretence of humanity caused the destruction of many, who, tormented by hunger up to their last breath, and so going ahead unnoticed by the army, were either, being unskilled in swimming, swallowed up in the depths of the river, or if they mastered the power of the stream and reached the opposite bank, were seized by the Saracens or Persians (who, as I said shortly before, had been routed by the Germans), and were either cut down like so many cattle, or led off farther inland to be sold.

[2] Ubi vero transeundi amnis aperte signum dedere, bucinæ concrepantes, immane quo quantoque ardore, temere rapiendo momenta periculorum, semet quisque reliquis omnibus anteponens, vitare multa et terribilia festinabat, et pars ratibus temere textis, iumenta retinentes hinc inde natantia, alii supersidentes utribus, quidam diversa in necessitatis abrupto versantes, undarum occursantium fluctus obliquis meatibus penetrabant.

[2] But as soon as the trumpets' blast openly gave the signal for crossing the river, it was remarkable with what great eagerness and haste they rushed into all kinds of danger. Each man strove to outstrip all others and hastened to save himself from so many terrors; some used the hastily constructed rafts, holding to their horses as they swam here and there, others seated themselves on bladders, still others under the pressure of necessity found various other helps and rushed in an oblique direction into the waves of the onrushing waters.

[3] Imperator ipse brevibus lembis, quos post exustam classem docuimus remansisse, cum paucis transvectus, eadem navigia ultro citroque discurrere statuit, dum omnes conveheremur. Tandemque universi (praeter mersos) ad ultiores venimus margines, favore superi numinis, discrimine per difficiles casus extracti.

[3] The emperor himself with a few others crossed in the small boats, which, as I have said, survived the burning of the fleet, and ordered the same craft to go back and forth, until we were all transported. At last all of us (except those

who were drowned) reached the opposite bank, saved from danger by the favour of the supreme deity after many difficulties.

[4] Dum nos impendentium aerumnarum opprimit timor, compertum est procursatorum indicio, Persas pontem iungere procul e nostro conspectu, ut post firmatam pacem et foedera, sopitis belli turbinibus, incuriosius gradientes aegros et animalia peterent, diu defatigata, verum cum se proditos advertissent, a conatu nefario destiterunt.

[4] While the fear of impending disasters oppressed us, we learned from the report of our scouting cavalry, that the Persians, too far off to be seen, were making a bridge, in order that when all hostilities should cease after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and our men were marching carelessly, they might attack the sick and the animals which had long been exhausted; but when they found that they were discovered, they gave up their wicked design.

[5] Hac etiam suspicione iam liberi, properantesque itineribus magnis, prope Hatram venimus, vetus oppidum in media solitudine positum, olimque desertum, quod eruendum adorti temporibus variis Traianus et Severus principes bellicosi, cum exercitibus paene deleti sunt, ut in eorum actibus has quoque digessimus partes.

[5] Relieved now from this anxiety and hastening on by forced marches, we approached Hatra, an old city lying in the midst of a desert and long since abandoned. The warlike emperors Trajan and Severus tried at various times to destroy it, but almost perished with their armies; I have related these acts also in telling of their careers.

[6] Unde cognito per porrectam planitiem ad usque lapidem septuagensimum, in regionibus aridis nec aquam inveniri posse praeter salsam et faetidam, nec ad victum aliquid nisi abrotonum et absinthium et dracontium, aliaque herbarum genera ut tristissima, vasa quae portabantur, aquis impleta sunt dulcibus, et mactatis camelis, iumentisque aliis, alimenta quaesita sunt, licet noxia.

[6] Here we learned that on a plain extending for seventy miles through dry regions only water that was salt and ill-smelling could be found, and nothing to eat except southernwood, wormwood, dragonwort and other plants of the most wretched sort. Therefore the vessels which we carried with us were filled with fresh water, and by killing camels and other pack animals we provided ourselves with food, unwholesome though it was.

[7] Et via sex dierum emensa, cum ne gramina quidem invenirentur, solacia necessitatis extremae, dux Mesopotamiae Cassianus, et tribunus Mauricius (pridem ob hoc missus) ad Ur nomine Persicum venere castellum, cibos ferentes, ex his quos relictus cum Procopio et Sebastiano, exercitus parcius victitans, conservarat.

[7] And after completing a march of six days and finding not even grass as the solace of their extreme necessity, Cassianus, the duke commanding the army in Mesopotamia, and the tribune Mauricius (who had been sent long before for the purpose) came to a Persian stronghold called Ur and brought food from the supplies which the army left with Procopius and Sebastianus had saved by frugal living.

[8] *Hinc Procopius alter, notarius, et Memoridus, militaris tribunus, ad tractus Illyricos mittuntur et Galliarum, nuntiaturi Iuliani mortem et Iovianum post eius obitum ad culmen augustum evectum.*

[8] From here another Procopius, a state-secretary, and the military tribune Memoridus were sent to the lands of Illyricum and Gaul, to announce the death of Julian, and the elevation of Jovian (after Julian's decease) to Augustan rank.

[9] *Quibus id mandaverat princeps, ut Lucillianum, socerum suum post depositum militiae munus, digressum ad otium, morantemque eo tempore apud Sirmium, oblatis magisterii equitum et peditum codicillis, quos eisdem tradiderat, properare Mediolanum urgerent, res firmaturum ancipites, et (quod magis metuebatur), si casus novi quidam exsurgerent, opponendum.*

[9] To them the emperor had also given instructions to hand his father-in-law Lucillianus, who after his dismissal from the army had retired to a life of leisure and was then living at Sirmium, the commission as commander of the cavalry and infantry which he had delivered to them, and urge him to hasten to Milan, in order to attend to any difficulties there, or if (as was now rather to be feared) any new dangers should arise, to resist them.

[10] *Quibus imperator secretiores addiderat litteras, Lucillianum itidem monens, ut quosdam lectos exploratae industriae fideique, duceret secum, adminiculis eorum usus, pro incidentium captu negotiorum.*

[10] To these instructions the emperor had added a secret letter, in which he also directed Lucillianus to take with him some men selected for their tried vigour and loyalty, with the view of making use of their support as the condition of affairs might suggest.

[11] *Prudentique consilio Malarichum, ex familiaribus negotiis agentem etiam tum in Italia, missis insignibus, Iovino iussit succedere, armorum magistro per Gallias, gemina utilitate praespeculata, ut et dux meriti celsioris, ideoque suspectus, abiret e medio, et homo inferioris spei ad sublimiora provectus, auctoris sui nutantem adhuc statum studio fundaret ingenti.*

[11] And he took the prudent step of appointing Malarichus, who also was even then living in Italy in a private capacity, as successor to Jovinus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, sending him the insignia of that rank. Thereby he

aimed at a double advantage: first, in getting rid of a general of distinguished service and therefore an object of suspicion; and, second, the hope that a man of slight expectations, when raised to a high rank, might show great zeal in supporting the position of his benefactor, which was still uncertain.

[12] *Iussum est autem ad implenda haec perrecturis, extollere seriem gestorum in melius, et rumores quaquā irent, verbis diffundere concinentibus, procinctum Parthicum exitu prospero terminatum, additisque festinando itineri noctibus, provinciarum militiaeque rectoribus insinuare novi principis scripta, omniumque sentiis occultius sciscitatis, remeare velociter cum responsis, ut comperto quid in longinquis agatur, principatus corroborandi matura consilia quaerantur et cauta.*

[12] Also the men who were commissioned to carry out these plans were ordered to set the course of events in a favourable light, and wherever they went, to agree with each other in spreading the report that the Parthian campaign had been brought to a successful end. They were to hasten their journey by adding night to day, to put into the hands of the governors and the military commanders of the provinces the messages of the new emperor, to secretly sound the sentiments of all of them, and to return speedily with their replies, in order that as soon as it was learned how matters stood in the distant provinces, timely and careful plans might be made for safeguarding the imperial power.

[13] *Hos tabellarios fama praegrediens, index tristiorum casuum velocissima, per provincias volitabat et gentes, maximeque omnium Nisibenos acerbō dolore percussit, cum urbem Saporī deditam comperissent, cuius iram metuebant et simultates, recolentes quae assidue pertulerit funera, eam saepius oppugnare conatus.*

[13] Meanwhile rumour, the swiftest messenger of sad events, outstripping these messengers, flew through provinces and nations, and most of all struck the people of Nisibis with bitter grief; when they learned that their city had been surrendered to Sapor, whose anger and hostility they feared, recalling as they did what constant losses he had suffered in his frequent attempts to take their city.

[14] *Constabat enim orbem eum in dicionem potuisse transire Persidis, ni illi haec civitas habili situ, et moenium magnitudine, restitisset. Miseri tamen, licet maiore venturi pavore constringerentur, spe tamen sustentari potuerunt exigua, hac scilicet velut suoapte motu vel exoratus eorum precibus, imperator eodem statu retinebit urbem, Orientis firmissimum claustrum.*

[14] For it was clear that the entire Orient might have passed into the control of Persia, had not this city with its advantageous situation and mighty walls resisted him. Nevertheless, however much the unhappy people were

tormented with great fear of the future, yet they could sustain themselves with one slight hope, namely, that the emperor would, of his own accord or prevailed upon by their entreaties, keep the city in its present condition, as the strongest bulwark of the Orient.

[15] *Dum gestorum seriem ubique rumores diffunditant varii, in exercitu absumptis commeatibus paucis, quos advectos praediximus, in corpora sua necessitas erat humana vertenda, ni iumentorum caro caesorum aliquatenus perdurasset, unde effectum est ut et armorum pleraque proicerentur et sarcinarum. Adeo enim atroci tabuimus fame, ut si usquam modius unus farinae fuisset repertus, quod raro contigerat, aureis decem mutaretur ut minus.*

[15] While varied rumours were spreading the news of the course of events everywhere, in the army, since the few provisions which (as I have said) we had brought with us were used up, we should have been forced to resort to human bodies, had not the flesh of the slain pack-animals held out for a time; but the result was, that many arms and packs were thrown away; for we were so wasted by fearful hunger, that if anywhere a modius of flour was found (which seldom happened) it was sold for ten gold-pieces, and that was considered a cheap price.

[16] *Profecti exinde Thilsaphata venimus, ubi Sebastianus atque Procopius, cum tribunis principisque militum, sibi ad tuendam Mesopotamiam commissorum, ut poscebat sollemnitas, occurrerunt. Et sequebantur benigne suscepti.*

[16] Setting out from there, we came to Thilsaphata, where Sebastianus and Procopius, with the tribunes and officers of the soldiers which had been entrusted to them for the defence of Mesopotamia, came out to meet us as formal usage required. And after having been courteously received, they joined our march.

[17] *Post quae itinere festinato, Nisibi cupide visa, extra urbem stativa castra posuit princeps, rogatusque enixe precante multiplici plebe, ut ingressus palatio more succederet principum, pertinaciter reluctatus est, erubescens agente se intra muros, urbem inexpugnabilem iratis hostibus tradi.*

[17] After this we went on more speedily, and looking eagerly at Nisibis, the emperor made a permanent camp outside of the city; but in spite of the earnest request of many of the populace to enter and take up his residence in the palace as was usual with the emperors, he obstinately refused, from shame that during his own stay within its walls the impregnable city should be handed over to the enemy.

[18] *Ibi tunc vespera tenebrante, raptus a cena Iovianus, primus inter notarios omnes, quem in obsidione civitatis Maiozamalchae per cuniculum docuimus*

evasisse cum aliis, ductusque ad devium locum, et praeceps actus in puteum siccum, obrutus est saxorum multitudine superiacta, hanc profecto ob causam, quod Iuliano perempto, ipse quoque nominatus a paucis, ut imperio dignus, nec post creatum Iovianum egit modeste, sed susurrans super negotio quaedam audiebatur, invitabatque ad convivia subinde militares. Bineses nobilis Persa Nisibin urbem inexpugnabilem a Joviano recipit oppidani inviti patria excedere et Amidam migrare compulsi. V. regiones cum urbe Singara et XVI. castillis ex pacto Persis optimatibus assignantur. Postridie Bineses, unus ex Persis quem inter alios excellere diximus, mandata regis complere festinans, promissa flagitabat instanter, et principe permittente Romano, civitatem ingressus, gentis suae signum ab arce extulit summa, migrationem e patria civibus nuntians luctuosam.

[18] There, as the darkness of evening was then approaching, Jovianus, chief among all the secretaries, who (as I have already said) at the siege of the city of Maiozamalcha had with others been first to come out through the mine, was taken from the dining-table, led to a secluded spot, thrown headlong into a dry well, and crushed by a great number of stones that were thrown upon him. The reason for this undoubtedly was that, after Julian's death, he too was named by a few as worthy of the throne, and that after the election of Jovian he had not acted with moderation, but was overheard whispering this and that about some business, and from time to time had even invited military officers to his table. Bineses, a noble Persian, receives the impregnable city of Nisibis from Jovian. The citizens were compelled against their will to leave the city and move to Amida. The five provinces, with the city of Singara and sixteen strongholds, in accordance with the treaty were handed over to Persian grandees. On the following day Bineses, one of the Persians, who (as I have said) was eminent beyond all others, hastening to fulfil the orders of his king, urgently demanded what had been promised. Therefore, with the permission of the Roman emperor, he entered the city and raised the flag of his nation on the top of the citadel, announcing to the citizens their sorrowful departure from their native place.

[2] Et vertere solum extemplo omnes praecepti, manusque tendentes flentesque, orabant ne imponeretur sibi necessitas abscedendi, ad defendendos penates se solos sufficere sine alimentis publicis affirmantes et milite, satis confisi adfuturam Iustitiam pro genitrici sede dimicaturis, ut experti sunt saepe. Et haec quidem suppliciter ordo et populus precabatur, sed ventis loquebantur in cassum, imperatore (ut fingebat, alia metuens), periculi piacula declinante.

[2] And when all were commanded to leave their homes at once, with tears and outstretched hands they begged that they might not be compelled to depart, declaring that they alone, without aid from the empire in provisions and men, were able to defend their hearths, trusting that Justice herself would, as they had often found, aid them in fighting for their ancestral dwelling-place. But

suppliantly as the council and people entreated, all was spoken vainly to the winds, since the emperor (as he pretended, while moved by other fears) did not wish to incur the guilt of perjury.

[3] Tum Sabinus fortuna et genere inter municipales clarus, ore volubili replicabat, Constantium immani crudescente bellorum materia, superatum a Persis interdum, deductumque postremo per fugam cum paucis ad Hibitam stationem intutam, panis frusto vixisse precario, ab anu quadam agresti porrecto, nihil tamen ad diem perdidisse supremum, et Iovianum inter exordia principatus, provinciarum muro cecidisse, cuius obices iam inde a vetustate innoxiae permanserunt.

[3] Thereupon Sabinus, distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his wealth and high birth, declared in impassioned language that Constantius once, when the flames of a cruel war were raging, had been defeated by the Persians and finally had been driven in flight with a few followers to the unprotected post of Hibita, where he was obliged to live on a bit of bread which he begged from an old peasant woman; yet up to his last day he had lost nothing, whereas Jovian at the beginning of his principate, had abandoned the defences of provinces whose bulwarks had remained unshaken from the earliest times.

[4] Cumque nihil promoveretur, iuris iurandi religionem principe destinatus praetendente, cum oblatam ei coronam aliquamdiu recusans, coactus denique suscepisset, Silvanus quidam causarum defensor, confidentius exclamavit: 'Ita' inquit, 'imperator, a civitatibus residuis coroneris.' Quo verbo exasperatus, intra triduum omnes iussit excedere moenibus, detestantes rerum praesentium statum.

[4] But when nothing came of this, since the emperor the more stoutly maintained the sanctity of his oath; and when for a time he had refused the crown that was offered him but was finally forced to accept it, one Silvanus, a pleader at the bar, was bold enough to say: "Thus may you be crowned, O emperor, by the rest of the cities," Exasperated by these words, the emperor gave orders that all must leave the walls within three days, they the while expressing horror at such a condition of affairs.

[5] Appositis itaque compulsoribus, mortem siqui distulerit egredi minitantibus, moenia permixta sunt lamentis et luctu, et per omnia civitatis membra una vox cunctorum erat gementium, cum laceraret crines matrona, exsul fuganda laribus in quibus nata erat et educata, orbataque mater liberis vel coniuge viduata, procul ab eorum manibus pelleretur, et turba flebilis postes penatium amplexa vel limina, lacrimabat.

[5] Accordingly, men were appointed to drive them out, and threatened with death all who hesitated to leave. Lamentation and grief filled the city, and in all its parts no sound save universal wailing was to be heard; the matrons tore

their hair, since they were to be sent into exile from the homes in which they were born and reared; mothers who had lost their children, and widows bereft of their husbands, mourned that they were driven far from the ashes of their loved ones; and the weeping throng embraced the doors or the thresholds of their homes.

[6] *Exin variae complentur viae, qua quisque poterat dilabentium. Properando enim multi furabantur opes proprias quas vehi posse credebant, contempta reliqua suppellectili, pretiosa et multa. Hanc enim reliquerunt penuria iumentorum.*

[6] Then the various roads were filled with people going wherever each could find refuge. In their haste many secretly carried off such of their own property as they thought they could take with them, disregarding the rest of their possessions, which, though many and valuable, they were obliged to leave behind for lack of pack-animals.

[7] *Tu hoc loco (Fortuna orbis Romani) merito incusaris, quae, diffiantibus procellis rem publicam, excussa regimenta perito rei gerendae ductori, consummando iuveni porrexisti, quem nullis ante actae vitae insignibus in huius modi negotiis cognitum, nec vituperari est aequum, nec laudari.*

[7] You are here justly censured, O Fortune of the Roman world! that, when storms shattered our country, you did snatch the helm from the hands of an experienced steersman and entrust it to an untried youth, who, since he was known during his previous life for no brilliant deeds in that field, cannot be justly either blamed or praised.

[8] *Illud tamen ad medullas usque bonorum pervenit, quod dum extimescit aemulum potestatis, dumque in animo per Gallias et Illyricum versat, quosdam saepe sublimiora coeptasse, famam adventus sui praevenire festinans, indignum imperio facinus amictu periurii fugiendi, commisit, Nisibi prodita, quae iam inde a Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens a Persis occuparetur, viribus restitit maximis.*

[8] But what grieved the very heart of every patriotic citizen was this, that fearful of a rival to his power and bearing in mind that it was in Gaul and Illyricum that many men had taken the first steps to loftier power, in his haste to outstrip the report of his coming, under pretext of avoiding perjury he committed an act unworthy of an emperor, betraying Nisibis, which ever since the time of King Mithridates' reign had resisted with all its might the occupation of the Orient by the Persians.

[9] *Numquam enim ab urbis ortu inveniri potest annalibus replicatis (ut arbitror), terrarum pars ulla nostrarum ab imperatore vel consule hosti concessa, sed ne ob recepta quidem quae direpta sunt, verum ob amplificata regna triumphales glorias fuisse delatas.*

[9] For never (I think) since the founding of our city can it be found by a reader of history that any part of our territory has been yielded to an enemy by an emperor or a consul; but that not even the recovery of anything that had been lost was ever enough for the honour of a triumph, but only the increase of our dominions.

[10] Unde Publio Scipioni ob recuperatas Hispanias, Fulvio Capua post diuturna certamina superata, et Opimio post diversos exitus proeliorum, Fregellanis tunc internecivis hostibus ad deditionem compulsis, triumphi sunt denegati.

[10] Hence it was that triumphs were refused to Publius Scipio for the recovery of Spain; to Fulvius, when Capua was overcome after long contests, and to Opimius, when, after shifting fortunes of war, the people of Fregellae, at that time our deadly enemies, were forced to surrender.

[11] Id etiam memoriae nos veteres docent in extremis casibus icta cum dedecore foedera, postquam partes verbis iuravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum ilico dissoluta, ut temporibus priscis apud Furcas Caudinas sub iugum legionibus missis in Samnio, et per Albinum in Numidia scelestae pace excogitata, et auctore turpiter pactionis festinatae Mancino dedito Numantinis.

[11] In fact, the ancient records teach us that treaties made in extreme necessity with shameful conditions, even when both parties had taken oath in set terms, were at once annulled by a renewal of war. For example, when in days of old our legions were sent under the yoke at the Caudine Forks in Samnium ; when Albinus in Numidia devised a shameful peace ; and when Mancinus, the author of a disgracefully hasty treaty, was surrendered to the people of Numantia.

[12] Proinde extractis civibus et urbe tradita missoque tribuno Constantio, qui munimenta praesidiana cum regionibus, Persicis optimatibus assignaret, cum Iuliani supremis Procopius mittitur, ea ut superstes ille mandaratur, humaturus in suburbano Tarsensi.

[12] So then, after the inhabitants had been withdrawn, and the city had been handed over, the tribune Constantius was sent to deliver the strongholds, with the surrounding country, to the Persian grandees. Then Procopius was sent with the remains of Julian, in order to inter him, as he had directed when still alive, in the suburb of Tarsus.

[13] Qui ad exsequendum profectus, confestim corpore sepulto discessit, nec inveniri usquam potuit, studio quaesitus ingenti, nisi quod multo postea apud Constantinopolim visus est subito, purpuratus. Iovianus metu rerum novarum per Syriam Ciliciam, Cappadociam, et Galatiam celeriter itinere facto, Ancyrae cum Varroniano filio infante consulatum init ac mox Dadastanae repentina morte fungitur. His hoc modo peractis, discursisque itineribus,

Antiochiam venimus, ubi per continuos dies, velut offenso numine multa visebantur et dira, quorum eventus fore luctificos, gnari rerum prodigialium praecinebant.

[13] Procopius set out to fulfil his mission, but immediately after burying the body he disappeared and in spite of the most careful search could not be found anywhere, until long afterwards he suddenly appeared at Constantinople, clad in the purple. Jovian, fearful of an uprising, quickly marched through Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Galatia. At Ancyra he assumed the consulship with his infant son Varronianus, and shortly afterwards died suddenly at Dadastana. After this business had been thus attended to, we came by long marches to Antioch; where for successive days, as though the divinity were angered, many fearful portents were seen, which those skilled in such signs declared would have sad results.

[2] Nam et Maximiani statua Caesaris, quae locata est in vestibulo regiae, amisit repente sphaeram aeream formatam in speciem poli, quam gestabat, et cum horrendo stridore sonuerunt in consistorio trabes, et visa sunt interdium sidera cometarum, super quorum natura ratiocinantes physici variant.

[2] For the statue of the Caesar Maximianus, which stood in the vestibule of the royal palace, suddenly dropped the brazen ball, in the form of the globe of heaven, which it was holding, the beams of the council hall gave forth an awful creaking, and in broad daylight comets were seen, about which the views of those versed in natural history are at variance.

[3] Quidam enim eos hoc nomine ideo existimant appellari, quod tortos ignes spargunt ut crines, in unum stellis multiplicibus congregatis. Alii eos arbitrantur ex halitu sicciore terrarum ignescere, paulatim in sublimiora surgentes. Quidam currentes radios solis, densiore nube obiecta, degredi ad inferiora prohibitos, splendore infuso, corpori crasso, lucem velut stellis distinctam mortali conspectu, monstrare. Sedit quorundam opinioni, hanc speciem tunc apparere, cum erecta solito celsius nubes, aeternorum ignium vicinitate colluceat, vel certe stellas esse quasdam, ceteris similes, quarum ortus obitusque, quibus sint temporibus praestituti, humanis mentibus ignorari. Plura alia de cometis apud peritos mundanae rationis sunt lecta, quae digerere nunc vetat aliorum oratio properans.

[3] For some think that they are so called because they are numerous stars united in one body, and send out writhing fires resembling hair. Others believe that they take fire from the dryer exhalations of the earth, which gradually rise higher. Others again think that the rays streaming from the sun are prevented by the interposition of a heavier cloud from going downward, and when the brightness is suffused through the thick substance, it presents to men's eyes a kind of star-spangled light. Yet others have formed the opinion that this phenomenon occurs when an unusually high cloud is lit up by the nearness of

the eternal fires, or at any rate, that comets are stars like the rest, the appointed times of whose rising and setting are not understood by human minds. Many other theories about comets are to be found in the writings of those who are skilled in knowledge of the universe; but from discussing these I am prevented by my haste to continue my narrative.

[4] *Moratum paulisper Antiochiae principem, curarumque ponderibus diversis afflictum, exeundi mira cupiditas agitabat: proinde nec iumento parcens nec militi, flagrante hieme die profectus, signis (ut dictum est), vetantibus plurimis, Tarsum urbem Cilicum nobilem introiit, cuius originem docuimus supra.*

[4] The emperor lingered for a time at Antioch, bowed down by the weight of divers cares, but pursued by an extraordinary desire for getting out of the place. Accordingly, he left there on a day in the dead of winter, sparing neither horse nor man, although many signs (as has been said) forbade, and entered Tarsus, the famous city of Cilicia, of whose origin I have already spoken.

[5] *Exindeque egredi nimium properans, exornari sepulchrum statuit Iuliani, in pomerio situm itineris, quod ad Tauri montis angustias ducit, cuius suprema et cineres, siqui tune iuste consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus, sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum praeterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem aeternam divorumque veterum monumenta praestringens.*

[5] Though in excessive haste to leave that place, he determined to adorn the tomb of Julian, situated just outside the walls on the road which leads to the passes of Mount Taurus. But his remains and ashes, if anyone then showed sound judgement, ought not to be looked on by the Cydnus, although it is a beautiful and clear stream, but to perpetuate the glory of his noble deeds they should be laved by the Tiber, which cuts through the eternal city and flows by the memorials of the deified emperors of old.

[6] *Deinde Tarso profectus, extentis itineribus venit oppidum Cappadociae Tyana, ubi ei reversi Procopius notarius et Memoridus tribunus occurrunt, gestorumque aperiunt textum, hinc (ut ordo poscebat) exorsi, quod Lucillianus Mediolanum ingressus, cum Seniaucho et Valentiniano tribunis, quos duxerat secum, cognito quod Malarichus recusavit suscipere magisterium, effuso cursu petierat Remos.*

[6] After this the emperor left Tarsus, and making long marches arrived at Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, where on their return the secretary Procopius and the tribune Memoridus met him. They gave him an account of their missions, beginning (as order demanded) with the entry of Lucillianus with the tribunes Seniauchus and Valentinianus, whom he had taken with him, into

Mediolanum; but on learning that Malarichus refused to accept the position he had gone at full speed to Rheims.

[7] Et tamquam in alto gentis silentio, extra calcem (ut dicitur) procurrebat, et intempestive, parum etiam tum firmatis omnibus, ex actuario ratiociniis scrutandis incubuit, qui fraudum conscius et noxarum, ad militaria signa confugit, finxitque Iuliano superstite in res novas quendam medium surrexisse, cuius fallaciis turbo militaris acerrime concitus, Lucillianum et Seniauchum occidit. Valentinianum enim paulo postea principem, trepidum, et quo confugeret ambigentem, Primitivus hospes tutius amendarat.

[7] Then, as if that nation were in profound peace, he ran off the track (as the saying is), and quite out of season, since everything was not yet secure, devoted his attention to examining the accounts of a former actuary. This man, being conscious of deceit and wrong-doing, fled for refuge to the army and falsely asserted that Julian was still alive and that a man of no distinction had raised a rebellion; in consequence of his falsehoods a veritable storm broke out among the soldiery, and Lucillianus and Seniauchus were killed. For Valentinianus, who was shortly afterwards emperor, in terror and not knowing where to turn, was safely gotten out of the way by Primitivus, his guest-friend.

[8] His ita tristibus laetum aliud addebatur, missos a Iovino milites adventare, quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat, nuntiantes aequo animo Ioviani imperium amplecti exercitum Gallicanum.

[8] This sad news was followed by another message, this time a happy one, namely, that soldiers sent by Jovian, heads of the divisions, as camp parlance termed them, were on the way, reporting that the Gallic army embraced with favour the rule of Jovian.

[9] Quibus compertis, Valentiniano qui cum eisdem redierat, regenda Scutariorum secunda committitur schola, et Vitalianus domesticorum consortio iungitur, Erulorum e numero miles, qui multo postea auctus comitis dignitate, male rem per Illyricum gessit, confestimque mittitur in Gallias Arintheus, ferens litteras ad Iovinum, ut constanter ageret suum obtinens locum, eique mandatum est ut animadverteretur in concitorem tumultus, auctoresque seditionis ad comitatum vincti transmitterentur.

[9] On receipt of this news Valentinian, who had returned with the others, was entrusted with the command of the second division of the targeteers, and Vitalianus, formerly a soldier in the division of the Eruli, was made a member of the household troops; long afterwards he was raised to the rank of Count, but suffered a defeat in Illyricum. Arintheus was hastily sent to Gaul, bearing letters to Jovinus, urging him to act firmly in holding his position; he was also bidden to punish the originator of the disturbance and to send the ringleaders

in the rebellion in fetters to the court.

[10] Post quae (ut videbatur expedire) disposita, apud Aspuna Galatiae municipium breve, Gallicani militis visa principia, ingressique consistorium, post audita gratanter quae pertulerant munerati, redire iubentur ad signa.

[10] After these arrangements had been made as seemed expedient, the officers of the Gallic troops had audience with the emperor at Aspuna, a small town of Galatia; when they entered the council chamber, the news which they brought was heard with pleasure, and after receiving rewards, they were ordered to return to their posts.

[11] Et cum introisset Ancyram imperator, paratis ad pompam pro tempore necessariis, consulatum iniit adhibito in societatem trabeae Varroniano, filio suo, admodum parvulo, cuius vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis ne in curuli sella veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit portendebat.

[11] When the emperor had entered Ancyra, after the necessary arrangements for his procession had been made, so far as the conditions allowed, he assumed the consulship, taking as his colleague in the office his son Varronianus, who was still a small child ; and his crying and obstinate resistance to being carried, as usual, on the curule chair, were an omen of what presently occurred.

[12] Hinc quoque Iovianum, celeri gradu, praescriptus vitae finiendae dies exegit. Cum enim venisset Dadastanam, qui locus Bithyniam distinguit et Galatas, exanimatus inventus est nocte. Super cuius obitu dubietates emersere complures.

[12] From here also the destined day for ending his life drove Jovian swiftly on. For when he had come to Dadastana, which forms the boundary between Bithynia and Galatia, he was found dead that night. As to his taking-off, many doubtful points have come up.

[13] Fertur enim recenti calce cubiculi illiti ferre odorem noxium nequivisse, vel extuberato capite perisse succensione prunarum immensa, aut certe ex colluvione ciborum, avida cruditate distentus. Decessit autem anno tricensimo aetatis et tertio. Cumque huic et Aemiliano Scipioni vitae exitus similis evenisset, super neutrius morte quaestionem comperimus agitatam.

[13] For it is said that he was unable to endure the unwholesome odour of a recently plastered bedroom, or that his head was swollen from the burning of a great amount of charcoal and so he died, or at any rate that he had a fit of acute indigestion from an immoderate amount of food of different kinds. At all events he died in the thirty-third year of his age. The end of his life was like that of Scipio Aemilianus, but so far as I know no investigation was made of the death of either.

[14] Incedebat autem motu corporis gravi, vultu laetissimo, oculis caesiis, vasta proceritate et ardua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram eius aptum inveniretur. Et aemulari malebat Constantium, agens seria quaedam aliquoties post meridiem, iocarique palam cum proximis assuetus.

[14] He walked with a dignified bearing; his expression was very cheerful. His eyes were gray. He was so unusually tall that for some time no imperial robe could be found that was long enough for him. He took as his model Constantius, often spending the afternoon in some serious occupation, but accustomed to jest in public with his intimates.

[15] Christianae legis itidem studiosus et non numquam honorificus, mediocriter eruditus, magisque benivolus, et perpensius, ut apparebat ex paucis, quos promoverat iudices, electurus; edax tamen et vino Venerique indulgens, quae vitia imperiali verecundia forsitan correxisset.

[15] So too he was devoted to the Christian doctrine and sometimes paid it honour. He was only moderately educated, of a kindly nature, and (as appears from the few promotions that he made) inclined to select state officials with care. But he was an immoderate eater, given to wine and women, faults which perhaps he would have corrected out of regard for the imperial dignity.

[16] Dicebatur autem Varronianus pater eius monitu cuiusdam somnii dudum praescisse quod evenit, idque duobus amicis commisisse fidissimis, illo adiecto, quod ipsi quoque deferetur trabea consularis. Sed impetrato uno adipisci non potuit aliud. Audita enim filii celsiore fortuna, antequam eum videret, fatali praeventus est morte.

[16] It was said that his father, Varronianus, learned what would happen long beforehand from the suggestion of a dream, and trusted the information to two of his confidential friends, adding the remark that the consular robe would be conferred also on himself. But although one prophecy was fulfilled, he could not attain the other prediction. For after learning of the elevation of his son, he was overtaken by death before seeing him again.

[17] Et quia huic nomini amplissimum magistratum portendi per quietem praedictum est seni, Varronianus nepos eius infans etiam tum, cum Ioviano patre declaratus est (ut supra rettulimus) consul.

[17] And since it was foretold to the old man in a dream that the highest magistracy awaited one of that name, his grandson Varronianus, then still a child, was (as I have before related) made consul together with his father Jovianus

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LIBER XXVI — BOOK XXVI

[1] Valentiniano, scholae secundae scutariorum tribunus, communi magistratuum civilium et militarium consensu, Nicaeae absenti defertur imperium; et de ratione bissexti. Dictis impensiore cura rerum ordinibus ad usque memoriae confinia propioris, convenerat iam referre a notioribus pedem, ut et pericula declinentur veritati saepe contigua, et examinatores contexendi operis deinde non perferamus intempestivos, strepentes ut laesos, si praeteritum sit, quod locutus est imperator in cena, vel omissum quam ob causam gregarii milites coerciti sunt apud signa, et quod non decuerat in descriptione multiplici regionum super exiguis silere castellis, quodque cunctorum nomina, qui ad urbani praetoris officium convenire, non sunt expressa, et similia plurima, praeceptis historiae dissonantia, discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines assuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum, quas si scitari voluerit quispiam, individua illa corpuscula volitantia per inane, ἄτόμους, ut nos appellamus, numerari posse sperabit.

Valentinianus, tribune of the second division of the targeteers, by general consent of the civil and military officials, is chosen emperor at Nicaea in his absence. And on the principle of the bisextile year. Having narrated the course of events with the strictest care up to the bounds of the present epoch, I had already determined to withdraw my foot from the more familiar tracks, partly to avoid the dangers which are often connected with the truth, and partly to escape unreasonable critics of the work which I am composing, who cry out as if wronged, if one has failed to mention what an emperor said at table, or left out the reason why the common soldiers were led before the standards for punishment, or because in an ample account of regions he ought not to have been silent about some insignificant forts; also because the names of all who came together to pay their respects to the city-praetor were not given, and many similar matters, which are not in accordance with the principles of history; for it is wont to detail the high lights of events, not to ferret out the trifling details of unimportant matters. For whoever wishes to know these may hope to be able to count the small indivisible bodies which fly through space, and to which we give the name of atoms.

[2] Haec quidam veterum formidantes, cognitiones actuum variorum, stilis uberibus explicatas, non edidere superstites, ut in quadam ad Cornelium Nepotem epistula Tullius quoque testis reverendus affirmat. Proinde inscitia vulgari contempta ad residua narranda pergamus.

[2] This is what some of the writers of old feared, who during their lifetime set down their knowledge of various historical events with eloquent pen, but did not publish them while they lived: as also Cicero, a witness worthy of respect, declares in a letter to Cornelius Nepos. Accordingly, disregarding the

ignorance of the vulgar, let us hasten to continue our narrative.

[3] *Hac volubiliū casuū diritate, exitu luctuoso finita, obituque intervallato trium brevi tempore principum, corpore curato defuncti, missoque Constantinopolim, ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur, progresso Nicaeam versus exercitu, quae in Bithynia mater est urbium, potestatum civilium, militiaeque rectores, magnitudine curarum adstricti communium, interque eos quidam spe vana sufflati, moderatorem quaeritabant diu exploratum et gravem.*

[3] So this ferocity of changeable circumstances came to a lamentable end after the death of three emperors at short intervals; and the body of the deceased prince was embalmed and sent to Constantinople, to be laid to rest among the remains of the Augusti. But the army marched on towards Nicaea, which is the metropolis of the Bithynian cities; and the principal civil and military leaders, busied with important cares for the general welfare, and some of them puffed up with vain hopes, were looking about for a ruler who had long been proved and possessed dignity.

[4] *Et rumore tenuis obscuris paucorum susurris, nomen praestringebatur Aequitii, scholae primae Scutariorum, etiam tum tribuni, qui cum potiorum auctoritate displicuisset ut asper et subagrestis, translata est suffragatio levis in Ianuarius Ioviani adfinem curantem summitatem necessitatum castrensium per Illyricum.*

[4] And rumour, in the obscure whispers of a few, touched on the name of Aequitius, who was at that time tribune of the first division of the targeteers, but he did not find favour in the judgement of the more important authorities, because he was rude and somewhat boorish. Then fickle favour was transferred to Januarius, a relative of Jovian, who had charge of the commissary department in Illyricum.

[5] *Quo itidem spreto, quia procul agebat, ut aptus ad id quod quaerebatur atque conveniens, Valentinianus, nulla discordante sententia, numinis adspiratione caelestis electus est, agens scholam Scutariorum secundam, relictusque apud Ancyram, postea secuturus, ut ordinatum est. Et quia nullo renitente hoc e re publica videbatur, missi sunt qui eum venire ocus admonerent, diebusque decem nullus imperii tenuit gubernacula, quod tunc evenisse, extis Romae inspectis, haruspex edixerat Marcus.*

[5] He also was rejected because he was living far away, and under the inspiration of the powers of heaven Valentinian was chosen without a dissenting voice, as being fully up to the requirements and suitable; he was commander of the second division of the targeteers, and had been left behind at Ancyra, to follow later according to orders. And as it was agreed without contradiction that this was to the advantage of the state, envoys were sent to

urge him to hasten his coming; but for ten days no one held the helm of the empire, which the soothsayer Marcus, on inspection of the entrails at Rome, had declared to have happened at that time.

[6] Inter haec tamen, nequid novaretur contrarium placitis, neve armatorum mobilitas, saepe versabilis, ad praesentium quendam inclinaret arbitrium, attente providebat Aequitius, et cum eo Leo, adhuc sub Dagalaifo magistro equitum rationes numerorum militarium tractans, exitialis postea magister officiorum, exercitus universi iudicium, quantum facere nitique poterant, ut Pannonii fautoresque principis designate firmantes.

[6] Meanwhile, however, to prevent any interference with the decision that had been made, and to keep the fickle temper of the soldiers, who are always ready for a change, from turning towards someone who was on the spot, Aequitius made earnest efforts, and with him Leo; the latter was still holding the office of military paymaster under Dagalaifus, commander of the cavalry, and later played a deadly part as chief-marshal of the court. Both endeavoured, so far as their efforts could prevail, being Pannonians and adherents of the emperor elect, to maintain the decision which the whole army had made.

[7] Qui cum venisset accitus, implendique negotii praescius praesagiis, ut opinari dabatur, vel somniorum assiduitate, nec videri die secundo nec prodire in medium voluit, bissextum vitans Februarii mensis, tunc illucescens, quod aliquotiens rei Romanae fuisse norat infaustum. Cuius notitiam certam designabo.

[7] When the emperor arrived in answer to the summons, informed either by presentiments about the task he must fulfil (as was given to be understood) or by repeated dreams, he did not let himself be seen next day, nor would he appear in public, avoiding the bisextile day of the month of February, which dawned at that time and (as he had heard) had sometimes been unlucky for the Roman state. Of this day I will give a clear explanation.

[8] Spatium anni vertentis id esse, periti mundani motus et siderum definiunt veteres, inter quos Meton et Euctemon et Hipparchus et Archimedes excellunt, cum sol perenni rerum sublimium lege, polo percurso signifero, quem ζῳδιακὸν sermo Graecus appellat, trecentis et sexaginta quinque diebus emensis et noctibus, ad eundem redierit cardinem, ut (verbo tenus) si a secunda particula elatus Arietis, ad eam dimensione redierit terminata.

[8] The extent of the revolving year is completed, according to the calculations of men of old who were versed in the movements of the universe and the stars, of whom the most eminent are Meton, Euctemon, Hipparchus, and Archimedes, when the sun, in accordance with the eternal law of the heavenly bodies, has traversed the signs of the heaven which in Greek are called

ζωδιακός, the zodiac, and after the course of 365 days and nights returns to the same turning-point; that is (for instance) when it has started from the second degree of the Ram and after completing its course has returned to the same place.

[9] Sed anni intervallum verissimum, memoratis diebus et horis sex usque ad meridiem concluditur plenam, annique sequentis erit post horam sextam initium, porrectum ad vesperam. Tertius a prima vigilia sumens exordium, ad horam noctis extenditur sextam. Quartus a medio noctis ad usque claram trahitur lucem.

[9] But the true length of a year ends, in the said 365 days and six hours besides, at high noon, and the first day of the next year will extend from the end of the sixth hour to evening. The third year begins with the first watch and ends with the sixth hour of the night. The fourth goes on from midnight until broad daylight.

[10] Ne igitur haec computatio variantibus annorum principiis, ut quodam post horam sextam diei, alio post sextam excurse nocturnam, scientiam omnem squalida diversitate confundat, et autumnalis mensis inveniatur quandoque vernalis, placuit senas illas horas quae quadriennio viginti colliguntur atque quattuor, in unius diei noctisque adiectae transire mensuram.

[10] Therefore, in order that this computation because of the variations in the beginning of the year (since one year commences after the sixth hour of the day and another after the sixth hour of the night) may not confuse all science by a disorderly diversity, and an autumnal month may not sometimes be found to be in the spring, it was decided to combine those series of six hours, which in four years amounted to twenty-four, into one day and an added night.

[11] Hocque alte considerate, eruditis concinentibus multis, effectum est, ut ad unum distinctumque exitum, circumversio cursus annui revoluta, nec vaga sit nec incerta, nulloque errore deinceps obumbrata, ratio caelestis appareat et menses tempora retineant praestituta.

[11] And after deep consideration, by the agreement of many learned men it was arranged that the completion of the year's course has a single definite end, and is neither changeable nor uncertain; so that the reckoning of the sun's course no longer appears beclouded by any error, and the months retain their appointed seasons.

[12] Haec nondum extentis fusius regnis, diu ignoravere Romani, perque saecula multa, obscuris difficultatibus implicati, tunc magis errorum profunda caligine fluctuabant, cum in sacerdotes potestatem transtulissent interkalandi, qui licenter gratificantes publicanorum vel litigantium commodis, ad arbitrium suum subtrahebant tempora vel augebant.

[12] The Romans were long ignorant of all this, since their realm was not yet widely extended, and for many centuries they were involved in obscure difficulties; and they wandered in still deeper darkness of error when they gave over the power of intercalation to the priests, who lawlessly served the advantage of tax-collectors or of parties in litigation by arbitrarily subtracting or adding days.

[13] Hocque ex coepto emerserunt alia plurima, quae falebant, quorum meminisse nunc supervacuum puto. Quibus abolitis, Octavianus Augustus Graecos secutus, hanc inconstantiam correcta turbatione composuit, spatiis duodecim mensium et sex horarum magna deliberatione collectis, per quae duodecim siderum domicilia sol discurrens motibus sempiternis anni totius intervalla concludit.

[13] From this beginning many other errors arose, which I think it superfluous to mention here. These were done away with by Octavianus Augustus who, following the Greeks, corrected the confusion and brought order into this inconsistency by adopting after great deliberation the arrangement of twelve months and six hours, during which the sun in its eternal course through the twelve signs completes a whole year.

[14] Quam rationem bissexiti probatam, etiam victura cum saeculis Roma, adiumento numinis divini fundavit. Proinde pergamus ad reliqua. Valentinianus cum Ancyra evocatus Nicaeam celeriter venisset, una omnium voce iterum eligitur imperator, purpuraque et diademate ornatus, Augustusque appellatus, militem alloquitur. Elapso die parum apto ad inchoandas rerum magnitudines (ut quidam existimant), propinquante iam vespera, monitu praefecti Sallustii, sub exitii denuntiatione statutum est prompta consensione cunctorum, ne potioris quisquam auctoritatis, vel suspectus altiora conari, procederet postridie mane.

[14] This reason for the “bisextile year” Rome, which will live even through the centuries, with the aid of the divine power approved and firmly established. Now let us go on to the rest of our narrative. When Valentinian, on being summoned from Ancyra had quickly come to Nicaea, he was again chosen emperor by the unanimous voice of all. Wearing the purple robe and a diadem, and hailed as Augustus, he addressed the soldiers. When the day unfavourable (as some think) for beginning great enterprises had passed, just as evening was coming on, at the motion of the prefect Salustius it was promptly and unanimously decided that, under penalty of death, no one who held high authority, or had been suspected of aiming at a higher station, should appear in public on the following morning.

[2] Cumque multorum taedio quos votorum inanitas cruciabat, tandem finita nocte lux advenisset, in unum quaesito milite omni, progressus Valentinianus in campum, permissusque tribunal ascendere celsius structum, comitiorum

specie, voluntate praesentium secundissima, ut vir serius rector pronuntiatur imperii.

[2] And when to the chagrin of many, tormented by their vain hopes, the night ended and day at last appeared, the whole army was assembled. Then Valentinian appeared on the plain, was allowed to mount a tribunal raised on high and after the custom of elections was chosen by the favourable votes of all present as a man of serious purpose, to be the ruler of the empire.

[3] Mox principali habitu circumdatus et corona, Augustusque nuncupatus, cum laudibus amplis, quas novitatis potuit excitare dulcedo, praemeditata dicere iam parabat. Eoque (ut expeditius loqueretur), brachium exsertante, obmurmuratio gravis exoritur, concrepantibus centuriis et manipulis cohortiumque omnium plebe urgentium destinate, confestim imperatorem alterum declarari.

[3] Then, wearing the imperial robes and a coronet, with all the praises which the charm of novelty could call forth he was hailed as Augustus, and was already getting ready to make the speech he had prepared. But as he bared his arm, in order to speak more conveniently, a threatening murmur arose, as the centuries and maniples made a loud noise and all the common maniples clashed their shields and all the common soldiers persistently urged that a second emperor should at once be named.

[4] Quod licet non nulli existimarunt, paucis corruptis, ad gratiam fieri despectorum, ex eo tamen id frustra creditum videbatur, quod non emercati, sed consoni totius multitudinis paria volentis clamores audiebantur, documento recenti fragilitatem pertimescentis sublimium fortunarum. Dein ex susurris immaniter strepentis exercitus, cieri tumultus violentior apparebat, et confidentia militis, erumpentis interdum ad pernicioosa facinora, timebatur.

[4] But although some thought that a few had been bribed to do this, in favour of those who had been passed over, yet such a suspicion seemed to have no ground, for the reason that the shouts which were heard were not purchased, but came unanimously as an expression of the wish of the whole throng, since from a recent example they dreaded the frailty of lofty fortunes. Then the whispers of the uproarious army seemed likely to be succeeded by a violent outbreak, and men began to fear the recklessness of the soldiers, who sometimes break out in deeds of violence.

[5] Quod Valentinianus magis prae cunctis ne fieret extimescens, elata prope dextera, vi principis fiducia pleni, ausus increpare quosdam, ut seditiosos et pertinaces, cogitata nullis interpellantibus absolvebat:-

[5] Since Valentinian more than all others feared lest this should happen, quickly raising his hand, with the authority of an emperor who was full of confidence, he had the courage to upbraid some of them as rebellious and

intractable. Then, without further interruption, he delivered the speech which he had prepared: —

[6] ‘Exulto — provinciarum fortissimi defensores, — et prae me fero semperque laturus sum, nec speranti nec appetenti moderamina orbis Romani, mihi ut potissimo omnium, vestras detulisse virtutes.

[6] “I rejoice, brave defenders of our provinces, and I maintain and always shall maintain that it is your services that have bestowed on me, rather than another, the rule of the Roman world, which I neither hoped for nor desired.

[7] Quod erat igitur in manu positum vestra, nondum electo imperii formatore, utiliter et gloriose complectis, adscito in honorum verticem eo, quem ab ineunte adulescentia ad hanc usque aetatis maturitatem splendide integreque vixisse experiundo cognoscitis. Proinde pacatis auribus accipite (quaeso) simplicioribus verbis dicentem, quod conducere arbitror in commune.

[7] The task, then, which was placed in your hands before the ruler of the empire was chosen you carried out expediently and gloriously, by raising to the pinnacle of honours one whom from his earliest youth until the present prime of life you know by experience to have lived with distinction and uprightness. Therefore, I beg of you, listen with friendly ears while I tell you in simple words what I think is best for the common welfare.

[8] Adhiberi oportere in omnes casus socia potestate collegam, contemplatione poscente multiplici, nec ambigo nec repugno, curarum acervos et mutationes varias accidentium, ipse quoque ut homo formidans, sed studendum est concordiae viribus totis, per quam res quoque minimae convalescunt, quod impetrabitur facile, si patientia vestra, cum aequitate consentiens, id mihi quod mearum est partium, concesserit libens.

[8] That to meet all chances necessity demands the choice of a colleague with equal powers, at the demands of much varied reasoning I neither doubt nor dispute, since I myself also, as a man, fear masses of cares and varied changes of circumstances. But with all our strength we must strive for harmony, through which even the weakest states grow strong; and this will easily be attained, if your calmness combined with fairness willingly allows me what belongs to my position.

[9] Dabit enim, ut spero, Fortuna consiliorum adiutrix bonorum, quantum efficere et consequi possum, diligenter scrutanti moribus temperatum. Ut enim sapientes definiunt, non modo in imperio, ubi pericula maxima sunt et creberrima, verum etiam in privatis cottidianisque rationibus, alienum ad amicitiam, cum iudicaverit quisquam prudens, adiungere sibi debebit, non cum adiunxerit, iudicare.

[9] For Fortune (I hope) which aids good purposes, so far as I can accomplish

this and effect it, will give me after careful search a man of sober character. For as the philosophers teach us, not only in royal power, where the greatest and most numerous dangers are found, but also in the relations of private and everyday life, a stranger ought to be admitted to friendship by a prudent man only after he has first tested him; not tested after he has been admitted to friendship.

[10] Haec cum spe laetiorum polliceor, vos firmitatem factorum retinentes et fidem, dum hiberna patitur quies, animorum reparate vigorem atque membrorum, ob nuncupationem augustam, debita protinus accepturi.'

[10] This I promise you with the hope of a happier future. Do you, while the winter rest allows, retain your firmness and loyalty of conduct and refresh your strength of spirit and body: then be sure that you will receive without delay what is your due because of your imperial nomination of myself.

[11] Finita oratione, quam auctoritas erexerat inopina, flexit imperator in suam sententiam universos, consiliiue eius viam secuti, qui paulo ante flagrantissimis vocibus aliud postulabant, circumsaepum aquilis et vexillis, agminibusque diversorum ordinum ambitiose stipatum, iamque terribilem, duxerunt in regiam. De Aproniani Praefectura urbana Romae. Dum haec in Oriente volubiles fatorum explicant sortes, Apronianus regens urbem aeternam, iudex integer et severus, inter curarum praecipua, quibus haec praefectura saepe sollicitatur, id primum opera curabat enixa, ut veneficos (qui tunc rarescebant) captos postque agitas quaestiones nocuisse quibusdam apertissime confutatos, indicatis consciis morte multaret, atque ita paucorum discrimine reliquos (siqui laterent), formidine parium exturbaret.

[11] Having finished his address, to which his unexpected assumption of authority had given greater weight, the emperor gained the favour of the soldier received five *aurei*. The custom was finally abolished by Justinian. whole assembly; and even those who shortly before were with excited cries making another demand followed his advice and escorted him to the imperial quarters, surrounded by eagles and standards, with a splendid retinue of various ranks, and already an object of fear.

On the city prefecture of Apronianus at Rome.

While the changing lots of the fates were unfolding these events in the Orient, Apronianus, prefect of the eternal city, a just and strict official, among urgent cares with which that office is often burdened, made it his first main effort that the sorcerers, who at that time were becoming few in number, should be arrested, and that those who, after having been put to the question, were clearly convicted of having harmed anybody, after naming their accomplices, should be punished with death; and that thus through the danger to a few, the remainder, if any were still in concealment, might be driven away through

dread of a similar fate.

[2] Haec egisse ideo efficaciter fertur, quod Iuliani promotus arbitrio, agentis etiam tum per Syrias, in itinere unum amiserat oculum, suspicatusque artibus se nefariis appetitum, iusto quidem sed inusitato dolore, haec et alia magna quaeritabat industria. Unde quibusdam atrox visus est, in amphitheatrali curriculo undatim coeunte aliquotiens plebe, causas dispiciens criminum maximorum.

[2] In this work he is said to have shown special activity for the following reason, namely, that after his appointment by authority of Julian, when he was still living in Syria, he had lost one eye on the way, and suspecting that he had been attacked by wicked arts, with justifiable but extraordinary resentment he tracked out these and other crimes with great energy. In this he seemed cruel to some because more than once during the races in the ampitheatre, while throngs of people were crowding in, he investigated the greatest crimes.

[3] Denique post huius modi vindicata complura, Hilarinum aurigam convictum atque confessum, vixdum pubescentem filium suum venefico tradidisse, docendum secretiora quaedam legibus interdicta, ut nullo conscio adminiculis iuvaretur internis, capitali animadversione damnavit. Qui laxius retinente carnifice, subito lapsus, confugit ad ritus Christiani sacrarium, abstractusque exinde ilico, abscisa cervice consumptus est.

[3] Finally, after many punishments of the kind, a charioteer called Hilarinus was convicted on his own confession of having entrusted his son, who had barely reached the age of puberty, to a mixer of poisons to be instructed in certain secret practices forbidden by law, in order to use his help at home without other witnesses; and he was condemned to death. But since the executioner was lax in guarding him, the man suddenly escaped and took refuge in a chapel of the Christian sect; however, he was at once dragged from there and beheaded.

[4] Verum haec similiaque tum etiam ut coercenda, mox cavebantur, et nulli vel admodum pauci, in his versati flagitiis, vigori publico insultarunt, sed tempore secuto longaeva impunitas nutritivimmania, usque eo grassante licentia, ut imitatus Hilarinum quidam senator, servumque suum modo non per syngrapham arcanis piacularibus inducendum, commisisse doctori malarum artium confutatus, supplicium redimeret, opima mercede, ut crebrior fama vulgarat.

[4] But efforts were still made to check these and similar offences, and none, or at any rate very few, who were engaged in such abominations defied the public diligence. But later, long-continued impunity nourished these monstrous offences, and lawlessness went so far that a certain senator followed the example of Hilarinus, and was convicted of having apprenticed a

slave of his almost by a written contract to a teacher of evil practices to be initiated into criminal secrets; but he bought escape from the death penalty, as current gossip asserted, for a large sum of money.

[5] Isque ipse, hoc genere quo iactatum est, absolutus, cum vitae pudere deberet et culpae, non abolendae incubuit maculae, sed tamquam inter multos probrosos, solus vacuus ab omni delicto, equo phalerato insidens, discurrensque per silices, multa post se nunc usque trahit agmina servulorum, per novum quoddam insigne, curiosius spectari affectans, ut Duillium accepimus veterem, post gloriosa illa navalis rei certamina, id sibi sumpsisse ut tibicine lenius praecinente rediret ad sua post cenam.

[5] And this very man, after being freed in the manner alleged, although he ought to be ashamed of his life and his offence, has made no effort to get rid of the stain on his character, but as if among many wicked men he alone was free from any fault, mounts a caparisoned horse and rides over the pavements, and even now is followed by great bands of slaves, by a new kind of distinction aiming to draw special attention to himself. Just as we hear of Duillius of old, that after that glorious sea-fight, he assumed the privilege, when he returned home after a dinner, of having a flute-player play soft music before him.

[6] Sub hoc tamen Aproniano, ita iugiter copia necessariorum exuberavit, ut nulla saltim levia murmura super inopia victui congruentium, orerentur, quod assidue Romae contingit. Valentinianus Valentem fratrem suum Nicomediae tribunum stabuli, ac mox apud Constantinopolim in Hebdomo, consentiente exercitu, consortem imperii constituit. At in Bithynia Valentinianus princeps (ut praediximus) declaratus, dato in perendinum diem signo proficiscendi, convocatis primoribus, quasi tuta consilia, quam sibi placentia, secuturus, percunctabatur, quemnam ad imperii consortium oporteret assumi, silentibusque cunctis, Dagalaifus tunc equestris militiae rector, respondit fidentius: ‘Si tuos amas’ inquit, ‘imperator optime, habes fratrem; si rem publicam, quaere quem vestias.’

[6] However, under this Apronianus there was such a constant abundance of all necessary articles of food, that there never arose even the slightest murmur about a scarcity of victuals — a thing which constantly happens in Rome. Valentinian appoints his brother Valens tribune of the stable at Nicomedia; then in the Hebdomum at Constantinople, with the consent of the army, he takes him as colleague in the imperial power. Now Valentinian was chosen emperor in Bithynia (as we have said before). He gave the signal for the march for the next day but one, and assembling the chief civil and military officials, as if ready to follow safe and sound advice rather than his own inclination, inquired who ought to be chosen as partner in the rule. When all the rest were silent, Dagalaifus, at that time commander of the cavalry, boldly answered: “If you love your relatives, most excellent emperor, you have a

brother; if it is the state that you love, seek out another man to clothe with the purple.”

[2] Quo dicto asperatus ille sed tacitus, et occultans quae cogitabat, Nicomediam itineribus citis ingressus, Kalendis Martiis Valentem fratrem stabulo suo cum tribunatus dignitate praefecit.

[2] The emperor, angered by this, but keeping silence and concealing his thoughts, forcing the pace, entered Nicomedia on the first of March, and appointed his brother Valens chief of his stable with the rank of tribune.

[3] Indeque cum venisset Constantinopolim, multa secum ipse diu volvens, et magnitudine urgentium negotiorum iam se superari considerans, nihil morandum ratus, quintum Kalendas Aprilis, productum eundem Valentem in suburbanum, universorum sententiis concinentibus — nec enim audebat quisquam refragari, — Augustum pronuntiavit, decoreque imperatorii cultus ornatum, et tempora diademate redimitum, in eodem vehiculo secum reduxit, participem quidem legitimum potestatis, sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus.

[3] Then, on his arrival in Constantinople, after much counsel with himself, considering that he was already unequal to the amount of pressing business and believing that there was no room for delay, on the twenty-eighth of March he brought the aforesaid Valens into one of the suburbs and with the consent of all (for no one ventured to oppose) proclaimed him Augustus. Then he adorned him with the imperial insignia and put a diadem on his head, and brought him back in his own carriage, thus having indeed a lawful partner in his power, but, as the further course of our narrative will show, one who was as compliant as a subordinate.

[4] Quibus ita nullo inturbante perfectis, constricti rapidis febribus, imperatores ambo diu spe vivendi firmata, ut erant in inquirendis rebus graviores quam in componendis, suspectas morborum causas investigandas acerrime, Ursatio officiorum magistro, Delmatae crudo, et Viventio Sisciano, quaestori tunc commiserunt, ut loquebatur pertinax rumor, invidiam cientes Iuliani memoriae principis, amicisque eius, tamquam clandestinis praestigiis laesi. Sed hoc evanuit facile, ne verbo quidem tenus insidiarum indicio ullo reperto.

[4] No sooner were these arrangements perfected without disturbance than both emperors were seized with violent and lingering fevers; but as soon as their hope of life was assured, being more successful in investigating various matters than in settling them, they commissioned Ursatius, the chief-marshal of the court, a rough Dalmatian, and Viventius of Siscia, who was then quaestor, to make a strict investigation of what they suspected to be the cause of these diseases. Persistent rumour had it, that their purpose was, by asserting

that they had been harmed by secret sorcery, to rouse hatred of the memory of the emperor Julian and his friends. But this charge was easily shown to have nothing in it, since no evidence of such plots was found, even in a single word.

[5] Hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanum, bellicum canentibus bucinis, excitae gentes saevissimae, limites sibi proximos persultabant. Gallias Raetiasque simul Alamanni populabantur; Sarmatae Pannonias et Quadi; Picti Saxonesque et Scotti, et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis; Austoriani Mauricaeque aliae gentes, Africam solito acrius incursabant; Thracias et Pannonias diripiebant praedatorii globi Gothorum.

[5] At this time, as if trumpets were sounding the war-note throughout the whole Roman world, the most savage peoples roused themselves and poured across the nearest frontiers. At the same time the Alamanni were devastating Gaul and Raetia, the Sarmatae and Quadi Pannonia, while the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti were harassing the Britons with constant disasters. The Austoriani and other Moorish tribes raided Africa more fiercely than ever and predatory bands of Goths were plundering Thrace and Pannonia.

[6] Persarum rex manus Armeniis iniectabat, eos in suam dicionem ex integro vocare vi nimia properans, sed iniuste causando, quod post Ioviani excessum, cum quo foedera firmarat et pacem, nihil ob stare debebit, quo minus ea recuperaret, quae antea ad maiores suos pertinuisse monstrabat. Imperatores ambo comites et militares numeros inter se partiuntur; et paullo post alter Mediolani, alter Constantinopoli I. consulatum ineunt. Alamanni Gallias vastant; Procopius in Oriente res novas molitur. Acta igitur tranquillius hieme, concordissimi principes, unus nuncupatione praelatus, alter honori specie tenus adiunctus, percursis Thraciis Naessum advenerunt, ubi in suburbano, quod appellatum Mediana, a civitate tertio lapide disparatur, quasi mox separandi, partiti sunt comites.

[6] The king of the Persians was laying hands on Armenia, hastening with mighty efforts to bring that country again under his sway, under the false pretext that after the death of Jovian, with whom he had concluded a treaty of peace, nothing ought to prevent his recovery of what he claimed had formerly belonged to his forefathers. The two emperors share the generals and the army between them, and shortly afterward, the one at Mediolanum and the other at Constantinople, enter on their first consulship. The Alamanni devastate Gaul; Procopius attempts a revolution in the Orient. So, then, the emperors spent the winter quietly in perfect harmony, the one eminent through the choice that had fallen upon him, the other joined with him in the office, but only in appearance. After hastening through Thrace, they came to Naessus, where in a suburb called Mediana, distant three miles from the city, they shared the generals between them in view of their coming separation.

[2] Et Valentiniano quidem, cuius arbitrio res gerebatur, Iovinus evenit dudum promotus a Iuliano, per Gallias magister armorum, et Dagalaifus, quem militiae rectorem provexerat Iovianus: in Orientem vero secuturus Valentem, ordinatus est Victor, ipse quoque iudicio principis ante dicti provectus, cui iunctus est Arintheus. Lupicinus enim pridem a Ioviano pari modo promotus, magister equitum partes tuebatur eoas.

[2] To Valentinian, in accordance with whose wish the matter was settled, fell Jovinus, who had previously been promoted by Julian to be commander of the cavalry in Gaul, and Dagalaifus, whom Jovian had raised to the same rank. But it was arranged that Victor, who had also been promoted by the decision of the aforesaid emperor, should follow Valens to the Orient, and with him Arintheus was associated. For Lupicinus, who also had formerly been made commander of the cavalry by Jovian, was already in charge of the eastern provinces.

[3] Tunc et Aequitius Illyriciano praeponitur exercitui, nondum magister, sed comes, et Serenianus, olim sacramento digressus, recinctus est, ut Pannonius, sociatusque Valenti, domesticorum praefuit scholae. Quibus ita digestis et militares partiti sunt numeri.

[3] At the same time Aequitius, who was not yet a commander-in-chief, but only a count, was put in charge of the army in Illyricum, and Serenianus, who some time before had been retired from service, being a Pannonian girded on his sword and was joined with Valens in command of a part of the bodyguard. After matters had been thus arranged, the troops also were divided between the two emperors.

[4] Et post haec cum ambo fratres Sirmium introissent, diviso palatio, ut potiori placuerat, Valentinianus Mediolanum, Constantinopolim Valens discessit.

[4] And when after this the two brothers had entered Sirmium, after sharing the places of residence according to the wishes of the superior, Valentinian went off to Mediolanum, Valens to Constantinople.

[5] Et Orientem quidem regebat potestate praefecti Sallustius, Italiam vero, cum Africa et Illyrico, Mamertinus, et Gallicas provincias Germanianus.

[5] The Orient was governed by Sallustius with the rank of prefect, Italy with Africa and Illyricum by Mamertinus, and the Gallic provinces by Germanianus.

[6] Agentes igitur in memoratis urbibus principes, sumpsere primitus trabeas consulares, omnisque hic annus dispendiis gravibus rem Romanam afflixit.

[6] Living therefore in the cities named, the emperors for the first time assumed the consular robes; and this whole year brought heavy losses to the Roman state.

[7] Alamanni enim pererrare Germaniae limites, hac ex causa solito infestius moti. Cum legatis eorum, missis ad comitatum, certa et praestituta ex more munera praeberi deberent, minora et vilia sunt attributa, quae illi suscepta, furenter agentes ut indignissima proiecere. Tractatique asperius ab Ursatio, tunc magistro officiorum, iracundo quodam et saevo, regressi factumque exaggerantes, ut contumeliose despectas gentes immanissimas concitarunt.

[7] For the Alamanni broke through the frontiers of Germany, being unusually hostile for the following reason: when their envoys had been sent to the headquarters, in order as usual to receive the regular appointed gifts, smaller and cheaper ones were given them, which they received with indignation and threw away as unworthy of them. And being roughly treated by Ursatius, who was then court-marshal, a hot-tempered and cruel man, they returned home, and exaggerating what had happened, aroused the savage peoples, on the ground that they had been grievously insulted.

[8] Et circa id tempus, aut non multo posterius, in Oriente Procopius in res surrexerat novas, quae prope Kalendas Novembris, venturo Valentiniano Parisios uno eodemque nuntiata sunt die.

[8] And about that time, or not much later, in the Orient Procopius had started a revolution. This and the Alamannic revolt were reported to Valentinian on one and the same day about the first of November as he was on his way to Paris.

[9] Et Alamannis quidem occurrurum Dagalaifum pergere mature praecepit, qui vastitatis propinquioribus locis, longius discesserant incruenti. Super appetitu vero Procopi, antequam adulesceret, reprimendo, curis diducebatur ambiguus, ea potissimum ratione sollicitus, quod ignorabat utrum Valente superstite, an extincto, memoratus imperium affectarat.

[9] Then Valentinian ordered Dagalaifus to go in haste to meet the Alamanni, who after devastating places near the frontier had withdrawn to a distance without the loss of a man. But as to checking the attempt of Procopius before it became ripe, he was distracted by doubt and anxiety, being especially troubled because he did not know whether Valens was alive or whether his death had led Procopius to aspire to the throne.

[10] Aequitius enim relatione Antoni tribuni accepta, agentis in Dacia mediterranea militem, qui nihil praeter negotium ipsum auditum obscure significabat, ipse quoque nondum liquida fide comperta, simplicibus verbis principem gestorum conscium fecit.

[10] For Aequitius knew of the matter only from the report of the tribune Antonius, who commanded the soldiers in central Dacia and gave a vague account of the affair from that which he himself had heard; and Aequitius himself had not yet heard anything trustworthy, and so merely reported the circumstance to the emperor in simple words.

[11] His cognitis Valentinianus eodem Aequitio aucto magisterii dignitate, repedare ad Illyricum destinabat, ne persultatis Thraciis perduellis iam formidatus, invaderet hostili excursu Pannonias. Documento enim recenti impendio terrebatur, reputans paulo antea Iulianum, contempto imperatore, bellorum civilium ubique victore, nec speratum ante nec exspectatum, ab urbe in urbem incredibili velocitate transisse.

[11] Upon hearing the news, Valentinian, after raising the said Aequitius to the rank of a commander-in- chief, decided to go back to Illyricum, lest the rebel after rushing through Thrace and being already formidable should invade Pannonia with a hostile army. For he was greatly alarmed by a recent example, recalling that Julian a short time before, making light of an emperor who had been victor in all civil wars, contrary to all hope and expectation had passed with incredible speed from city to city.

[12] Verum ardens ad redeundum, eius impetus molliiebatur consiliis proximorum, suadentium et orantium, ne interneciva minantibus barbaris exponeret Gallias, neve hac causatione provincias desereret, egentes adminiculis magnis, eisque legationes urbium accessere nobilium, precantes ne in rebus duris et dubiis, inpropugnatas eas relinqueret, quas praesens eripere poterit discriminibus maximis, metu ambitiosi nominis sui Germanis incusso.

[12] But his eager longing to return was modified by the advice of his confidential friends, who advised, nay begged him, not to give up Gaul to the savages who threatened destruction, and not under that pretext to abandon provinces which needed strong support. These were supported by deputations from famous cities, who begged that he should not leave unprotected in such hard and doubtful times cities which by his presence he could save from the greatest dangers, since the glory of his name would strike fear into the Germans.

[13] Tandem denique utilitate rei perpensus excogitata, in multorum sententias flexus, replicabat aliquotiens, hostem suum fratrisque solius esse Procopium, Alamannos vero totius orbis Romani; statuitque nusquam interim extra confinia moveri Gallorum.

[13] At last, after giving careful thought to what was expedient, he followed the view of the majority, often repeating that Procopius was only his own and his brother's enemy, but the Alamanni were enemies of the whole Roman world; and so he resolved for the present nowhere to leave the boundaries of Gaul.

[14] Et ad usque Remos progressus, sollicitusque super Africa, ne repente perrumperetur, Neoterium, postea consulem, tunc notarium, ad eandem tuendam ire disposuit, et Masaucionem domesticum protectorem, ea consideratione, quod ibi sub patre Cretione quondam comite educatus,

suspecta noverat loca, hisque scutarium adiunxit Gaudentium, olim sibi cognitum et fidelem.

[14] And having returned as far as Rheims, and feeling anxious about Africa, for fear that it might suddenly be invaded, he decided that Neoterius, afterwards consul but at that time a secretary, should go to protect that province, and also Masaucio, an officer of the household troops, bearing in mind that, having had long training there under his father, the former Count Cretio, he knew all the suspected places; and he joined with them Gaudentius, an officer of the targeteers, a loyal man who long had been known to him.

[15] Quia igitur uno eodemque tempore, utrobique turbines exarsere maestissimi, competenti loco singula digeremus, nunc partem in Oriente gestorum, deinde bella barbarica narraturi, quoniam pleraque et in occidentali et in eoo orbe eisdem mensibus sunt actitata, ne dum ex loco subinde saltuatim redire festinamus in locum, omnia confundentes, squaliditate maxima rerum ordines implicemus. Patria et genus, mores, ac dignitates Procopii; deque eius sub Ioviano latebra: et qua ratione Constantinopoli imperator sit appellatus. Insigni genere Procopius in Cilicia natus et educatus, ea consideratione qua propinquitate Iulianum, postea principem, contingebat, a primo gradu eluxit, et ut vita moribusque castigior, licet occultus erat et taciturnus, notarius diu perspicaciter militans, et tribunus, iamque summatibus proximus, post Constanti obitum in rerum conversion, velut imperatoris cognatus, altius anhelabat, adiunctus consortio comitum: et apparebat eum, si umquam potuisset, fore quietis publicae turbatorem.

[15] Because, then, at one and the same time lamentable storms arose on both sides, we shall set down the single events in their proper place, first giving an account of a part of what took place in the Orient, then of the wars with the savages: since most of the events both in the west and in the east took place in the same months; for I fear that by hastening to return from one place to another by leaps and bounds we might confuse everything and involve the course of events in the deepest darkness. The native land, race, character and dignities of Procopius; his hiding-places under Jovian: and how he was proclaimed emperor at Constantinople. Procopius was born in Cilicia of a distinguished family and correspondingly educated, and for the reason that he was related to Julian, who was afterwards emperor, he was conspicuous from his first entry into a public position; and as he was somewhat strict in his life and character, although retiring and silent, he served for a long time with distinction as state-secretary and tribune, and already had prospects of attaining the highest positions. But when after the death of Constantius he became through the change in the situation a relative of the emperor, he aimed higher and entered the order of counts; and it was evident that, if ever he had the opportunity, he would be a disturber of the public peace.

[2] Hunc Iulianus Persidem ingrediens, consociato pari potestatis iure

Sebastiano, in Mesopotamia cum manu militum reliquerat valida, mandaratque (ut susurravit obscurior fama, nemo enim dicti auctor exstitit verus), pro cognitorum ageret textu, et si subsidia rei Romanae languisse sensisset, imperatorem ipse se provideret ocus nuncupari.

[2] When Julian invaded Persia, he left Procopius in Mesopotamia, in association with Sebastianus, who was given the same rank, with a strong force of soldiers, and ordered him (as rumour darkly whispered, for no one vouched for the truth of the report) to act in accordance with the conditions that arose, and if he learned that the Roman power in Persia was weakened, to take measures quickly to have himself named emperor.

[3] Qui iniuncta civiliter agens et caute, Iuliani letaliter vulnerati funus et ad regenda communia comperit Iovianum evectum, falsoque rumore disperso, inter abeuntis anhelitus animae eundem Iulianum verbo mandasse, placere sibi Procopio clavos summae rei gerendae committi, veritus ne hac ex causa indemnatus occideretur, e medio se conspectu discrevit, maxime post Ioviani territus necem, notariorum omnium primi, quem Iuliano perempto veluti dignum imperio paucis militibus nominatum, novaque exinde coeptare suspectum, cruciabiliter didicerat interfectum.

[3] Procopius followed these directions with moderation and prudence, but when he learned that Julian had been mortally wounded and died, and that Jovian had been raised to the rule of the empire, and that the false report was circulated that Julian had with the last breath of his failing life declared that it was his wish that Procopius should be entrusted with the helm of the state, he feared that on that account he might be put to death without a trial. Accordingly, he withdrew from public sight; and he was in special fear after the death of Jovianus, the chief of all the secretaries, because he had learned that after Julian's death Jovianus had been named by a few soldiers as worthy of imperial power, and that from that time on he had been suspected of rebellious designs and had suffered a cruel death.

[4] Et quia se quaeri industria didicerat magna, vitans gravioris invidiae pondus, ad abdita longiusque remota, discessit. Cumque a Ioviano exploratus indagari latibula sua sentiret, et ferinae vitae iam fuisset pertaesum, — quippe a celsiore statu deiectus ad inferiora, etiam edendi penuria, in locis squalentibus, stringebatur, hominumque egebat colloquiis — postremae necessitatis impulsu, deviis itineribus ad Chalcedonos agrum pervenit.

[4] And because Procopius had learned that he was being tracked with extreme care, in order to avoid the weight of greater hatred he retreated to still more remote and secret places. Then hearing that Jovianus was diligently hunting for his hiding-places, and being already thoroughly wearied of living the life of a wild beast — for being cast down from a lofty station to a lower condition and confined to desert places, he actually suffered from hunger and

was deprived of intercourse with mankind — under the compulsion of extreme necessity he came by round-about ways to the vicinity of Chalcedon.

[5] Ubi quoniam ei illud firmitus visum est receptaculum, apud fidissimum amicorum delitescerat, Strategium quendam, ex palatino milite senatorem, Constantinopolim quantum fieri poterat clanculo saepe intermeans, ut indicio eiusdem Strategii patuit, postquam saepius in factionis conscios est inquisitum.

[5] There, since it seemed to him a safe refuge, he hid himself with the most loyal of his friends, a certain Strategius, a soldier of the court guards who rose to be a senator, often going as secretly as possible to Constantinople, as was afterwards known from the testimony of that same Strategius when frequent investigations were held of the accomplices in the cabal.

[6] Ritu itaque sollertissimi cuiusdam speculatoris, ignotus ob squalorem vultus et maciem, rumusculos colligebat tunc crebrescentes, ut sunt acerba semper instantia, incusantium multorum Valentem, quasi cupiditate aliena rapiendi succensum.

[6] And so, after the fashion of some clever spy, being unrecognizable because of his unkempt appearance and his leanness, he gathered the gossip, which was then becoming frequent, of many who, since men are always discontented with present conditions, were finding fault with Valens, as being inflamed with a desire of seizing the property of others.

[7] Cuius diritati adiectum erat incentivum exitiale, socer Petronius, ex praeposito Martensium militum, promotus repentino saltu patricius, animo deformis et habitu, qui ad nudandos sine discretione cunctos immaniter flagrans, nocentes pariter et insontes, post exquisita tormenta quadrupli nexibus vinciebat, debita iam inde a temporibus principis Aureliani perscrutans, et impendio maerens, si quemquam absolvisset indemnem.

[7] To the emperor's cruelty deadly incentive was given by his father-in-law Petronius, who from the command of the Martensian legion had by a sudden jump been promoted to the rank of patrician. He was a man ugly in spirit and in appearance, who, burning with an immoderate longing to strip everyone without distinction, condemned guilty and innocent alike, after exquisite tortures, to fourfold indemnities, looking up debts going back to the time of the emperor Aurelian, and grieving excessively if he was obliged to let any one escape unscathed.

[8] Cuius morum intolerantiae, haec quoque perniciēs accedebat, quod cum ditaretur luctibus alienis, erat inexorabilis et crudelis, et intrepido corde durissimus, nec reddendae nec accipiendae rationis umquam capax, inuisor Cleandro, quem agentem sub imperatore Commodō praefecturam, sublata vecordia, diversas legimus vexasse fortunas, et onerosior Plautiano, qui praefectus itidem sub Severo, ultra mortalem tumens cuncta confuderat, ni

gladio perisset ultore.

[8] Along with his intolerable character he had this additional incentive to his devastations, that while he was enriching himself through the woes of others, he was inexorable, cruel, savage and fearlessly hardhearted, never capable of giving or receiving reason, more hated than Cleander, who, as we read, when prefect under the emperor Commodus, in his haughty madness had ruined the fortunes of many men; more oppressive than Plautianus, also a prefect under Severus, who with superhuman arrogance would have caused general confusion, if he had not perished by the avenging sword.

[9] *Haec lacrimosa, quae incitante Petronio, sub Valente clausere multas paupertinas et nobiles domos, impendentiumque spes atrocior provincialium, et militum paria gementium, sensibus imis haerebant, et votis, licet obscuris et tacitis permutatio status praesentis ope numinis summi concordi gemitu poscebatur.*

[9] These lamentable occurrences, which under Valens, aided and abetted by Petronius, closed the houses of the poor and the palaces of the rich in great numbers, added to the fear of a still more dreadful future, sank deeply into the minds of the provincials and of the soldiers, who groaned under similar oppression, and with universal sighs everyone prayed (although darkly and in silence) for a change in the present condition of affairs with the help of the supreme deity.

[10] *Quae Procopius latenter accipiens, arbitratusque ubi felicius acciderit fatum, negotio levi ad apicem summae potestatis assumi, subsidebat ut praedatrix bestia viso, quod capi potuerit, protinus eruptura.*

[10] All this Procopius observed from his hiding- place, and thinking that when a more favourable turn of fortune should occur, the crown of supreme power could be gained with little trouble, he lay in wait like a beast of prey, ready to leap forth at once on seeing anything which he could seize.

[11] *Cui in haec quae maturabat ardenti, fors hanc materiam dedit impendio tempestivam. Consumpta hieme festinans ad Syriam Valens, iamque fines Bithynorum ingressus docetur relationibus ducum, gentem Gothorum, ea tempestate intactam, ideoque saevissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadenda parari collimitia Thraciarum: hocque cognito, ut impraepecte ipse pergeret quo tendebat, sufficiens equitum adiumentum et peditum, mitti iussit ad loca, in quibus barbarici timebantur excursus.*

[11] And while he was burning with impatience to hasten his designs, fate offered him this most timely opportunity. For Valens at the end of winter hastened to Syria and had already crossed the frontier of Bithynia, when he learned from the reports of his generals that the Gothic tribes, at that time unassailed and therefore very savage, were conspiring together and making

preparations to invade the Thracian provinces. On learning this, in order that he himself might reach his destination without hindrance, Valens ordered a sufficient reinforcement of cavalry and infantry to be sent to the places where inroads of the savages were feared.

[12] Dimoto itaque longius principe, Procopius aerumnis diuturnis attritus, et vel atrocem mortem clementiorem ratus malis quibus afflictabatur, aleam periculorum omnium iecit abrupte, et extrema iam perpeti nequaquam timens, praeunte perdita ratione, facinus adoritur audacissimum; Divitenses, Tungricanosque Iuniores, ad procinctum urgentem per Thracias inter alios celerare dispositos, et Constantinopoli moraturos sollemniter biduum, per quosdam ex eisdem numeris notos sollicitare properans (quia cum omnibus loqui, periculosum erat et arduum), fidem paucorum elegit.

[12] And so, since the emperor was removed to a distance, Procopius, worn out by long-continued troubles, and thinking that even a cruel death would be more merciful than the evils by which he was tormented, hazarded at one cast all perils whatsoever; and without fear now of suffering the worst, led by a desperate resolve he essayed the bold deed of hastening to tempt the legions of Divitenses and the Younger Tungricani, who had been ordered with other troops to hasten to the urgent service in Thrace, and as usual were to remain for two days in Constantinople. This he did by hastening to appeal to certain acquaintances that he had among those same troops; but because it would be dangerous and difficult to speak with all, he confided in only a few.

[13] Qui pellekti spe praemiorum ingentium, sub consecratione iuris iurandi, promiserunt se quae vellet cuncta facturos, favorem quoque polliciti contumeliam, inter quos ipsi potius locum obtinebant in suadendo, stipendiis excellentes et meritis.

[13] These men, enticed by the hope of great rewards, promised under the sanctity of an oath that they would do everything that he wished, guaranteeing also the favour of their comrades, with whom they held an important place in giving advice, since they were the highest paid and the most deserving.

[14] Utque conductum est, ubi excauit radiis dies, idem Procopius, diductus in cogitationes varias, Anastasianas balneas petit, a sorore Constantini cognominatas, ubi locata noverat signa, doctusque per arcanorum conscios omnes in eius studium consensisse, societate coita nocturna, fide salutis data libenter, admissus constipatione vendibilium militum, cum honore quidem, sed in modum tenebatur obsessi, qui ut praetoriani quondam, post Pertinacis necem licitantem imperii praemia, Iulianum susceperant, ipsi quoque Procopium, infausti dominatus exordia molientem, attenti ad omne compendium defenderunt.

[14] So, as had been agreed, as soon as the sun's rays illumined the day, the

aforesaid Procopius, full of conflicting emotions, went to the Anastasian Baths, named for the sister of Constantine, where he knew that the legions had their quarters. There he learned from the confidants of his secrets that their whole number in a meeting by night had united in his support. Then, after a pledge of safety was willingly given him, he was received by the throng of venal soldiers and treated indeed with honour, although he seemed in a way to be held as a prisoner; for just as once before, after the death of Pertinax, the praetorians took up Julianus, when he was a bidder for the imperial power, so now also these troops, with an eye to every possible gain, defended Procopius, as he plotted to enter upon his ill-starred rule.

[15] Stetit itaque subtabidus — excitum putares ab inferis, — nusquam reperto paludamento, tunica auro distincta, ut regius minister, indutus, a calce in pubem, in paedagogiani pueri speciem, purpureis opertus tegminibus pedum, hastatusque purpureum itidem pannulum laeva manu gestabat, ut in theatriali scaena simulacrum quoddam insigne per aulaeum vel mimicam cavillationem subito putares emersum.

[15] So there he stood rather wasted (you would think that he had come up from the lower world), and because a purple robe could nowhere be found, he was dressed in a gold-embroidered tunic, like an attendant at court, but from foot to waist he looked like a page in the service of the palace ; he wore purple shoes on his feet, and bore a lance, and a small piece of purple cloth in his left hand; just as sometimes on the stage you might think that a splendidly decorated figure was suddenly made to appear as the curtain was raised, or through some mimic deception.

[16] Ad hoc igitur dehonestamentum honorum omnium ludibriose sublatus, et ancillari adulatione, beneficii allocutus auctores, opesque pollicitus amplas et dignitates, ob principatus primitias, processit in publicum multitudine stipatus armorum, signisque sublati erectius ire pergebat, circumclausus horrendo fragore scutorum, lugubre concrepantium, quae metuentes ne a celsioribus tectis, saxis vel tegularum fragmentis conflictaretur, densius ipsis galearum cristis aptabant.

[16] Raised in a laughable manner to this dishonour of all honours, he addressed his supporters with servile flattery, and promised them ample riches and dignities as the first-fruits of his principate. Then he appeared in public, surrounded by a number of armed men, and now advancing with more confidence and with upraised standards, attended with a fearful din of shields mournfully clashing together, which the soldiers from fear of his being pelted from housetops with stones or pieces of tile held closely joined together over the very crests of their helmets.

[17] Huic intimidius incedenti, nec resistebat populus nec favebat; accendebatur tamen insita plerisque vulgarium, novitatis repentina iucunditate, ea re potius

incitante, quod Petronium (ut praediximus) divitias violenter augentem, omnes eadem mente detestabantur, qui sepulta iam dudum negotia, et redivivas nebulas debitorum, in diversos ordines excitabat.

[17] And as he advanced more boldly, the people neither opposed nor favoured him; nevertheless, they were aroused by the sudden charm of novelty which is inborn in most of the commons, and they were still more strongly moved because they one and all (as we have already said) hated Petronius, who was enriching himself by violence, and was reviving transactions that were long since buried, and debts of the misty past brought up again against all classes.

[18] Cum itaque tribunal idem escendisset Procopius, et cunctis stupore defixis, timeret silentium triste, procliviores vias ad mortem (ut sperabat), existimans advenisse, per artus tremore diffuse, implicior ad loquendum, diu tacitus stetit; pauca tamen interrupta et moribunda voce dicere iam exorsus, quibus stirpis propinquitatem imperatoriae praetendebat, leni paucorum susurro, pretio illectorum, deinde tumultuariis succlamationibus plebis, imperator appellatus incondite, petit curiam raptim. Ubi nullo clarissimorum sed ignobilium paucitate inventa, palatium pessimo pede, festinatis passibus introiit.

[18] Accordingly, when the said Procopius had mounted the tribunal, and all were filled with amazement, fearing the gloomy silence, and believing (as indeed he had expected) that he had merely come to a steeper road to death, since a trembling which pervaded all his limbs hindered his speaking, he stood for a long time without a word. Finally, he began with broken and dying utterance to say a little, justifying his action by his relationship with the imperial family; then at first by the low whispers of a few, who had been hired for the purpose, later by the tumultuous acclamations of the people, he was hailed as emperor in disorderly fashion, and hastily went on to the Senate House. There finding none of the distinguished senators, but only a few persons of low rank, with rapid steps he hastened to the palace and entered it with ill-omened step.

[19] Mirantur quidam profecto irrisione digna principia incaute coepta et temere, ad ingemiscendas erupisse rei publicae clades, ignari forsitan exemplorum, accidisse primitus arbitantes.

[19] Certainly some may wonder that so laughable a reign, rashly and blindly begun, broke out into such lamentable disasters to the state, if perchance they are unacquainted with previous instances, and think that this happened for the first time.

[20] Sic Adramytenus Andriscus, de genere quidam infimae sortis, ad usque Pseudophilippi nomen evectus, bellis Macedonicis tertium addidit grave. Sic Antiochiae Macrino imperatore agente, ab Emesa Heliogabalus exsiluit

Antoninus. Ita inopino impetu Maximini, Alexander cum Mamaea matre confossus est. Ita in Africa superior Gordianus in imperium raptus, adventantium periculorum angoribus implicatus vitam laqueo spiritu intercluso profundit. Procopius Thracias sine sanguine in suam potestatem redigit, et equites peditesque per Thraciam iter facientes, promissis in verba sua adigit, necnon Iovios et Victores, a Valente adversus se missos, sibi oratione iungit. Igitur cuppediarum vilium mercatores, et qui intra regiam apparebant, aut apparere desierant, quique coetu militarium nexi, ad pacatiora iam vitae discesserant, in insoliti casus ambigua, partim inviti, alii volentes, adsciscebantur, non nulli omnia tutiora praesentibus rati, e civitate occulte dilapsi, imperatoris castra petivere, itineribus festinatis.

[20] It was thus that Andriscus of Adramytium, a man born to the lowest condition, raised himself to the title of a Pseudophilippus and added to the Macedonian wars a third, full of danger. It was thus, when the emperor Macrinus was living at Antioch, that Heliogabalus Antoninus burst forth from Emesa. Thus, by the unexpected uprising of Maximinus, Alexander was murdered with his mother Mamaea. Thus in Africa the elder Gordian was hurried to the throne, but when he found himself entangled in the terror of coming dangers, ended his life with the noose. Procopius reduces Thrace under his power without bloodshed. By promises he gains the support of a division of cavalry and infantry, who were marching through Thrace, and by a speech he wins over the Jovii and Victores, who had been sent against him by Valens. Thus the dealers in cheap dainties, the palace attendants, or those who had once been such, and former soldiers who had now retired to a more peaceful mode of life, a part unwillingly, others voluntarily, were induced to participate in the uncertainties of this unusual enterprise. But some, thinking that anything was safer than the present condition, secretly left the city and went at rapid pace to the emperor's camp.

[2] Hos omnes Sophronias vivacissimo cursu praegressus (tunc notarius) praefectus postea Constantinopoleos, Valentem a Caesarea Cappadocum iam profecturum, ut vaporatis aestibus Ciliciae iam lenitis, ad Antiochiae percurreret sedes, textu narrato gestorum, spe dubia (ut in talibus) percitum et stupentem, avertit Galatiam, res adhuc trepidas arrepturum.

[2] All these were outstripped by the swift course of Sophronias, at that time a secretary and later city-prefect in Constantinople. He met Valens just as he was on the point of leaving Caesarea in Cappadocia, in order to go to his residence at Antioch, since the oppressive heat in Cilicia was already somewhat diminished, and after telling him what had happened, induced him, discouraged by this event and amazed, as was natural at such a crisis, to go to Galatia, in order to take hold of affairs while they were still unsettled.

[3] Qui dum itineribus properat magnis, attentissima cura Procopius in dies agitabatur et noctes, subditivos quosdam ostentans, qui astutia confidenti,

partim ab Oriente, alii e Gallis se venisse et Valentinianum obisse fingentes, cuncta patere novo et favorabili principi, memorabant.

[3] While Valens was hastening on by forced marches, Procopius with strictest attention was busy day and night, and brought forward certain emissaries, who with crafty assurance pretended that they had come, some from the Orient, others from Gaul, and falsely announced that Valentinian was dead and that everything was open to the new and beloved emperor.

[4] Et quia res novae petulanter arreptae, celeritate muniri solent interdum, nequid formidandum omitteretur, confestim Nebridius, in locum Salutii praefectus praetorio, factione Petronii recens promotus, et Caesarius Constantinopolitanae urbis praefectus, in vincula compinguntur, et iubetur civitatem curare solita potestate Phronemius, esseque magister officiorum Euphrasius, ambo Galli institutis bonarum artium spectatissimi, et administratio negotiorum castrensium, Gomoario et Agiloni revocatis in sacramentum, committitur inconsulte, ut docuit rerum exitus proditarum.

[4] And because attempts at revolution, even though audaciously begun, are sometimes wont to be strengthened by quick action, accordingly, that nothing might be neglected which could arouse fear, Nebridius, recently promoted to be praetorian prefect in place of Salutius by the party of Petronius, and Caesarius, prefect of the city of Constantinople, were thrown into chains. Phronimius was ordered to take charge of the city with the usual powers, and Euphrasius was made chief-marshal of the court; both were Gauls, distinguished for their training in the noble arts. The direction of military affairs was entrusted to Gomoarius and Agilo, who were recalled to service — being an unwise appointment, as the result of their treachery revealed.

[5] Quia igitur Iulius comes, per Thracias copiis militaribus praesidens, oppressurus rebelles, si comperisset conata, ex propinquis stationibus timebatur, commentum excogitatum est validum, et quasi iussu Valentis, seria super barbaricis motibus tractaturus, Nebridii litteris adhuc clausi violenter expressis, accitus Constantinopolim, strictius tenebatur. Hacque callida fraude bellatrices Thraciae gentes sine cruore acquisitae, adminicula ausis tumultuariis maxima compararunt.

[5] Therefore because it was feared that Count Julius, who commanded the military forces in Thrace, if he should hear of the attempt, would march from the neighbouring posts to crush the rebels, an effective plan was devised. For a letter was extorted by violence from Nebridius, who was still in prison, in which it was pretended that by Valens' order Julius was to discuss serious measures relating to the disturbances among the barbarians; and so he was summoned to Constantinople and there held in strict confinement. Through this clever trick the warlike nations of Thrace were now won over without bloodshed, and this powerful support was gained by the rebellious venture.

[6] Post quae ita eventu laetiore completa, Araxius exambita regia praetorio praefectus accessit, velut Agilone genero suffragante, alique plures ad aulae varios actus et administrandas provincias sunt admissi, quidam inviti, alii ultro semet offerentes cum praemiis.

[6] After this had been effected with such happy success, Araxius by soliciting the favour of the court became praetorian prefect, under pretext that he was supported by his son-in-law Agilo; and many others were employed in various services at court or in administrative posts in the provinces, some against their will, others because they offered themselves and paid for the positions.

[7] Utique in certaminibus intestinis usu venire contingit, emergebant ex vulgari faece non nulli, desperatione consiliisque ductantibus caecis, contraque quidam orti splendide a culminibus summis ad usque mortes et exsilia corruebant.

[7] And as commonly happens in times of civil strife, some rose from the dregs of the people, led by desperation or by blind ambitions, while on the other hand some men of distinguished origin fell from their high estate even to death and exile.

[8] Ubi per haec et similia factio firmiter videbatur esse composita, restabat ut abundans cogeretur militum manus, et impetratum est facile, id quod in publicis turbamentis, aliquotiens ausa ingentia, vel iustis exorsa primordiis impedit.

[8] When through these and like conditions the party seemed firmly established, it remained to muster a sufficient force of soldiers, and a thing which in public disturbances has often times hampered bold enterprises even when their origin was justified, was managed with ease.

[9] Transeuntes ad expeditionem per Thracias, concitatae equitum peditumque turmae, blandeque acceptae et liberaliter, cum essent omnes in unum quaesitae iamque exercitus species apparebat, promissis uberrimis inhiantes, sub execrationibus diris in verba iuravere Procopii, hanc polliciti pertinaciam, quod eum suis animis defensabunt.

[9] For some divisions of cavalry and infantry which had been raised for the campaign in Thrace passed that way; they were received courteously and generously, and when they were all united in one body, there was already the appearance of an army. Eager for the riches that were promised, they swore allegiance to Procopius with dire penalties for disloyalty, promising to stand by him and protect him with their lives.

[10] Inventa est enim occasio ad illiciendos eos perquam opportuna, quod Constanti filiam parvulam, cuius recordatio colebatur, sinu ipse circumferens necessitudinem praetendebat eiusdem. Adeptusque est aliud tempori

congruum, quod Faustina matre puellae, casu praesente, quaedam acceperat habitus insignia principalis.

[10] There was found, besides, a very favourable means of winning them over, namely, that Procopius took in his arms the little daughter of Constantius, whose memory they honoured, and carried her about, claiming kinship with the former emperor. And he gained another timely advantage in that Faustina, the girl's mother, happened to be present when he had received some insignia forming a part of the imperial adornment.

[11] Adiungit his aliud veloci diligentia maturandum, et electi quidam stoliditate praecipites, ad capessendum Illyricum missi sunt, nullo praeter petulantiam adiumento confisi, aureos scilicet nummos, effigatos in vultum novi principis, aliaque ad illecebras aptantes, quos correptos Aequitius, per eas regiones militum rector, exstinxit genere diverso poenarum.

[11] Also he added another stroke which was to be hastened with swift energy; for certain men chosen for their foolhardy daring were sent to take possession of Illyricum; these set out relying on no other aid than their impudence, using for their purpose goldpieces bearing the image of the new emperor and trying other devices for enticement; but Aequitius, the military commander in those regions, seized them and put them to death in various ways.

[12] Pariaque deinde metuens, obstruxit tres aditus angustissimos, per quos provinciae temptantur arctoe, unum per Daciam ripensem, alterum per Succos notissimum, tertium per Macedonas, quem appellant Acontisma. Hacque cautela vana persuasione rapiendi Illyrici destitutus usurpator indebitae potestatis magna perdidit instrumenta bellorum.

[12] Then, through fear of similar attempts, Aequitius blockaded the three narrow passes leading to the northern provinces, one through Dacia Ripensis, a second, the best known, through Succus, the third through Macedonia, and called Acontisma. And in consequence of these prudent measures, the usurper of illegitimate power was disappointed in his vain hope of seizing Illyricum and lost a great source of material for the war.

[13] Dum haec ita aguntur, atrocitate nuntii Valens percussus iamque revertens per Gallograeciam, auditis apud Constantinopolim gestis, diffidenter incedebat et trepide, ac repentino pavore vias providendi turbante, eo usque desponderat animum, ut augustos amictus abicere tamquam gravem sarcinam cogitaret, fecissetque profecto, ni vetantibus proximis, detractus a deformi proposito, firmatusque meliorum sententiis, agmina duo praeire iussisset, quibus nomina sunt Iovii atque Victores, castra perduellium irrupturos.

[13] While these things were thus going on, Valens, shocked by the terrible news and already returning through Galatia, on hearing what had happened at Constantinople advanced with distrust and fear. His sudden terror made him

unfit for all ways of precaution, and his spirit had sunk so low that he even thought of casting aside his imperial robes as a heavy burden; and he would actually have done so, had he not been kept by the remonstrances of his intimates from the shameful intention and given courage by the advice of better men; accordingly, he ordered two legions, named the Jovii and the Victores, to go on ahead and attack the rebels in their camp.

[14] His iam propinquantibus, ipse Procopius a Nicaea regressus, quo nuper advenerat, cum Divitensibus desertorumque plebe promiscua, quam dierum brevi spatio congregarat, Mydgum acceleravit, qui locus Sangario alluitur flumine.

[14] When these were already approaching, Procopius himself, having returned from Nicaea, to which place he had gone shortly before, with the Divitenses and a promiscuous rabble of deserters which he had got together in a brief space of time, hastened to Mygdus, a place laved by the river Sangarius.

[15] Ubi cum legiones iam pugnaturae congredierentur, inter reciprocantes missilia quasi procursatione hostem lacessens, solus prorupit in medium. Et secundioris ductu fortunae, ex contraria acie velut agnitum quendam Vitalianum, quem si norat ambigitur, Latine salute data blande produxit, eumque porrecta dextera saviatus omnibus hinc inde attonitis.

[15] There the legions were already advancing upon each other, ready for battle, when Procopius rushed alone between them, while they were exchanging volleys, as if he wished to challenge the enemy. And by a stroke of good fortune as if he recognised in the enemy's lines a certain Vitalianus — whether he actually knew him is a matter of doubt — he saluted him courteously in Latin, and called him forward in a friendly fashion. Then he held out his hand to him and kissed him, to the amazement of all on both sides, and cried out:

[16] 'En' inquit 'cana Romanorum exercituum fides et religionibus firmis iuramenta constricta! Placet, fortissimi viri, pro ignotis tot suorum consurrexisse mucrones, utque Pannonius degener, labefactans cuncta et proterens, imperio quod ne votis quidem concipere ausus est umquam, potiatur, ingemiscere nos vestris nostrisque vulneribus! Quin potius sequimini culminis summi prosapiam, non ut rapiat aliena, sed in integrum maiestatis avitae restituatur, arma iustissima commoventem.'

[16] "So this is the old loyalty of Roman armies and their oaths bound by firm religious rites! Is this your pleasure, my brave men? All this mass of Roman swords uplifted for strangers! That a base Pannonian should shake and trample upon the world, to gain a throne which he never so much as dared to pray for, we groan over your wounds and ours! No, no — follow rather the house of your own royal line, one who has taken up arms with the greatest

justice, not in order to seize what is another's, but to restore himself to the possession of his ancestral majesty."

[17] Hac sermonis placiditate molliti omnes, qui acriter venerant pugnaturi, signorum apicibus aquilisque summissis descivere libentes ad eum, et pro terrifico fremitu, quem barbari dicunt barritum, nuncupatum imperatorem, stipatumque de more, consentientes in unum, reduxerunt ad castra, testati more militiae Iovem, invictum Procopium fore. Nicaea et Chalcedone obsidione liberatis, Bithynia in dicionem Procopii redigitur; et mox, Cyzico expugnato, Hellespontus. Huic perduellium prosperitati alia laetior accessit. Rumitalca enim tribunus, in societatem Procopianorum adscitus, et suscepta cura palatii, digesto mature consilio, permeatoque cum militibus mari, ad Drepanum ante, nunc Helenopolim venit, exindeque Nicaeam spe celerius occupavit.

[17] Through these calm words, all the men who had come to fight hotly against him were pacified, and willingly went over to his side with the eagles and the tips of their standards lowered; and in place of terrible shouts that the barbarians call barritus he was hailed as emperor; all crowded about him in the customary manner, and in harmony escorted him back to the camp, swearing, in the soldiers' manner, by Jupiter that Procopius would be invincible. After Nicaea and Chalcedon have been freed from siege, Bithynia is brought under the sway of Procopius, and later, by the taking of Cyzicus, Hellespontus also. To this success of the rebels was added another still happier event. For a tribune called Rumitalca, who had been won over to the party of Procopius and given the charge of the palace, upon a carefully devised plan crossed the sea with his soldiers and came to the place formerly called Drepanum, now Helenopolis, and then with unexpected speed seized Nicaea.

[2] Ad quam obsidendam, cum huius modi pugnarum peritis, Vadomario misso, ex duce et rege Alamannorum, Valens Nicomediam pergit. Exindeque profectus, oppugnationi Chalcedonis magnis viribus insistebat, cuius e muris probra in eum iaciebantur, et irrisive compellebatur ut Sabaiaarius. Est autem sabaia ex ordeo vel frumento, in liquorem conversis, paupertinus in Illyrico potus.

[2] To besiege this city Valens sent, besides others skilled in that kind of fighting, Vadomarius, a former general and king of the Alamanni, and went on himself to Nicomedia. Leaving that place, he carried on the siege of Chalcedon with great vigour, from the walls of which city insults were hurled at him and he was derisively addressed as Sabaiaarius. Now sabaia is a drink of the poorer people in Illyricum, a liquor made from barley or some other grain.

[3] Fessus denique inopia commeatum, et obstinatione nimia defensorum, discedere iam parabat, cum inter haec clausi apud Nicaeam, patefactis subito portis, egressi, munitorum magna parte prostrata, ductore fidentissimo

Rumitalca, properabant ardenter circumventuri Valentem a tergo, nondum a Chalcedonos suburbano digressum, et patrassent conata, ni rumore quodam praeverso, imminens exitium ille perdoctus, instantem vestigiis hostem per Sunonensem lacum et fluminis Galli sinuosos amfractus propere discedendo, frustra sequentem lusisset. Et hoc casu Bithynia quoque in Procopii dicionem redacta est.

[3] Finally, worn out by scarcity of supplies and the very obstinate resistance of the defenders, he was already preparing to depart, when those who had meanwhile been blockaded at Nicaea suddenly opened the gates and rushed out, and after slaying a great part of the besiegers, headed by their bold leader, Rumitalca, hastened eagerly on with the purpose of surrounding Valens from the rear; for he had not left the suburb of Chalcedon. And they would have been successful, if the emperor had not from an earlier rumour learned of the danger that threatened him, and by a hasty retreat by way of the Sunonian lake and the many windings of the river Gallus outwitted the enemy, who were close upon his heels in vain pursuit. And by this mischance Bithynia also fell into the power of Procopius.

[4] Unde cum Ancyram Valens citis itineribus revertisset, comperissetque Lupicinum ab Oriente cum catervis adventare, non contemnendis, spe prosperorum erectior, Arintheum lectissimum ducem occursurum hostibus misit.

[4] When Valens had returned thence by rapid marches to Ancyra and learned that Lupicinus with a force not to be despised was drawing near from the Orient, his hopes for better success were aroused, and he sent his best general Arintheus to attack the enemy.

[5] Qui ubi Dadastanam tetigit, in qua statione perisse diximus Iovianum, Hyperechium, sibi oppositum, repente vidit cum copiis, antehac cellae castrensis apparitorem, id est ventris ministrum et gutturis, cui ut amico Procopius auxilia ductanda commisit. Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiducia corporis, ipsis hostibus iussit, suum vincere rectorem: atque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprehensus suorum est manibus.

[5] When Arintheus reached Dadastana, the station where, as we have said, Jovian died, he suddenly saw Hyperechius and his forces opposed to him; he had before been merely in charge of the commander's supplies (that is, a servant of his belly and gullet), but Procopius had entrusted him as a friend with the command of a band of auxiliaries. And scorning to overcome in battle so despicable a man, relying on his authority and his imposing stature, Arintheus ordered the enemy themselves to put their leader in irons; and thus this shadow of a commander was taken prisoner by the hands of his own men.

[6] Quae dum hoc modo procedunt, Venustus quidam, largitionum apparitor sub Valente, multo ante Nicomediam missus, ut aurum susceptum stipendii nomine, militibus per Orientem diffusis, viritim tribueret, hac tristitia cognita, alienum pervidens tempus, Cyzicum cum his quae susceperat, se citius contulit.

[6] While affairs were proceeding in this way, a certain Venustus, an attendant on the state-treasury under Valens, who had been sent long before to Nicomedia, in order to distribute into the soldiers' hands the money that had been raised for the pay of those stationed in various parts of the Orient, hearing of this unfortunate occurrence, and seeing that the time was unfavourable for his task, quickly made his way to Cyzicus with the money he had received.

[7] Ubi forte Serenianus repertus, domesticorum tunc comes, missus ad thesauros tuendos, urbem inexsuperabili moenium ambitu, monumentis quoque veteribus cognitam, fretus tumulturio praesidio, custodibat : ad quam expugnandam, Procopius, ut possessa Bithynia, sibi etiam Hellespontum iungeret, validam destinaverat manum.

[7] There he chanced to meet Serenianus, at that time commander of the household troops, who had been sent to protect the treasures there; and since the city had an impregnable circuit of walls, and was known because of its old monuments, he tried to hold it, relying on the hastily formed garrison. Procopius had appointed a strong force to storm that city, in order to join Hellespontus to his side now he held Bithynia.

[8] Morabantur autem effectum sagittis et glandibus, ceterisque iaculis, obsidentium saepe globi confixi, et propugnatorum sollertia, claustrum per catenam ferream valde robustam ori portus insertum, quae ne rostratae irruerent naves hostiles, erat altrinsecus colligata.

[8] However, the success of the work was delayed because often whole masses of the besiegers were slain by arrows, slingshots, and other missiles, and through the skill of the garrison the entrance to the port had been barred by a very strong iron chain, which was fastened to the land on both sides, so that even the armoured ships of the enemy could not force their way in.

[9] Hanc post varios militum labores et ducum, fatigatorum acerrimis proeliis, Aliso quidam tribunus abscidit, exsertus bellator et prudens, hoc modo. Coniunctis tribus navigiis, testudinem hac specie superstruxit: densetis cohaerentes supra capita scutis, primi transtris instabant armati, alii post hos semet curvantes humilius, tertiis gradatim inclinatis summis, ita ut novissimi suffraginibus insidentes, formam aedificii fornicati monstrarent. Quod machinae genus contra murales pugnas ideo figuratur hac specie, ut missilium ictus atque saxorum, per decursus cadentium labiles, instar imbrum

evanescent.

[9] This chain, after various efforts of the soldiers and their leaders, who were exhausted by the hot fighting, was broken through by a tribune called Aliso, a distinguished and skilful warrior, in the following manner. He fastened together three boats and built upon them a protective covering after this fashion: in front stood armed men on the thwarts with their shields held close together over their heads, those behind them stooped down somewhat lower, and those in the third rank gradually lower still, so that, since the hindermost rested on their hams, the whole gave the appearance of an arched building. This kind of device, used in battles against walls, has this form in order that the volleys of missiles and rocks, gliding down the sloping side, may flow off like showers of rain.

[10] Itaque coniectu telorum Aliso paulisper defensus, ingenti corporis robore, supposito stipite, eandem catenam fortius bipenni concidens, ita confregit, ut disiecta patefaceret aditum latum, hocque exitu civitas hostili impetu patuit improtecta. Qua causa extincto postea proterviae totius auctore, cum in factionis participes saeviretur, hic idem tribunus, contemplatione facinoris clari, vitam cum militia retinens, diu post in Isauria oppetit, v astatoria manu confossus.

[10] Thus Aliso, defended for the time being from the volleys of missiles, being a man of great bodily strength, placed a block underneath and struck the chain heavy blows with an axe, breaking it in such a way that it fell apart and opened a broad entrance; and by this result the city was exposed unprotected to the enemy's attack. Because of this, when the ring-leader of the whole rebellion was later killed, and the members of his party were cruelly treated, this same tribune, being allowed to keep his life and his position in the army in view of his brilliant exploit, was slain long afterwards in Isauria at the hands of a predatory band.

[11] Hoc Marte Cyzico reserata, Procopius ad eam propere festinavit, veniaque universis qui repugnare donatis, Serenianum solum iniectis vinculis, iussit duci Nicaeam servandum artissime.

[11] When Cyzicus had been opened to him by this martial stroke, Procopius quickly hastened to the city; he pardoned all who had opposed him, except Serenianus alone, who was by his order put in irons and taken to Nicaea to be closely guarded.

[12] Statimque Ormizdae mature iuveni, Ormizdae regalis illius filio, potestatem proconsulis detulit, et civilia more veterum et bella recturo. Qui agens pro moribus lenius, a militibus quos per devia Phrygiae, miserat Valens, subito corripiendus incursu, tanto vigore evasit, ut escensa navi quam ad casus pararat ancipites, sequentem ac paene captam uxorem, sagittarum nube diffusa

defensam, averteret secum: matronam opulentam et nobilem, cuius verecundia et destinatio gloriosa, abruptis postea discriminibus, maritum exemit.

[12] And immediately afterwards Ormisdas, a mature young man, son of the royal prince of the same name, was given the rank of proconsul, and therewith according to ancient usage the control of civil and military affairs. This man acted with great mildness, in accordance with his disposition, and when he was on the point of being seized by a sudden onset of the soldiers whom Valens had sent through by-paths of Phrygia, he made his escape with such vigorous courage, that he embarked on board a ship which he had got ready in case of danger, and carried off his wife safely amid volleys of arrows when she followed him and was all but taken prisoner; she was a rich and distinguished matron, whose high reputation and commendable firmness later saved her husband amid extreme dangers.

[13] Ea victoria ultra homines sese Procopius efferens, et ignorans quod quivis beatus, versa rota Fortunae, ante vesperum potest esse miserrimus, Arbitionis domum, cui antea tamquam eadem sibi sentientis parcebat, ut propriae, iussit exinaniri, mobilis census inaeestimabilis plenam, ideo indignatus, quod venire ad eum accitus, aliquotiens distulit, causatus incommoda senectutis, et morbos.

[13] By this victory Procopius was elated, beyond what is lawful for mortals, and forgetting that any happy man, if Fortune's wheel turns, may before evening become most wretched, he ordered the house of Arbitio, full of priceless furniture, to be completely stripped. Hitherto he had spared it as if it were his own, believing that the man was on his side; but he had been incensed because he had summoned Arbitio several times to come to him and Arbitio had put him off, pleading the infirmities of age and illness.

[14] Et licet hac ex causa praesumptor momentum pertimesceret grave, tamen, cum obsistente nullo se in orientales provincias effundere libenti cunctorum assensione, iam licentius posset, avidas novitatem quandam visere, taedio asperioris imperii, quo tunc tenebantur: erga alliciendas quasdam civitates Asiae legendosque eruendi peritos auri (ut sibi profuturos proeliis, quae magna exspectabat et crebra), segnius commoratus, in modum acuti mucronis obtusus est.

[14] And although for this reason the usurper feared serious consequences, nevertheless, since he could now boldly invade the oriental provinces without opposition, in fact even with the free consent of all — as those provinces were eager to see any change, from their dislike of the strict rule under which they were then held — for the purpose of winning over some cities of Asia and surrounding himself with men skilled in raising money (as likely to be helpful to him in the numerous great battles which he expected) he slothfully delayed and became blunt, just as a sharp sword might.

[15] Ut quondam Pescennius Niger, ad subveniendum spei rerum extremae, a Romano populo saepe accitus, dum diu cunctatur in Syria, a Severo superatus in sinu Issico (qui est in Cilicia, ubi Dareum Alexander fudit) fugatusque in suburbano quodam Antiochiae, gregarii manu militis interiit. Procopius in Bithynia, in Lycia, et Phrygia a suis desertus, et vivus Valenti traditus, capite truncatur. Haec adulta hieme Valentiniano et Valente consulibus agebantur. translato vero in Gratianum, adhuc privatum, et Dagalaifum amplissimo magistratu, aperto iam vere, suscitatis viribus Valens, iuncto sibi Lupicino cum robustis auxiliis, Pessinunta signa propere tulit, Phrygiae quondam, nunc Galatae oppidum.

[15] Exactly so formerly Pescennius Niger, when often summoned by the Roman people to aid them in their expectation of extreme need, while he was delaying a long time in Syria, was defeated by Severus at the Issic Gulf (which is in Cilicia, where Alexander routed Darius), and driven from the field lost his life in a suburb of Antioch at the hands of a common soldier. Procopius, deserted by his followers in Bithynia, Lycia, and Phrygia, and delivered alive to Valens, is beheaded. This is what happened in the mid-winter of the consulship of Valentinian and Valens. But when the highest magistracy passed to Gratianus, who was as yet a private citizen, and to Dagalaifus, after the beginning of spring Valens called forth his troops and joining with him Lupicinus and a strong force of auxiliaries, he hastened to Pessinus, formerly a town of Phrygia, now of Galatia.

[2] Quo praesidiis tutius communito, nequid inopinum per eos emergeret tractus, praeter radices Olympi montis excelsi, tramitesque fragosos, ire tendebat ad Lyciam, oscitantem ibi Gomoarium aggressurus.

[2] Having safely garrisoned this place in order to suffer no surprise in those parts, he marched along the foot of the lofty mountain called Olympus, and over rocky paths, towards Lycia, planning to attack Gomoarius, while he loitered there half asleep,

[3] Cui pertinaci conspiratione multorum, hac maxima consideratione resistebatur, quod hostis eius (ut ante relatum est), Constanti filiam parvulam, cum matre Faustina, et in agminibus et cum prope in acie starent, lectica circumferens secum, ut pro imperiali germine cui se quoque iunctum addebat, pugnarent audentius, iras militum accenderat. Sicut aliquando dimicaturi Macedones cum Illyriis, regem adhuc infantem in cunis locavere post aciem, cuius metu ne traheretur captivus, adversos fortius oppresserunt.

[3] But he was met with general and obstinate resistance, for this reason in particular — that his enemy (as has been mentioned) both on the march and when they were almost in battle array, carried about with him in a litter the little daughter of Constantius, and her mother Faustina; and thereby had inflamed the passions of the soldiers to fight more bravely in defence of the

imperial stock, with which he claimed that he himself was connected. Just so once the Macedonians, when on the point of engaging with the Illyrians, placed their king, who was still an infant, in his cradle behind the battle line, and from fear that he might be taken prisoner, beat down their adversaries with greater valour.

[4] *Contra has calliditatis argutias, sagaci opitulatione nutanti negotio, consuluit imperator: et Arbitionem ex consule, agentem iam dudum in otio, ad se venire hortatus est, ut Constantiniani ducis verecundia truces animi lenirentur, neque secus evenit.*

[4] Against this crafty device the emperor aided his wavering cause by a clever expedient; for he urged the ex-consul Arbitio, who had long been in retirement, to come to him, in order that respect due to one of Constantine's generals might calm the savage spirits of the rebels; and so it turned out.

[5] *Nam cum omnibus provector natu, et dignitate sublimior, canitiem reverendam ostenderet, multis ad perfidiam inclinatis, publicum grassatorem Procopium, milites vero secutos eius errorem, filios et laborum participes pristinorum, appellans, orabat, ut se ac si parentem magis sequerentur, felicissimis ductibus cognitum, quam profligate morem gererent nebuloni, destituendo iam et casuro.*

[5] For Arbitio, who was older than the rest and of higher rank, showing to many who were inclined to rebellion his venerable gray hair, called Procopius a public brigand, while he pleaded with the soldiers who had followed the usurper's delusion as with his children and comrades in his former labours; and he begged them rather to obey him, as a parent who was known for his successful campaigns, than a profligate wretch who was already on the point of being deserted and was approaching his fall.

[6] *Quibus cognitis Gomoarius, cum elusis hostibus unde venerat, redire posset innoxius, ad castra imperatoris, opportunitate intervalli proximi nactus captivi colore transivit, velut accursu multitudinis visae subito circumsaepus.*

[6] Gomoarius, on learning of this, might have eluded the enemy and returned safely whence he had come; but since the emperor's camp was conveniently near, he went over to it under pretext of being a prisoner, pretending that he had been surrounded by a throng of the enemy who had suddenly appeared.

[7] *Qua succensus alacritate, Valens castra promovit ad Phrygiam et prope Nacoliā collatis manibus partium, dum in ancipiti articulo proelium versaretur, Agilo rem excursu prodidit repentino, eumque secuti complures, iam pila quatientes et gladios, ad imperatorem transeunt cum vexillis, scuta perversa gestantes, quod defectionis signum est apertissimum.*

[7] Fired with eagerness at this, Valens marched on to Phrygia, and the two

sides had already joined battle near Nacolia, when Agilo at the critical point in the contest turned traitor by suddenly going over to the enemy; then many others followed him who were already brandishing their pikes and swords, and deserted to the emperor with their standards and with their shields reversed, which is the most evident sign of defection.

[8] Hoc praeter spem omnium viso Procopius, salutis intercluso suffragio, versus in pedes, circumiectionum nemorum secreta petebat et montium, Florentio sequente et Barchalba tribuno, quem per saevissima bella iam inde a Constanti temporibus notum, necessitas in crimen traxerat, non voluntas.

[8] By this sight, unexpected by all, Procopius was bereft of every aid to safety; so he took to flight and sought a hiding-place in the surrounding woods and mountains, followed by Florentius and the tribune Barchalba, who from the time of Constantius had gained fame in the fiercest wars, and had been led to treason by necessity, not by inclination.

[9] Maiore itaque noctis parte consumpta, cum a vespertino ortu luna praelucens in diem metum augeret, undique facultate evadendi exempta, consiliorum inops Procopius, ut in arduis necessitatibus solet, cum Fortuna expostulabat luctuosa et gravi, mersusque multiformibus curis, subito a comitibus suis artius vinctus, relate iam die, ductus ad castra, imperatori offertur, reticens atque defixus, statimque abscisa cervice, discordiarum civilium gliscentes turbines sepelivit et bella, ad veteris Perpennae exemplum, qui post Sertorium inter epulas obruncatum, dominatione paulisper potitus, a fructibus ubi latebat, extractus, oblatusque Pompeio, eius iussu est interfectus.

[9] The greater part of the night had passed. The moon, brightly shining from its evening rise until dawn, increased the fear of Procopius; and since on all sides the opportunity for escape was cut off and he was completely at a loss, he began, as is usual in extreme necessity, to rail at Fortune as cruel and oppressive; and so, overwhelmed as he was by many anxieties, he was suddenly tightly bound by his companions and at daybreak was taken to the camp and handed over to the emperor, silent and terror-stricken. He was at once beheaded, and so put an end to the rising storm of civil strife and war. His fate was like that of Perpenna of old, who after killing Sertorius at table, for a short time was in possession of the rule, but was dragged from the thickets where he had hidden himself, brought before Pompey, and by his order put to death.

[10] Parique indignationis impetu Florentius et Barchalba, qui eum duxerunt, confestim, non pensata ratione, sunt interfecti. Nam si principem legitimum prodidissent, vel ipsa Iustitia iure caesos pronuntiaret; si rebellem et oppugnatorem internae quietis, ut ferebatur, amplas eis memorabilis facti oportuerat deferri mercedes.

[10] In the same heat of resentment Florentius and Barchalba, who had brought Procopius in, were at once put to death without consideration of reason. For if they had betrayed a legitimate prince, even Justice herself would declare that they were justly executed; but if he whom they betrayed was a rebel and a disturber of the public peace, as he was said to be, they ought to have been given great rewards for a noteworthy deed.

[11] Excessit autem vita Procopius anno quadragesimo, amplius mensibus decem: corpore non indecoro, nec mediocris staturae, subaquilus, humumque intuendo semper incedens, perque morum tristium latebras, illius similis Crassi, quem in vita semel risisse, Lucilius affirmat et Tullius, sed (quod est mirandum), quoad vixerat, incruentus. Marcellus protector, eius cognatus, et multi Procopianarum partium supplicio capitis affecti. Eisdem fere diebus, protector Marcellus, eiusdem cognatus, agens apud Nicaeam praesidium, proditione militum et interitu Procopii cognito, Serenianum intra palatium clausum, medio noctis horrore incautum adortus, occidit. Cuius mors salutis plurimis fuit.

[11] Procopius departed this life at the age of forty years and ten months. Personally he was a tall man and not bad looking; he was somewhat dark complexioned, and walked with his gaze always fixed on the ground. In his secretive and gloomy nature he was like that Crassus who, as Lucilius and Cicero declare, laughed only once in his life; but the surprising thing is, that throughout all his life he was not stained with bloodshed. Marcellus, an officer of the Guard, a relative of Procopius, and many adherents of the usurper's party are executed. At about the same time Marcellus, an officer of the guard and a relative of Procopius, commanding the garrison at Nicaea and learning of the betrayal of the usurper by the soldiers and his consequent death, at the fearful hour of midnight unexpectedly attacked Serenianus, who was imprisoned within the palace, and killed him; and his death saved the lives of many.

[2] Nam si victoriae superfuisset incultis moribus homo, et nocendi acerbitate conflagrans, Valentique ob similitudinem morum, et genitalis patriae vicinitatem, acceptus, occultas voluntates principis introspiciebat, ad crudelitatem propensioris multas innocentium ediderat strages.

[2] For if this man of rude nature, burning with a cruel desire to hurt, had survived the victory, being dear to Valens because of their likeness of character and their common fatherland, and well aware of the secret wishes of a prince inclined to cruelty, he would have caused the death of many innocent people.

[3] Quo interfecto, idem Marcellus, occupata celeri cursu Chalcedone, concrepantibus paucis, quos vilitas et desperatio trudebat in scelus, umbram principatus funesti capessit, gemina ratione fallente, quod et Gothorum tria

milia regibus iam lenitis, ad auxilium transmissa Procopio, Constantianam praetendenti necessitudinem, ad societatem suam parva mercede traduci posse existimabat, quodque gesta in Illyrico etiam tum latebant.

[3] After killing Serenianus, Marcellus quickly got possession of Chalcedon, and, supported by the cheers of a few, whom their worthlessness and desperation drove to crime, seized the shadow of a fatal principate. He was deceived by two ideas, first because the kings of the Goths, who had now been conciliated, had sent three thousand men to the aid of Procopius, led by his show of relationship to Constantius, and Marcellus thought that these men could for a small sum be brought over to his side; and secondly, because he had not yet learned what had happened in Illyricum.

[4] Inter quae tam trepida, speculationibus fidis Aequitius doctus, conversam molem belli totius in Asiam, degressus per Succos, Philippopolim clausam praesidiis hostium, Eumolpiadam veterem, reserare magna vi conabatur, urbem admodum opportunam et impedituram eius appetitus, si pone relictis adiumenta Valenti laturus (nondum enim apud Nacoliā gesta compererat), festinare ad Haemimontum cogeretur.

[4] In the midst of this great confusion Aequitius, who had learned from trustworthy sources that the whole burden of the war had been transferred to Asia, marched through the pass of Succus and with all his might tried to open Philippopolis, formerly Eumolpias, which had been closed by the enemy's garrison; for that city was very favourably situated and, if left in his rear, could hinder his attempt, if he should be compelled to hasten to Haemimontus in order to bring reinforcements to Valens; for he had not yet learned what had happened at Nacolia.

[5] Verum paulo postea cognita levi praesumptione Marcelli, milites missi sunt audaces et prompti, qui eum raptum, ut deditum noxae mancipium, in custodiam compegerunt. Unde post dies paucos productus, lateribus sulcatis acerrime, pariaque perpessis consortibus, interiit, hoc favorabilis solo quod abstulit Serenianum e medio, crudelem ut Phalarim, et illi fidum quia doctrinarum dritatem causis inanibus praetexebat.

[5] But learning a little later of the vain presumption of Marcellus, he at once sent bold and active soldiers who seized him and imprisoned him as a guilty slave. A few days later the usurper was brought out, his body was soundly scourged, and after his accomplices had been similarly treated, he was put to death: a man who deserves credit only for making away with Serenianus, who was cruel as Phalaris, and loyal to Procopius because of the accursed science which for vain reasons he pretended to have.

[6] Exstirpatis occasu ducis funeribus belli, saevitum est in multos acrius quam errata flagitaverant vel delicta, maximeque in Philippopoleos defensores, qui

urbem seque ipsos, non nisi capite viso Procopii, quod ad Gallias portabatur, aegerrime dediderunt.

[6] Through the death of the leader the horrors of war were rooted out; but many were punished more severely than their errors or faults demanded, especially the defenders of Philippopolis, who surrendered the city and themselves most reluctantly, and only when they saw the head of Procopius, which was being taken to Gaul.

[7] Ad gratiam tamen precantium, coerciti sunt aliqui lenius. Inter quos eminebat Araxius, in ipso rerum exustarum ardore adeptus ambitu praefecturam, et Agilone intercedente genero supplicio insulari multatus, breve post tempus evasit.

[7] Some, however, through the influence of those who interceded for them, were treated more leniently, among them notably Araxius, who in the very heat of the conflagration had solicited and gained the prefecture; he, through the intercession of his son-in-law Agilo, was deported to an island, but soon afterwards made his escape.

[8] Euphrasius vero, itemque Phronemius, missi ad occiduas partes, arbitrio obiecti sunt Valentiniani, et absolute Euphrasio, Phronemius Cherronesum deportatur, inclementius in eodem punitus negotio, ea re quod divo Iuliano fuit acceptus, cuius memorandis virtutibus, ambo fratres principes obtrebant, nec similes eius, nec suppare.

[8] Euphrasius, however, and also Phronimius were sent to the west and left to the decision of Valentinian. Euphrasius was pardoned, but Phronimius was banished to the Chersonesus, receiving a severer punishment for the same offence because he had been well regarded by the deified Julian, whose noteworthy merits both the imperial brothers depreciated, without being his equal or anywhere near it.

[9] His accedebant alia graviora, et multo magis quam in proeliis formidanda. Carnifex enim, et unci, et cruentae quaestiones, sine discrimine ullo aetatum et dignitatum, per fortunas omnes et ordines grassabantur, et pacis obtentu latrocinium detestandum agitabatur, infaustam victoriam exsecrantibus universis internecivo bello quovis graviorem.

[9] To these events were added other more serious matters, far more to be feared than those of wartime. For executioner, instruments of torture, and bloody inquisitions raged without any distinction of age or of rank through all classes and orders, and under the mantle of peace abominable robbery was carried on, while all cursed the ill-omened victory, which was worse than any war, however destructive.

[10] Nam inter arma et lituos condicionis aequatio leviora facit pericula, et

Martiae virtutis potestas, aut absumit quod occupat, aut nobilitat, et mors (si acciderit), nullum ignominiae continet sensum, finemque secum vivendi simul et dolendi perducit: ubi vero consiliis impiis iura quidem praetenduntur et leges, et Catonianae vel Cassianae sententiae fuco perliti resident iudices, agatur autem, quod agitur, ad voluntatem praetumidae potestatis, et ex eius libidine, incidentium vitae necisque momenta pensantur, ibi capitalis vertitur perniciēs et abrupta.

[10] For amid arms and clarions, equality of condition makes dangers lighter; the force of martial valour either destroys what it attacks, or ennobles it; and death (if it comes) is attended with no sense of shame and brings with it at once an end of life and of suffering. But when the laws and statutes are pretexts for impious designs, and judges take their seats in false imitation of the character of a Cato or a Cassius, but everything is decided according to the will of men of swollen powers, and by their caprice the question of the life or death of all those who come before them is weighed, then, destruction results that is deadly and sudden.

[11] Nam ut quisque ea tempestate ob quamlibet valuerat causam, regio imperio prope accedens, et aliena rapiendi aviditate exustus, licet aperte insontem, arcessens, ut familiaris suscipiebatur et fidus, ditandus casibus alienis.

[11] For when any one at that time had become powerful for any reason, and having almost royal authority and being consumed with longing to seize the goods of others, accused some clearly guiltless person, he was welcomed as an intimate and loyal friend, who was to be enriched by the ruin of other men.

[12] Imperator enim promptior ad nocendum, crinantibus patens, et funereas delationes adsciscens, per suppliciorum diversitates effrenatus exsultavit, sententiae illius Tullianae ignarus, docentis infelices esse eos qui omnia sibi licere existimarunt.

[12] For the emperor, rather inclined himself to do injury, lent his ear to accusers, listened to death-dealing denunciations, and took unbridled joy in various kinds of executions; unaware of that saying of Cicero's which asserts that those are unlucky who think that they have power to do anything they wish.

[13] Haec implacabilitas causae quidem piissimae, sed victoriae foedioris, innocentes tortoribus exposuit multos, vel sub eculeo locavit incurvos, aut ictu carnificis torvi substravit: quibus (si pateretur natura), vel denas animas profundere praestabat in pugna, quam lateribus fodicatis, omni culpa immunis, fortunis gementibus universis, quasi laesae maiestatis luere poenas, dilaniatis ante corporibus, quod omni est tristius morte.

[13] This implacability in a cause which was most just, but where victory brought shame, delivered many innocent victims to the torturers, either

placing them on the rack until they were bowed down or exposing them to the sword-stroke of a cruel executioner. It would have been better for them (if nature allowed it), to lose even ten lives in battle, rather than though free from all blame, with lacerated sides, amid general groans to suffer punishment for alleged treason, with their bodies first mutilated, a thing which is more awful than any death.

[14] *Exin cum superata luctibus ferocia deflagrasset, proscriptiones et exilia et quae leviora quibusdam videntur, quamquam sint aspera, viri pertulere summates, et (ut ditaretur alius) genere nobilis, et forte meritis locupletior, actus patrimonio praeceps, trususque in exilium consumebatur angore, aut stipe precaria victitabat, nec modus ullus exitialibus malis impositus, quam diu principem et proximos opum satietas cepit et caedis.*

[14] When finally ferocity was overcome by the grief that it caused, and had burnt itself out, the most distinguished men suffered proscription, exile, and other punishments which seem lighter to some, terrible though they are; and in order that another might be enriched, a man of noble birth and perhaps richer in deserts was deprived of his patrimony and driven headlong into banishment, there to waste away from sorrow, or to support his life by beggary; and no limit was set to the deadly cruelties, until the emperor and his nearest friends were glutted with wealth and bloodshed.

[15] *Hoc novatore adhuc superstite, cuius actus multiplices docuimus et interitum, diem duodecimum Kalendas Augustas, consule Valentiniano primum cum fratre, horrendi terrores per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subito, qualis nec fabulae nec veridicae nobis antiquitates exponunt.*

[15] While that usurper of whose many deeds and his death we have told, still survived, on the twenty-first of July in the first consulship of Valentinian with his brother, horrible phenomena suddenly spread through the entire extent of the world, such as are related to us neither in fable nor in truthful history.

[16] *Paulo enim post lucis exortum, densitate praevia fulgurum acrius vibratorum, tremefacta concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis, mareque dispulsum, retro fluctibus evolutis abscessit, ut resecta voragine profundorum, species natantium multiformes limo cernerentur haerentes, valliumque vastitates et montium tunc (ut opinari dabatur), suspicerent radios solis, quos primigenia rerum natura sub immensis gurgitibus amendavit.*

[16] For a little after daybreak, preceded by heavy and repeated thunder and lightning, the whole of the firm and solid earth was shaken and trembled, the sea with its rolling waves was driven back and withdrew from the land, so that in the abyss of the deep thus revealed men saw many kinds of sea-creatures stuck fast in the slime; and vast mountains and deep valleys, which Nature, the creator, had hidden in the unplumbed depths, then, as one might well

believe, first saw the beams of the sun.

[17] Multis igitur navibus velut arida humo conexas, et licenter per exiguas undarum reliquias palantibus plurimis, ut pisces manibus colligerent et similia: marini fremitus velut gravati repulsam, versa vice consurgunt, perque vada ferventia insulis et continentis terrae porrectis spatiis violenter illisi, innumera quaedam in civitatibus, et ubi reperta sunt aedificia, complanarunt: proinde ut elementorum furente discordia, involuta facies mundi, miraculorum species ostendebat.

[17] Hence, many ships were stranded as if on dry land, and since many men roamed about without fear in the little that remained of the waters, to gather fish and similar things with their hands, the roaring sea, resenting, as it were, this forced retreat, rose in its turn; and over the boiling shoals it dashed mightily upon islands and broad stretches of the mainland, and levelled innumerable buildings in the cities and wherever else they were found; so that amid the mad discord of the elements the altered face of the earth revealed marvellous sights.

[18] Relapsa enim aequorum magnitudo cum minime speraretur, milia multa necavit hominum et submersit, recurrentiumque aestuum incitata vertigine, quaedam naves, postquam umentis substantiae consenuit tumor, pessum datae visae sunt, exanimataque naufragiis corpora supina iacebant aut prona.

[18] For the great mass of waters, returning when it was least expected, killed many thousands of men by drowning; and by the swift recoil of the eddying tides a number of ships, after the swelling of the wet element subsided, were seen to have foundered, and the lifeless bodies of shipwrecked persons lay floating on their backs or on their faces.

[19] Ingentes aliae naves, extrusae rabidis flatibus, culminibus insedere tectorum (ut Alexandriae contigit) et ad secundum lapidem fere procul a litore contortae sunt aliquae, ut Laconicam prope Mothonen oppidum nos transeundo conspeximus, diuturna carie fatiscentem.

[19] Other great ships, driven by the mad blasts, landed on the tops of buildings (as happened at Alexandria), and some were driven almost two miles inland, like a Laconian ship which I myself in passing that way saw near the town of Mothone, yawning apart through long decay

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LIBER XXVII — BOOK XXVII

[1] Alamanni, fuis acie Romanis, Chariettonem et Severianum comites interficiunt. Dum per eorum orbem haec, quae narravimus, diversi rerum expediunt casus, Alamanni post aerumnosas iacturas et vulnera, quae congressi saepe Iuliano Caesari pertulerunt, viribus tandem resumptis, licet imparibus pristinis, ob causam expositam supra Gallicos limites formidati iam persultabant. Statimque post Kalendas Ianuarias, cum per glaciales tractus hiemis rigidum inhorresceret sidus, cuneatim egressa, multitudo licentius vagabatur.

The Alamanni rout the Romans in battle and kill the generals Charietto and Severianus. While throughout the Orient the changing course of events was developing as we have narrated, the Alamanni, after the sad losses and wounds which they had suffered from their frequent battles with Julianus Caesar, having at last renewed their strength (which yet did not equal its old vigour), and being an object of dread for the reasons which we have mentioned above, were already overleaping the frontiers of Gaul. And immediately after the first of January, while throughout those icebound regions the grim season of winter bristled, they hurried forth in divisions, and, without restraint a host was ranging everywhere.

[2] Horum portioni primae Charietto, tunc per utramque Germaniam comes, occursurus cum milite egreditur ad bella ineunda promptissimo, adscito in societatem laboris Severiano itidem comite, invalido et longaevo, qui apud Cabillona Divitensibus praesidebat et Tungricanis.

[2] Charietto, who was then commanding general throughout both Germanies, along with soldiers eager for war, set out to meet their first division, taking as a partner in the campaign Severianus, who was also a general, an aged and feeble man, who at Cabillona commanded the Divitenses and Tungricani.

[3] Proinde confertius agmine in unum coacto, ponteque brevioris aquae festina celeritate transmissis, visos eminus barbaros, Romani sagittis aliisque levibus iaculis incessebant, quae illi reciproci iactibus valide contorquebant.

[3] Accordingly, when the force had been more closely united in one, and with the speed of haste they had built a bridge over a small stream, the Romans, on seeing the savages at a distance, assailed them with arrows and other light missiles, which the enemy vigorously returned throw for throw.

[4] Ubi vero turmae congressae strictis confluxere mucronibus, nostrorum acies impetu hostium acriore concussa nec resistendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam repperit, cunctis metu compulsis in fugam, cum Severianum vidissent equo deturbatum, missilique telo perfossum.

[4] But when the forces came to close quarters and fought with drawn swords, our men's lines were broken by the foe's fiercer onset, and found no means either of resisting or of acting bravely. And when they Severianus, who had been thrown from his horse and pierced through by a missile, they were all terrified and put to flight.

[5] Ipse denique Charietto, dum cedentes obiectu corporis et vocis obiurgatorio sonu audentius retinet, pudendumque diluere dedecus fiducia diu standi conatur, oppetit telo letali confossus.

[5] Lastly Charietto himself, by boldly opposing his body and by reproachful words, held back his retreating men, and by confidence caused by his long stand, tried to wipe out shame and disgrace; but fell pierced by a fatal shaft.

[6] Post cuius interitum, Erulorum Batavorumque vexillum direptum, quod insultando tripudiantes barbari crebro sublatum altius ostendebant, post certamina receptum est magna. Iovinus, magister equitum per Gallias, unam et alteram Alamannorum manum imparatam caedit; tertiam barbarorum partem apud Catalaunos proelio superat, VI hostium millibus interfectis, IV vulneratis. Qua clade cum ultimo maerore comperta, correcturus secius gesta, Dagalaifus a Parisiis mittitur. Eoque diu cunctante, causanteque diffusos per varia barbaros semet adoriri non posse, accitoque paulo postea ut cum Gratiano, etiam tum privato, susciperet insignia consulatus, Iovinus equitum magister accingitur, et instructus paratusque cautissime, observans utrumque sui agminis latus, venit prope locum Scarponna, ubi inopinus maiorem barbarorum plebem antequam armaretur, temporis brevi puncto praeventam ad internecionem exstinxit.

[6] After his death the standard of the Eruli and Batavians was taken, which the barbarians with insulting cries and dancing with joy frequently raised on high and displayed, until after hard struggles it was recovered. Iovinus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, unexpectedly attacks two companies of the Alamanni and cuts them to pieces. He vanquishes a third part of the savages in a battle at Châlons-sur-Marne, where 6000 of the enemy were killed and 4000 wounded. The news of this disaster was received with extreme grief, and Dagalaifus was sent from Paris to make good the defeat; but since he delayed for a long time under pretext that it was impossible for him to attack the barbarians while they were scattered over various places, he was recalled a little later in order to receive the consular insignia with Gratianus, who was still a private citizen. Then Iovinus, commander of the cavalry, was appointed to the task, and after being most thoroughly equipped and prepared, carefully guarding both wings of his army, he arrived near a place called Scarponna; there he suddenly fell upon a great throng of the savages, took them by surprise before they could arm themselves, and in a short time utterly annihilated them.

[2] Exsultantes innoxii proelii gloria milites, ad alterius globi perniciem ducens, sensimque incedens rector eximius, speculatione didicit fida, direptis propius villis, vastatorium manum quiescere prope flumen, iamque adventans, abditusque in valle densitate arbustorum obscura, videbat lavantes alios, quosdam comas rutilantes ex more, potantesque non nullos.

[2] Then he led on his soldiers, rejoicing in the glory of this bloodless victory, to destroy the second division of the enemy; and the glorious leader was advancing slowly, when he learned from a trustworthy scouting party, that after plundering the neighbouring farmhouses a predatory band was resting near the river. On coming nearer, and being hidden in a valley concealed by a thick growth of trees, he saw that some were bathing, others were reddening their hair after their national custom, and still others were drinking.

[3] Et nactus horam impendio tempestivam, signo repente per lituos dato, latrocinia castra perrupit, contraque Germani, nihil praeter inefficaces minas iactanter sonantes et fremitum, nec expedire arma dispersa, nec componere aciem, nec resurgere in vires permittebantur urgente instanter victore. Quocirca forati pilis et gladiis, cedere complures, absque his quos versos in pedes texere flexuosi tramites et angusti.

[3] So taking advantage of this most favourable time, he suddenly gave the signal with the clarions and broke into the robbers' camp, while on the other hand the Germans, merely uttering boastfully vain threats and shouts, were pressed so hard by the victor that they could not gather up their arms, which were lying about here and there, nor form in line, nor rally for a stout resistance. Therefore most of them fell, run through by pikes and swords, except such as took to their heels and found shelter on the winding and narrow paths.

[4] Hoc prospero rerum effectu, quem virtus peregerat et fortuna, aucta fiducia, Iovinus militem ducens, diligenti speculatione praemissa, in tertium cuneum qui restabat, propere castra commovit, et maturato itinere omnem prope Catalaunos invenit, ad congregiendum promptissimum.

[4] His confidence now increased by this successful stroke, the result of both valour and good fortune, Jovinus led on his soldiers, sending ahead an efficient scouting party, and hastily advanced against the remaining third division; and when by a rapid march he came near Châlons, he found the enemy fully ready for battle.

[5] Et vallo opportune metato, suisque pro temporis copia cibo recreatis et somno, primo aurorae exortu, in aperta planitie composuit aciem, dilatatam arte sollerti, ut spatiis amplioribus occupatis, aequiperare Romani hostium multitudinem apparerent, inferiores numero (licet viribus pares).

[5] Having measured off a stockade to suit the conditions, and refreshed his

men with food and sleep, so far as time allowed, at the first coming of dawn he drew up his line of battle in the open plain; and he extended it with such skilful art, that the Romans, who were inferior in number (though equal in strength), by occupying a greater space appeared to be as numerous as the enemy.

[6] Signo itaque per bucinas dato, cum pede collato res agi coepisset, saeva vexillorum splendentium facie terriți, stetere Germani. Quibus hebetatis parumper, reparatisque confestim, ad usque diei extimum concertatione protenta, validius imminens miles, fructum rei bene gestae sine dispendio quaesisset, ni Balchobaudes armaturarum tribunus, magniloquentia socordi coalitus, propinquante iam vespera, cessisset incondite. Quem si secutae residuae cohortes abissent, ad tristes exitus eo usque negotium venerat, ut nec acta nuntiaturus quisquam posset superesse nostrorum.

[6] And so, when the signal had been given by the trumpet and they began to engage at close quarters, the Germans stood amazed, terrified by the fearful sight of the gleaming standards. For a while their ardour was blunted, but they quickly recovered and prolonged the fighting to the end of the day; and our vigorously attacking soldiers would have gained the fruit of victory without loss, had not Balchobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard, a man by nature both boastful and cowardly, withdrawn in disorder at the approach of evening. And if the rest of the cohorts had followed his example and left the field, the affair would have come to such a sad ending that not one of our number could have survived to tell what had happened.

[7] Sed resistens animorum acri robore miles, ita lacertis emineuit, ut hostium quattuor milibus sauciis, sex alia interficeret milia, ipse vero non amplius mille ducentis amitteret, ducentis tantummodo vulneratis.

[7] But the soldiers resisted with bold energy and courage, and were so superior in strength that they wounded 4000 of the enemy and killed 6000 more, while they themselves lost not more than 1200, and had only 200 wounded.

[8] Noctis itaque adventu proelio iam dirempto, reffectisque viribus fessis, prope confinia lucis ductor egregius, in agminis quadrati figuram producto exercitu, cum comperisset occultantibus tenebris barbaros lapses, securus insidiarum per aperta camporum sequebatur et mollia, calcando semineces et constrictos, quos, vulneribus frigorum asperitate contractis, dolorum absumpserat magnitudo.

[8] When therefore the battle was now broken off by the coming of night, and the wearied soldiers had recovered their strength, their distinguished general towards daybreak led forward his army in square formation ; and finding that the savages had slipped away under cover of darkness, free from worry about

ambuscades he followed them over the open and easy plains, trampling underfoot the dying, and the contracted bodies of those whom, since the severity of the cold had drawn their wounds together, the extreme pain had taken off.

[9] Exin progressus ulterius, revertens ubi nullum reppererat, didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum, ab Ascariis (quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamannica) suffixum patibulo. Ideoque iratus, in tribunum animadvertere statuit, ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore fecisse, eumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox documentis evidentibus constitisset.

[9] Then, after advancing farther but returning on finding none of the enemy, he learned that the Ascarii (whom he himself had sent by another route to plunder the tents of the Alamanni) had captured a king of the hostile army with a few of his followers, and had gibbeted him. Angered at this, he decided to punish the tribune who had ventured to take this action without consulting higher authority; and he would have condemned him to death, if it had not been clear from convincing evidence that the cruel deed had been committed through passion to which soldiers are prone.

[10] Ei post haec redeunti Parisios post claritudinem recte gestorum, imperator laetus occurrit, brevique postea consulem designavit, illo videlicet ad gaudii cumulum accedente, quod eisdem diebus Procopii susceperat caput, a Valente transmissum.

[10] When Jovinus returned to Paris after these brilliant victories, Valentinian went out joyfully to meet him, and shortly afterwards made him consul; and, you may be sure it added to his great happiness that he had received at that same time the head of Procopius, sent to him by Valens.

[11] Praeter haec alia multa narratu minus digna conserta sunt proelia, per tractus varios Galliarum, quae superfluum est explicare, cum neque operae pretium aliquod eorum habuere proventus, nec historiam producere per minutias ignobiles decet. De III praefectis Urbi, Symmacho, Lampadio, et Iuventio. Sub eo Damasi et Ursini de Episcopatu Romano contentiones. Hoc tempore vel paulo ante, nova portenti species per Annonariam apparuit Tusciam, idque quorsum evaderet, prodigialium rerum periti penitus ignorarunt. In oppido enim Pistoriensi, prope horam diei tertiam, spectantibus multis, asinus tribunali escenso audiebatur destinatus rugiens, et stupefactis omnibus, qui aderant quique didicerant referentibus aliis, nulloque coniectante ventura postea quod portendebatur evenit.

[11] Besides these battles, many others less worthy of mention were fought in various parts of Gaul, which it would be superfluous to describe, both because their results led to nothing worth while, and because it is not fitting to spin out

a history with insignificant details. Of the three prefects of the City, Symmachus, Lampadius, and Iuventius; and of the contest under the last-named of Damasus and Ursinus for the Bishopric of Rome. At this time or a little earlier a new form of portent appeared in Annonarian Tuscany, and how it would turn out even those who were skilled in interpreting prodigies were wholly at a loss to know. For in the town of Pistoria, at about the third hour of the day, in the sight of many persons, an ass mounted the tribunal and was heard to bray persistently, to the amazement both of all who were present and of those who heard of it from the reports of others; and no one could guess what was to come, until later the portended event came to pass.

[2] *Terentius enim, humili genere in urbe natus et pistor, ad vicem praemii, quia peculatus reum detulerat Orfitum ex praefecto, hanc eandem provinciam correctoris administraverat potestate. Eaque confidentia deinceps inquietus agitans multa, in naviculariorum negotio falsum admisisse convictus, ut ferebatur, perit carnificis manu, regente Claudio Romam.*

[2] For one Terentius, born in that city, a fellow of low origin and a baker by trade, by way of reward because he had brought Orfitus, an ex-prefect, into court on the charge of embezzlement, held the position of governor in that province. Emboldened by this, he proceeded to stir up many disturbances, and being convicted of cheating in a matter of business with some ship-captains, as was reported, he met death at the hands of the executioner when Claudius was city-prefect.

[3] *Multo tamen antequam hoc contingeret, Symmachus Aproniano successit, inter praecipua nominandus exempla doctinarum atque modestiae. Quo instante urbs sacratissima otio copiisque abundantius solito fruebatur, et ambitioso ponte exultat quem ipse, iudicio principum maximorum, et magna civium laetitia dedicavit, ingratorum, ut res docuit apertissima.*

[3] However, long before this happened, Apronianus was succeeded by Symmachus, a man worthy to be classed among the conspicuous examples of learning and moderation, through whose efforts the sacred city enjoyed an unusual period of quiet and prosperity, and prides itself on a handsome bridge, which Symmachus himself, by the decision of our mighty emperors, dedicated, and to the great joy of the citizens, who proved ungrateful, as the result most clearly showed.

[4] *Qui consumptis aliquot annis, domum eius in Transtiberino tractu pulcherrimam incenderunt, ea re perciti, quod vilis quidam plebeius finxerat, illum dixisse sine indice ullo vel teste, libenter se vino proprio calcarias extincturum, quam id venditurum pretiis quibus sperabant.*

[4] For after some years had passed, they set fire to Symmachus' beautiful house in the Transtiberine district, spurred on by the fact that a common

fellow among the plebeians had alleged, without any informant or witness, that the prefect had said that he would rather use his own wine for quenching lime-kilns than sell it at the price which the people hoped for.

[5] *Advenit post hunc urbis moderator Lampadius, ex praefecto praetorio, homo indignanter admodum sustinens, si (etiam cum spueret) non laudaretur, ut id quoque prudenter praeter alios faciens, sed non numquam severus et frugi.*

[5] Symmachus was succeeded as prefect of the city by Lampadius, a former praetorian prefect, a man who took it very ill if even his manner of spitting was not praised, on the ground that he did that also with greater skill than anyone else; but yet he was sometimes strict and honest.

[6] *Hic cum magnificos praetor ederet ludos, et uberrime largiretur, plebis nequiens tolerare tumultum, indignis multa donari saepe urgentis, ut et liberalem se et multitudinis ostenderet contemptorem, accitos a Vaticano quosdam egentes, opibus ditaverat magnis.*

[6] When this man, in his praetorship, gave magnificent games and made very rich largesses, being unable to endure the blustering of the commons, who often urged that many things should be given to those who were unworthy of them, in order to show his generosity and his contempt of the mob, he summoned some beggars from the Vatican and presented them with valuable gifts.

[7] *Vanitatis autem eius exemplum, ne latius evagemur, hoc unum sufficiet poni, leve quidem, sed cavendum iudicibus. Per omnia enim civitatis membra, quae diversorum principum exornarunt impensae, nomen proprium inscribebat, non ut veterum instaurator, sed conditor. Quo vitio laborasse et Traianus dicitur princeps, unde eum herbam parietinam iocando cognominarunt.*

[7] But of his vanity, not to digress too far, it will suffice to give this single instance, insignificant indeed, but something to be shunned by high officials. For through all quarters of the city which had been adorned at the expenses of various emperors, he had his own name inscribed, not as the restorer of old buildings, but as their founder. From this fault the emperor Trajan also is said to have suffered, and for that reason he was jestingly called “wall-wort.”

[8] *Hic praefectus exagitatus est motibus crebris, uno omnium maximo, cum collecta plebs infima domum eius prope Constantinianum lavacrum iniectis facibus incenderat et malleolis, ni vicinorum et familiarum veloci concursu a summis tectorum culminibus petita saxis et tegulis abcessisset.*

[8] As prefect, Lampadius was disturbed by frequent outbreaks, the greatest of all being when a mob, composed of the dregs of the populace, by throwing

fire-brands and fire-darts upon his house near the Baths of Constantine would have burned it, had not his friends and neighbours quickly rushed to the spot and driven them off by pelting them with stones and tiles from the house-tops.

[9] *Eaque vi territus ipse, primitiis crebrescentis seditionis in maius, secessit ad Mulvium pontem, quem struxisse superior dicitur Scaurus, ut lenimenta ibidem tumultus opperiens, quem causa concitaverat gravis.*

[9] He himself, terrified by such violence in the first stages of a growing tumult, fled to the Mulvian bridge — which the elder Scaurus is said to have built — as though to wait there for the cessation of the tumult, which a serious cause had aroused.

[10] *Aedificia erigere exordiens nova, vel vetusta quaedam instaurans, non ex titulis solitis parari iubebat impensas, sed si ferrum quaerebatur, aut plumbum, aut aes aut quicquam simile, apparitores immittebantur, qui velut ementes diversas raperent species, nulla pretia persolvendo, unde accensorum iracundiam pauperum, damna deflentium crebra, aegre potuit celeri vitare digressu.*

[10] For when preparing to erect new buildings or restoring old ones, he did not order materials to be obtained from the usual taxes, but if there was need of iron, lead, bronze, or anything of the kind, attendants were set on, in order that they might, under pretence of buying the various articles, seize them without paying anything. In consequence, he was barely able by swift flight to avoid the anger of the incensed poor, who had repeated losses to lament.

[11] *Advenit successor eius ex quaesitore palatii, Viventius, integer et prudens Pannonius, cuius administratio quieta fuit et placida, copia rerum omnium affluente. Sed hunc quoque discordantis populi seditiones terruere cruentae, quas tale negotium excitarat.*

[11] As his successor came Viventius, a former court-chancellor, a just and prudent man of Pannonia, whose administration was quiet and mild, and rich in an abundance of everything. But he, too, was alarmed by sanguinary outbreaks of the factions of the people, which were caused by the following affair.

[12] *Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopi sedem ardentibus, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnere discrimina adiumentis utriusque progressis, quae nec corrigere sufficiens Viventius nec mollire, coactus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum.*

[12] Damasus and Ursinus, burning with a superhuman desire of seizing the bishopric, engaged in bitter strife because of their opposing interests; and the supporters of both parties went even so far as conflicts ending in bloodshed and death. Since Viventius was able neither to end nor to diminish this strife,

he was compelled to yield to its great violence, and retired to the suburbs.

[13] Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quae ei favebat instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum, efferatamque diu plebem aegre postea delenitam.

[13] And in the struggle Damasus was victorious through the efforts of the party which favoured him. It is a well-known fact that in the basilica of Sicininus, where the assembly of the Christian sect is held, in a single day a hundred and thirty-seven corpses of the slain were found, and that it was only with difficulty that the long-continued frenzy of the people was afterwards quieted.

[14] Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, huius rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum iurgare debere, cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas.

[14] Bearing in mind the ostentation in city life, I do not deny that those who are desirous of such a thing ought to struggle with the exercise of all their strength to gain what they seek; for when they attain it, they will be so free from care that they are enriched from the offerings of matrons, ride seated in carriages, wearing clothing chosen with care, and serve banquets so lavish that their entertainments outdo the tables of kings.

[15] Qui esse poterant beati re vera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent, quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini, verisque eius cultoribus, ut puros commendant, et verecundos. Hactenus deviasse sufficiet, nunc ad rerum ordines revertamur. Describuntur populi et VI provinciae Thraciarum, singularumque clarae urbes. Dum aguntur ante dicta per Gallias et Italiam, novi per Thracias exciti sunt procinctus. Valens enim ut consulto placuerat fratri, cuius regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos, ratione iusta permotus, quod auxilia misere Procopio, civilia bella coeptanti. Ergo conveniet pauca super harum origine regionum et situ transcurrere, per brevem excessum.

[15] These men might be truly happy, if they would disregard the greatness of the city behind which they hide their faults, and live after the manner of some provincial bishops, whose moderation in food and drink, plain apparel also, and gaze fixed upon the earth, commend them to the Eternal Deity and to his true servants as pure and reverent men. But this will be a sufficient digression; let me now return to the course of events. A description of the six provinces of

Thrace and their peoples, and of the famous cities in each. While the above-mentioned events were taking place in Gaul and Italy, a new campaign was set on foot in Thrace. For Valens, in accordance with the desire of his brother, whom he consulted and by whose will he was guided, took up arms against the Goths, influenced by a just reason, namely, that they had sent aid to Procopius, when he began his civil war. It will be fitting, then, to sketch hastily in a brief digression the early history and the topography of those regions.

[2] *Erat Thraciarum descriptio facilis, si veteres concinerent stili, quorum obscura varietas, quoniam opus veritatem professum non iuvat, sufficiet ea quae vidisse meminimus expedire.*

[2] A description of Thrace would be easy, if the pens of the earlier writers agreed; but since their obscurity and their differences lend no aid to a work whose aim is truth, it will suffice to set forth what I myself remember to have seen.

[3] *Has terras immensa quondam camporum placiditate aggerumque altitudine fuisse porrectas, Homeri perennis auctoritas docet, aquilonem et zephyrum ventos exinde flare fingentis, quod aut fabulosum est, aut tractus antehac diffusi latissime, destinatique nationibus feris, cuncti Thraciarum vocabulo censebantur.*

[3] That this land formerly consisted of a boundless expanse of gentle plains and lofty mountains, we know from the immortal testimony of Homer, who imagines that the north and west winds begin to blow from there; but this is either a fable, or else in former times the widely extended tracts marked out to be the home of barbarian tribes were all included under the name of Thrace.

[4] *Et partem earum habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab eisdem provinciis disparati, saevi quondam et truces, et (ut antiquitas docet), hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius, quorum asperitate post multiplices pugnarum aerumnas saepe res Romana vexata postremo omnem amisit exercitum, cum rectore.*

[4] A part of these were inhabited by the Scordisci, who are now widely separated from those same provinces: a people formerly cruel and savage, and, as ancient history declares, accustomed to offer up their prisoners as victims to Bellona and Mars, and from their hollowed skulls greedily to drink human blood. By their savageness the Roman state was often sorely troubled and after many lamentable calamities finally lost a whole army with its commander.

[5] *Sed (ut nunc cernimus), eadem loca, formata in cornuti sideris modum, effingunt theatri faciem speciosam. Cuius in summitate occidentali montibus praeruptis densitate Succorum patescunt angustiae, Thracias dirimentes et*

Daciam.

[5] But, as we now see them, those same places, formed in the shape of a crescent moon, present the appearance of a beautiful theatre. At its western summit are the steep mountains through which the narrow pass of Succus opens, separating Thrace from Dacia.

[6] Partem vero sinistram, arctois obnoxiam stellis, Haemimontanae celsitudines claudunt, et Hister, qua Romanum caespitem lambit, urbibus multis et castris contiguus et castellis.

[6] The left side, towards the northern stars, is shut in by the lofty heights of Mount Haemus and the Hister, which, where it washes Roman soil, borders on many cities, fortresses, and castles.

[7] Per dextrum (quod australe est) latus, scopuli tenduntur Rhodopes, unde eorum iubar exsurgit, finitur in fretum; cui undosius ab Euxino ponto labenti, pergentique fluctibus reciprocis ad Aegaeum, discidium panditur terrarum angustum.

[7] On the right, which is the south side, extend the cliffs of Rhodope, and where the morning star rises it is bounded by the strait which flows with an abundance of water from the Euxine, and going on with alternating current to the Aegaeum, opens a narrow cleft between the lands.

[8] Ex angulo tamen orientali, Macedonicis iungitur collimitiis, per artas praecipitesque vias, quae cognominantur Acontisma: cui proxima Arethusa cursualis est statio, in qua visitur Euripidis sepulcrum, tragoediarum sublimitate conspicui, et Stagira, ubi Aristotelem (ut Tullius ait), fundentem aureum flumen, accipimus natum.

[8] But on the eastern corner the land is connected with the frontiers of Macedonia by a steep and narrow pass, which is called Acontisma. Next to this is the restingstation of Arethusa, in which is to be seen the tomb of Euripides, noted for his lofty tragedies, and Stagira, known as the birthplace of Aristotle, who, as Cicero says, poured forth a golden stream.

[9] Haec quoque priscis temporibus loca barbari tenuere, morum sermonumque varietate dissimiles, e quibus praeter alios ut immaniter efferati memorantur Odrysae, ita humanum fundere sanguinem assueti, ut cum hostium copia non daretur, ipsi inter epulas post cibi satietatem et potus, suis velut alienis corporibus imprimerent ferrum.

[9] These regions also were occupied in former times by barbarians, who differed from one another in customs and language. Of these the Odrysae are noted for their savage cruelty beyond all others, being so habituated to the shedding of human blood that when there were no enemies at hand, at their feasts, after a satiety of food and drink they plunged the sword into the bodies

of their own countrymen, as if they were those of foreigners.

[10] Verum aucta re publica, dum consulare vigeret imperium, has gentes antehac semper indomitas, vagantesque sine cultu vel legibus, Marcus Didius ingenti destinatione repressit, Drusus intra fines continuit proprios, Minucius prope amnem Hebrum a celsis Odrysarum montibus defluentem, superatas proelio stravit, post quos residui ab Appio Claudio pro consule sunt infesta concertatione deleti. Oppida enim in Bosporo sita et Propontide classes optinuere Romanae.

[10] But when our country increased in power, and the rule of consuls was in full sway, Marcus Didius, with great determination, checked these tribes that before had been always invincible and were roaming about without civilization or laws. Drusus confined them within their own bounds. Minucius utterly defeated them in a battle near the river Hebrus, which flows from the high mountains of the Odrysae, and after these the survivors were completely annihilated by the proconsul Appius Claudius in a hot fight. Indeed, the Roman fleets took possession of the towns situated on the Bosphorus and the Propontis.

[11] Advenit post hos imperator Lucullus, qui cum durissima gente Bessorum confligit omnium primus, eodemque impetu Haemimontanos acriter resistentes oppressit. Quo imminente, Thraciae omnes in dicionem veterum transiere nostrorum, hocque modo post procinctus ancipites, rei publicae sex provinciae sunt quaesitae.

[11] After these came General Lucullus, who was the first of all to encounter the savage tribe of the Bessi and in the same onslaught overcame the Haemimontani in spite of their stout resistance. While he threatened that region, all parts of Thrace passed under the sway of our forefathers, and in this way, after dangerous campaigns, six provinces were won for the republic.

[12] Inter quas prima ex fronte, quae Illyriis est confinis, Thracia speciali nomine appellatur: quam Philippopolis, Eumolpias vetus, et Beroea, amplae civitates exornant. Post hanc Haemimontus Hadrianopolim habet (quae dicebatur Uscudama), et Anchialon, civitates magnas et opulentas. Dein Mysia, ubi Marcianopolis est, a sorore Traiani principis ita cognominata, et Dorostorus et Nicopolis et Odessus, iuxtaque Scythia, in qua celebriora sunt aliis oppida Dionysopolis et Tomi et Calatis. Europa omnium ultima, praeter municipia urbibus nitet duabus, Apris et Perintho, quam Heracleam posteritas dixit.

[12] The first of these on the side bordering on Illyricum is called Thrace in the narrower sense, and is adorned by the splendid cities of Philippopolis, formerly Eumolpias, and Beroea. After this, Haemimontus has Hadrianopolis, also once called Uscudama, and Anchialos, both great and rich cities. Then

comes Mysia, with Marcianopolis (so name from the sister of the emperor Trajan). Dorostorus, Nicopolis, and Odessus. Hard by is Scythia, in which the more famous towns are Dionysopolis, Tomi, and Callatia. Europa, the remotest province of all, in addition to various towns, is conspicuous for two cities, Apri and Perinthus, in later times called Heraclea.

[13] Rhodopa huic annexa, Maximianopolim habet et Maroneam et Aenum, qua condita et relicta, Aeneas Italiam auspicio prosperitate perpetua, post diuturnos occupavit errores.

[13] Rhodopa, next to this, has Maximianopolis, Maronea and Aenus, which Aeneas founded and abandoned, and after long wanderings under continued good auspices, reached Italy.

[14] Constat autem (ut vulgare rumores assidui), omnes paene agrestes, qui per regiones praedictas montium circumcolunt altitudines, salubritate virium, et praerogativa quadam vitae longius propagandae, nos anteire, idque inde contingere arbitrantur, quod colluvione ciborum abstinent calidisque, et perenni viriditate roris asperginibus gelidis corpora constringente, aurae purioris dulcedine potiuntur, radiosque solis, suapte natura vitales, primi omnium sentiunt, nullis adhuc maculis rerum humanarum infectos. His ita digestis, pedem referamus ad coepta. Valens Aug. Gothis, qui auxilia Procopio contra ipsum miserant, bellum inferit, et post triennium pacem cum eis facit. Procopio superato in Phrygia, internarumque dissensionum materia consopita, Victor magister equitum ad Gothos est missus, cogniturus aperte, quam ob causam gens amica Romanis, foederibusque longae pacis obstricta, tyranno dederat adminicula, bellum principibus legitimis inferenti. Qui ut factum firma defensione purgarent, litteras eiusdem obtulere Procopii, ut generis Constantiniani propinquo, imperium sibi debitum sumpsisse commemorantis, veniaque dignum asserentes errorem.

[14] Now it is well known, as constant reports have spread abroad, that almost all the country folk who dwell in the high mountains throughout the lands just described surpass us in health and strength, and in the prerogative (so to speak) of prolonging life; and it is thought that this is due to abstinence from a conglomeration of diet and from hot baths, and a lasting freshness knits their bodies through cold sprinklings with dew; and they enjoy the sweetness of a purer air; further they are first of all to feel the rays of the sun, which are by their own nature life-giving, before they are infected with any stains from human affairs. After having thus given an account of these matters, let us return to our task. Valens Augustus makes war on the Goths, who had sent aid to Procopius against him, and after three years concludes peace with them. After Procopius had been vanquished in Phrygia, and the source of internal strife lulled to rest, Victor, commander of the cavalry, was sent to the Goths, in order to get clear information why a people friendly to the Romans and bound by the treaties of a long-continued peace had lent support to a

usurper who was making war on the legitimate emperors. They, in order to excuse their action by a strong defence, presented a letter from the said Procopius, in which he asserted that he had assumed the sovereignty that was due him as nearly related to the family of Constantine; and they maintained that their error was pardonable.

[2] Quibus eodem referente Victore compertis, Valens parvi ducens excusationem vanissimam, in eos signa commovit motus adventantis iam praescios, et pubescente vere, quaesito in unum exercitu, prope Daphnen nomine munimentum, est castra metatus, ponteque contabulato supra navium foros, flumen transgressus est Histrum, resistentibus nullis.

[2] When this was learned from the report of the aforesaid Victor, Valens, taking little account of so trivial an excuse, marched against the Goths, who already knew of the coming activity. Getting his army together at the beginning of spring, he measured off a camp near the fortress called Daphne; and having made a bridge of planks over the gangways of ships, he crossed the river Hister without any opposition.

[3] Iamque sublatus fiducia, cum ultro citroque discurrens, nullum inveniret quem superare poterat vel terrere: omnes enim formidine perciti militis cum apparatu ambitioso propinquantis, montes petivere Serrorum, arduos et inaccessos, nisi perquam gnaris.

[3] And now he was exalted in confidence, since, as he hastened hither and thither, he found no one whom he could conquer or terrify; for all had been struck with fear at the approach of the soldiers with their splendid equipment, and made for the mountains of the Serri, which are lofty and inaccessible except to those who are thoroughly familiar with them.

[4] Ne igitur aestate omni consumpta, sine ullo remearet effectus, Arintheo magistro peditum misso cum praedatoriis globis, familiarum rapuit partem, quae antequam ad dirupta venirent et flexuosa, capi potuerunt, per plana camporum errantes. Hocque tantum, quod fors dederat, impetrato, redit cum suis innoxius, nec illato gravi vulnere nec accepto.

[4] Therefore, to avoid wasting the whole summer and returning without accomplishing anything, he sent Arintheus, commander of the infantry, with plundering bands and seized some of the families which could be captured before they reached the steep and winding mountain regions and while they were still wandering over the level plains. And after having attained only this, which was what chance offered him, he returned harmlessly with his men, without having inflicted or suffered serious harm.

[5] Anno secuto, ingredi terras hostiles pari alacritate conatus, fusius Danubii gurgitibus evagatis, impeditus mansit immobilis prope Carporum vicum, stativis castris ad usque autumnum locatis emensum. Unde quia nihil agi

potuit dirimente magnitudine fluminum, Marcianopolim ad hiberna discessit.

[5] In the following year, having attempted with equal energy to invade the enemy's territory, he was prevented by extensive floods of the Danube and remained inactive, near a village of the Carpi in a permanent camp which he had made, until the end of autumn. And since he was cut off by the extent of the waters from doing anything, he returned from there to Marcianopolis for winter quarters.

[6] Simili pertinacia, tertio quoque anno, per Novidunum navibus ad transmittendum amnem conexis, perrupto barbarico, continuatis itineribus longius agentes Greuthungos bellicosam gentem aggressus est, postque leviora certamina, Athanaricum ea tempestate iudicem potentissimum, ausum resistere, cum manu quam sibi crediderit abundare, extremorum metu coegit in fugam, ipseque cum omnibus suis Marcianopolim redivit ad hiemem agendam (ut in illis tractibus) habilem.

[6] With like persistence in the third year also he made a bridge of boats to cross the river at Novidunum and forced his way into the barbarian territory; and after continuous marches he attacked the warlike people of the Greuthungi, who lived very far off, and after some slight contests Athanaricus, at that time their most powerful ruler, who dared to resist with a band which he believed to be more than sufficient for himself, was forced to flee, in fear of utter destruction. Then he himself with all his men returned to Marcianopolis as a suitable place (considering that region) for passing the winter.

[7] Aderant post diversos triennii casus finiendi belli materiae tempestivae. Prima quod ex principis diuturna permansione metus augebatur hostilis, dein quod commerciis vetitis ultima necessariorum inopia barbari stringebantur, adeo ut, legatos supplices saepe mittentes, venialem poscerent pace.

[7] After the many vicissitudes of these three years timely opportunities arose for ending the war. First, because the long stay of the emperor was increasing the enemy's fears; secondly, because the savages, since commerce was cut off, were so distressed by extreme scarcity of the necessities of life that they often sent suppliant deputations to beg for pardon and peace.

[8] Quibus imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum, antequam adulationum perniciosus illecebris captus rem publicam funeribus perpetuo deflendis affligeret, in commune consultans pacem dari oportere decrevit.

[8] The emperor was indeed inexperienced, but very reasonable as yet in his judgment of conditions, until he was led astray by the fatal blandishments of his flatterers and inflicted on his country losses ever to be lamented; therefore, consulting for the common welfare, he decided that peace ought to be granted.

[9] Missique vicissim Victor et Arintheus, qui tunc equestrem curabant militiam et pedestrem, cum propositis condicionibus assentiri Gothos docuissent litteris veris, praestituitur componendae paci conveniens locus. Et quoniam asserebat Athanaricus, sub timenda execratione iuris iurandi se esse obstrictum, mandatisque prohibitum patris, ne solum calcaret aliquando Romanum, et adigi non poterat, indecorumque erat et vile ad eum imperatorem transire: recte noscentibus placuit navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quae vehebant cum armigeris principem, gentisque iudicem inde cum suis, foederari, ut statutum est, pacem.

[9] Accordingly, he in his turn sent as envoys Victor and Arintheus, of whom one then commanded the cavalry and the other the infantry, and when their trustworthy report had informed him that the Goths agreed to the conditions which he offered, a convenient place was appointed for concluding peace. But since Athanaricus declared that he was bound by an oath accompanied by a fearful imprecation, and thus prevented by his father's orders from ever setting foot on Roman soil, and since he could not be induced to do so, and it was unbecoming and degrading for the emperor to cross to him, it was decided by those of good judgment that ships should be rowed into mid-stream, one carrying the emperor with his guard, the other the Gothic ruler with his men, and that thus a treaty of peace should be struck, as had been agreed.

[10] Hocque composito, et acceptis obsidibus, Valens Constantinopolim redit, ubi postea Athanaricus proximorum factione genitalibus terris expulsus, fatali sorte decessit et ambitiosis exsequiis ritu sepultus est nostro. Gratianum filium Valentinianus consentiente exercitu Augustum nuncupat, et puerum purpuram indutum ad fortiter faciendum hortatur, militibusque commendat. Inter haec Valentiniano magnitudine quassato morborum, agitanteque extrema, colloquio occultiore Gallorum, qui aderant in commilitio principis, ad imperium Rusticus Iulianus, tunc magister memoriae, poscebatur, quasi afflatu quodam furoris, bestiarum more humani sanguinis avidus, ut ostenderat cum proconsulari potestate regeret Africam.

[10] When this had been arranged and hostages received, Valens returned to Constantinople, where later Athanaricus, driven from his native land by a faction of his kinsmen, died a natural death and was buried after our fashion with splendid rites. Valentinian with the consent of the army appoints his son Gratianus an Augustus, exhorts the boy, who is clad in the purple, to brave deeds, and commends him to the care of the soldiers. Meanwhile, when Valentinian was attacked by a severe illness and was at the point of death, the Gauls who were at court in the emperor's service, at a secret conference demanded that Rusticus Julianus, then master of the rolls, should be made emperor: a man who, as if smitten by a blast of madness, was as greedy for human blood as a wild beast, as he showed when governing Africa with

proconsular power.

[2] In praefectura enim urbana, quam adhuc administrans exstinctus est, tempus anceps metuens tyrannidis, cuius arbitrio, tamquam inter dignorum inopiam, ad id escenderat columnen, lenis videri cogeatur et mollior.

[2] For as prefect of the city, in the administration of which office he died, through fear of the precarious situation of the tyrant, through whose choice he had risen to that high position as if for the lack of worthy men, he was compelled to assume the appearance of mildness and clemency.

[3] Contra hos nitebantur aliqui studiis altioribus in favorem Severi, magistri tunc peditum, ut apti ad hoc impetrandum, qui licet asper esset et formidatus, tolerabilior tamen fuit, et praeferendus modis omnibus ante dicto.

[3] Against these Gauls some with higher aims strove in the cause of Severus, then commander of the infantry, as a man fitted for attaining that rank; and, although he was strict and feared, yet he was more endurable and in every way to be preferred to the aforementioned aspirant.

[4] Sed dum haec cogitantur in cassum, imperator remediis multiplicibus recreatus, vixque se mortis periculo contemplans extractum, Gratianum filium suum, adulto iam proximum, insignibus principatus ornare meditabatur.

[4] But while these designs were being agitated to no purpose, the emperor was restored with the help of numerous remedies; and observing that he was hardly yet rescued from the danger of death, he purposed to bestow the imperial insignia upon his son Gratianus, who had by this time nearly reached the age of puberty.

[5] Et paratis omnibus militeque firmato, ut animis id acciperet promptis, cum Gratianus venisset, progressus in campum, tribunal escendit, splendoreque nobilium circumdatus potestatum, dextra puerum apprehensum, productumque in medium, oratione contionaria destinatum imperatorem exercitui commendabat.

[5] And when everything was ready, when the soldiers had been won over to accept this with willing minds, and Gratianus had appeared, the emperor advanced into the plain and mounted the tribunal; then, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of men of high rank, he took the boy by the hand, led him into their midst, and commended the future emperor to the army in the following public address: —

[6] ‘Faustum erga me vestri favoris indicium, hunc loci principalis circumferens habitum, quo potior aliis iudicatus sum, multis et claris: consiliorum sociis votorumque auspiciis vobis, pietatis officium aggrediar tempestivum, prospera deo spondente, cuius sempiternis auxiliis stabit Romana res inconcussa.

[6] “It is a propitious sign of your devotion to me that I parade this robe of imperial rank, by which I have been judged preferable to other men, many and distinguished; so taking you as partners in my plans and favourers of my wishes, I shall proceed to an act of dutiful affection, which is timely since the god, through whose eternal aid the Roman state will endure unshaken, now promises success.

[7] Accipite igitur, quaeso, placidis mentibus, viri fortissimi, desiderium nostrum, id reputantes, quod haec quae fieri caritatis sanciant iura, non tantum transire volumus per conscientiam vestram, verum etiam probata firmari, ut congrua vobis et profutura.

[7] Therefore, my valiant men, accept I pray you with friendly minds my heart’s desire, convinced that we have wished this action, which the duties of affection sanction, not only to be brought to your knowledge, but also to be confirmed by your approval as agreeable to you and likely to be advantageous.

[8] Gratianum hunc meum adultum, quem diu versatum inter liberos vestros, commune diligitis pignus, undique muniendae tranquillitatis publicae causa, in augustum assumere commilitium paro, si propitia caelestis numinis vestraeque maiestatis voluntas parentis amorem iuverit praeuntem: non rigido cultu ab incunabulis ipsis (ut nos) educatum, nec tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum, nec capacem adhuc Martii pulveris, ut videtis, sed familiae suae laudibus, maiorumque factis praestantibus, concinentem — parcius invidiae metu dicitur — protinus surrecturum.

[8] This son of mine, Gratianus, now become a man, has long lived among your children, and you love him as a tie between you and me; therefore, in order to secure the public peace on all sides, I plan to take him as my associate in the imperial power, if the propitious will of the god of heaven and of your dignity shall support what a father’s love suggests. He has not been, as we have been, brought up in a severe school from his very cradle, nor trained in the endurance of adversity, and (as you see) he is not yet able to endure the dust of Mars; but, in harmony with the glory of his family and the great deeds of his forefathers, he will forthwith rise (I speak with moderation, in fear of Nemesis) to greater heights.

[9] Ut enim mihi videri solet mores eius et appetitus, licet nondum maturos, saepe pensanti: ineunte adulescentia, quoniam humanitate et studiis disciplinarum sollertium est expolitus, librabit suffragiis puris merita recte secusve factorum: faciet, ut sciant se boni intellegi: in pulchra facinora procursabit, signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus: solem nivesque et pruinas et sitim perferet et vigilias: castris (si necessitas adegerit aliquotiens) propugnabit: salutem pro periculis sociis obiectabit: et quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere

poterit, et avitam.’

[9] For as I am wont to think, when I consider, as I often do, his character and his inclinations, although they are not yet fully developed: when he enters on the years of youth, since he has been instructed in the liberal arts and in the pursuit of skilful accomplishments, he will weigh with impartial justice the value of right and wrong actions; he will so conduct himself that good men will know that he understands them; he will rush forward to noble deeds and cling close to the military standards and eagles; he will endure sun and snow, frost and thirst, and wakeful hours; he will defend his camp, if necessity ever requires it; he will risk his life for the companions of his dangers; and, what is the first and highest duty of loyalty, he will know how to love his country as he loves the home of his father and grandfather.”

[10] *Nondum finita oratione, dictis cum assensu laeto auditis, pro suo quisque loco et animo, milites alius alium anteire festinans, tamquam utilitatis et gaudiorum participes, Gratianum declararunt Augustum, clamorum amplissimo sonu blandum fragorem miscentes armorum.*

[10] The emperor had not yet ended his address when his words were received with joyful acclaim, and the soldiers, each according to his rank and feeling, striving to outdo the others, as though sharers in this prosperity and joy, hailed Gratianus as Augustus, with loud shouts mingled with the favouring clash of arms.

[11] *Quo viso maiore fiducia Valentinianus exultans, corona indumentisque supremæ fortunæ ornatum, filium osculatus, iamque fulgore conspicuum, alloquitur advertentem quæ dicebantur.*

[11] On perceiving this, Valentinian, filled with greater joy and confidence, adorned his son with the crown and the robes of supreme rank, and kissed him; then, resplendent as Gratianus was and listening attentively to his father’s words, Valentinian addressed him as follows: —

[12] *‘En,’ inquit, ‘habes, mi Gratiane, amictus, ut speravimus omnes, augustos, meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio, delatos omnibus faustis. Accingere igitur pro rerum urgentium pondere, ut patris patruique collega, et assuesce impavidus penetrare cum agminibus peditum gelu pervios Histum et Rhenum, armatis tuis proximus stare, sanguinem spiritumque considerate pro his impendere quos regis, nihil alienum putare, quod ad Romani imperii pertinet statum.*

[12] “Behold, my dear Gratian, you now wear, as we have all hoped, the imperial robes, bestowed upon you under favourable auspices by my will and that of our fellow-soldiers. Therefore prepare yourself, considering the weight of your urgent duties, to be the colleague of your father and your uncle and accustom yourself fearlessly to make your way with the infantry over the ice

of the Danube and the Rhine, to keep your place close beside your soldiers, to give your life's blood, with all thoughtfulness, for those under your command, and to think nothing alien to your duty, which affects the interests of the Roman empire.

[13] *Haec pro tempore praecepisse sufficiet, cetera monere non desinam. Nunc reliqui vos estis, rerum maximi defensores, quos rogo et obtestor, ut accrescentem imperatorem fidei vestrae commissum, servetis affectione fundata.'*

[13] This will suffice for the present by way of admonition; for the future I shall not cease to advise you. Now for the rest I turn to you, great defenders of our country, whom I beg and implore with firm affection to watch over your emperor, not yet grown up, thus entrusted to your loyalty."

[14] *His dictis sollemnitatem omni firmatis, Eupraxius (Caesariensis Maurus) magister ea tempestate memoriae, primus omnium exclamavit: 'Familia Gratiani hoc meretur' statimque promotus quaestor multa et prudentibus aemulanda bonae fiduciae reliquit exempla, nusquam a statu naturae discedens intrepidae, sed constans semper legumque similis, quas omnibus una eademque voce loqui in multiplicibus advertimus causis: qui tunc magis in suscepta parte iustitiae permanebat, cum eum recta monentem, exagitaret minax imperator et nimius.*

[14] After these words had been ratified with all solemnity, Eupraxius, a Moor of Caesariensis, then master of the rolls, was the first of all to cry out: "The house of Gratianus is worthy of this"; whereupon he was at once advanced to the quaestorship. He was a man who left many proofs of noble self-confidence worthy of imitation by sensible men, one who never deviated from the principles of a fearless nature, but was always firm and resembled the laws, which, as we know, in the manifold cases in court speak with one and the same voice; and he then remained truer to the side of justice which he had espoused, even when the emperor, becoming arbitrary, assailed him with threats when he gave him good advice.

[15] *Consurrectum est post haec in laudes maioris principis et novelli, maximeque pueri, quem oculorum flagrantior lux commendabat, vultusque et reliqui corporis iucundissimus nitor, et egregia pectoris indoles: quae imperatorem impleisset cum veterum lectissimis comparandum, si per fata proximosque licuisset, qui virtutem eius etiam tum instabilem obnubilarunt actibus pravis.*

[15] After this, all rose up to praise the elder and the younger emperor, and especially the boy, who was recommended by the fierier gleam of his eyes, the delightful charm of his face and his whole body, and the noble nature of his heart; these qualities would have completed an emperor fit to be compared

with the choicest rulers of the olden time, had this been allowed by the fates and by his intimates, who, by evil actions, cast a cloud over his virtue, which was even then not firmly steadfast.

[16] In hoc tamen negotio, Valentinianus morem institutum antiquitus supergressus, non Caesares sed Augustos germanum nuncupavit et filium, benevole satis. Nec enim quisquam antehac adscivit sibi pari potestate collegam, praeter principem Marcum, qui Verum, adoptivum fratrem, absque diminutione aliqua maiestatis imperatoriae, socium fecit. Valentiniani A. iracundia, feritas, et saevitia. His ex sententia rectoris et militum ordinatis, vix dies intercessere pauci cum Mamertinum, praefectum praetorio, ab urbe regressum, quo quaedam perrexerat correcturus, Avitianus ex vicario peculatus detulerat reum.

[16] However, in this affair Valentinian overstepped the usage established of old, in that he named his brother and his son, not Caesar, but Augustus, generously enough. For before that no one had appointed a colleague of equal power with himself except the emperor Marcus, who made his adopted brother Verus his partner, but without any impairment of his own imperial majesty. The propensity to anger, savageness, and cruelty of Valentinianus Augustus. Scarcely had a few days passed since these affairs were settled according to the desire of the emperor and the soldiers, when Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect, on his return from Rome, to which he had gone to correct certain abuses, was charged with peculation by Avitianus, a former deputy governor.

[2] Cui ideo Vulcatius successit Rufinus, omni ex parte perfectus, et velut apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens, sed lucrandi opportunas occasiones occultationis spe numquam praetermittens.

[2] Therefore he was displaced by Vulcatius Rufinus, a man excellent in all respects, who seemed to be displaying the crown of an honoured old age, except that he never let slip a favourable opportunity for gain, if there was hope of concealment.

[3] Qui nactus copiam principis, Orfitum ex praefecto urbis solutum exsilio, patrimonii redintegrata iactura, remitti fecit in lares.

[3] As soon as he gained the imperial ear, he brought it about that Orfitus, a former prefect of Rome, was freed from banishment, and, after restoration of his lost patrimony, was restored to his home.

[4] Et quamquam Valentinianus, homo propalam ferus, inter imperitandi exordia, ut asperitatis opinionem molliret, impetus truces retinere non numquam in potestate animi nitebatur, serpens tamen vitium et dilatum, paulatim licentius erupit ad perniciem plurimorum, quod auxit ira acerbius effervescens. Hanc enim ulcus esse animi diuturnum, interdumque perpetuum,

prudentes definiunt, nasci ex mentis mollitia consuetum, id asserentes argumento probabili, quod iracundiores sunt incolumibus languidi, et feminae maribus, et iuvenibus senes, et felicibus aerumnosi.

[4] Valentinian was known to be a cruel man, and although in the early part of his reign, in order to lessen his reputation for harshness, he sometimes strove to keep his savage impulses under his mind's control, yet the fault, as yet lurking and postponed, little by little broke forth without restraint and caused the destruction of many men; and was increased by fierce outbreaks of hot anger. For the philosophers define anger as a long-continued, sometimes permanent, ulcer of the mind, usually caused by weakness of the intellect; and they give for their opinion the plausible ground that the sickly are more inclined to anger than the sound, women than men, the old than the young, and the wretched than the fortunate.

[5] Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter alias humilium neces, mors Dioclis ex comite largitionum Illyrici, quem ob delicta brevia flammis iussit exuri; et Diodori ex agente in rebus, triumque apparitorum potestatis vicariae per Italiam, ob id necatorum atrociter, quod apud eum questus est comes, Diodorum quidem adversus se civiliter implorasse iuris auxilium, officiales vero iussu iudicis ausos monere proficiscentem, ut responderet ex lege. Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc usque Christiani, locum ubi sepulti sunt Ad Innocentis appellant.

[5] Most conspicuous, however, at that time was the death (among the executions of other persons of low rank) of Diodes, former head of the state treasury in Illyricum, whom the emperor ordered to be burned to death because of some small offences; and also that of Diodorus, former state agent, and of three attendants of the deputy-governor of Italy; all these suffered cruel execution because the commanding general complained to the emperor that Diodorus had implored the aid of the law against him, as was his right, and that the officials, by order of the judge, had ventured to summon him as he was going on a journey, to answer to the action according to law. The memory of these victims is still honoured by the Christians in Milan, who call the place where they are buried "The Place of the Innocents".

[6] Dein cum in negotio Maxentii cuiusdam Pannonii, ob executionem a iudice recte maturari praeceptam, trium oppidorum ordines mactari iussisset, interpellavit Eupraxius, tunc quaestor, et 'Parcius' inquit 'agito, piissime principum: hos enim, quos interfici tamquam noxios iubes, ut martyras (id est divinitati acceptos) colet religio Christiana.'

[6] Later, in the affair of a certain Maxentius of Pannonia, when the judge had rightly commanded a speedy execution, the emperor ordered the death of the decurions of three towns; but Eupraxius, who was then quaestor, intervened, saying: "Act more mercifully, most dutiful emperor, for these men whom you

order to be put to death as criminals the Christian religion will honour as martyrs (that is to say, as beloved of God).”

[7] Cuius salutarem fiduciam praefectus imitatus Florentius, cum in re quadam venia digna audisset, eum percitum ira, iussisse itidem ternos per ordines urbium interfici plurimarum, ‘Et quid agetur’ ait ‘si oppidum aliquod curialis non habuerit tantos? Inter reliqua id quoque suspendi debet, ut cum habuerit, occidantur.’

[7] Eupraxius’ helpful self-confidence was imitated by the prefect Florentius when he heard that, because of some pardonable offence, the emperor had flown into a passion and ordered the execution likewise of three decurions in each of a number of cities; for he said: “What is to be done, then, if any town does not have so many decurions? To the rest this also should be added, that they shall be killed, when the town has them.”

[8] Ad hanc inclementiam illud quoque accedebat, dictu dirum et factu, quod siquis eum adisset, iudicium potentis inimici declinans, aliumque sibi postulans dari, hoc non impetrato, ad eundem quem metuebat, licet multa praetenderet iusta, remittebatur. Itemque aliud audiebatur horrendum, quod ubi debitorum aliquem egestate obstrictum nihil reddere posse discebat, interfici debere pronuntiabat.

[8] To this ruthlessness was added another thing, dreadful to do or even to tell of, namely, that if anyone came before him to avoid being tried before some powerful enemy, and asked that another judge be assigned him, the request was denied and the man was sent back to the person whom he feared, however many just reasons for the change he might present. Still another horrible thing was talked about; for when he learned that any debtor could pay nothing because of the pressure of want, the emperor ruled that he ought to be put to death.

[9] Haec autem et similia licenter ideo altiore fastu quidam principes agunt, quod amicis emendandi secus cogitata vel gesta copiam negant, inimicos loqui terrent amplitudine potestatis. Nil autem valet correctio pravitatum apud eos qui quod effici velint maximae putant esse virtutis. Pictis, Attacottis, et Scottis post Ducem et Comitem interfectos, Britanniam impune vastantibus, Theodosius comes fuis praedam excussit. Praefectus itaque ab Ambianis, Treverosque festinans, nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam, Nectaridumque comitem maritimi tractus occisum, et Fullofauden ducem hostilibus insidiis circumventum.

[9] That some princes commit these and similar arbitrary acts with lofty arrogance is because they do not allow their friends the opportunity of dissuading them from unjust designs or deeds, and that because of their great

power they make their enemies afraid to speak. No correction is possible of the perverse actions of those who believe that what they desire to do must be the highest virtue. When the Picts, Attacotti, and Scots, after killing a general and a count, were devastating Britain without resistance, Count Theodosius routed them and took their booty from them. Having set out then from Amiens and hastening to Treves, Valentinian was alarmed by serious news which showed that Britain was brought into a state of extreme need by a conspiracy of the savages, that Nectaridus, the commanding general of the seacoast region, had been killed, and that another general, Fullofaudes, had been ambushed by the enemy and taken prisoner.

[2] Quibus magno cum horrore compertis, Severum etiam tum domesticorum comitem misit, si fors casum dedisset optatum, correcturum sequi gesta: quo paulo postea revocato, Iovinus ... in eadem loca profectus reverti eisdem celeri gradu permisit, adminicula petiturus exercitus validi; id enim instantes necessitates flagitare firmabat.

[2] This report aroused great horror, and the emperor sent Severus, who at that time was still commander of the household troops, to set right the disasters, if chance should offer the desired opportunity. But he was recalled a little later, and Iovinus . . . having set out for the same regions, allowed them to return at quick step, intending to seek the support of a strong army; for he declared that this was demanded by the pressing necessities of the situation.

[3] Postremo ob multa et metuenda, quae super eadem insula rumores assidui perferebant, electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur, officiis Martiis felicissime cognitus, asscitaque animosa legionum et cohortium pube, ire tendebat praeunte fiducia speciosa.

[3] Finally, because of the many alarming things which constant rumours reported about that same island, Theodosius, a man most favourably known for his services in war, was chosen to be sent there with all speed, and having enrolled legions and cohorts of courageous young men, he hastened to depart, preceded by brilliant expectations.

[4] Et quoniam cum Constantis principis actus componerem, motus adolescentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Britanniae, pro captu virium explanavi, ad ea quae digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi, ut Ulixes Homericus apud Phaeacas ob difficultatem nimiam replicare formidat.

[4] And, since in giving an account of the history of the emperor Constans I described the ebb and flow of the ocean and the situation of Britain, as well as my powers permitted, I have thought it superfluous to unfold again what has once been set forth, just as Homer's Ulysses among the Phaeacians shrinks from repeating the details of his adventures because of the excessive difficulty of the task.

[5] Illud tamen sufficet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones, eisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit, terra vel mari, praedis acerbis incendiisque, et captivorum funeribus omnium violabant.

[5] It will, however, be in place to say, that at that time the Picts, divided into two tribes, called Dicalydones and Verturiones, as well as the Attacotti, a warlike race of men, and the Scots, were ranging widely and causing great devastation; while the Gallic regions, wherever anyone could break in by land or by sea, were harassed by the Franks and their neighbours, the Saxons, with cruel robbery, fire, and the murder of all who were taken prisoners.

[6] Ad haec prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens, cum venisset ad Bononiae litus, quod a spatio controverso terrarum, angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis aestibus assueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa, in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeato lentius freto, defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam.

[6] In order to prevent these outrages, if favourable fortune gave an opportunity, that most energetic leader hastened to the world's end, and reached the coast of Bononia, which from the spacious lands opposite is separated only by a narrow space of a sea wont in turn to swell with dreadful surges, and again, without any danger for sailors, to sink to the form of a level plain. From there he quietly crossed the strait and landed at Rutupiae, a quiet haven on the opposite coast.

[7] Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli, Ioviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, vetus oppidum quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisus plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum, et propere fuis, qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdere miserrimi.

[7] When the Batavi, Heruli, Jovii, and Victores, who followed him, had arrived, troops confident in their strength, he began his march and came to the old town of Lundinium, which later times called Augusta. There he divided his troops into many parts and attacked the predatory bands of the enemy, which were ranging about and were laden with heavy packs; quickly routing those who were driving along prisoners and cattle, he wrested from them the booty which the wretched tribute-paying people had lost.

[8] Eisdemque restituta omni praeter partem exiguam, impensam militibus fessis, mersam difficultatibus summis antehac civitatem, sed subito, quam

salus sperari potuit recreata, in ovantis speciem laetissimus introiit.

[8] And when all this had been restored to them, except for a small part which was allotted to the wearied soldiers, he entered the city, which had previously been plunged into the greatest difficulties, but had been restored more quickly than rescue could have been expected, rejoicing and as if celebrating an ovation.

[9] Ubi ad audenda maiora, prospero successu elatus, tutaque scrutando consilia, futuri morabatur ambiguus, diffusam variarum gentium plebem, et ferocientem immaniter, non nisi per dolos occultiores, et improvisos excursus, superari posse, captivorum confessionibus, et transfugarum indiciiis, doctus.

[9] While he lingered there, encouraged by the successful outcome to dare greater deeds, he carefully considered what plans would be safe; and he was in doubt about his future course, since he learned from the confessions of the captives and the reports of deserters that the widely scattered enemy, a mob of various natives and frightfully savage, could be overcome only by secret craft and unforeseen attacks.

[10] Denique edictis propositis, impunitateque promissa, desertores ad procinctum vocabat, et multos alios per diversa libero commeatu dispersos. Quo monitu redire plerique, incentivo perciti, relevatusque anxiiis curis, Civilem nomine recturum Britannias pro praefectis, ad se poposcerat mitti, virum acrioris ingenii, sed iusti tenacem et recti, itidemque Dulcitium, ducem scientia rei militaris insignem. Mauricae gentes Africam populantur. Isaurorum latrocinia Valens compescit. De Praetextati praefectura urbana. Haec in Britanniiis agebantur. Africam vero, iam inde ab exordio Valentiniani imperii, exurebat barbarica rabies, per procursus audentiores, et crebris caedibus et rapinis intenta. Quam rem militaris augebat socordia, et aliena invadendi cupiditas, maximeque Romani nomine comitis.

[10] Finally, he issued proclamations, and under promise of pardon summoned the deserters to return to service, as well as many others who were wandering about in various places on furlough. In consequence of this demand and strongly moved by his offer, most returned, and Theodosius, relieved of his anxious cares, asked that Civilis be sent to him to govern Britain as deputy-prefect, a man of somewhat fiery temper, but steadfast in justice and uprightness, and also Dulcitus, a general distinguished for his knowledge of the art of war. The Moorish tribes devastate Africa. Valens checks the brigandage of the Isaurians. Of the city prefecture of Praetextatus. This is what was happening in Britain. But Africa from the very beginning of Valentinian's reign was sore distressed by the madness of the savages, who made daring forays, and were eager for wholesale bloodshed and robbery. This evil was increased by the slackness of the army and its greed for seizing the property of others; and especially by the conduct of the governor, Romanus by name.

[2] Qui venturi providus transferendaeque in alios invidiae artifex, saevitia morum multis erat exosus, hac praecipue causa, quod superare hostes in vastandis provinciis festinabat, affinitate Remigii tunc magistri officiorum confusus, quo prava et contraria referente, princeps (ut prae se ferebat ipse) cautissimus, lacrimosa dispendia diutius ignoravit Afrorum.

[2] He, having an eye to the future and being an adept in shifting odium to others, was hated by many because of his savage disposition, but especially for his haste to outdo the enemy in devastating the provinces. He relied especially on his relationship with Remigius, then chief marshal of the court, who sent in false and contradictory reports; hence the emperor, in spite of the great caution which in his own opinion he exhibited, for a long time remained unaware of the lamentable losses of the people of Africa.

[3] Gestorum autem per eas regiones seriem plenam, et Rurici praesidis legatorumque mortem, et cetera luctuosa, cum adegerit ratio, diligentius explicabo.

[3] The complete series of events in those regions, the death of the governor Ruricius and of the ambassadors and the other mournful occurrences I shall set forth carefully when my plan calls for it.

[4] Et quoniam adest liber locus dicendi quae sentimus, aperte loquemur: hunc imperatorem omnium primum in maius militares fastus ad damna rerum auxisse communium, dignitates opesque eorum sublimius erigentem, et quod erat publice privatimque dolendum, inflexa saevitia punientem gregariorum errata, parcentem potioribus, qui tamquam peccatis indulta licentia, ad labes delictorum immanium consurgebant; qui ex eo altius anhelantes, ex nutu suo indistanter putant omnium pendere fortunas.

[4] But since I have a free opportunity of saying what I think, I shall declare openly that Valentinian was the first of all emperors to increase the arrogance of the military, to the injury of the commonwealth, by raising their rank and power to excess; moreover (a thing equally to be deplored, both publicly and privately), he punished the peccadilloes of the common soldiers with unbending severity, while sparing those of higher rank; so that these assumed that they had complete licence for their sins, and were aroused to shameful and monstrous crimes. In consequence, they are so arrogant as to believe that the fortunes of all without distinction are dependent on their nod.

[5] Horum flatus et pondera inventores iuris antiqui mollientes, etiam insontes quosdam aliquotiens suppliciis aboleri censuere letalibus. Quod saepe contingit, cum ob multitudinis crimina non nulli sortis iniquitate plectuntur innoxii; id enim non numquam ad privatorum pertinuit causas.

[5] In order to diminish their bluster and self-importance, the lawgivers of old were of the opinion that sometimes even some innocent persons should be

punished with death. And this often happens when, because of the wrongdoings of any multitude, through the injustice of fate, some guiltless persons suffer; for that sometimes has applied to the trials of private citizens.

[6] At in Isauria, globatim per vicina digressi praedones, oppida villasque uberes libera populatione vexantes, magnitudine iacturarum Pamphyliam afflictabant et Cilicas. Quos cum nullis arcentibus, internecive cuncta disperdere, Asiae vicarius ea tempestate Musonius advertisset, Athenis Atticis antehac magister rhetoricus, deploratis novissime rebus, luxuque adiumento militari marcente, adhibitis semermibus paucis, quos Diogmitas appellant, unum grassatorum cuneum (si patuisset facultas), adoriri conatus, per angustum quendam transiens devexitatis anfractum, ad inevitabiles venit insidias, et ibi cum his confossus est quos ducebat.

[6] Now in Isauria bands of brigands were over- running the neighbouring places, harassing towns and rich villas with unrestrained pillage, and inflicting great losses on Pamphylia and the Cilicians. Musonius, the deputy-governor of Asia at that time, who had formerly been a teacher of rhetoric in Attic Athens, perceived that, since no one resisted them, they were devastating everything with utter destruction; so at last, finding the situation deplorable and that the luxury of the soldiers made their aid administer all the parts (dioceses) of his province, the *vicarius* took his place. feeble, he gathered together a few half-armed troops, whom they call Diogmitæ, and attempted to attack. one band of the marauders, if the opportunity should offer.

[7] Tali successu latrones praetumidos, palantesque per varia confidentius, interfectis aliquibus, ad latebrosa montium saxa, quae incolunt, excitae tandem copiae contruserunt; ubi cum eis nec quiescendi nec inveniendi ad victum utilia copia laxaretur, per indutias pacem sibi tribui poposcerunt, Germanicopolitanis auctoribus, quorum apud eos ut signiferae manus semper valere sententiae, obsidibusque datis (ut imperatum est), immobiles diu mansere, nihil audentes hostile.

[7] But in passing down through a narrow and winding pass he came into an ambushade from which he could not escape, and was slain there with those whom he was leading. When the brigands, highly elated by this success, with greater confidence extended their raids in various directions, at last our troops were called out and after killing some of them drove the rest to the rocky retreats in the mountains where they live. Then, since no opportunity was revealed there for taking rest or finding anything fit for food, they called a truce and asked that peace be granted them, following the advice of the Germanicopolitani, whose opinions were always decisive with them, as if they were those of the standard-bearers in battle. Then they gave the hostages that were demanded, and remained quiet for a long time, without venturing on any hostile act.

[8] Haec inter Praetextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius curans, per integritatis multiplices actus et probitatis, quibus ab adulescentiae rudimentis inclaruit, adeptus est id quod raro contingit, ut cum timeretur, amorem non perderet civium, minus firmari solitum erga iudices formidatos.

[8] Meanwhile Praetextatus, who with high distinction acted as prefect of the city of Rome, through repeated acts of honesty and uprightness, for which he was famous from early youth, attained what rarely falls to a man's lot; for

although he was feared by his fellow-citizens, he did not lose their love, which as a rule is apt to be less strong towards officials who are dreaded.

[9] Cuius auctoritate iustisque veritatis suffragiis, tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum iurgia concitarunt, pulsoque Ursino, alta quies est parta, proposito civium Romanorum aptissima, et adulescebat gloria praeclari rectoris, plura et utilia disponentis.

[9] Through his authority and his decisions based upon justice and truth the outbreak which was stirred up by the quarrels of the Christians was quelled, and after the banishment of Ursinus profound quiet reigned, which most suited the wish of the citizens of Rome; and the fame of this illustrious ruler increased because of his many salutary measures.

[10] Namque et Maeniana sustulit omnia, fabricari Romae priscis quoque vetita legibus, et discrevit ab aedibus sacris privatorum parietes, eisdem inverecunde conexos, ponderaque per regiones instituit universas, cum aviditati multorum, ex libidine trutinas componentium, occurri nequiret. In examinandis vero litibus ante alios id impetravit quod laudando Brutum Tullius refert, ut cum nihil ad gratiam faceret, omnia tamen grata viderentur esse, quae factitabat. Valentinianus A. Rhenum transit, et Alamannos qui in celsissimos montes fugerant, non incruento utrimque certamine fundit fugatque. Sub idem fere tempus, Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute (ut rebatur ipse) profecto, Alamannus regalis (Rando nomine) diu praestruens quod cogitabat, Mogontiacum praesidiis vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit.

[10] For he removed all the Maeniana, the building of which in Rome was forbidden by early laws also, and he separated from the sacred buildings the walls of private houses, which had been irreverently built against them. He established standard weights in every quarter of the city, since otherwise the greed of many, who rigged up their balances after their own inclination, could not be dealt with. And in the examination of legal cases he deserved above all others the distinction which Cicero mentions in the commendation of Brutus, that although he did nothing to gain favour, yet everything that he did was looked upon with favour. Valentinianus Augustus, after crossing the Rhine, routs and puts to flight the Alamanni, who had fled to the mountain heights; but not, however, without bloodshed on both sides. At about this same time, Valentinian had begun his campaign with wariness, as he himself thought, when a prince of the Alamanni called Rando, after long preparation for his design, with a lightarmed band equipped for plundering, secretly made his way into Mogontiacus, which had no garrison.

[2] Et quoniam casu Christiani ritus invenit celebrari sollemnitatem, impraepedite cuiusque modi fortunae virile et muliebre secus cum suppellectili non parva indefensum abduxit.

[2] And since he chanced to find that a festival of the Christian religion was being celebrated, he was not hindered in carrying off defenceless men and women of every kind of station along with no small amount of household goods.

[3] Parvo inde post intervallo, inopina rei Romanae spes laetiorum adfulsit. Cum enim Vithicabius rex, Vadomarii filius, specie quidem molliculus et morbosus, sed audax et fortis, ardores in nos saepe succenderet bellicos, opera navabatur impensor, ut qualibet concideret strage.

[3] Then, after a brief interval, the hope of better fortune unexpectedly dawned upon the Roman state. For since King Vithicabius, son of Vadomarius, who was somewhat weak and sickly in appearance, but valiant and vigorous, again and again kindled the flames of war against us, no efforts were spared to dispose of him by any possible manner of death.

[4] Et quia temptatus aliquotiens, nullo genere potuit superari vel prodi, fraude ceterioris vitae ministri, studio sollicitante nostrorum, occubuit, cuius post necem aliquatenus hostiles torpuere discursus. Interfector tamen prae metu poenarum, quas verebatur si patuisset negotium, ad Romanum solum se celeri transtulit gradu.

[4] And because after several attempts he could in no way be overcome or treacherously surrendered, he was slain by the perfidy of an attendant on his private life through the earnest solicitation of our men; and after his death the enemy's raids slackened somewhat. But the assassin, through fear of the punishment which he dreaded in case the affair should become known, hastened to take refuge on Roman soil.

[5] Parabatur post haec contentioribus curis, et per copias multiformes, in Alamannos expeditio solitis gravior, destinatus id publica tutela poscente, quoniam reparabilis gentis motus timebantur infidi: milite nihilo minus accenso, cui ob suspectos eorum mores nunc infimorum et supplicum, paulo post ultima minitantium, nullae quiescendi dabantur indutiae.

[5] After this, with especially diligent care and with troops of various kinds, a more serious campaign than common was prepared against the Alamanni, since the public safety imperiously demanded it; for from a race that so easily recovered its strength treacherous attacks were to be feared; and the soldiers were equally incensed against them, since the untrustworthy nature of an enemy who was at one time abject and suppliant and soon afterwards threatening the worst, allowed them no rest or cessation from warfare.

[6] Contracta igitur undique mole maxima catervarum, armis et subsidiis rei cibariae diligenter instructa, accitoque Sebastiano comite cum Illyricis et Italicis numeris, quos regebat, anni tempore iam tepente Valentinianus cum Gratiano Moenum transiit, visoque nemine, divisus agminibus quadratis, ipse

medius incedebat, Iovino et Severo, magistris rei castrensis, altrinsecus ordinum latera servantibus, ne repentino invaderentur adsulto.

[6] Therefore a mighty mass of troops was assembled from all quarters and carefully provided with arms and supplies of food, Count Sebastianus was summoned with the Illyrian and Italian legions which he commanded, and as soon as the warm season began, Valentinian with Gratianus crossed the Main. Seeing no one, the emperor divided his army and advanced in square formation with himself in the centre and the generals Jovinus and Severus guarding the flanks on both sides, in order that they might not be exposed to a sudden attack.

[7] Protinusque inde ductantibus itinerum callidis, exploratis accessibus, per regiones longo situ porrectas, sensim gradiens miles, irritior ad pugnandum, velut repertis barbaris minaciter infrendebat. Et quoniam aliquot diebus emensis, nullus potuit qui resisteret inveniri, cuncta satorum et tectorum quae visebantur, iniecta cohortium manu, vorax flamma vastabat, praeter alimenta quae colligi dubius rerum eventus adigebat et custodiri.

[7] Then, guided by men who knew the roads, and carefully reconnoitering the approaches, they at once marched slowly onward, through a widely extended tract of country, while the soldiers, more and more eager for battle, ground their teeth in a threatening way, as if they had already come upon the savages. But since after the lapse of several days no one could be found to oppose them, all the cornfields and dwellings which they saw were laid waste by devouring flames kindled by a band of the cohorts, with the exception of such foodstuffs as doubt about the outcome of affairs forced them to gather and keep.

[8] Post haec leniore gressu princeps ulterius tendens, cum prope locum venisset, cui Solicinio nomen est, velut quadam obice stetit, doctus procursantium relatione verissima, barbaros longe conspectos.

[8] After this the emperor went on at slower pace, and when he had come near a place called Solicinium, he halted as if checked by some barrier, since he was reliably informed by the scouting troops in the van that the savages had been seen at a distance.

[9] Qui nullam ad tuendam salutem viam superesse cernentes, ni se celeri defendissent occurso, locorum gnaritate confisi, unum spirantibus animis, montem occupavere praelsum, per confragosos colles undique praeuptum et invium, absque septentrionali latere (unde facilem habet devexitatem et mollem). Signis ilico fixis ex more, cum undique ad arma conclamaretur, imperio principis et ductorum stetit regibilis miles, vexillum opperiens extollendum: quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae.

[9] And, in fact, the enemy, seeing no way left to save their lives except to

defend themselves by a swift onset, trusting to their knowledge of the ground and in general agreement with one another, had stationed themselves on a lofty mountain, surrounded on all sides by rocky and precipitous heights and inaccessible except on the northern side, where it has an easy and gentle slope. At once our standards were planted in the usual manner, while everywhere the call to arms was sounded; but, at the command of the emperor and his generals, the well-disciplined soldiers stood fast, waiting for the raising of the banner, which was the signal that it was the fit time to begin the battle.

[10] Ergo quia spatium deliberandi aut exiguum dabatur aut nullum, hinc impatientia militis perterrente, inde horrenda circumsonantibus Alamannis, id consilium ratio celeritatis admisit, ut arctoam montium partem, quam clementer diximus esse proclivem, Sebastianus occuparet cum suis, fugientes Germanos, si fors ita tulisset, levi negotio confossurus: quo ita (ut placuit) maturato, Gratianoque apud signa Iovianorum retro detento, cuius aetas erat etiam tum proeliorum impatiens et laborum, Valentinianus ut dux cunctator et tutus, centurias et manipulos capite intecto collustrans, nullo potentium in conscientiam arcani adhibito, remota multitudo stipatorum, speculatum radices aggerum avolavit cum paucis, quorum industriam norat et fidem, praedicans (ut erat sui arrogans aestimator) inveniri posse aliam viam, ducentem ad arduos clivos, praeter eam quam inspexere procursatores.

[10] Therefore, because little or no time for deliberation was given, since on one side the impatience of our soldiers was alarming, and on the other the Alamanni were yelling dreadfully all round, need for quick action made this plan advisable: that Sebastianus with his men should seize the northern part of the mountains, which (as we have said) had a gentle slope, in order that, if fortune should so decree, they might with little trouble strike down the Germans as they fled. The plan thus agreed upon was hastily carried out, and Gratianus, whose youth was even then unequal to battles and toil, was kept back with the legion of the Joviani, while Valentinian, as a deliberate and cautious leader, with uncovered head surveyed the centuries and maniples; and without taking anyone of the higher officers into his confidence he dismissed his throng of attendants, and with a few companions, known to him for their energy and fidelity, hastened off to inspect the foot of the hills, declaring (for he had a lofty opinion of his own judgment) that another way besides that which the scouts had seen could be found leading to the steep heights.

[11] Per ignota itaque et palustres uligines devius tendens, insidiatricis manus locatae per abdita subito oppetisset accursu, ni necessitatis adiumento postremo, per labilem limum incitato iumento digressus, legionum se gremiis immersisset, post abruptum periculum, cui adeo proximus fuit, ut galeam eius cubicularius ferens, auro lapillisque distinctam, cum ipso tegmine penitus

interiret, nec postea vivus reperiretur aut interfectus.

[11] Then, as he was making his way by devious paths over unknown places and marshy bogs, a band of the enemy placed in ambush in a hidden spot would have slain him by a sudden attack, had he not resorted to the last means of safety, put spurs to his horse, ridden away through the slippery mud, and taken refuge in the bosom of his legions after an imminent danger to which he was so very close that the chamberlain who carried the emperor's helmet, adorned with gold and precious stones, completely disappeared together with the helmet itself, and could be found later neither alive nor dead.

[12] Proinde quiete reficiendis corporibus data, signoque erecto, quod solet ad pugnam hortari, tubarum minacium accendente clangore, fidentissimo impetu acies motas, prompte ante alios praeiere duo iuvenes lecti, in principiis adeundi discriminis, Salvius et Lupicinus, scutarius unus, alter e schola gentilium, bellum fragore terribili concitantes: hastasque crispando, cum ad rupium obiecta venissent, trudentibusque Alamannis evadere ad celsiora conarentur, advenit omne pondus armorum, eisdemque antesignanis, per hirta dumis et aspera, magno virium nisu in editas sublimitates erepsit.

[12] Then, after the troops had been given a rest for recovering their strength, and the standard had been raised, which is accustomed to rouse men to battle, urged on by the menacing blare of trumpets they advanced to the attack with bold confidence. Two choice young warriors, Salvius and Lupicinus, the one a targeteer, the other belonging to the troop of gentiles, at the very beginning of the struggle, at once dashed forward before the others, urging on the battle with terrifying shouts. Brandishing their lances, they came to the opposing mass of rocks, and while the Alamanni were trying to push them back and they were striving to mount higher, the whole weight of our army came up, and, led by the same champions through places rough and shaggy with thickets, by a mighty effort scrambled up to the lofty heights.

[13] Acri igitur partium spiritu, conflictus cuspidibus temptatur infestis, et hinc arte belli doctior miles, inde licet feroces sed incauti barbari dexteris coiere collatis, quos latius sese pandens exercitus, infusis utrimque cornibus afflictabat, per fremitus territos, et equorum hinnitus, et tubas.

[13] Then with bitterness of spirit on both sides the conflict was essayed with levelled lances; on one side soldiers more skilled in the art of war, on the other the savages, fierce but reckless, joined in hand-to-hand conflict. Finally, our army, extending its lines and encircling the enemy on both flanks, began to cut them down, terrified as they were by the din, by the neighing of horses, and by the blare of trumpets.

[14] Nihilominus tamen ipsi assumpta fiducia restiterunt, aequataque parumper proeliorum sorte, haud parva mole certatum est, dum ruinarum funeribus

mutuis res gerebatur.

[14] Nevertheless, the foe took courage and resisted, and the contest continued with mighty struggles, the fortune of battle being for a long time undecided, while dire death and mutual destruction accompanied the fighting.

[15] Disiecti denique Romanorum ardore, metuque turbati, miscentur ultimis primi, dumque in pedes versi discedunt, verrutis hostilibus forabantur et pilis. Postremo dum anhelii currunt et fessi, pandebant sequentibus poplites et suras et dorsa. Stratis denique multis, lapsorum partem Sebastianus, cum subsidiali manu locatus post montium terga, trucidavit ex incauto latere circumventam: dispersi ceteri silvarum se latebris amendarunt.

[15] But at last the Alamanni were thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the Romans, and, disordered from fear, the foremost were mingled with the hindermost, and as they turned and fled they were pierced through by our javelins and pikes. At last, in panting and exhausted flight they exposed to their pursuers their hams, calves and backs. Then, after many had been laid low, Sebastianus, who had been posted with his reserve troops at the back of the mountains, surrounded a part of the fugitives on their exposed flank and slaughtered them; the rest in scattered flight took refuge in their haunts in the forests.

[16] In hac dimicatione, nostri quoque periere non contemnendi. Inter quos Valerianus fuit domesticorum omnium primus, et Natuspardo quidam scutarius, exsertus ita bellator, ut Sicinio veteri comparetur, et Sergio. Hisque tali casuum diversitate perfectis, milites ad hiberna, imperatores Treveros reverterunt. De Probi nobilitate, opibus, dignitatibus et moribus. Per haec tempora Vulcatio Rufino absoluto vita, dum administrat, ad regendam praefecturam praetorianam ab urbe Probus accitus, claritudine generis et potentia et opum amplitudine cognitus orbi Romano, per quem universum paene patrimonium sparsa possedit, iuste an secus, non iudicium est ruinarum, V; turmarum, EAG. nostri.

[16] In this battle some of our fathers also were not insignificant persons. Among them were Valerianus, first officer of all the household troops, and Natuspardo, one of the targeteers, a warrior so distinguished that he may be compared with Sicinius and Sergius of old. After finishing the campaign with these varied fortunes, the soldiers returned to their winter quarters, and the emperors to Treves.

Of the noble birth, wealth, honours, and character of Probus.

In the course of this time Vulcatius Rufinus ended his life while still in office, and Probus was summoned from Rome to fill the office of praetorian prefect, a man known for the distinction of his family, his influence, and his great wealth, throughout the whole Roman world, in almost all parts of which he

possessed estates here and there, whether justly or unjustly is not a question for my humble judgement.

[2] Hunc quasi genuina quaedam (ut fingunt poetae) fortuna vehens praepetibus pinnis, nunc beneficum ostendebat, et amicos altius erigentem, aliquotiens insidiatorem dirum et per cruentas noxium simultates. Et licet potuit (quoad vixit) ingentia, largiendo et intervallando potestates assiduas, erat tamen interdum timidus ad audaces, contra timidos celsior, ut videretur cum sibi fideret, de cothurno strepere tragico, et ubi paveret, omni humilior socco.

[2] This man was carried on the swift wings — as the poets' fancy expresses it — of a kind of congenital good fortune, which showed him to be now generous and ready to advance his friends, but sometimes a cruel schemer, working harm by his deadly jealousies. And although he had great power so long as he lived, because of the sums that he gave away and his constant resumption of offices, yet he was sometimes timid when boldly confronted, though arrogant against those who feared him; so that in his moments of confidence he seemed to thunder from tragic buskin, and when he was afraid, to be more humble than any wearer of the slipper.

[3] Atque ut natantium genus, elemento suo expulsum, haud ita diu spirat in terris, ita ille marcebat absque praefecturis, quas ob iugi familiarum licentia, capessere cogeatur, numquam innocentium per cupiditates immensas, utque multa perpetrarent impune, dominum suum mergentium in rem publicam.

[3] And as the finny tribe, when removed from its own element, does not breathe very long on dry land, so he pined away when not holding prefectures; these he was compelled to seek because of the constant lawlessness of certain families which on account of their boundless avarice were never free from guilt, and in order to carry out their many evil designs with impunity, plunged their patron into affairs of state.

[4] Namque fatendum est numquam ille, magnanimitate coalitus, clienti vel servo agere quicquam iussit illicitum, sed si eorum quemquam crimen ullum compererat admisisse, vel ipsa repugnante Iustitia, non explorato negotio, sine respectu boni honestique defendebat. Quod vitium reprehendens, ita pronuntiat Cicero: 'Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum?'

[4] Now it must be admitted that he had such natural greatness of spirit that he never ordered a client or a slave to do anything illegal; but, on the other hand, if he learned that any one of them had committed any crime, even though Justice herself cried out against the man, without investigating the matter and without regard to honour and virtue, he defended him. That is a fault which Cicero censures in the following words: "For what difference is there between

one who advises an act and one who approves it? Or what does it matter whether I wished anything to happen or rejoice that it has happened?"

[5] *Suspiciosus tamen et munitus suo pte ingenio fuit, et subamarum arridens, blandiensque interdum, ut noceat.*

[5] Yet he was suspicious, and fortified by his own character; he could smile rather bitterly and sometimes resorted to flattery in order to work harm.

[6] *Id autem perspicuum est in eius modi moribus malum, tum maxime cum celari posse existimatur; ita implacabilis et directus, ut si laedere quemquam instituisset, nec exorari posset nec ad ignoscendum erroribus inclinari, ideoque aures eius non cera sed plumbo videbantur obstructae. In summis divitiarum et dignitatum culminibus, anxius et sollicitus, ideoque semper levibus morbis afflictus. Hae per occidentales plagas series rerum fuere gestarum. Romani et Persae de Armenia et Hiberia inter se pugnant. Rex vero Persidis, longaevus ille Sapor, et ab ipsis imperitandi exordiis dulcedini rapinarum addictus, post imperatoris Iuliani excessum, et pudendae pacis icta foedera, cum suis paulisper nobis visus amicus, calcata fide sub Ioviano pactorum, iniectabat Armeniae manum ut eam, velut placitorum abolita firmitate, dicioni iungeret suae.*

[6] He had, moreover, what is a conspicuous evil in such characters, especially when one thinks to be able to conceal it, in that he was so merciless and unbending, that if he had made up his mind to injure anyone, he could not be made to relent nor induced to pardon errors; indeed, his ears seemed to be stopped, not with wax, but with lead. At the very height of riches and honours he was worried and anxious, and hence always troubled with slight illnesses. This was the course of events throughout the western regions. The Romans and the Persians fight with each other over Armenia and Hiberia. Now the king of the Persians, the famous Sapor, now aged, and from the very outset of his reign given over to the pleasure of plunder, after the death of the emperor Julian and the shameful treaty of peace that was struck, for a time appeared with his subjects to be friendly to us. But then, trampling under foot the promise of the pact made under Jovian, he laid his hand on Armenia, with the intention of bringing the country under his sway, as if all force of the agreements that had been made was at an end.

[2] *Et primo per artes fallendo diversas, nationem hominum potentem dispendiis levibus afflictabat, sollicitans quosdam optimatum et satrapas, alios excursibus occupans improvisis.*

[2] At first he tried to accomplish his purpose through various arts of deception, and he inflicted slight losses on this powerfully populous nation, by soliciting some of the grandees and satraps and surprising others by unexpected forays.

[3] Dein per exquisitas periuriisque mixtas illecebras, captum regem ipsum Arsacen, adhibitumque in convivium, iussit ad latentem trahi posticam, eumque effossis oculis vinctum catenis argenteis, quod apud eos honoratis vanum suppliciorum aestimatur esse solacium, exterminavit ad castellum Agabana nomine, ubi discruciatu ceciderat ferro poenali.

[3] Then, by carefully calculated flattery mingled with perjury, King Arsaces himself was tricked; for after being invited to a banquet he was taken according to orders to a secret rear-door; there, after his eyes had been gouged out, he was bound in silver chains, which among that people is regarded as a consolation, though an empty one, for the punishment of men of rank, and then he was banished to a fortress called Agabana, where after being tortured he was slain by the penal steel.

[4] Deinde nequid intemeratum perfidia praeteriret, Sauromace pulse, quem auctoritas Romana praefecit Hiberiae, Aspacurae cuidam potestatem eiusdem detulit gentis, diademate addito, ut arbitrio se monstraret insultare nostrorum.

[4] After this, in order to leave nothing unstained by treachery, Sapor drove out Sauromaces, who by Rome's authority had been given the rule of Hiberia, and appointed a certain Aspacures to govern that same people; and besides he bestowed on him the crown, in order to show his contempt of our authority.

[5] Quibus ita studio nefando perfectis, Cylaci spadoni et Artabanni, quos olim susceperat perfugas, commisit Armeniam (horum alter ante gentis praefectus, magister alter fuisse dicebatur armorum) eisdemque mandaratum, ut Artogerassam intentiore cura excinderent, oppidum muris et viribus validum, quod thesauros et uxorem cum filio tuebatur Arsacis.

[5] After thus effecting these abominable designs, he entrusted Armenia to Cylaces, a eunuch, and to Arrabannes, both of whom he had long before received as deserters — of these the former was said to have been previously a governor in that nation, the latter, a commander-in-chief-giving them orders to use all care to destroy Artogerassa, a powerful town with strong walls, which guarded the treasury of Arsaces, as well as his son and his wife.

[6] Iniere (ut statutum est) obsidium duces. Et quoniam munimentum, positum in asperitate montana, rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis, adiri non poterat, eunuchus Cylaces, aptusque ad muliebria palpamenta, Artabanne ascito, prope moenia ipsa, fide non amittendae salutis accepta, propere venit, et cum socio ad interiora susceptus, ut postulavit, suadebat minaciter defensoribus et reginae, motum Saporis inclementissimi omnium lenire deditione veloci.

[6] These leaders began the siege according to their orders. And since they could not gain access to the fortress, which was situated on a rough mountain, because the weather was then stiff with snow and frost, Cylaces, being a eunuch and skilled in cajoling like a woman, in company with Arrabannes,

having first obtained a pledge that their lives would be spared, came quickly up to the very walls; and when at his request he was allowed to enter with his colleague, he persuaded the defenders and the queen, also using threats, that by a speedy surrender they should try to mollify the violent nature of Sapor, who was a man of unexampled cruelty.

[7] *Multis post haec ultro citroque dictitatis, heiulanteque muliere truces mariti fortunas, proditiōnis acerrimi compulsores, in misericordiam flexi, mutavere consilium, et spe potiorum erecti, secretis colloquiis ordinarunt, hora praestituta nocturna, reclusis subito portis, validam manum erumpere, vallumque hostile caedibus aggredi repentinis, ut lateant id temptantes, polliciti se provisuros.*

[7] After this there was much discussion pro and con and the queen lamented the cruel fate of her husband; whereupon the most zealous inciters to the act of perfidy were turned to pity and changed their plan. Encouraged by the hope of greater rewards, in secret conferences they arranged that at an appointed hour of the night the gates should suddenly be thrown open and a strong force should sally forth and suddenly attack the enemy's camp with murderous intent; and they promised to see to it that their attempt should not be known.

[8] *Quibus religione firmatis, egressi, biduumque ad deliberandum quid capessere debeant, sibi concedi clausos petisse asseverantes, in desidiam obsessores traduxerunt, et vigiliis quibus ob securitatem altiore stertitur somno, civitatis aditu reserato iuventus exsiluit velox, passibusque insonis, expeditis mucronibus, repens, cum castra nihil metuentium invasissent, iacentes multos nullis resistentibus trucidarunt.*

[8] When this promise had been confirmed by an oath, they left the city, and by asserting that the besieged had asked that two days be allowed them to consider what course they ought to take, they brought over the besiegers into inaction. Then, in the watches of the night when all men, free from care, are in deep sleep, and snoring, the gate of the city was unbarred, young warriors rushed quickly out, with noiseless step and drawn swords crept up to the camp, where men were in no fear of danger, then rushed in, and without opposition butchered a great many as they lay asleep.

[9] *Haec inopina defectio, necesque insperatae Persarum, inter nos et Saporem discordiarum excitavere causas immanes, illo etiam accedente, quod Arsacis filium Papam, suadente matre cum paucis e munimento digressum, susceptumque imperator Valens apud Neocaesaream morari praecepit, urbem Polemoniaci Ponti notissimam, liberali victu curandum et cultu. Qua humanitate Cylaces et Artabannes illecti, missis oratoribus ad Valentem, auxilium eundemque Papam sibi regem tribui poposcerunt.*

[9] This unexpected treachery and the unforeseen slaughter of the Persians

aroused reasons for frightful hatred between ourselves and Sapor, which was made still worse because Papa, son of Arsaces, at the persuasion of his mother, had departed with a few followers from the fortified town and been received by the emperor Valens, who advised that he stay a while at Neocaesarea, a wellknown city of Pontus Polemoniacus, where he was to receive liberal support and education. This act of clemency encouraged Cylaces and Arrabannes to send envoys to Valens to ask that he aid them and give them the said Papa as their king.

[10] Sed pro tempore adiumentis negatis, per Terentium ducem Papa reducitur in Armeniam, rectorus interim sine ullis insignibus gentem, quod ratione iusta est observatum, ne fracti foederis nos argueremur et pacis.

[10] The aid, however, was denied them for the time, but Papa was sent back to Armenia through the general Terentius, that he might rule the land for a time, but without any emblems of royal rank; a condition which was complied with for a legitimate reason, namely, that we might not be charged with breaking the treaty and violating the peace.

[11] Hoc comperto textu gestorum, Sapor ultra hominem efferatus, concitis maioribus copiis, Armenias aperta praedatione vastabat. Cuius adventu territus Papa, itidemque Cylaces et Arrabannes, nulla circumspectantes auxilia, celsorum montium petivere secessus, limites nostros disterrimantes et Lazicam, ubi per silvarum profunda, et flexuosos colles mensibus quinque delitescences, regis multiformes lusere conatus.

[11] On learning of this course of events, Sapor was filled with superhuman wrath, and mustering greater forces began to devastate Armenia with open pillage. By his coming Papa, as well as Cylaces and Arrabannes, were seized with such fear that, after looking about and seeing no help from any source, they sought the refuge of the high mountains which separate our territory from Lazica. There they remained concealed in the deep woods and defiles of the hills for five months, and eluded the many attempts which the king made to find them.

[12] Qui operam teri frustra contemplan, sidere flagrante brumali, pomiferis exustis arboribus, castellisque munitis et castris quae ceperat superata vel prodita, cum omni pondere multitudinis Artogerassam circumsaeptam, et post varies certaminum casus, lassatis defensoribus patefactam incendit: Arsacis uxorem erutam inde cum thesauris abduxit.

[12] Since Sapor saw, as the winter stars were galling, that he was wasting his labour to no purpose, after burning the fruit-bearing trees and the fortified castles and strongholds that he had taken by force or by betrayal, he blockaded Artogerassa with the whole weight of his forces and after some battles of varying result and the exhaustion of the defenders, forced his way

into the city and set it on fire, dragging out and carrying off the wife and the treasures of Arsaces.

[13] Quas ob causas ad eas regiones Arintheus cum exercitu mittitur comes, suppetias laturus Armeniis, si eos exagitare procinctu gemino temptaverint Persae.

[13] For these reasons Count Arintheus was sent to those parts with an army, to render aid to the Armenians in case the Persians should try to harass them in a second campaign.

[14] Inter quae Sapor immensum quantum astutus, et cum sibi conduceret, humilis aut elatus, societatis futurae specie Papam ut incuriosum sui per latentes nuntios increpabat, quod maiestatis regiae velamento, Cylaci serviret et Arrabanni, quos ille praeceps blanditiarum illecebris interfecit, capitaque caesorum ad Saporem ut ei morigerus misit.

[14] Meanwhile Sapor, who was immensely crafty and according to his advantage either humble or arrogant, under pretence of a future alliance, upbraided Papa through secret messengers as regardless of his own interests in being the slave of Cylaces and Arrabannes under the semblance of royal power. Papa, in headlong haste, and using the allurements of flattering blandishments, had the two men killed, and, when they were slain, sent their heads to Sapor as a sign of his submission.

[15] Hac clade late diffusa, Armenia omnis perisset inpropugnata, ni Arinthei adventu territi Persae, eam incursare denuo distulissent, hoc solo contenti, quod ad imperatorem misere legatos, petentes nationem eandem, ut sibi et Ioviano placuerat, non defendi.

[15] The news of this disaster spread widely and all Armenia would have been lost for lack of defenders, had not the Persians, terrified by the coming of Arintheus, postponed a second invasion of the land. For the present they contented themselves with merely sending envoys to the emperor, asking that, in accordance with the agreement that Jovian had made with Sapor, he should not defend that nation.

[16] Quibus repudiatis, Sauromaces pulsus (ut ante diximus) Hiberiae regno, cum duodecim legionibus et Terentio remittitur, et eum amni Cyro iam proximum, Aspacures oravit, ut socia potestate consobrini regnarent, causatus ideo se nec cedere, nec ad partes posse transire Romanas, quod Ultra eius filius obsidis lege tenebatur adhuc apud Persas.

[16] This proposal was rejected, and Sauromaces, who (as I have already said) had been driven from the throne of Hiberia, was sent back there with Terentius and twelve legions. And when he had nearly reached the river Cyrus, Aspacures begged him that they should, being cousins, rule the country

with conjoint authority, pleading that he could not withdraw or go over to the Roman side, for the reason that his son Ultra was still held in the condition of a hostage by the Persians.

[17] Quae imperator edoctus, ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti molliret, divisioni acquievit Hiberiae, ut eam medius dirimeret Cyrus, et Sauromaces Armeniis finitima retineret et Lazis, Aspacures Albaniae Persisque contigua.

[17] When the emperor learned of this, in order by a prudent plan to appease the disturbances that would be aroused from this affair also, he consented to a division of Hiberia with the river Cyrus as the boundary line. Sauromaces was to hold the part of that country bordering on Armenia and the Lazi, and Aspacures the part next to Albania and the Persians.

[18] His percitus Sapor, pati se exclamans indigna, quod contra foederum textum iuvarentur Armenii, et evanuit legatio, quam super hoc miserat corrigendo, quodque se non assentiente, nec conscio, dividi placuit Hiberiae regnum: velut obseratis amicitiae foribus, vicinarum gentium auxilia conquirebat, suumque parabat exercitum, ut reserata caeli temperie subverteret omnia, quae ex re sua struxere Romani.

[18] At this Sapor was greatly incensed, declaring that he was shamefully treated in that help was given to the Armenians contrary to the provisions of the treaties, and that the deputation which he had sent to remonstrate against this had come to nothing; also, because without his consent or knowledge it had been decided to divide the kingdom of Hiberia. Accordingly, having bolted, as it were, the door to friendship, he sought aid from the neighbouring nations and got his own army ready, in order that with the opening of mild weather he might overturn everything that the Romans had contrived to their own interests

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LIBER XXVIII — BOOK XXVIII

[1] Multi, etiam Senatores et Senatorii generis feninae, Romae veneficiorum, stuprorum et adulteriorum accusantur et supplicio afficiuntur. Dum apud Persas (ut supra narravimus), perfidia regis motus agitat insperatos, et in eoīs tractibus bella rediviva consurgunt, anno sexto decimo et eo diutius post Nepotiani exitium, saeviens per urbem aeternam, urebat cuncta Bellona, ex primordiis minimis ad clades excita luctuosas, quas obliterasset utinam iuge silentium! Ne forte paria quandoque temptentur, plus exemplis generalibus nocitura quam delictis.

Many people, even senators and women of senatorial families are accused at Rome of poisoning, fornication, and adultery, and executed. While among the Persians (as I have already related) the perfidy of the king was arousing unexpected disturbances, and in the eastern regions wars were rising with renewed strength, somewhat more than sixteen years after the death of Nepotianus, Bellona, raging throughout the Eternal City, set all ablaze, being aroused from insignificant beginnings to lamentable massacres; and I could wish that everlasting silence had consigned these to oblivion, lest haply at some time similar crimes should be attempted, which might do more harm from their general example and precedent than through the offences themselves.

[2] Ac licet ab hoc textu cruento gestorum exquisite narrando iustus me retraheret metus, multa reputantem et varia, tamen praesentis temporis modestia fretus, carptim ut quaeque memoria digna sunt explanabo, nec pigebit quid ex his quae apud veteres acciderunt timuerim docere succincte.

[2] And although, after long consideration of various circumstances, well-grounded dread restrained me from giving a minute account of this series of bloody deeds, yet I shall, relying on the better morals of the present day, set forth briefly such of them as are worthy of notice and I shall not be sorry to tell concisely what I have feared from events of antiquity.

[3] Bello Medico primo, cum diripuissent Asiam Persae, obsidentes Miletum molibus magnis, minantesque defensoribus cruciabiles neces, iniecere clausis necessitatem, ut omnes magnitudine malorum afflicti, preemptis caritatibus propriis, proiectoque in ignem mobili censu, arsuros se certatim congererent, in communem pereuntis patriae rogam.

[3] When in the first Medic war the Persians had plundered Asia, they besieged Miletus with mighty forces, threatened the defenders with death by torture, and drove the besieged to the necessity, overwhelmed as they all were by a weight of evils, of killing their own dear ones, consigning their movable possessions to the flames, and each one striving to be first to throw himself

into the fire, to burn on the common funeral pyre of their country.

[4] Hoc argumentum paulo postea digestum tumore tragico Phrynichus in theatrum induxerat Athenarum, paulisperque iucunde auditus, cum cothurnatus stilus procederet lacrimosus, indignatione damnatus est populi, arbitrati non consolandi gratia sed probrose monendi, quae pertulerat amabilis civitas, nullis auctorum adminiculis fulta, hos quoque dolores scaenicis adnumerasse fabulis insolenter. Erat enim Atheniensium colonia Miletus, deducta inter Ionas alios per Nileum filium Codri, qui fertur pro patria bello se Dorico devovisse.

[4] Soon after this, Phrynichus composed a play with this disaster as its plot, which he put upon the stage at Athens in the lofty language of tragedy. At first he was heard with pleasure, but as the sad story went on in too tragic style, the people became angry and punished him, thinking that consolation was not his object but blame and reproach, when he had the bad taste to include among stage-plays a portrayal even of those sufferings which a well-beloved city had undergone, without receiving any support from its founders. For Miletus was a colony of the Athenians founded by Nileus, the son of Codrus (who is said to have sacrificed himself for his country in the Dorian war) and by other Ionians.

[5] Sed ad proposita veniamus. Maximinus regens quondam Romae vicariam praefecturam, apud Sopianas Valeriae oppidum obscurissime natus est, patre tabulario praesidialis officii, orto a posteritate Carporum, quos antiquis excitos sedibus, Diocletianus transtulit in Pannoniam.

[5] But let us come to our subject. Maximinus, who formerly held the office of vice- prefect at Rome, was born at Sopianae, a town of Valeria, of very humble parents, his father being an accountant in the governor's office and sprung from ancestors who were Carpi, a people whom Diocletian drove from its ancient abode and transferred to Pannonia.

[6] Is post mediocre studium liberalium doctrinarum defensionemque causarum ignobilem, et administratas Corsicam itidemque Sardiniam, rexit deinde Tusciam. Unde morato in itinere diutius successore, transgressus ad curandam urbis annonam, etiam provinciae moderamina retinebat, egitque consideratione triplici inter exordia cautius.

[6] Maximinus, after some slight study of the liberal arts, and after acting as a pleader without acquiring distinction, became governor of Corsica, also of Sardinia, and finally of Tuscia. then, because his successor lingered too long on the way, although transferred to the charge of the city's grain supply, he retained also the rule of Tuscia, and at the beginning acted with moderation, for a three-fold reason.

[7] Primo quod recalebant in auribus eius parentis effata, quid augurales alites

vel cantus monerent oscinum adprime callentis, ad usque sublimia regimenta venturum, sed periturum ferro poenali: dein quod nactus hominem Sardum, quem ipse postea per dolosas fallacias interemit, ut circumtulit rumor, eliciendi animulas noxias, et praesagia sollicitare larvarum, perquam gnarum: dum superesset ille, timens ne proderetur, tractabilis erat et mollior; postremo quod tamquam subterraneus serpens, per humiliora reptando, nondum maiores funerum excitare poterat causas.

[7] First, because the prophecies of his father were still warm in his ears, a man exceedingly skilful in interpreting omens from the flight or the notes of birds, who declared he would attain to high power, but would die by the sword of the executioner; secondly, because he had got hold of a man from Sardinia who was highly skilled in calling up baneful spirits and eliciting predictions from the ghosts of the dead. This man he himself afterwards put to death, so the rumour went, in a treacherous fashion, — so long as he survived, Maximinus was more yielding and mild, for fear that he might be betrayed — finally, because while creeping through low places like a serpent under ground he could not yet stir up causes for death on a larger scale.

[8] Principium autem unde latius se funditabat, emersit ex negotio tali. Chilo ex vicario, et coniux eius Maxima nomine, questi apud Olybrium, ea tempestate urbi praefectum, vitamque suam venenis petitam asseverantes, impetrarunt ut hi quos suspectati sunt, ilico rapti, compingerentur in vincula, organarius Sericus, et Asbolius palaestrita, et haruspex Campensis.

[8] The first opportunity to widen the sphere of his operations arose from the following affair. Chilo, a former deputy-governor, and his wife Maxima made complaint before Olybrius, at that time prefect of the city, declaring that their life had been attempted by poison; and they managed that those whom they suspected should at once be seized and put in prison. The accused were an organ-builder Sericus, a wrestler Asbolius, and a soothsayer Campensis.

[9] Verum negotio tepescente propter diuturnam morborum asperitatem, qua tenebatur Olybrius, morarum impatientes, hi qui rem detulerunt, libello petiverunt oblato, ut examinandum iurgium praefecto mandaretur annonae, idque studio celeritatis concessum est.

[9] But as the affair languished because of a severe illness with which Olybrius was long affected, those who had brought the charge, impatient of delay, presented a petition, asking that the examination of the dispute should be turned over to the prefect of the grain supply; and from a desire for a speedy decision this was granted.

[10] Accepta igitur nocendi materia, Maximinus effudit genuinam ferociam, pectori crudo affixam, ut saepe faciunt amphitheatrales ferae, diffractis tandem solutae posticis. Cumque multiformiter quasi in proluudiis negotium

spectaretur, et quidam sulcatis lateribus, nominassent nobiles aliquos, tamquam usos artificibus laedendi per clientes aliosque humiles, notos reos et indices, supra plantam (ut dicitur) evagatus, tartareus cognitor, relatione maligna, docuit principem, non nisi supplicii acrioribus, pernicioosa facinora scrutari posse vel vindicari, quae Romae perpetrare complures.

[10] Thus Maximinus gained the power of doing harm and poured out the natural cruelty implanted in his hard heart, as often happens with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, when they break in pieces the back-gates and are at last set free. And while the business was being looked into in many ways, as if in a kind of preliminary practice, and some persons, whose sides had been torn into furrows, had named certain nobles as having, through their clients and other common people who were notorious as malefactors and informers, made use of men skilled in harmful practices, the hellish judge, "going beyond his last" (as the saying is), in a malicious report to the emperor informed him that the offences which many men had committed at Rome could not be investigated or punished except by severer measures.

[11] His ille cognitis, efferatus, ut erat vitiorum inimicus acer magis quam severus, uno proloquio, in huius modi causas, quas arroganter proposito maiestatis imminutae miscebat, omnes quos iuris prisci iustitia, divorumque arbitria, quaestionibus exemere cruentis, si postulasset negotium, statuit tormentis affligi.

[11] On hearing this, the emperor, in anger, being rather a cruel than a strict foe of vices, gave one general judicial sentence to cover cases of the kind, which he arbitrarily fused with the design of treason, and ruled that all those whom the justice of the ancient code and the edicts of deified emperors had made exempt from inquisitions by torture should, if circumstances demanded, be examined with torments.

[12] Utque congeminata potestas, erectaque sublatius, altiores consarcinaret aerumnas, Maximino Romae agere disposito pro praefectis, sociavit ad haec cognoscenda, quae in multorum pericula struebantur, Leonem notarium, postea officiorum magistrum, bustuarium quendam latronem Pannonium, efflantem ferino rictu crudelitatem, etiam ipsum nihilo minus humani sanguinis avidissimum.

[12] And that with doubled power and higher rank Maximinus might patch together a greater heap of calamities, the emperor gave him a temporary appointment as acting prefect at Rome; and he associated with him in the investigation of these charges which were being devised for the peril of many the secretary Leo, afterward chief-marshal of the court, a Pannonian and a grave-robbler, snorting forth cruelty from the grinning jaws of a wild beast, and no less insatiable in his thirst for human blood than Maximinus.

[13] Auxit obstinatum Maximini ingenium ad laedendum adventus collegae similis et litterarum cum ampla dignitate dulcedo. Ideoque pedes huc et illuc exultando contorquens, saltare, non incedere videbatur, dum studebat inter altaria celsius gradientes (ut quidam memorant) imitari Brachmanas.

[13] The persistent natural bent of Maximinus to cruel conduct was increased by the coming of a colleague of the same character and by the charm of a commission conferring lofty rank. Therefore, full of joy, he turned his steps this way and that, seeming to dance rather than walk, and seeking to imitate the Brahmins, who march (as some say) above the earth among their altars.

[14] Iamque lituis cladium concrepantibus internarum, rerum atrocitate torpentibus cunctis, praeter multa cruda et immitia quorum nec diversitas comprehendi, nec numerus potest, mors Marini causarum defensoris eminuit. Quem ut ausum Hispanillae cuiusdam, artibus pravis, affectasse coniugium, transeunter indiciorum fide discussa, supplicio letali damnavit.

[14] And now, as the trumpets sounded the signal for the murder of citizens and all were stupified by the horrible situation, besides many harsh and merciless acts, which because of their variety and number cannot be enumerated, the execution of Marinius, a public advocate, was conspicuous. This man was accused of having dared by forbidden arts to try to gain a certain Hispanilla as his wife, and when the truthfulness of the evidence had been perfunctorily examined, Maximinus condemned him to death.

[15] Et quoniam existimo, forsitan aliquos haec lecturos, exquisite scrutando notare, strepentes id actum esse prius, non illud, aut ea quae viderint praetermissa: hactenus faciendum est satis, quod non omnia narratu sunt digna, quae per squalidas transiere personas, nec si fieri fuisset necesse, instructiones vel ex ipsis tabulariis suppeterent publicis, tot calentibus malis, et novo furore, sine retinaculis imis summa miscente, cum iustitium esse, quod timebatur, non iudicium, aperte constaret.

[15] And since I think that perchance some of my readers by careful examination may note and bring it against me as a reproach that this, and not that, happened first, or that those things which they themselves saw are passed over, I must satisfy them to this extent: that not everything which has taken place among persons of the lowest class is worth narrating; and if this were necessary to be done, even the arrays of facts to be gained from the public records themselves would not suffice, when there was such a general fever of evils, and a new and unbridled madness was mingling the highest with the lowest; for it was clearly evident that it was not a judicial trial which was to be feared, but a suspension of legal proceedings.

[16] Tunc Cethegus senator, adulterii reus delatus, cervice perit abscisa, et Aplypius nobilis adulescens, ob levem relegatus errorem, aliique humiles,

publica morte oppetiverunt: in quorum miseriis, velut sui quisque discriminis cernens imaginem, tortorem et vincula somniabat, et deversoria tenebrarum.

[16] Then Cethegus, a senator, was accused of adultery and beheaded, Alypius, a young man of noble birth, was banished for a trifling fault, and others of lower rank were publicly put to death; and every one, seeing in their unhappy fate the picture (as it were) of his own danger, dreamt of the torturer and of fetters and lodgings of darkness.

[17] Eodem tempore etiam Hymetii praeclarae indolis viri, negotium est actitatum, cuius hunc fuisse novimus textum. Cum Africam pro consule regeret, Carthaginiensibus victus inopia iam lassatis, ex horreis Romano populo destinatis, frumentum venumdedit, pauloque postea, cum provenisset setegum copia, integre sine ulla restituit mora.

[17] At the same time, the case of Hymetius also, a man of distinguished character, was tried, of which we know this to have been the course of events. When he was governing Africa as proconsul he took from the storehouses grain intended for the Roman people and sold it to the Carthaginians, who were by that time worn out from lack of food, and a little later, when the crops were again abundant, without any delay completely restored what he had taken.

[18] Verum quoniam denis modiis singulis solidis indigentibus venundatis, emerat ipse tricenos, interpretii compendium ad principis aerarium misit. Ideoque Valentinianus, per nundinationem suspicatus parum quam oportuerat missum, eum bonorum parte multavit.

[18] Moreover, since ten bushels had been sold to the needy for one gold-piece, while he himself now bought thirty, he sent the profit from the difference in price to the emperor's treasury. And so Valentinian, suspecting that he had sent less than he should have sent as the result of his trafficking, punished him with a fine of a part of his property.

[19] Ad cuius cladem exaggerandam, id quoque eisdem diebus acciderat, non minus exitiale. Amantius haruspex, ea tempestate prae ceteris notus, occultiore indicio proditus, quod ob prava quaedam implenda, ad sacrificandum ab eodem esset adscitus Hymetio, inductusque in iudicium, quamquam incurvus sub eculeo staret, pertinaci negabat instantia.

[19] To add to his calamity, this also had happened at that same time, which was not less fatal. The soothsayer Amantius, at that time especially notorious, was betrayed on secret evidence of having been employed by the said Hymetius, for the purpose of committing certain criminal acts, to perform a sacrifice; but when brought to trial, although he stood bent double upon the rack, he denied it with obstinate insistence.

[20] Quo infitianti, secretioribus chartis ab eius domo prolatis, commonitorium repertum est, manu scriptum Hymetii, petentis ut obsecrato ritu sacrorum sollemnium numine, erga se imperatores delenirentur. Cuius extima parte quaedam invectiva legebantur in principem ut avarum et truculentum

[20] Upon his denial, his secret papers were brought from his house and a memorandum in the handwriting of Hymetius was found, begging him that by carrying out a solemn sacrifice he should prevail upon the deity to make the emperors milder towards him; and at the end of the document were read some reproaches of Valentinian as avaricious and cruel.

[21] Haec Valentinianus relatione iudicum doctus, asperius interpretantium facta, vigore nimio in negotium iussit inquiri. Et quia Frontinus, consiliarius ante dicti minister fuisse conceptae precationis arguebatur, concisus virgis, atque confessus, ablegatus est in exilium ad Britannos, Amantius vero, damnatus postea rerum capitalium interiit.

[21] When the emperor learned this from the report of the judges, who gave what had been done a harsh interpretation, he issued orders that the affair should be investigated with excessive strictness. And since Frontinus, an adviser of the said Hymetius, was charged with having drawn up the form of prayer that was made, he was mangled with rods, and having confessed his guilt, was exiled to Britain; but Amantius was later found guilty of a capital crime and executed.

[22] Post hanc gestorum seriem Hymetius ad oppidum ductus Ocriculum, audiendus ab Ampelio urbi praefecto, et Maximino vicario, confestimque perdendus (ut apparebat) data sibi copia audentius imperatoris praesidium appellavit, nominisque eius perfugio tectus, servabatur incolumis.

[22] After this course of events Hymetius was taken to the town of Ocriculum, to be heard by Ampelius, prefect of the city, and Maximinus, the deputy-prefect; and when it was evident that he would immediately be condemned to death, he boldly appealed to the emperor's protection, when the opportunity was given him, and, defended under the refuge of that name, saved his life.

[23] Super hoc princeps consultus, senatui negotium dedit. Qui cum rem librata iustitia comperisset, eumque ad Boas, Delmatiae locum, exterminasset, aegre imperatoris iracundiam tulit, perciti vehementer, quod hominem addictum (ut ipse proposuerat) morti, clementiori sententia didicerat plexum.

[23] When the emperor was consulted about this matter, he referred the business to the senate. And when they had weighed the case in the scales of justice and learned the truth and had exiled the accused to Boae, a place in Dalmatia, they could hardly bear the wrath of the emperor, who was greatly incensed on learning that a man whom he had intended to be condemned to death had been punished with a milder sentence.

[24] Ob haec et huius modi multa, quae cernebantur in paucis, omnibus timeri sunt coepta. Et ne tot malis dissimulatis, paulatimque serpentibus, acervi crescerent aerumnarum, nobilitatis decreto legati mittuntur: Praetextatus ex urbi praefecto, et ex vicario Venustus, et ex consulari Minervius, oraturi ne delictis supplicia sint grandiora, neve senator quisquam, inusitato et illicito more, tormentis exponeretur.

[24] On account of this occurrence and many others of the same kind, the fate which was seen to overtake a few persons began to be feared by all. And lest, by so many evils that were ignored, and gradually creeping on, the mass of troubles should be increased, by resolution of the nobles envoys were sent to the emperor. These were Praetextatus, former prefect of the city, Venustus, a one-time deputy-prefect, and Minervius, who had been a consular governor. They were to ask that punishments should be inflicted that were not too severe for the offences, and that no senator should, in a fashion neither practised nor permitted, be subjected to torture.

[25] Qui cum intromissi in consistorium haec referrent, negantem Valentinianum se id statuisset, et calumnias perpeti clamitantem, moderate redarguit quaestor Eupraxius, hacque libertate emendatum est crudele praeceptum, supergressum omnia dicitatis exempla.

[25] When the deputation had been admitted to the council-chamber and had presented their request, Valentinian said that he had never made such a decree, and cried out that he was the victim of calumny. But the quaestor Eupraxius mildly contradicted him, and through his freedom of speech the cruel order, which surpassed all examples of harshness, was rescinded.

[26] Circa hos dies Lollianus, primae lanuginis adulescens, Lampadi filius ex praefecto, exploratus causam Maximino spectante, convictus codicem noxiarum artium nondum per aetatem firmato consilio, descripsisse, exsulque mittendus (ut sperabatur) patris impulsu, provocavit ad principem, et iussus ad eius comitatum adduci, de fumo (ut aiunt) in flammam, traditus Phalangio (Baeticae consulari) cecidit funesti carnificis manu.

[26] At about that same time Lollianus, a youth just growing his first beard, son of the ex-prefect Lampadius, as the result of a strict examination by Maximinus, was convicted of having written a book on destructive magic arts, when adult age had not yet endowed him with sound judgment. And when it was feared that he would be exiled, by his father's advice he appealed to the emperor and was ordered to be taken to his court; but he went from the smoke (as the saying is) into the fire; for he was handed over to Phalangius, consular governor of Baetica, and died at the hand of the dread executioner.

[27] Super his etiam Tarracius Bassus, postea urbi praefectus, et frater eius Camenius, et Marcianus quidam et Eusaphius, omnes clarissimi, arcessiti in

crimen, quod eiusdem conscii veneficiis, aurigam fovere dicebantur Auchenium, documentis etiam tum ambiguus, suffragante absoluti sunt Victorino, ut dispersus prodidit rumor, qui erat amicus Maximino iunctissimus.

[27] Besides these also Tarracius Bassus, afterwards prefect of the city, his brother Camenius, a certain Marcianus, and Eusaphius, all men of senatorial rank, were brought to trial on the ground that they were said to be making much of the charioteer Auchenius, and were his accomplices in the use of poisons; but because the evidence was even then doubtful, they were acquitted, as widespread rumour declared, through the influence of Victorinus, who was the closest friend of Maximinus.

[28] Nec minus feminae quoque calamitatum participes fuere similium. Nam ex hoc quoque sexu, peremptae sunt originis altae complures, adulteriorum flagitiis obnoxiae, vel stuprorum. Inter quas notiores fuere Claritas et Flaviana, quarum altera cum duceretur ad mortem, indumento (quo vestita erat) abrepto, ne velamen quidem secreto membrorum sufficiens retinere permissa est. Ideoque carnifex, nefas admisisse convictus immane, vivus exustus est.

[28] Not even women were more immune from similar calamities. For many of high birth belonging to this sex too were charged with the disgrace of adultery or of fornication, and put to death. Conspicuous among these were Charitas and Flaviana, of whom the latter, when she was led to death, was stripped of the clothing which she wore, being allowed not even to keep sufficient covering for the secret parts of her body. But for that reason the executioner was convicted of having committed a monstrous crime, and was burned alive.

[29] Paphius quin etiam et Cornelius, senatores, ambo venenorum artibus pravis se polluisse confessi, eodem pronuntiante Maximino sunt interfecti. Pari sorte etiam procurator monetae extinctus est. Sericum enim, et Asbolium supra dictos, quoniam cum hortaretur passim nominare quos vellent, adiuncta religione firmarat, nullum igni vel ferro se puniri iussurum, plumbi validis ictibus interemit. Et post hoc flammis Campensem haruspitem dedit, in negotio eius nullo sacramento constrictus.

[29] Nay more, two senators, Paphius and Cornelius, both of whom confessed to having disgraced themselves by the wicked practices of poisons, by the sentence of the same Maximinus were put to death. Even the head of the mint perished by a like fate. But Sericus and Asbolius, mentioned above, because when he urged them to name indiscriminately such accomplices as they wished, he had declared on oath that he would order no one to be punished with fire or steel, he killed with heavy blows of lead. And after this he consigned the soothsayer Campensis to the flames, being bound in his case by no oath.

[30] *Opportunum est (ut arbitror) explanare nunc causam, quae ad exitium praecipitem Aginatum impulit, iam inde a priscis maioribus nobilem, ut locuta est pertinacior fama; nec enim super hoc ulla documentorum rata est fides.*

[30] It is, I think, fitting now to set forth the cause which drove Aginatus headlong to death, a man of noble descent from his early ancestors, as persistent report declared; for as to this there is no trustworthy documentary evidence.

[31] *Anhelans flatu superbo, Maximinus etiam tum praefectus annonae, nactusque audaciae incitamenta non levia, tendebat ad usque Probi contemptum, viri summatum omnium maximi, iureque praefecturae praetorianae regentis provincias.*

[31] Maximinus, breathing blasts of arrogance, while he was still prefect of the grain supply, and finding no slight incentives to his audacity, went so far as to insult Probus, the most distinguished man among all the highest officials, and governing several provinces with the rank of praetorian prefect.

[32] *Quod Aginatus indignissime ferens, dolensque in examinandis causis Maximinum ab Olybrio sibi praelatum, cum esset ipse vicarius Romae, familiari sermone docuit Probum occulte, facile vanum hominem recalcitrantem sublimibus meritis posse opprimi, si ille id fieri censuisset.*

[32] Aginatus, filled with indignation at this, and resentful because Maximinus, in conducting examinations, was preferred to him by Olybrius, although he himself was vice-prefect of Rome, secretly informed Probus in a confidential communication that the worthless man, one who quarrelled with high merits, could easily be brought low, if Probus decided that it should be done.

[33] *Has litteras (ut quidam asseverabant), Probus ad Maximinum eruditorem iam in sceleribus, commendatumque principi pertimescens, nullo conscio praeter baiulum, misit. Hisque recitatis, ita homo ferus exarsit, ut machinas omnes in Aginatum deinde commoveret, velut serpens vulnere ignoti cuiusdam attritus.*

[33] This letter Probus, as some maintained, without the knowledge of anyone except the bearer, sent to Maximinus, fearing him as a man already very highly trained in wickedness and in favour with the emperor. On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against Aginatus, after the manner of a serpent crushed by a wound from some unknown person.

[34] *Accessit his alia potior insidiarum materia, quae eundem Aginatum obruit. Victorinum enim defunctum insimulabat, ut Maximini actus (dum supererat) venditantem, cuius ex testamento legata ipse sumpserat non aspernanda,*

parique petulantia Anepsiae quoque, eius uxori, lites minabatur et iurgia.

[34] There was added to this another more powerful impulse to treacherous attacks, which ruined the said Aginatius. For he accused Victorinus after his death of having sold decisions of Maximinus during his lifetime, although he himself had received no contemptible legacies from Victorinus' will; and with like impudence he threatened Anepsia also, Victorinus's widow, with charges and litigious suits.

[35] Quae haec metuens ut Maximini muniretur auxilio, finxit maritum in voluntate, quam condiderat nuper, argenti tria milia pondo eidem reliquisse. Qui aviditate nimia flagrans (nec enim hoc quoque vitio caruit) petit hereditatis medietatem. Verum etiam hoc (ut parum sufficienti) nequaquam contentus, aliud commentus est (ut arbitrabatur) honestum et tutum, et ne amitteret amplam sibi oblatam lucrandi uberis patrimonii, Victorini privignam, Anepsiae filiam, petit filio coniugem, idque assentiente muliere prompte firmatum est.

[35] The woman, fearful of these troubles, and wishing to protect herself by the help of Maximinus, pretended that her husband in a will which he had made shortly before his death had left him 3000 pounds of silver. Maximinus then, enflamed with excessive greed — for he was not free from that vice also — demanded half of her inheritance. But by no means content even with this, which he thought too little, he devised another plan, honourable and safe (as he thought), and in order not to lose the opportunity which was offered him for profiting from rich estate, he asked for the hand of the step-daughter of Victorinus (Anepsia's own child) for his son; and this was quickly secured with the woman's consent.

[36] Per haec et alia simili maerore deflenda, quae decolorabant speciem urbis aeternae, grassabatur per strages multiplices fortunarum, homo cum gemitu nominandus, ultra forenses terminos semet extentans. Namque et resticulam de fenestra praetorii quadam remota, dicitur semper habuisse suspensam, cuius summitas quaedam velut damnosa colligeret, nullis quidem indiciis fulta, sed nocitura insontibus multis: et Mucianum Barbarumque apparitores aliquotiens discretim trudi iubebat, ad fallendum aptissimos.

[36] Through these and other equally lamentable crimes, which were a blot on the fair aspect of the Eternal City, this man, to be named only with groans, made his violent way over the ruins of many fortunes, passing beyond the limits afforded by the courts. For he is said to have had a cord hanging from a secluded window of his palace, the lower end of which could pick up certain seemingly incriminating charges, supported, it is true, by no evidence, but nevertheless likely to injure many innocent persons. And sometimes he ordered Mucianus and Barbarus, his attendants, who were most skilled in deception, severally to be cast out of his house.

[37] Hi tamquam heulando casus quibus se simulabant oppressos, iudicis exaggerando crudelitatem, remedium nullum aliud reis ad obtinendam vitam superesse eadem replicando saepe asseverabant, ni criminibus magnis petissent nobiles viros, quibus ad sui societatem annexis facile eos absolvi posse firmabant.

[37] These two then, as if bewailing the fate by which they pretended to be overwhelmed, exaggerated the cruelty of the judge and often repeated the assertion that the accused had no other means of saving their lives than by charging men of high rank with serious crimes; for they declared that by involving such men in the same accusations with themselves they could easily secure an acquittal.

[38] Ob quae implacabilitate ultra apposita iam pergente, manus vinculis sunt artatae complurium, ortuque nobiles inculti videbantur et anxii. Nec eorum culpari quisquam debuit, cum salutantes humum paene curvatis contingentibus membris, persaepe clamantem audirent, spiritus ferini latronem, nullum se invito reperiri posse insontem.

[38] Because of this, with a ruthlessness now passing all bounds, the hands of very many were bound in fetters, and men of noble birth were seen in mourning garb and in distress. And none of them could rightly be blamed, since very often when waiting upon him with bodies bent so as almost to touch the ground, they constantly heard that brigand with the heart of a wild beast shout that no one could be found innocent without his consent.

[39] Quae verba effectui propere iuncta, terruissent profecto Numae Pompilii similis, et Catonem. Prorsus enim sic agebatur, ut nec in alienis malis quorundam exarescerent lacrimae: quod in variis et confragosis actibus vitae plerumque contingit.

[39] Such words, which accomplishment quickly followed, would surely have terrified men like Numa Pompilius, and a Cato. For, in fact, the business was conducted in such a way that some people could not even contemplate the ills of others with dry eyes, a thing which often happens in the many difficult trials of life.

[40] A iure tamen iustitiaque crebro discedens, ferreus cognitor erat uno quasi praecipuo tolerabilis. Interdum enim exoratus parcebat aliquibus, quod prope vitium esse, in hoc loco legitur apud Tullium: 'Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sunt, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas; quae tamen (ut in malis) acerbitati anteponenda est.'

[40] Nevertheless, the iron-hearted judge, often as he deviated from law and justice, was endurable in what may be called one special thing. For at times he could be prevailed upon to show mercy to some; although this, we read in the following passage in Cicero, is almost a vice: "For," he says, "when anger is

implacable, there is extreme severity; but if it yields to entreaties, the greatest inconstancy: yet the latter, as a choice of evils, is to be preferred to severity.”

[41] Post haec praegresso Leone, acceptoque successore, ad principis comitatum Maximinus accitus, auctusque praefectura praetoriana, nihilo lenior fuit, etiam longius nocens, ut basilisci serpentes.

[41] After this, Maximinus received a successor, and was summoned to the emperor's court, as Leo had been before him; and there, being promoted to the praetorian prefecture, he was no whit milder, but like the basilisk, was harmful even from a distance.

[42] In id tempus aut non multo prius, scopae florere sunt visae, quibus nobilitatis curia mundabatur, idque portendebat, extollendos quosdam despiciatissimae sortis ad gradus potestatum excelsos.

[42] At that time, or not much earlier, the brooms with which the assembly-hall of the nobles was swept were seen to bloom, and this was an omen that some men of the most despised station would be raised to high rank in the offices of state.

[43] Et quamlibet tempestivum est ad ordinem redire coeptorum, tamen nihil impedituri temporum cursus, immorabimur paucis, quae per iniquitatem curantium vicariam praefecturam in urbe, contra quam oportuerat, gesta sunt, quia ad nutum Maximini et voluntatem eisdem ministris velut apparitoribus gerebantur.

[43] Although it is high time to return to the course of the history which we have begun, yet, in order not to interfere with the connection of events, I shall linger over a few of the wrongful acts committed by the iniquity of the vice-prefects in the city, since it was according to the nod and wish of Maximinus that they were done by those same subordinates — I might say “attendants”.

[44] Post hunc venit Ursicinus ad mitiora propensior, qui quoniam cautus esse voluit et civilis, rettulerat Esaia cum aliis, ob commissum adulterium in Rufinam detentis, Marcellum maritum eius ex agente in rebus reum imminutae maiestatis deferre conari: ideoque ut cunctator contemptus, et ad haec fortiter exsequenda parum conveniens, e vicaria potestate discessit.

[44] After him came Ursicinus, inclined to milder measures; he, wishing to be prudent and kindly, had referred to the Court the information that Esaias (with others who had been imprisoned because of adulterous relations with Rufina) was trying to bring a charge of treason against her husband, Marcellus, a former agent of the state. In consequence, Ursicinus was despised as inactive and unfit for the vigorous prosecution of such matters, and was forced to withdraw from his deputyship.

[45] Huic successit Hemonensis Simplicius, Maximini consiliarius ex

grammatico, per administrationem nec erectus nec tumidus sed obliquo aspectu terribilis, qui compositis ad modestiam verbis acerba meditabatur in multos. Et primo Rufinam, cum universis auctoribus adulterii commissi vel consciis, interfecit, super quibus Ursicinum rettulisse praediximus, alios deinde complures nullo noxiorum discrimine vel insontium.

[45] To him succeeded Simplicius of Hemonia, a former teacher of literature and later an adviser of Maximinus, a man who during the administration of the prefecture was neither proud nor arrogant, but excited fear by his sidelong glance, and in language of studied moderation plotted severity for many. And first he put to death Rufina, with all who were implicated in, or aware of, the adultery that she had committed, whose case (as we have previously said) Ursicinus had referred to the Court; and then many others, regardless of whether they were guilty or innocent.

[46] Cruento enim certamine cum Maximino velut antepilano suo contendens, superare eum in succidendis familiarum nobilium nervis studebat, Busirim veterem et Antaeum imitatus et Phalarim, ut taurus ei solus deesse videretur Agrigentinus.

[46] For vying in bloody rivalry with Maximinus, as his leader, he strove to outdo him in cutting the sinews of distinguished families, imitating Busiris of old, and Antaeus and Phalaris to such a degree that he seemed to lack only the Agrigentine bull of the last-named.

[47] His in hunc modum ac talibus actis, Hesychia quaedam matrona, ob intentatum crimen in domo apparitoris, cui custodienda est tradita, multa pertimescens et saeva, fulcro plumbeo vultu contracto incubuit, et animam occluso narium spiramento effudit.

[47] Amid these and such acts so perpetrated a matron called Hesychia, who because of an attempted crime was committed to an official's attendant to be guarded at his house, and was in fear of much cruel treatment, pressed her face in the feather bed on which she was lying and so stopped her nose and her breath and gave up the ghost.

[48] Adiunctum est his aliud haut mitius malum. Eumenius enim et Abienus, ambo ex coetu amplissimo, infamati sub Maximino, in Fausianam feminam non obscuram, post Victorini obitum, quo iuvante vivere securius, Simplicii adventu perterrefacti, non secus volentis maligna cum minis, ad secreta receptacula se contulerunt.

[48] There was added to these another no less cruel evil. For Eumenius and Abienus, both of senatorial rank, being accused under Maximinus of improper conduct with Fausiana, a woman of position, after the death of Victorinus, under whose protection they lived with less anxiety, terrified by Simplicius' coming who with threats planned no less cruelty than Maximinus, fled to

secret retreats.

[49] Sed Fausiana damnata, inter reos recepti, vocatique edictis, semet abstrusius amendarunt: quorum Abienus apud Anepsiam diu delitescibat. Sed ut solent insperati casus aggravare miserabilis clades, Apaudulus nomine, servus Anepsiae, verberatae coniugis dolore percussus, negotium ad Simplicium detulit, nocte progressus, missique apparitores, indicatos e latebris abstraxerunt.

[49] But after Fausiana had been found guilty, a charge was made against them also; but though summoned by edicts, they kept themselves in still closer concealment, and Abienus remained hidden for a long time in the house of Anepsia. But as unexpected chances often aggravate lamentable disasters, a slave of Anepsia, Sapaudulus by name, seized with resentment because his wife had been flogged, went by night to Simplicius and reported the matter; then attendants were sent and dragged the accused, whose whereabouts had been pointed out, from their hiding-places.

[50] Et Abienus quidem, exaggerate crimine stupri, quod intulisse dicebatur Anepsiae, morte multatus est. Mulier vero ut continendae vitae spem firmam dilato posset habere supplicio, appetitam se nefariis artibus, vim in domo Aginati perpressam, adseveravit.

[50] And Abienus, assailed with an additional accusation of improper relations which he was said to have had with Anepsia, was punished with death. But the woman, that she might have strong hope of retaining her life by putting off her punishment, declared that she had been worked upon by evil arts and had suffered violence in the house of Aginatus.

[51] Haec (ut gesta sunt) malignius ad principem Simplicius rettulit, agensque ibi Maximinus infestus, ob causam quam supra docuimus, Aginatio, similitudo una cum potestate in maius accensa, oravit impense ut rescriberetur eum occidi: et inpetravit facile male sanus incitator et potens.

[51] Simplicius gave the emperor a spiteful account of what had been done, and Maximinus, who was at court, and, for the reason which I have given above, was hostile to Aginatus, while his hatred was set ablaze with his rise in power, strongly urged the emperor to give him a warrant for putting Aginatus to death; and this the mad and powerful instigator easily brought to pass.

[52] Metuensque gravioris invidiae pondus, ne pronuntiante Simplicio, et consiliario suo et amico, periret homo patriciae stirpis, retinuit apud se paulisper imperiale praeceptum, haerens et ambigens quemnam potissimum executorem atrocis rei fidum inveniret et efficacem.

[52] But Maximinus, fearing the weight of greater hatred, if a man of patrician stock should die by the sentence of Simplicius, who was his adviser and his

friend, kept back the emperor's order for some time, in perplexity and doubt as to whom he would find most trustworthy and efficient in carrying out the cruel design.

[53] Tandemque, ut solent pares facile congregari cum paribus, Doryphorianus quidam repertus est Gallus, audax ad usque insaniam, cui hanc operam implere brevi pollicito, deferri providit vicariam, et commonitorium cum Augusti litteris tradidit, instruens hominem saevum quidem sed rudem, qua celeritate Aginatum sine ullo deleteret obstaculo, dilatione qualibet inventa forsitan evasurum.

[53] At last, since like and like readily flock together, a Gaul called Doryphorianus was found, reckless to the point of insanity, on whom, since he promised to accomplish the business in a short time, he arranged to have the post of deputy conferred. Accordingly, he gave him with the epistle of Augustus a letter of advice instructing the savage but inexperienced man how he might quickly and without any hindrance destroy Aginatus, who, if he gained any possible respite, would perhaps make his escape.

[54] Festinavit (ut mandatum est) Doryphorianus magnis itineribus Romam, et inter administrandi initia, magna quaeritabat industria, qua vi senatorem perspicui generis interficeret, iuvantibus nullis. Cognitoque eum iam pridem repertum, in villa propria custodiri, ipse tamquam capita sontium Aginatum, pariterque Anepsiam horrore medio tenebrarum audire disposuit, quo tempore hebetari solent obstrictae terroribus mentes: ut inter innumera multa, Ajax quoque Homericus docet, optans perire potius luce, quam pati formidinis augmenta nocturnae.

[54] Doryphorianus, as had been ordered, hastened to Rome by long days' journeys, and at the beginning of his administration cast about with great energy, to see by what act of violence he could without anyone's help destroy a senator of conspicuous lineage. And on learning that Aginatus had long since been found, and was under guard in his own villa, he arranged personally to examine him, and Anepsia as well, as the chief of the guilty persons, in the midst of the horrors of night, when men's minds are commonly dulled in the bonds of terrors: as among countless other instances is shown by Homer's Ajax, who wished rather to die by daylight than endure the additional suffering of dread by night.

[55] Et quoniam iudex, quin immo praedo nefandus, ad id solum quod promisit intentus, cuncta extollebat in maius, iusso sub quaestione Aginatio statui, agmina fecit introire carnificum, catenisque sonantibus triste, mancipia squalore diuturno marcentia, in domini caput ad usque ultimum lacerabat exitium, quod in stupri quaestione fieri vetuere clementissimae leges.

[55] And since the judge, nay, rather the godless brigand, intent only on

keeping his promise, carried everything to excess, having ordered Aginatus to be put to the question, he caused a whole train of executioners to enter, and amid the gloomy clanking of chains had the slaves, who were already drooping through long continued filth and neglect, tortured to the very verge of death, to give evidence to endanger their master's life: a thing which our merciful laws forbade to be done in a trial for fornication.

[56] Denique cum iam contigua morti tormenta ancillae voces expressissent obliquas, indicii fide parum plene discussa, Aginatus ad supplicium duci pronuntiatur abrupte, nec auditus cum magnis clamoribus appellaret nomina principum, sublimis raptus occiditur, pari sententia Anepsia interfecta. Haec agitante (cum adesset) perque emissarios (cum procul ageret) Maximino, funera urbs deploravit aeterna.

[56] Finally, when tortures already almost mortal had extorted from a maid-servant a few ambiguous words, without fully examining the trustworthiness of the testimony, he ordered Aginatus to be led off to execution, hastily and without a hearing, although with loud cries he called upon the emperors' names. Accordingly he was hoisted up and put to death; and Anepsia was executed on a like sentence. While Maximinus was thus busied in person when he was in Rome and through his emissaries when he acted from a distance, the Eternal City wept bitterly for its dead.

[57] Sed vigilarunt ultimae dirae caesorum. Namque ut postea tempestive dicetur, et idem Maximinus sub Gratiano intoleranter se efferens, damnatorio iugulatus est ferro, et Simplicius in Illyrico truncatus, et Doryphorianum pronuntiatum capitis reum, trusumque in carcerem Tullianum, matris consilio, princeps exinde rapuit, reversumque ad lares per cruciatus oppressit immensos. Verum unde huc fleximus revertamur. Is urbanarum rerum status, ut ita dixerim, fuit. Valentinianus Aug. totam Rheni ripam Gallicam castris, castellis et turribus munit; Alamanni Romanos trans Rhenum munimentum exstruentes interficiunt. Maratocupreni grassatores in Syria iussu Valentis A. cum liberis et vico suo deleti. At Valentinianus magna animo concipiens et utilia, Rhenum omnem a Raetiarum exordio, ad usque fretalem Oceanum, magnis molibus communiebat, castra extollens altius et castella, turresque assiduas per habiles locos et opportunos, qua Galliarum extenditur longitudo: non numquam etiam ultra flumen aedificiis positis, subradens barbaros fines.

[57] But the final curses of his victims did not sleep. For, under Gratian, as shall be told later at the proper time, not only did this same Maximinus, because of his intolerable arrogance, fall victim to the executioner's sword, but Simplicius also was beheaded in Illyricum. Doryphorianus, too, was charged with a capital crime and thrown into the prison called Tullianum, but Gratian, at the suggestion of his mother, had him taken from there, and on his return home put him to death with tremendous tortures. But let us return to the point from which we made this digression. This, if I may say so, was the state of

affairs in Rome. Valentinian Augustus fortifies the entire Gallic bank of the Rhine with fortresses, castles, and towers. The Alamanni kill some Romans who were building a fortification on the far side of the Rhine. Maratocuprenian freebooters, by order of Valens Augustus, were destroyed in Syria with their children and their village. But Valentinian, meditating important and useful plans, fortified the entire Rhine from the beginnings of Raetia as far as the strait of the Ocean with great earthworks, erecting lofty fortresses and castles, and towers at frequent intervals, in suitable and convenient places as far as the whole length of Gaul extends; in some places also works were constructed even on the farther bank of the river, which flows by the lands of the savages.

[2] Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, praeterlabente Nicro nomine fluvio, paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu immani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit, et quaesitis artificibus peritis aquariae rei, copiosaque militis manu arduum est opus aggressus.

[2] Finally, when he considered that a lofty and secure fortification (which he himself had built from its very foundations) since a river called the Nicer flowed at its foot could gradually be undermined by the immense force of the waters, he even thought of turning the course of the stream in a different direction; and after he had hunted up men skilled in hydraulic work, the difficult task was begun with a great force of soldiers.

[3] Per multos enim dies compaginatae formulae e roboribus, coniectaeque in alveum, fixis refixisque aliquotiens prope ingentibus stilis, fluctibus erectis confundebantur, avulsaeque vi gurgitis interibant.

[3] For during many days beams of oak were bound together and placed in the bed of the river; but although they were fastened again and again by great piles driven close to them on both sides, they were forced from their place by the rising waters, and finally were swept away by the force of the current and lost.

[4] Vicit tamen imperatoris vehementior cura, et morigeri militis labor, mento tenus (dum operaretur) saepe demersi: tandem non sine quorundam discrimine, castra praesidiaria, inquietudini ringentis amnis exempta, nunc valida sunt.

[4] Yet finally the day was won by the efficient supervision of the emperor and the labour of his obedient soldiers, who as they worked were often sunk chin-deep in the water; and at last, though not without danger to some of the men, the defensive works, relieved of the pressure of the snarling river, are now strong.

[5] His ac talibus laetus exsultansque exin, quae pro anni et temporis statu

utilia conducerent rei publicae studium habuit, ut officio principis congruebat. Ratusque aptissimum ad id quod deliberabat implendum, trans Rhenum in monte Piri (qui barbaricus locus est) munimentum exstruere disposuit raptim. Utque celeritas effectum negotii faceret tutum, per Syagrium tunc notarium, postea praefectum et consulem, Aratorem monuit ducem, ut dum undique altum esset silentium, id arripere conaretur.

[5] Being joyful and exultant because of these and similar successes, the emperor then, considering the time of year and the state of the season, as became a dutiful prince devoted himself to those matters which would be helpful to the commonwealth. And thinking it most suitable for accomplishing what he had in mind, he planned hastily to build a fortification on the farther side of the Rhine on Mount Pirus, which is in the country of the savages. And in order that speed might make the accomplishment of the work secure, through Syagrius, at that time a secretary, afterwards prefect and consul, he ordered the general Arator to try to speed that work, while deep quiet reigned everywhere.

[6] Transiit cum notario dux (ut iussum est) statim, fodereque per militem quem duxit fundamenta exorsus, Hermogenen suscepit successorem, eodemque puncto quidam optimates Alamanni venere, obsidum patres, quos lege foederis mansuraeque diutius pacis haut aspernanda pignora tenebamus.

[6] The general at once crossed the river with the secretary, as was ordered, and, with the soldiers under his command, had begun to dig the foundations, when Hermogenes was appointed as his successor. At the same moment some chiefs of the Alamanni arrived, fathers of the hostages whom we were holding in accordance with the treaty as important pledges of the continued permanence of peace.

[7] Qui flexis poplitibus supplicabant, ne Romani securitatis improvidi, quorum fortunam sempiterna fides caelo contiguam fecit, pravo deciperentur errore, pactisque calcatis, rem adorarentur indignam.

[7] They on bended knees begged that the Romans, whose fortune consistent trustworthiness had raised to skies, should not, regardless of their security, be led astray by a perverse error, and, treading their promises under foot, enter upon an unworthy undertaking.

[8] Verum haec et similia loquentes in cassum, cum nec audirentur, nec quietum aliquid vel mite referri sentirent, filiorum flentes exitium discesserunt, eisdemque aegre digressis, ex abdito collis propinqui sinu, barbaricus prosiluit globus, optimatibus tum danda responsa (ut intellegi dabatur) opperiens: et adortus milites seminudos, humum etiam tum gestantes, expeditis agiliter gladiis, obtruncabant, inter quos etiam duces ambo sunt caesi.

[8] But, since they said these and similar things to no purpose, as they were not listened to, and perceived that they would receive no peaceful nor mild reply, they withdrew, weeping at the fate of their sons. Scarcely had they left the place, when a band of barbarians who were awaiting the reply to be made (as they were given to understand) at that time to their chiefs, dashing forth from the hollow defile of a neighbouring hill, attacked our soldiers, who were half-nude and still carrying earth, and quickly drawing their swords were cutting them down; and with them also both leaders were slain.

[9] *Nec indicaturus gesta superfuit quisquam, praeter Syagrium, qui deletis omnibus ad comitatum reversus, irati sententia principis sacramento exutus, abiit ad lares, id commeruisse saevo iudicatus arbitrio, quod evaserit solus.*

[9] Not a single man survived to tell what had happened, except Syagrius. He, after all the others had been slain, returned to the court, but by sentence of the angry emperor he was cashiered and went to his home, being considered by a cruel judgment to have deserved this because he alone had escaped.

[10] *Haec inter per Gallias latrociniorum rabies saeva scatebat in perniciem multorum, observans celebres vias, fundensque indistanter quidquid inciderat fructuosum. Denique praeter complures alios quos absumpserunt insidiae tales, Constantianus tribunus stabuli impetu est clandestino exceptus, moxque interfectus, Valentiniani affinis, Cerealis et Iustinae germanus.*

[10] Meanwhile throughout Gaul there spread, to the ruin of many, a savage frenzy for brigandage, which kept watch of the frequented roads and fell indiscriminately upon everything profitable that fell in its way. Finally, in addition to many others who fell victim to such ambushades, Constantianus, chief of the imperial stables, a relative by marriage of Valentinian and own brother to Cerealis and Justina, was surprised by an unexpected attack and presently slain.

[11] *At procul, tamquam horum similia centibus furiis, per omne latus Maratocupreni grassatores acerrimi vagabantur, vici huius nominis incolae, in Syria prope Apamiam positi, nimium quantum numero et exquisitis fallaciis abundantes, ideoque formidati, quod mercatorum militumque honoratorum specie sine strepitu ullo diffusi, opimas domos et villas et oppida pervadebant.*

[11] But at a distance from there, as if the furies were stirring up similar troubles, the Maratocupreni, a fierce race of brigands, were ranging about on every side; they dwelt in a village of the same name situated near Apamia in Syria, were exceedingly numerous, skilled in crafty wiles, and dreaded because they roamed about quietly under the guise of honourable traders and soldiers, and fell upon rich houses, estates, and towns.

[12] *Nec quisquam adventum eorum cavere poterat inopinum, non destinata, sed varia petentium et longinqua, et quocumque ventus duxerat,*

inrumpentium: quam ob causam prae ceteris hostibus Saxones timentur ut repentini. Et quamlibet coniurati multorum opes attriverint, oestroque concepti furoris exagitati, strages edidere luctificas, sanguinis nihilo minus avidi quam praedarum, tamen ne per minutias gesta narrando, rectum aliquatenus operis impediam cursum, id unum sufficiet, eorum exitiale poni commentum.

[12] No one could guard against their unexpected coming, since they did not assail previously chosen places, but various quarters and those that were far removed, breaking out wherever the wind took them — the same reason that makes the Saxons feared before all other enemies for their sudden raids. But although these confederate bands destroyed the property of many, and, driven by the gadfly of the madness which they had conceived, caused lamentable slaughter, being no less greedy for blood than for booty, yet for fear that by giving a minute account of their deeds I may somewhat delay the direct course of my project, it will suffice to tell of this one destructive and welldevised stroke of theirs.

[13] Quaesitus in unum impiorum hominum globus, imitatus rationalis officium, ipsumque iudicem, vespertinis tenebris lugubre clamante praecone, civitatem ingressi, ambitiosam domum cuiusdam primatis, ut proscripti iussique interfici, cum gladiis obsederunt, raptaque suppellectili pretiosa, quia subito perculsi familiares, hebetatis sensibus non defenderant dominum, caesis pluribus ante revolutam lucem gressu discessere veloci.

[13] A united body of these godless men, disguised as the retinue of a state treasurer, and one of them as that official himself, in the darkness of evening, preceded by the mournful cry of a herald, entered a city and beset with swords the fine house of a distinguished citizen, as if he had been proscribed and condemned to death. They seized all his valuable furniture, and since the servants were struck with sudden fear, and in their bewilderment did not defend their master, they killed many of them, and before the return of daylight departed at quick step.

[14] Verum cum exuviis referti multorum, rapiendi dulcedinem praetermitterent, interceptam, imperiali motu, oppressi interiire omnes ad unum, eorumque suboles parva etiam tum, ne ad parentum exempla subcresceret, pari sorte deleta est, et lares versi, quos ambitiose luctuosis aliorum dispendiis construxerunt. Et haec quidem textu processere narrato. Theodosius urbes Britanniae a barbaris vastatas restituit, castella reparat, et provinciam insulae recipit, quae Valentia est appellata. Theodosius vero dux nominis incluti, animi vigore collecto, ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Britannorum fortunis opem maximam tulit, opportuna ubique ad insidiandum barbaris praeveniens loca, nihilque gregariis imperans, cuius non ipse primitias alacri capesseret mente.

[14] But when, after being enriched by the booty of many men, they abandoned the sweet pleasure of robbery, which was interrupted by a movement of the emperor's forces, they were crushed, and perished to the last man. Even their children, who were still small, in order that they might not grow up to follow the example of their fathers, were destroyed in the same fate; and the houses which they had built in showy fashion at the sorrowful expense of others were torn down. These things, then, happened in the connection in which they have been told. Theodosius restores the cities of Britain which had been devastated by the savages, repairs the fortresses, and recovers for the island the province which was called Valentia. But Theodosius, that leader of celebrated name, filled with courageous vigour sallied forth from Augusta, which was earlier called Londinium, with a force which he had mustered with energy and skill, and rendered the greatest aid to the troubled and confused fortunes of the Britons. He secured beforehand everywhere the places suitable for ambushing the savages, requiring nothing of the common soldiers in which he himself did not smartly take the first tasks.

[2] Hocque genere cum strenui militis munia et praeclari ducis curas expleret, fuis variis gentibus et fugatis, quas insolentia nutriente securitate, aggredi Romanas res inflammabat, in integrum restituit civitates et castra, multiplicibus quidem damnis afflicta, sed ad quietem temporis longi fundata.

[2] In this way, while he performed the duties of an active common soldier and observed the care of a distinguished general, after having routed and put to flight various tribes which an insolence fostered by impunity was inflaming with a desire to attack the Romans, he completely restored the cities and strongholds which had been founded to secure a long period of peace, but had suffered repeated misfortunes.

[3] Evenerat autem eodem haec agente facinus dirum, erupturum in periculum grave, ni inter ipsa conatus principia fuisset exstinctum.

[3] But while he was thus engaged, a dread event had taken place, which would have resulted in grave danger, if it had not been crushed in the very beginning of its attempt.

[4] Valentinus quidam natus in Valeria Pannoniae, superbi spiritus homo, Maximini illius exitialis vicarii, postea praefecti coniugis frater, ob grave crimen actus in Britannias exsul, quietis impatiens ut malefica bestia, ad res perniciosas consurgebat et novas, in Theodosium tumore quodam, quem solum resistere posse nefandis cogitationibus advertibat.

[4] A certain Valentinus, born in Valeria, a part of Pannonia, a man of haughty spirit, brother-in-law of that pernicious vice-governor Maximinus, who was afterwards prefect, had been exiled to Britain because of a serious crime. There, impatient of quiet like a noxious beast, he roused himself to new and destructive plans, nursing a certain grudge against Theodosius, since he perceived that he was the only one who could resist his abominable designs.

[5] Multa tamen clam palamque circumspiciens, crescente flatu cupiditatis

immensae, exsules sollicitabat et milites, pro temporis captu ausorum illecebras pollicendo mercedes.

[5] However, after a good deal of looking about secretly and openly, driven by the swelling gale of his vast ambition, he began to tempt exiles and soldiers by promising for bold deeds as enticing rewards as his circumstances at the time permitted.

[6] Iamque propinquante temptatorum effectu, doctus haec unde convenerat, dux alacrior ad audendum, et corde celso ad vindictam compertorum erectus, Valentinum quidem cum paucis arta ei societate iunctissimis, letali poena plectendos, Dulcitio dediderat duci: militari scientia vero, qua superabat praesentes, futura coniciens, de coniuratis quaestiones agitari prohibuit, ne formidine sparsa per multos, reviviscerent provinciarum turbines consopiti.

[6] And already the time for carrying out the plans was near at hand, when that leader, eager for deeds of daring, learning of this from a prearranged source, resolved with lofty heart to punish those who were found guilty: Valentinus indeed, along with a few of his closest associates, he had consigned to the general Dulcitus, to be punished with death; but with the military knowledge in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, he divined future dangers, and as to the rest of the conspirators forbade the carrying on of investigations, lest by spreading fear among many the disturbances in the provinces, which had just been lulled to sleep, should be revived.

[7] Hinc ad corrigenda plura conversus et necessaria, periculo penitus dempto, cum aperte constaret, nulla eius propitiam deseruisse fortunam, instaurabat urbes et praesidiaria (ut diximus) castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis, recuperatamque provinciam, quae in dicionem concesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut eodem referente et rectorem haberet legitimum, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis, velut ovantis gaudio nuntio inaeestimabili cognito.

[7] Then, after the danger had been wholly removed, since it was common knowledge that propitious fortune had failed him in none of his undertakings, he turned his attention to making many necessary improvements, restoring the cities and defences, as we have said, and protecting the frontiers by sentinels and outposts. And so completely did he recover a province which had passed into the enemy's hands and restore it to its former condition, that, in the words of his report, it had a legitimate governor; and it was henceforth called Valentia, in accordance with the emperor's wish, who, one might almost say, celebrated an ovation in his joy on hearing the priceless news.

[8] Inter haec tam praecipua, Arcanos genus hominum a veteribus institutum, super quibus aliqua in actibus Constantis rettulimus, paulatim prolapsos in vitia a stationibus suis removit: aperte convictos, acceptarum promissarumque

magnitudine praedarum allectos, quae apud nos agebantur, aliquotiens barbaris prodidisse. Id enim illis erat officium, ut ultro citroque, per longa spatia discurrentes, vicinarum gentium strepitus nostris ducibus intimarent.

[8] In the midst of such important events the Arcani, a class of men established in early times, about which I said something in the history of Constans, had gradually become corrupted, and consequently he removed them from their posts. For they were clearly convicted of having been led by the receipt, or the promise, of great booty at various times to betray to the savages what was going on among us. For it was their duty to hasten about hither and thither over long spaces, to give information to our generals of the clashes of rebellion among neighbouring peoples.

[9] Ita spectatissime ante dictis rebus aliisque administratis similibus, ad comitatum accitus, tripudiantesque relinquens provincias, ut Furius Camillus vel Cursor Papirius, victoriis crebris et salutaribus erat insignis. Et favore omnium ad usque fretum deductus, leni vento transgressus, venit ad commilitium principis, cumque gaudio susceptus et laudibus, in locum Iovini ut lenti successit, qui equorum copias tuebatur. De Olybrii et Ampelii Praefectura Urbana; et de vitiis Senatus populi que Romani. Diu multumque a negotiis discussus urbanis, adigente cumulo foris gestorum, ad ea strictim exsequenda regrediar, exorsus ab Olybrii praefectura, tranquilla nimis et leni, qui numquam ab humanitatis statu deiectus, sollicitus erat et anxius, nequid usquam factum eius asperum inveniretur aut dictum, calumniarum acerrimus insectator, fisci lucra unde poterat circumcidens, iustorum iniustorumque distinctor, et arbiter plenus, in subiectos admodum temperatus.

[9] After the above-mentioned affairs and other similar ones had been so brilliantly managed, Theodosius was summoned to the court, leaving the provinces dancing for joy, after distinguishing himself by many helpful victories like Furius Camillus or Papirius Cursor. And because of his general popularity he was escorted as far as the strait. where he crossed with a light wind, and came into the emperor's company. He was received with joy and words of praise, and succeeded to the position of Jovinus, commander of the cavalry forces, whom the emperor Valentinian considered to be lacking in energy. Of the city-prefecture of Olybrius and Ampelius; and of the faults of the senate and people of Rome. After long lasting and serious dispersion from affairs in Rome, constrained by the great mass of foreign events, I shall return to a brief account of these, beginning with the prefecture of Olybrius, which was exceedingly peaceful and mild; for he never allowed himself to be turned from humane conduct, but was careful and anxious that no word or act of his should ever be found harsh. He severely punished calumny, cut down the profits of the privy-purse wherever it was possible, fully and impartially distinguished justice from injustice, and showed himself most lenient towards those whom he governed.

[2] Sed obnubilabat haec omnia vitium, parum quidem nocens rei communi, sed in alto iudice maculosum, quod citiorem vitam paene omnem vergentem in luxum, per argumenta scaenica amoresque peregerat, nec vetitos nec incestos.

[2] But a cloud was thrown over all these merits by a fault which indeed was not harmful to the community, but yet was a stain on a high official; for almost his whole private life, since he was inclined to luxury, he spent in playhouses and love affairs, though the latter were neither unlawful nor incestuous.

[3] Post hunc urbem rexit Ampelius, cupidus ipse quoque voluptatum, Antiochiae genitus, ex magistro officiorum, ad proconsulatum geminum, indeque multo postea ad praefecturae culmen evectus, lectus alia et ad populi favorem adipiscendum aptissimus, non numquam tamen rigidus, atque utinam in proposito perseverans. Correxisset enim ex parte, licet exigua, irritamenta gulae et ganeas taetras, ni flexus in molliora, amisisset gloriam diu victuram.

[3] After him Ampelius governed the city, a man who himself also lusted after pleasures. Born at Antioch, he had been formerly marshal of the court, was twice raised to the rank of proconsul, and then, long afterwards, to the high honour of the prefecture. Although admirable in other respects and well suited to gaining the favour of the people, he was nevertheless sometimes hard, and I wish he had been steadfast of purpose; for he could have corrected in part, even though to a small extent, the incitements of appetite and gross gluttony, if he had not let himself be turned to laxity and thus lost enduring fame.

[4] Namque statuerat, ne taberna vinaria ante horam quartam aperiretur, neve aquam vulgarium calefaceret quisquam, vel usque ad praestitutum diei spatium lixae coctam proponerent carnem, vel honestus quidam mandens videretur in publico.

[4] For he gave orders that no wine-shop should be opened before the fourth hour, that no one of the common people should heat water, that up to a fixed hour of the day no victualler should offer cooked meat for sale, and that no respectable man should be seen chewing anything in public.

[5] Quae probra aliaque his maiora, dissimulatione iugi neglecta, ita effrenatus exarserunt, ut nec Epimenides ille Cretensis, si fabularum ritu ab inferis excitatus redisset ad nostra, solus purgare sufficeret Romam: tanta plerosque labes insanabilium flagitiorum oppressit.

[5] These shameful acts, and others worse than these, had, by being constantly overlooked, blazed up to such unbridled heights that not even that celebrated Cretan Epimenides, if, after the manner of myth, he had been called up from the lower world and returned to our times, would have been able single-handed to purify Rome; such was the stain of incurable sins that had

overwhelmed most people.

[6] Et primo nobilitatis, ut aliquotiens pro locorum copia fecimus, dein plebis digeremus errata, incidentia veloci constringentes excessu.

[6] And first, as often, according to the quantity of topics, I shall give an account of the delinquencies of the nobles and then of the common people, condensing the events in a rapid digression.

[7] Praenomina claritudine conspicui quidam (ut putant) in immensum semet extollunt, cum Reburri et Elabunii et Pagonii Gereonesque appellentur, ac Dalii cum Tarraciis et Perrasiis, aliisque ita decens sonantibus originum insignibus multis.

[7] Some men, distinguished (as they think) by famous fore-names, pride themselves beyond measure in being called Reburri, Flavonii, Pagonii, Gereones, and Dalii, along with Tarracii and Pherrasii, and many other equally fine-sounding indications of eminent ancestry.

[8] Non nullos fulgentes sericis indumentis, ut ducendos ad mortem, vel ut sine diritate omissis loquamur, praegresso exercitu, arma cogentes, manipulatim concitato fragore sequitur multitudo servorum.

[8] Others, resplendent in silken garments, as though they were to be led to death, or as if (to speak without any evil omen) they were bringing up the rear preceded by an army, are followed by a throng of slaves drawn up in troops, amid noise and confusion.

[9] Tales ubi comitantibus singulos quinquaginta ministris, tholos introierint balnearum, 'Ubi ubi sunt nostri?' minaciter clamant: si apparuisse subito ignotam compererint meretricem, aut oppidanae quondam prostibulum plebis, vel meritorii corporis veterem lupam, certatim concurrunt, palpantesque advenam, deformitate magna blanditiarum ita extollunt, ut Samiramim Parthi vel Cleopatras Aegyptus aut Artemisiam Cares vel Zenobiam Palmyreni. Et haec admittunt hi quorum apud maiores censoria nota senator afflicta est, ausus dum adhuc non deceret, praesente communi filia coniugem osculari.

[9] When such men, each attended by fifty servants, have entered the vaulted rooms of a bath, they shout in threatening tones: "Where on earth are our attendants?" If they have learned that an unknown courtesan has suddenly appeared, some woman who has been a common prostitute of the crowd of our city, some old strumpet, they all strive to be the first to reach her, and caressing the new-comer, extol her with such disgraceful flattery as the Parthians do Samiramis, the Egyptians their Cleopatras, the Carians Artemisia, or the people of Palmyra Zenobia. And those who stoop to do such things are men in the time of whose forefathers a senator was punished with the censor's brand of infamy, if he had dared, while this was still considered

unseemly, to kiss his wife in the presence of their own daughter.

[10] Ex his quidam cum salutari pectoribus oppositis coeperint, osculanda capita in modum taurorum minacium obliquantes, adulatoribus offerunt genua suavianda, vel manus, id illis sufficere ad beate vivendum existimantes, et abundare omni cultu humanitatis peregrinum putantes, cuius forte etiam gratia sunt obligati, interrogatum, quibus thermis utatur aut aquis, aut ad quam successerit domum.

[10] Some of these men, when one begins to salute them breast to breast, like menacing bulls turn to one side their heads, where they should be kissed, and offer their flatterers their knees to kiss or their hands, thinking that quite enough to ensure them a happy life; and they believe that a stranger is given an abundance of all the duties of courtesy, even though the great men may perhaps be under obligation to him, if he is asked what hot baths or waters he uses, or at what house he has been put up.

[11] Et cum ita graves sint et cultores virtutum, (ut putant) si venturos undelibet equos aut aurigas quendam didicerint nuntiasse, ita velociter imminent eidem et percunctantur, ut Tyndaridas fratres eorum suspexere maiores, cum priscis illis victoriis indicatis gaudio cuncta complissent.

[11] And although they are so important and, in their own opinion, such cultivators of the virtues, if they learn that someone has announced that horses or chariots are coming from anywhere whatever, they hover over this same man and ask him questions as anxiously as their ancestors looked up to the two sons of Tyndareus, when they filled everything with joy by announcing those famous victories of olden days.

[12] Horum domus otiosi quidam garruli frequentant, variis assentandi figmentis, ad singula ulterioris fortunae verba plaudentes, parasitorum in comoediis facetias affectando. Ut enim illi sufflant milites gloriosos, obsidiones et pugnas contra milia hostium, eisdem ut heroicis aemulis assignantes, ita hi quoque columnarum constructiones, alta fronte suspensas mirando, atque parietes lapidum circumspectis coloribus nitidos, ultra mortalitatem nobiles viros extollunt.

[12] Their houses are frequented by idle chatterboxes, who with various pretences of approval applaud every word of the man of loftier fortune, emulating the witty flatteries of the parasites in the comedies. For just as the parasites puff up boastful soldiers by attributing to them the sieges and battles against thousands of enemies, comparing them with the heroes of old, so these also, admiring the rows of columns hanging in the air with lofty facade, and the walls gleaming with the remarkable colours of precious stones, raise these noble men to the gods.

[13] Poscuntur etiam in conviviiis aliquotiens trutinae, ut appositi pisces et

volucres ponderentur, et glires, quorum magnitudo saepius replicata, non sine taedio praesentium, ut antehac inusitata, laudatur assidue, maxime cum haec eadem numerantes, notarii triginta prope assistant, cum thecis et pugillaribus tabulis, ut deesse solus magister ludi litterarii videretur.

[13] Sometimes at their banquets the scales are even called for, in order to weigh the fish, birds, and dormice that are served, whose great size they commend again and again, as hitherto unexampled, often repeating it to the weariness of those present, especially when thirty secretaries stand near by, with pen-cases and small tablets, recording these same items, so that the only thing lacking seems to be a schoolmaster.

[14] Quidam detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contrectantes, quam ob causam non iudicioli est nostri.

[14] Some of them hate learning as they do poison, and read with attentive care only Juvenal and Marius Maximus, in their boundless idleness handling no other books than these, for what reason it is not for my humble mind to judge.

[15] Cum multa et varia pro amplitudine gloriarum et generum lectitare deberent, audientes destinatum poenae Socratem, coniectumque in carcerem, rogasse quendam scite lyrici carmen Stesichori modulantem, ut doceretur id agere, dum liceret: interroganteque musico, quid ei poterit hoc prodesse, morituro postridie, respondisse, ‘Ut aliquid sciens amplius e vita discedam.’

[15] Whereas, considering the greatness of their fame and of their parentage, they ought to pore over many and varied works; they ought to learn that Socrates, when condemned to death and thrown into prison, asked a musician, who was skilfully rendering a song of the lyric poet Stesichorus, that he might be taught to do this while there was still time. And when the musician asked of what use that could be to him, since he was to die on the following day, Socrates replied: “In order that I may know something more before I depart from life.”

[16] Ita autem pauci sunt inter eos severi vindices delictorum ut, si aquam calidam tardius attulerit servus, trecentis affligi verberibus iubeatur: si hominem sponte occiderit propria, instantibus plurimis, ut damnetur ut reus, dominus hactenus exclamabit: ‘Quid faciat male factis famosus et nequam? et siquid aliud eius modi deinceps ausus fuerit, corrigetur.’

[16] But a few among them are so strict in punishing offences, that if a slave is slow in bringing the hot water, they condemn him to suffer three hundred lashes; if he has intentionally killed a man, although many people insist that he be condemned to death, his master will merely cry out: “What should a worthless fellow do, notorious for wicked deeds? But if he dares to do anything else like that hereafter, he shall be punished.”

[17] *Civilitatis autem hoc apud eos est nunc summum, quod expedit peregrino fratrem interficere cuiuslibet, quam cum rogatus sit ad convivium excusare: defectum enim patrimonii se opimi perpeti senator existimat, si is defuerit quem aliquotiens libratīs sentiētiis, invitaverit semel.*

[17] But the height of refinement with these men at present is, that it is better for a stranger to kill any man's brother than to decline his invitation to dinner. For a senator thinks that he is suffering the loss of a rich property, if the man whom he has, after considerable weighing of pros and cons, invited once, fails to appear at his table.

[18] *Pars eorum si agros visuri processerunt longius, aut alienis laboribus venaturi, Alexandri Magni itinera se putant aequiperasse, vel Caesaris: aut si a lacu Averni lembis invecti sunt pictis Puteolos, velleri certamen, maxime cum id vaporato audeant tempore. Ubi si inter aurata flabella laciniis sericis insederint muscae, vel per foramen umbraculi pensilis radiolus irruperit solis, queruntur quod non sunt apud Cimmerios nati.*

[18] Some of them, if they make a longish journey to visit their estates, or to hunt by the labours of others, think that they have equalled the marches of Alexander the Great or of Caesar; or if they have sailed in their gaily-painted boats from the Lake of Avernus to Puteoli, it is the adventure of the golden fleece, especially if they should dare it in the hot season. And if amid the gilded fans flies have lighted on the silken fringes, or through a rent in the hanging curtain a little ray of sun has broken in, they lament that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians.

[19] *Dein cum a Silvani lavacro vel Mamaeae aquis ventitant sospitalibus, ut quisquam eorum egressus, tenuissimis se terserit linteis, solutis pressoriis, vestes luce nitentes ambigua diligenter explorat, quae una portantur sufficientes ad induendos homines undecim: tandemque electis aliquot involutus, receptis anulis quos (ne violentur humoribus) famulo tradidit, digitis ut metatis abit.*

[19] Then when they come from the bath of Silvanus or from the healing waters of Mamaea, as any one of them emerges he has himself dried with the finest linens, opens the presses and carefully searches amongst garments shimmering with shifting light, of which he brings enough with him to clothe eleven men. At length, some are chosen and he puts them on; then he takes back his rings, which, in order that the dampness may not injure them, he has handed to a servant, and after his fingers have been as good as measured to receive them, he departs.

[20] *Enim vero siqui vetus in commilitio principis recens digressus fuerit in otium ut aevi provecti, ille tali praesente coetu ... mirionum ... cantilenae praesul existimatur: ceteri taciturni audiunt dicta ... solus pater familias textui*

narrans aliena, et placentia referens, et erudite pleraque fallendo.

[20] And, indeed, if any veteran has recently retired because of his years from service with the emperor, such a company of admirers attend him that . . . is considered to be the leader of the old song; the others quietly listen to what he says. He alone, like the father of a family, tells irrelevant stories and entertaining tales, and in most of them cleverly deceiving his hearers.

[21] Quidam ex his (licet rari) aleatorum vocabulum declinantes, ideoque se cupientes appellari potius tesserarios : inter quos tantum differt, quantum inter fures atque latrones. Hoc tamen fatendum est, quod cum omnes amicitiae Romae tepescant, aleariae solae, quasi gloriosis quaesitae sudoribus, sociales sunt et affectus nimii firmitate plena conexae: unde quidam ex his gregibus inveniuntur ita concordēs, ut Quintilios esse existimes fratres. Ideoque videre licet ignobilem artis tesserariae callentem arcana, ut Catonem Porcium ob repulsam praeturae, nec suspectam antea nec speratam, incedere gravitate composita maestiores, quod ei in maiore convivio vel consessu proconsularis quidam est antelatus.

[21] Some of these, though few in number, shrink from the name of gamblers, and therefore desire to be called rather *tesserarii*, persons who differ from each other only as much as thieves do from brigands. But this must be admitted, that while all friendships at Rome are lukewarm, those alone which are formed at the gambling table, as if they were gained by glorious toil, have a bond of union and are united by complete firmness of exceeding affection; whence some members of these companies are found to be so harmonious that you would take them for the brothers Quintilius. And so you may see a man of low station, who is skilled in the secrets of dice-playing, walking abroad like Porcius Cato after his unexpected and unlooked-for defeat for the praetorship, with a set expression of dignity and sorrow because at some great banquet or assemblage a former proconsul was given a higher place of honour.

[22] Subsident aliqui copiosos homines senes aut iuvenes, orbos vel caelibes, aut etiam uxores habentes seu liberos (nec enim hoc titulo discrimen aliquod observatur), ad voluntates condendas allicientes eos praestigiis miris: qui cum, supremis iudiciis ordinatis, quaedam reliquerint his quibus morem gerendo testati sunt, ilico pereunt, ut id impleri sorte factorum operante nec putes, nec facile possit aegritudo testari nec funus comitatur his quisquam.

[22] Some lie in wait for men of wealth, old or young, childless or unmarried, or even for those who have wives or children — for no distinction is observed in this respect — enticing them by wonderful trickeries to make their wills; and when they have set their last decisions in order and left some things to these men, to humour whom they have made their wills in their favour, they forthwith die; so that you would not think that the death was brought about by the working of the allotment of destiny, nor could an illness easily be proved

by the testimony of witnesses; nor is the funeral of these men attended by any mourners.

[23] *Alius cum dignitate (licet mediocri), cervice tumida gradiens, notos antea obliquato contuetur aspectu, ut post captas Syracusas existimes reverti Marcellum.*

[23] Another, who attained some rank, moderate though it be, walking with neck puffed up, looks askance at his former acquaintances, so that you might think that a Marcellus was returning after the taking of Syracuse.

[24] *Multi apud eos negantes esse superas potestates in caelo, nec in publicum prodeunt nec prandent nec lavari arbitrantur se cautius posse, antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didicerint, ubi sit verbi gratia signum Mercurii, vel quotam Cancri sideris partem polum discurrens obtineat luna.*

[24] Many of them, who deny that there are higher powers in heaven, neither appear in public nor eat a meal nor think they can with due caution take a bath, until they have critically examined the calendar and learned where, for example, the planet Mercury is, or what degree of the constellation of the Crab the moon occupies in its course through the heavens.

[25] *Alius si creditorem suum flagitare molestius adverterit debitum, ad aurigam confugit, audentem omnia praelicenter, eumque ut veneficum curat urgeri: unde non nisi reddita cautione, dispendioque afflictus gravi discedit. Et additur huic, debitorem voluntarium includit ut proprium, nec ante eius professionem absolvit.*

[25] Another, if he finds a creditor of his demanding his due with too great urgency, resorts to a charioteer who is all too ready to dare any enterprise, and causes the creditor to be charged with being a poisoner; and he is not let off until he has surrendered the bill of indebtedness and paid heavy costs. And besides, the accuser has the voluntary debtor put in prison as if he were his property, and does not set him free until he acknowledges the debt.

[26] *Parte alia uxor, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, eamdem incudem diu noctuque tundendo, maritum testari compellit, hocque idem ut faciat uxor, urget maritus instanter: et periti iuris altrinsecus assciscuntur, unus in cubiculo alter eius aemulus in triclinio, repugnantia tractaturi: eisdemque subseruntur genitalium factorum interpretes controversi, hinc praefecturas profusius largientes, et sepulturas divitum matronarum; inde ad exsequias virorum iam adventantes necessaria parari oportere iubentes : et testatur ancilla suapte natura pallidior, spiritu pridie consumpto defuncta ... um Roma atque, ut Tullius ait: ‘Nec in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit: amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus se sperant maximum fructum esse capturos.’*

[26] In another place a wife by hammering day and night on the same anvil — as the old proverb has it — drives her husband to make a will, and the husband insistently urges his wife to do the same. Skilled jurists are brought in on both sides, one in a bedroom, the other, his rival, in the dining-room to discuss disputed points. These are joined by opposing interpreters of horoscopes, on the one side making profuse promises of prefectures and the burial of rich matrons, on the other telling women that for their husbands' funerals now quietly approaching they must make the necessary preparations. And a maid-servant bears witness, by nature somewhat pale,. . . As Cicero says: "They know of nothing on earth that is good unless it brings gain. Of their friends, as of their cattle, they love those best from whom they hope to get the greatest profit."

[27] Cumque mutuum illi quid petunt, soccatos ut Miconas videbis et Lachetas: cum adiguntur ut reddant, ita cothurnatos et turgidos, ut Heraclidas illos Cresphontem et Temenum putes. Hactenus de senatu.

[27] When these people seek any loan, you will see them in slippers like a Micon or a Laches; when they are urged to pay, they wear such lofty buskins and are so arrogant that you would think them Cresphontes and Temenus, the famous Heraclidæ. So much for the senate.

[28] Nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem. In qua nitent, ut nominibus cultis, quidam calceorum expertes, ut Messores Statarii Semicupae et Serapini, et Cicimbricus cum Gluturino et Trulla, et Lucanicus cum Pordaca et Salsula, similesque innumeri.

[28] Let us now turn to the idle and slothful commons. Among them some who have no shoes are conspicuous as though they had cultured names, such as the Messores, Statarii, Semicupae and Serapini, and Cicymbricus, with Gluturinus and Trulla, and Lucanicus with Porclaca and Salsula, and countless others.

[29] Hi omne quod vivunt, vino et tesseris impendunt et lustris, et voluptatibus et spectaculis: eisque templum et habitaculum et contio et cupitorum spes omnis Circus est maximus: et videre licet per fora et compita et plateas et conventicula, circulos multos collectos in se controversis iurgiis ferri, aliis aliud (ut fit) defendentibus.

[29] These spend all their life with wine and dice, in low haunts, pleasures, and the games. Their temple, their dwelling, their assembly, and the height of all their hopes is the Circus Maximus. You may see many groups of them gathered in the fora, the cross-roads, the streets, and their other meeting-places, engaged in quarrelsome arguments with one another, some (as usual) defending this, others that.

[30] Inter quos hi qui ad satietatem vixerunt, potiores auctoritate longæva, per canos et rugas clamitant sæpe, rem publicam stare non posse, si futura

concertatione, quem quisque vindicat, carceribus non exsiluerit princeps, et inominalibus equis, parum cohaerenter circumflexerit metam.

[30] Among them those who have enjoyed a surfeit of life, influential through long experience, often swear by their hoary hair and wrinkles that the state cannot exist if in the coming race the charioteer whom each favours is not first to rush forth from the barriers, and fails to round the turning-point closely with his ill-omened horses.

[31] Et ubi neglegentiae tanta est caries, exoptato die equestrium ludorum illucescente, nondum solis puro iubare, effusius omnes festinant praecipites, ut velocitate currus ipsos anteeant certaturos: super quorum eventu discissi votorum studiis anxii, plurimi agunt pervigiles noctes.

[31] And when there is such a dry rot of thoughtlessness, as soon as the longed-for day of the chariot-races begins to dawn, before the sun is yet shining clearly they all hasten in crowds to the spot at top speed, as if they would outstrip the very chariots that are to take part in the contest; and torn by their conflicting hopes about the result of the race, the greater number of them in their anxiety pass sleepless nights.

[32] Unde si ad theatralem ventum fuerit vilitatem, artifices scaenarii per sibilos exploduntur, siqui sibi aere humiliorem non conciliaverit plebem. Qui si defuerit strepitus, ad imitationem Tauricae gentis, peregrinos vociferantur pelli debere, quorum subsidiis semper nisi sunt ac steterunt, et taetris vocibus et absurdis; quae longe abhorrent a studiis et voluntate veteris illius plebis, cuius multa facete dicta memoria loquitur et venuste.

[32] If from there they come to worthless theatrical pieces, any actor is hissed off the boards who has not won the favour of the low rabble with money. And if this noisy form of demonstration is lacking, they cry in imitation of the Tauric race that all strangers — on whose aid they have always depended and stood upright — ought to be driven from the city. All this in foul and absurd terms, very different from the expressions of their interests and desires made by your commons of old, of whose many witty and happy sayings tradition tells us.

[33] Id enim nunc repertum est pro sonitu laudum impensiore, per applicatos homines ad plaudendum, ut in omni spectaculo exodiario venatori aurigae et histrionum generi omni, et iudiciis celsis, itidemque minoribus, nec non etiam matronis, clametur assidue: 'Per te illi discant'; quid autem debeat disci, nemo sufficit explanare.

[33] And it has now come to this, that in place of the lively sound of approval from men appointed to applaud, at every public show an actor of afterpieces, a beast-baiter, a charioteer, every kind of player, and the magistrates of higher and lower rank, nay even matrons, are constantly greeted with the shout "You

should be these fellows' teachers!"; but what they ought to learn no one is able to explain.

[34] In his plerique distentioribus saginis addicti, praeunte nidoris indagine, acutisque vocibus feminarum, a galliciniis ipsis, in modum pavonumieiunitate clangentium, humum summis pedum unguibus contingentes, aulis assistunt, digitos praerodentes, dum patinae defervescunt: alii nauseam horridae carnis, dum excoquitur, intentius despectantes, ut discissarum pecudum exta rimari cum anatomicis Democritum putes, docentem quibus modis posteritas mederi doloribus possit internis.

[34] The greater number of these gentry, given over to over-stuffing themselves with food, led by the charm of the odour of cooking and by the shrill voices of the women, like a flock of peacocks screaming with hunger, stand even from cockcrow beside the pots on tip-toe and gnaw the ends of their fingers as they wait for the dishes to cool. Others hang over the nauseous mass of half-raw meat, while it is cooking, watching it so intently that one would think that Democritus with other dissectors was examining the internal organs of dismembered animals and showing by what means future generations might be cured of internal pains.

[35] Sit satis interim haec digessisse super rebus urbanis. Nunc redeamus ad cetera, quae per provincias agitavere multiplices casus. Saxones in Gallia, post factas indutias, a Romanis insidiis circumventi. Valentinianus data fide iungendi copias, Burgundiones Alamanniae immisit, qui decepti et illusi, captivis omnibus occisis domum redierunt. Erupit Augustis ter consulibus Saxonum multitudo, et Oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, saepe nostrorum funeribus pasta: cuius eruptionis primae procellam Nannenus sustinuit comes, regionibus eisdem appositus, dux diuturno bellorum labore compertus.

[35] But enough for the present of this account of affairs in the city. Now let us return to the other events which were caused by various incidents in the provinces. The Saxons in Gaul, after a truce had been made, were ambushed by the Romans. Valentinian, under promise of joining forces with them, roused the Burgundians to invade Alamannia, but they, after being betrayed and deceived, killed all their prisoners and returned home. In the third consulship of the two Augusti a horde of Saxons broke out, and after overcoming the dangers of the Ocean advanced at rapid pace towards the Roman frontier, having often been glutted with the slaughter of our people. The storm of this first inroad was met by Nannenus, the general in charge of those regions, a leader approved by long experience in wars.

[2] Sed tunc ad mortem destinatae plebi congressus, cum milites quosdam ruisse, et se vulneratum imparem fore certaminibus adverteret crebris, docto imperatore quid agi deberet, id est adeptus, ut peditum magister Severus

opitulatum rebus dubiis adveniret.

[2] But meeting then with a people resolved to fight to the death, after he had lost some of his men and had himself been wounded, he perceived that he would be unequal to frequent contests with them. Accordingly, having reported to the emperor what ought to be done, he managed that Severus, commander of the infantry, should come to help him in his difficult situation.

[3] Qui ducens militem rei sufficientem, cum venisset ad loca, discriminatis ordinibus, superbos barbaros ante collutationem adeo terruit et turbavit, ut nec controversas opponerent manus, sed signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestrici, veniam poscerent pacem.

[3] When he, bringing forces adequate for the purpose, had reached the spot and the troops had been drawn up in divisions, he so terrified and confused the arrogant barbarians before the struggle began, that they did not oppose him in strife, but, dazzled by the gleam of the standards and eagles, begged for pardon and peace.

[4] Diuque variatis consiliis, cum id rei publicae conducere videretur, pactis induitiis, et datis ex condicione proposita iuvenibus multis, habilibus ad militiam, discedere permissi sunt Saxones, sine impedimento, unde venerant, reversuri.

[4] And after a long and varied discussion, since it seemed to be in the interest of the state, a truce was agreed upon, and in accordance with the conditions that were proposed the Saxons gave us as hostages many young men fit for military service, and then were allowed to depart and return without hindrance to the place from which they had come.

[5] Quibus omni iam formidine vacuis, reditumque parantibus, occulte pedites missi, insidias in abdita quadam valle struxerunt, unde praetereuntes aggredi negotio poterant levi. Sed longe secus accidit quam sperabatur.

[5] When they thought themselves now free from all fear and were preparing to return, foot-soldiers were secretly sent and laid an ambushade in a secluded valley, from which they could attack the Saxons with slight trouble as they passed by. But the result was far otherwise than was hoped.

[6] Sonitu enim adventantium perciti, exsiluere quidam intempestive, visique subito, dum se firmare festinant, ululantibus lugubre barbaris, vertuntur in pedes. Stetere tamen mox conglobati, extremaque sorte vires (licet non integras) suggerente, conflare cogeantur, multaque caede perculti, concidissent nullo relicto, ni cataphractorum equitum cuneus, ad inferendum periculum transeuntibus barbaris, ex alio latere prope divortium itineris, pari modo locatus, clamore percitus tristi, agiliter subvenisset.

[6] For, excited by the sound of the approaching Saxons, some of our men

rushed out before the proper time; on their sudden appearance the savages raised terrible howls, and while the Romans were hastening to steady themselves, they were put to flight. Presently, however, they halted and massed themselves together, and as their dangerous plight gave them strength (though somewhat impaired), they were forced to fight; but after suffering great losses they were routed and would have perished to a man, had not a troop of mail-clad horsemen, which had been similarly stationed on another side, near a byway, to cause danger to the savages as they passed by, been aroused by their cries of terror, and quickly come to their aid.

[7] *Exin concursum infestius, firmatisque pectoribus, hinc inde incumbentes Romani clausos hostes eductis gladiis obtruncabant: nec quisquam eorum genitales revisere potuit lares, ne uno quidem caedibus concorporalium superesse permisso. Ac licet iustus quidam arbiter rerum, factum incusabit perfidum et deforme, pensato tamen negotio, non feret indigne manum latronum exitialem tandem copia data consumptam.*

[7] Then the contest became hotter and the Romans with fortified courage pressed upon the Saxons from all sides, surrounded them, and slew them with their drawn swords; not one of them could again return to his native home, not a single one was allowed to survive the slaughter of his comrades. And although some just judge will condemn this act as treacherous and hateful, yet on careful consideration of the matter he will not think it improper that a destructive band of brigands was destroyed when the opportunity at last offered.

[8] *Post haec ita prospere consummata, Valentinianus versando sententias multiformes, anxia sollicitudine stringebatur, reputans multa et circumspectans, quibus commentis Alamannorum et Macriani regis frangeret fastus, sine fine vel modo rem Romanam irrequietis motibus confundentis.*

[8] After these affairs had been so successfully concluded, Valentinian, turning over various thoughts in his mind, was oppressed by anxious care, as he thought over many plans and considered by what devices he might break the arrogance of the Alamanni and their king Macrianus, who without limit or measure was confusing the Roman state by his restless disturbances.

[9] *Immanis enim natio iam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta, ita saepius adulescit, ut fuisse longis saeculis aestimetur intacta. Seditque consilia alia post alia imperatori probanti, Burgundios in eorum excitari perniciem, bellicosos et pubis immensae viribus affluentes, ideoque metuendos finitimis universis.*

[9] For this savage nation, although from its very cradle weakened by a variety of disasters, so often recovers its youthful strength, that people think it has been unassailed for long ages. And the emperor finally decided, after

favouring first one plan and then another, to bring about their destruction through the Burgundians, a warlike people, rich in the strength of countless young warriors, and therefore a cause of terror to all their neighbours.

[10] *Scribebatque frequenter ad eorum reges per taciturnos quosdam et fidos, ut eisdem tempore praestituto supervenirent, pollicitus ipse quoque, transito cum Romanis agminibus Rheno, occurrere pavidis, pondus armorum vitantibus insperatum.*

[10] Accordingly, he often sent letters to their kings through silent and loyal messengers, urging them to attack the Alamanni at an appointed time, and promising that he too would cross the Rhine with the Roman armies and, if the Alamanni tried to avoid the unexpected weight of armed forces, would intercept them in their panic.

[11] *Gratanter ratione gemina principis acceptae sunt litterae: prima quod iam inde a temporibus priscis subolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt, dein quod salinarum finiumque causa Alamannis saepe iurgabant. Et catervas misere lectissimas, quae antequam milites congregarentur in unum, ad usque ripas Rheni progressae, imperatore ad struenda munimenta districto, terrori nostris fuere vel maximo.*

[11] The emperor's letters were gladly received for two reasons: first, because the Burgundians know that they are descendants of the Romans from ancient times; and then, since they frequently quarrelled with the Alamanni about salt-pits and boundaries. They therefore sent their choicest troops, which, before our soldiers were gathered together, advanced as far as the banks of the Rhine; and while the emperor was still occupied with the building of fortifications, they caused the very greatest alarm to our people.

[12] *Igitur paulisper morati, cum neque Valentinianus (ut spoponderat) die praedicto venisset, nec promissorum aliquid adverterent factum, ad comitatum misere legatos, poscentes adminicula sibi dari, reddituris ad sua, ne nuda hostibus exponerent terga.*

[12] And so they halted for a time, but when Valentinian did not appear on the appointed day, as he had agreed, and they saw that none of his promises had been fulfilled, they sent envoys to the emperor's camp, demanding that support be given them for their return to their homes, in order that they might not expose their unprotected rear to the enemy.

[13] *Quod ubi negari per ambages sentirent et moras, maestis exinde discesserunt et indignati. Hocque comperto, reges ut ludibrio habiti saevientes, captivis omnibus interfectis, genitales repetunt terras.*

[13] And when they perceived that by subterfuges and delays their request was practically denied, they went off from there in sorrow and indignation. And

their kings, on learning what had happened, furious at being mocked, killed all their prisoners and returned to their native lands.

[14] Apud hos generali nomine rex appellatur Hendinos, et ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra, ut solent Aegyptii casus eius modi suis assignare rectoribus. Nam sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus vocatur Sinistus, et est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges.

[14] In their country a king is called by the general name Hendinos, and, according to an ancient custom, lays down his power and is deposed, if under him the fortune of war has wavered, or the earth has denied sufficient crops; just as the Egyptians commonly blame their rulers for such occurrences. On the other hand the chief priest among the Burgundians is called Sinistus, holds his power for life, and is exposed to no such dangers as threaten the kings.

[15] Per hanc occasionem impendio tempestivam, Alamannos gentis ante dictae metu dispersos, aggressus per Raetias Theodosius (ea tempestate magister equitum) pluribus caesis, quoscumque cepit ad Italiam iussu principis misit, ubi fertilibus pagis acceptis, iam tributarii circumcolunt Padum. Clades Tripoli provinciae, Lepcitanis et Oeensibus ab Austorianis illatae, et fraude Romani comitis Valentiniano occultatae, et minime vindicatae. Hinc (tamquam in orbem migrantes alium) ad Tripoleos Africanae provinciae veniamus aerumnas, quas (ut arbitrator) Iustitia quoque ipsa deflevit, quae unde instar exarsere flammarum, textus aperiet absolutus.

[15] Taking advantage of this very timely occasion, Theodosius, at that time commander of the cavalry, made an attack through Raetia upon the Alamanni, who through fear of the aforesaid people were scattered; he killed many of them, and by the emperor's order sent all his prisoners to Italy, where they received fertile cantons, and now live as our subjects on the banks of the Po. Disasters are inflicted upon the province of Tripolis and on the Lepcitani and Oeenses by the Austoriani, but through the duplicity of the commanding general, Romanus, these are concealed from Valentinian, and left unpunished. From here, as if moving to another part of the world, let us come to the sorrows of the African province of Tripolis, over which (I think) even Justice herself has wept; and from what cause these blazed out like flames will appear when my narrative is completed.

[2] Austoriani his contermini partibus barbari, in discursus semper expediti veloces, vivereque assueti rapinis et caedibus, paulisper pacati, ad genuinos turbines revoluti sunt, hanc causam praetendentes ut seriam.

[2] The Austoriani, who are neighbours to those regions, are savages, always ready for sudden raids and accustomed to live by murder and robbery. These were subdued for a time, but then returned to their natural turbulence, for

which they seriously alleged this reason:-

[3] Stachao quidam nomine popularis eorum, ut in otio nostra peragrando licentius agebat quaedam vetita legibus, inter quae illud potius eminebat, quod provinciam omni fallaciarum via prodere conabatur, ut indicia docuere verissima: quocirca supplicio flammaram absumptus est.

[3] A certain man of their country, Stachao by name, when he was wandering freely in our territory, it being a time of peace, committed some violations of the laws, among which the most conspicuous was, that he tried by every kind of deceit to betray the province, as was proved by most trustworthy testimony. Accordingly he was burned to death.

[4] Huius necem ulcisci, ut propinqui damnatique iniuste causantes, ferarum similes rabie concitarum, exsiluere sedibus suis, Ioviano etiam tum imperante, veritique prope Leptim accedere, civitatem muris et populo validam, suburbano eius uberrimo insedere per triduum, mactatisque agrestibus, quos inopinus hebetaverat pavor, vel confugere coegerat ad speluncas, incensa suppellectili multa, quae vehi non poterat, referti rapinis reverterunt ingentibus, trahentes captivum Silvam quoque casu cum caritatibus in agro inventum, ordinis sui primatem.

[4] To avenge his execution, under the pretext that he was a countryman of theirs and had been unjustly condemned, like beasts aroused by madness, they sallied forth from their homes while Jovian was still ruling, and, fearing to come near Lepcis, a city strong in its walls and population, they encamped for three days in the fertile districts near the city. There they slaughtered the peasants, whom sudden fear had paralysed or had compelled to take refuge in caves, burned a great deal of furniture which could not be carried off, and returned laden with immense spoils, taking with them also as prisoner one Silva, the most eminent of the local magistrates, who chanced to be found in the country with his wife and children.

[5] Hac subita clade Leptitani perterriti, ante incrementa malorum, quae intentabat barbaricus tumor, praesidium imploravere Romani, comitis per Africam recens provecti. Qui cum venisset, militaris copias ducens, ferreque opem rebus rogaretur afflictis, non nisi abundanti commeatu aggesto, et camelorum quattuor milibus apparatis, castra firmabat esse moturum.

[5] The people of Lepcis, greatly alarmed by this sudden calamity, before the evils which the insolence of the barbarians threatened should increase, implored the protection of Romanus, the newlypromoted commanding-general for Africa. As soon as he arrived, leading his military forces, and was asked to lend his aid in these troubles, he declared that he would not move his camp unless provisions in abundance should first be brought and 4000 camels equipped.

[6] Hocque responso, miserandis civibus stupefactis, atque negantibus, sufficere se posse post vastationes et incendia ita enormibus instrumentis remedia quaerere damnorum immanium, dissimulanter diebus ibi quadraginta consumptis, nullo temptato, inde discesserat comes.

[6] The unhappy citizens were stupified by this answer, and declared that after suffering from fires and pillage they could not procure a remedy for their tremendous losses by providing such enormous supplies. Whereupon the general, after deluding them by spending forty days there, marched away without actually attempting anything.

[7] Qua spe Tripolitani frustrati, formidantesque extrema, allapso legitimo die concilii, quod apud eos est annum, Severum et Flaccianum creavere legatos, Victoriarum aurea simulacra Valentiniano ob imperii primitias oblaturus, utque lacrimosas provinciae ruinas docerent intrepide.

[7] The people of Tripolis, disappointed in this hope and fearing the worst, when the lawful day for the popular assembly (which with them comes once a year) had arrived, appointed Severus and Flaccianus as envoys, who were to take to Valentinian golden statues of Victory because of his accession to power, and to tell him fearlessly of the lamentable ruin of the province.

[8] Quibus compertis, Romanus, misso equite velocissimo, magistrum officiorum petit Remigium, affinem suum vel rapinarum participem, ut provideret imperatoris arbitrio cognitionem huius negotii Vincentio vicario sibi deferri.

[8] As soon as Romanus heard of this, he sent a swift horseman to Remigius, the chief-marshal of the court, a relative of his by marriage and a partner in his robberies, asking him to see to it that the investigation of this affair should be assigned by the emperor's authority to the deputy governor Vincentius and himself.

[9] Venerunt in comitatum legati, aditoque principe, verbis quae perpassi sunt ostenderunt: obtulerunt decreta, textum continentia rei totius. Quibus lectis cum neque relationi officiorum magistri, faventis Romani flagitiis, nec contraria referentibus crederetur, promissa disceptatio plena dilata est eo more, quo solent inter potiorum occupationes ludi potestates excelsae.

[9] The envoys came to the court, and being given audience with the emperor, stated orally what they had suffered; and they presented decrees, containing a full account of the whole affair. Since the emperor, after reading these, neither believed the communication of the marshal, who countenanced the misdeeds of Romanus, nor the envoys, who gave contrary testimony, a full investigation was promised, but it was put off, in the way in which supreme powers are usually deceived among the distractions to which the powerful are liable.

[10] Dum remedia quaedam a commilitio principis exspectantur, suspensis Tripolitanis, diuque anxiis, rursus globi supervenere barbarici, fiducia sublata praeteritorum, Leptitanoque agro et Oeensi interneciva populatione transcursis, expleti praedarum acervis ingentibus, abscesserunt, occisis decurionibus multis, inter quos Rusticianus sacerdotalis, et Nicasius enitebat aedilis.

[10] While the people of Tripolis were long in a state of anxiety and suspense, looking for some aid from the emperor's military support, the hordes of barbarians again came up, given confidence by what had happened before; and after overrunning the territory of Lepcis and Oea with death and devastation, went away again, laden with vast heaps of booty; a number of decurions were put to death, among whom the former high-priest Rusticianus and the aedile Nicasius were conspicuous.

[11] Haec autem eruptio ideo arceri non potuit, quod ad legatorum preces negotiorum quoque militarium cura praesidi delata Ruricio, mox translata est ad Romanum.

[11] But the reason why this inroad could not be prevented was that, although at the request of the envoys the charge of military affairs also had been entrusted to the governor Ruricius, it was soon afterwards transferred to Romanus.

[12] Et iam recens inflictae cladis nuntius missus ad Gallias, excitavit acrius principem. Ideoque tribunus et notarius Palladius mittitur, ut et militi disperso per Africam praeberet stipendium debitum, et gesta per Tripolim fide congrua scrutaretur.

[12] When now the news of this newly inflicted catastrophe was sent to Gaul, it greatly angered the emperor. Accordingly, Palladius, a tribune and secretary, was sent to pay the wages that were due the soldiers in various parts of Africa, and to investigate and give a fully trustworthy report of what had happened at Tripolis.

[13] Inter tales tamen consulendi moras exspectandique responsa, Austoriani successu gemino insolentes, ut rapaces alites advolarunt, irritamento sanguinis atrocius efferatae; cunctisque (nisi quos fuga discriminibus eximeret) interemptis, praedas quas antehac reliquerant, avexerunt arboribus exsectis et vitibus.

[13] However, during such delays caused by consultations and waiting for replies, the Austoriani, made insolent by two successful raids, flew to the spot like birds of prey made more savage by the incitement of blood, and after slaying all those who did not escape danger by flight, carried off the booty which they had previously left behind, besides cutting down the trees and vines.

[14] Tunc Mychon quidam nobilis oppidanus et potens, captus in suburbano lapsusque, antequam vinciretur, quia pedibus aeger evadere penitus vetabatur, in puteum aquis vacuum sese coniecit, unde costa diffracta levatus a barbaris, ductusque prope portas, coniugis miseratione redemptus est, et ad pinnas muri fune sublatus post biduum interiit.

[14] Then one Mychon, a highborn and powerful townsman, was caught in the suburbs but gave them the slip before he was bound; and because he was lame and it was wholly impossible for him to make good his escape, he threw himself into an empty well; but the barbarians pulled him out with his rib broken, and placed him near the city gates; there, at the pitiful entreaties of his wife, he was ransomed but was drawn up by a rope to the battlements, and died after two days.

[15] Unde elati in pertinaciam saevissimi grassatores, ipsa pulsavere moenia Leptitana, funestis plangoribus resonantia feminarum, quas numquam antea hostiliter clausas pavor exanimabat insolitus, obsessaque urbe per octo continuos dies, cum quidam oppugnatores sine ullo vulnerarentur effectum, redierunt ad propria tristiores.

[15] Then the savage marauders, roused to greater persistence, assailed the very walls of Lepcis, which re-echoed with the mournful wailing of the women, who had never before been besieged by an enemy, and were half-dead with a terror to which they were unused. But after blockading the city for eight days together, during which some of the besiegers were wounded without accomplishing anything, they returned in saddened mood to their own abodes.

[16] Ob quae super salute dubii cives, ultimaque temptantes, profectis ante legatis nondum reversis, Iovinum mittunt atque Pancratium, quae viderint, quaeque ipsi perpassi sint, imperatorem fida relatione docturos. Qui Severum apud Carthaginem inventum et Flaccianum superiores illos legatos percontando quid egerint, cognoverunt eos audiri a vicario iussos et comite. E quibus Severus ilico perit vexatus acerbitate morborum: nihilo minus tamen properarunt ad comitatum magnis itineribus ante dicti.

[16] Because of this the citizens, despairing of being saved and resorting to the last hope, although the envoys they had already sent had not yet returned, dispatched Jovinus and Pancratius to give the emperor a trustworthy account of what they had seen and had personally suffered. These envoys, by inquiring of those mentioned above (Severus, whom they met at Carthage, and Flaccianus), what they had done, learned that they had been ordered to make their report to the deputy and the general. Of these Severus was at once attacked by a painful illness and died; but the aforementioned envoys nevertheless hastened by long marches to the court.

[17] Ingresso post haec Palladio Africam, Romanus, quas ob res venerat ante

praestructurus, ut securitatem suam in tuto locaret, numerorum principii per quosdam secretorum mandaverat conscios, ut ei tamquam potenti et palatii summatibus proximo, stipendii, quod pertulerat, praestarent maximam partem: et ita est factum.

[17] After this, Palladius had entered Africa, and Romanus, intending to block in advance the purpose for which he had come, in order to secure his own safety, had ordered the officers of the companies through certain confidants of his secrets, that they should hand over to Palladius the greater part of the pay which he had brought, since he was an influential man and in close relations with the highest officials of the palace; and so it was done.

[18] Confestimque ille ditatus perrexit ad Lepcim, utque ad veritatis perveniret indaginem, Erechthium et Aristomenem facundos municipes et insignes, libere suas civiumque et finitimorum retexentes aerumnas, ad loca vastata secum eduxit.

[18] Palladius immediately, being thus enriched, proceeded to Lepcis, and in order to succeed in ferreting out the truth, he took with him to the devastated regions two eloquent and distinguished townsmen, Erechthius and Aristomenes, who freely told him of their own troubles and those of their fellow-citizens and neighbours.

[19] Quibus aperte cuncta monstrantibus, luctuosis provinciae cineribus visis revertit, Romanumque ut desidem increpans, relaturum se cuncta verissime, quae viderat, minabatur ad principem. Atque ille ira percitus et dolore, se quoque mox referre firmavit, quod missus ut notarius incorruptus, donativum militis omne in quaestus averterit proprios.

[19] They openly showed him everything, and after he had seen the lamentable ashes of the province, he returned, and reproaching Romanus for his inactivity, threatened to give the emperor a true report of everything that he had seen. Then Romanus, filled with anger and resentment, assured him that he also would then at once report that Palladius, sent as an incorruptible notary, had diverted to his own profit all the money intended for the soldiers.

[20] Qua gratia flagitiorum arbitra conscientia, cum Romano deinde Palladius concordabat, reversusque ad comitatum, arte mendaciorum impia Valentinianum fefellerat, Tripolitanos frustra queri commemorans. Ideoque rursus ad Africam cum Iovino postremo omnium legatorum Remittitur — Pancratius enim decesserat apud Treveros—ut cum vicario ipse merita legationis quoque secundae spectaret: praeter haec linguas Erechthi et Aristomenis praecidi iusserat imperator, quos invidiosa quaedam locutos idem Palladius intimarat.

[20] Therefore, since his conscience was witness to disgraceful acts, Palladius then came to an understanding with Romanus, and on his return to the palace,

he misled Valentinian by the atrocious art of lying, declaring that the people of Tripolis had no cause for complaint. Accordingly, he was sent again to Africa with Jovinus, the last of all the envoys (for Pancratius had died at Treves), in order with the deputy to examine in person the value of the work of the second deputation also. Besides this, the emperor gave orders that the tongues of Erechthius and Aristomenes should be cut out, since the aforesaid Palladius had intimated that they had made some offensive statements.

[21] *Secutus, ut statutum est, vicarium notarius venit ad Tripolim. Hocque comperto Romanus domesticum suum illuc volucriter misit, et Caecilium consiliarium in ea provincia genitum, per quos — incertum pretio an fallaciis — circumventi municipes omnes gravabant Iovinum, destinatus asserentes nihil eorum mandasse, quae docuerat principem: eo usque iniquitate grassante ut ipse quoque Iovinus ad salutis suae discrimen confiteretur se imperatori mentitum.*

[21] The secretary, following the deputy, as had been arranged, came to Tripolis. As soon as Romanus learned of this, with all speed he sent his attendant thither, and with him an adviser of his, Caecilius by name, a native of that province. Through these all the townspeople were induced whether by bribes or deceit is uncertain to make grave charges against Jovinus, positively declaring that they had given him no commission to report what he had reported to the emperor. In fact, their dishonesty went so far that even Jovinus himself was forced to endanger his own life by confessing that he had lied to the emperor.

[22] *Quibus per Palladium regressum iam cognitis, Valentinianus ad acerbiter proclivior Iovinum quidem ut auctorem, Caelestinum vero Concordiumque et Lucium ut falsi conscios et participes puniri supplicio capitali praecepit, Ruricium autem praesidem ut mendacem morte multari, hoc quoque accedente quod in relatione eius verba quaedam (ut visum est) immodica legebantur.*

[22] When this was known through Palladius, who had now returned, Valentinian, being rather inclined to severity, gave orders that Jovinus, as the originator of the false statement, with Caelestinus, Concordius, and Lucius as accomplices and participants, should suffer capital punishment; further, that Ruricius, the governor, should suffer death as the author of a false report, the following also being counted against him — that there were read in his report certain expressions of his which seemed immoderate.

[23] *Ac Ruricius quidem apud Sitifim caesus est, reliqui apud Uticam sententia vicarii Crescentis addicti. Flaccianus tamen ante legatorum interitum, cum a vicario audiretur et comite, constanter salutis suae propugnans, acclamationibus iratorum militum impetuque cum conviciis paene confossus est, obicientium, ideo Tripolitanos non potuisse defendi, quod ipsi ad*

expeditionalis usus praebere necessaria detrectarunt.

[23] Ruricius was executed at Sitifis, the rest were punished at Utica through sentence of the deputy-governor Crescens. Flaccianus, however, before the death of the other envoys, was heard by the deputy and the general; and when he stoutly defended his life, he was all but killed by the angry soldiers, who rushed upon him with shouts and abusive language; for they declared against him that the Tripolitani could not possibly be defended for the reason that they themselves had declined to furnish what was necessary for the campaign.

[24] Et ob haec trusus in carcerem, dum consultus super eo, quid conveniret agi, decerneret imperator, sollicitatis (ut dabatur opinari) custodibus, in urbem Romam abierat profugus, ibique delitescens, fatali lege discessit.

[24] And for this reason Flaccianus was imprisoned, until the emperor, who had been consulted about him, should make up his mind what ought to be done. But he bribed his guards — so it was permissible to believe — and made his escape to the city of Rome, where he kept in hiding until he passed away by a natural death.

[25] Hoc memorando fine externis domesticisque cladibus vexata, conticuit Tripolis, non indefensa, quia vigilavit Iustitiae oculus sempiternus, ultimaeque legatorum et praesidis dirae. Diu enim postea huius modi casus emersit: solutus sacramento Palladius, destitutusque fastu quo tumebat, discessit ad otium.

[25] In consequence of this remarkable end of the affair, Tripolis, though harassed by disasters from without and from within, remained silent, but not without defence; for the eternal eye of Justice watched over her, as well as the last curses of the envoys and the governor. For long afterwards the following event came to pass: Palladius was dismissed from service, and stript of the haughtiness with which he swelled, and retired to a life of inaction.

[26] Et cum Theodosius ductor exercituum ille magnificus, oppressurus Firmum perniciose coeptantem, venisset in Africam, et proscripti Romani rem mobilem (ut iussum est) scrutaretur, inter chartas eius inventa est et Meteri cuiusdam epistula, id continens ‘Domino patrono Romano Meterius,’ et in fine post multa nihil ad rem pertinentia: ‘Salutat te Palladius proiecticius, qui non aliam ob causam dicit se esse proiectum, nisi quod in causa Tripolitanorum apud aures sacras mentitus est.’

[26] And when Theodosius, that famous leader of armies, had come into Africa to put an end to the dangerous attempts of Firmus, and, as he had been ordered, examined the moveable property of the outlawed Romanus, there was found also among his papers the letter of one Meterius, containing the words, “Meterius to Romanus his Lord and patron,” and at the end, after much matter that would here be irrelevant: “The disgraced Palladius salutes you,

and says that he was deposed for no other reason than that in the cause of the people of Tripolis he spoke to the sacred ears what was not true.”

[27] His litteris ad comitatum missis et lectis, Valentiniani iussu Meterius raptus, suam esse confitetur epistolam, ideoque Palladius exhiberi praeceptus, cogitans quas criminum coxerit moles, in statione primis tenebris observata custodum absentia, qui festo die Christiani ritus in ecclesia pernoctabant, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit.

[27] When this letter had been sent to the Palace and read, Meterius, on being seized by order of Valentinian, admitted that the letter was his. Therefore Palladius was ordered to be produced, but thinking of the mass of crimes that he had concocted, at a halting-station, as darkness was coming on, noticing the absence of the guards, who on a festal day of the Christian religion were spending the whole night in church, he knotted a noose about his neck and strangled himself.

[28] Hoc fortunae secundioris iudicio plene comperto, deletoque tristium concitore turbarum, exsilerunt Erechthius et Aristomenes e latebris, qui cum sibi iussas abscidi linguas didicissent, ut prodigas, ad longe remota declinarunt et abdita, doctoque super nefanda fraude Gratiano imperatore fidentius — Valentinianus enim obierat — ad Hesperium proconsulem et Flavianum vicarium audiendi sunt missi, quorum aequitas auctoritate mixta iustissima, torto Caecilio, aperta confessione cognovit, ipsum suasisse civibus suis, ut gravarent mentiendo legatos. Haec acta secuta est relatio gestorum pandens plenissimam fidem; ad quam nihil responsum est.

[28] When this favourable turn of fortune was fully known and the instigator of the awful troubles put to death, Erechthius and Aristomenes, who, when they learned that it had been ordered that their tongues should be cut out, as over-lavishly used, had withdrawn to far remote and hidden places, now hastened from concealment; and when the emperor Gratian — for Valentinian had died — was given trustworthy information of the abominable deception, they were sent for trial to the proconsul Hesperius and the deputy Flavianus. These officials, being men of impartial justice combined with most rightful authority, having put Caecilius to the torture, learned from his open confession that he himself had persuaded his citizens to make trouble for the envoys by false statements. This investigation was followed by a report, which disclosed the fullest confirmation of the acts which had been committed; to this no reply was made.

[29] Et nequid cothurni terribilis fabulae relinquerent intemptatum, hoc quoque post depositum accessit aulaeum. Romanus ad comitatum profectus secum Caecilium duxit, cognitores accusaturum, ut inclinatos in provinciae partem: isque Merobaudis favore susceptus, necessarios sibi plures petierat exhiberi.

[29] And that these dramas should leave no awful tragic effect untried, this also was added after the curtain had dropped. Romanus, setting out to the Palace, brought with him Caecilius, who intended to accuse the judges of having been biased in favour of the province; and being received with favour by Merobaudes, he had sought that some more witnesses whom he needed should be produced.

[30] Qui cum Mediolanum venissent, frustra se tractos ob simultates documentis probabilibus ostendissent, absoluti redierunt ad lares. Valentiniano tamen superstite, post superiora quae narravimus, Remigius quoque digressus ad otium, laqueo vitam elisit, ut congruo docebimus loco.

[30] When these had come to Milan, and had shown by credible evidence that they had been brought there under false pretences to satisfy a grudge, they were discharged and returned to their homes. Nevertheless, in Valentinianus' lifetime, in consequence of what we have stated above, Remigius also after retiring into private life strangled himself, as I shall show in the proper place.

LIBER XXIX — BOOK XXIX

[1] Theodorus notarius imperium affectat, et apud Valentem Antiochiaie accusatus maiestatis, convictusque cum plurimis criminis consciis interficitur.Exacta hieme rex Persarum gentium Sapor, pugnarum fiducia pristinorum immaniter arrogans, suppleto numero suorum abundeque firmato, erupturos in nostra cataphractos et sagittarios et conductam miserat plebem.

Theodorus, a notary, aspires to the throne, and being accused of treason at Antioch before Valens and convicted, along with many accomplices of his crime he is put to death.At the end of the winter Sapor, king of the Persian nations, made immoderately arrogant by the confidence inspired by his former battles, having filled up the number of his army and greatly strengthened it, had sent his mailed horsemen, archers, and mercenary soldiers to invade our territories.

[2] Contra has copias, Traianus comes et Vadamarius ex rege Alamannorum cum agminibus perrexere pervalidis, hoc observare principis iussu appositi, ut arcerent potius quam lacesserent Persas.

[2] To meet these forces the general Trajanus and Vadamarius, the former king of the Alamanni, advanced with very powerful forces, appointed by the emperor's order to observe the policy of keeping off the Persians rather than attacking them.

[3] Qui cum venissent Vagabanta, legionibus habilem locum, rapidos turmarum procursus hostilium in se ruentium acriter exceperunt inviti, operaque consulta retrocedentes, ne ferro violarent adversorum quemquam primi, et iudicarentur discissi foederis rei, ultima trudente necessitate, congressi sunt, confossisque multis, discessere victores.

[3] When they had come to Vagabanta, a favourable place for the legions, they met unwillingly the swift attacks of the enemy's cavalry fiercely rushing upon them, and purposely retreated, in order not to be first to wound anyone of their adversaries and thus be judged guilty of violating the treaty; but at last, driven by extreme necessity, they engaged in battle, and, after slaying many of the Persians, came off victorious.

[4] Inter moras tamen utrimque secus temptatis aliquotiens levibus proeliis, varioque finitis eventu, pactis indutiis ex consensu, aestateque consumpta, partium discessere ductores, etiam tum discordes. Et rex quidem Parthus, hiemem Ctesiphonte acturus, redit ad sedes, et Antiochiam imperator Romanus ingressus. Qui, dum ibi moratur securus interim hostium externorum, intestinis paene perierat fraudibus, ut aperiet series delata gestorum.

[4] But during the delay which followed, several skirmishes were tried by both sides, which ended with varying results; and an armistice having been concluded by common consent, and the summer having ended, the leaders of both sides departed in different directions, still at enmity with each other. Now the king of the Parthians returned home, to spend the winter in Ctesiphon; but the Roman emperor entered Antioch. And while the latter was staying there, free from anxiety from foreign foes for the time, he almost fell victim to domestic treason, as an account of the series of events will show.

[5] Procopius quidam, inquires homo, turbarum cupiditati semper addictus, Anatolium detulerat et Spudasium palatinos, exigi quae de aerario interceperant iussos, insidiari comiti Fortunatiano, molesto illi flagitatori. Qui animi asperitate confestim ad insanum percitus modum, pro potestatis auctoritate, quam regebat, Palladium quendam obscurissime natum ut veneficum a memoratis conductum, et Heliodorum, fatorum per genituras interpretem, adigendos prodere quae scirent, praetorianae iudicio tradidit praefecturae.

[5] A certain Procopius, a turbulent man, always given over to a lust for disturbances, had charged two courtiers named Anatolias and Spudasius, about whom orders had been given that money of which they had defrauded the treasury be exacted of them, with having attempted the life of Count Fortunatianus, notorious as being a tiresome dunner. He, being hot-tempered, was immediately aroused to a mad degree of wrath, and by the authority of the office which he held, handed over a certain Palladius, a man of low birth, as one who had been hired as a poisoner by the afore-mentioned courtiers, and an interpreter of the fates by horoscope, Heliodorus by name, to the court of the praetorian prefecture, in order that they might be forced to tell what they knew about the matter.

[6] Cumque ad facti vel temptati quaestionem acrius veniretur, exclamabat Palladius confidenter, levia esse haec de quibus agitur, et praetereunda: alia se (si licuerit dicere) monstraturum, metuenda et potiora, quae ingenti molimine iam praestructa (nisi prospectum fuerit) universa confundent. Iussusque docere fidenter quae norat, rudentem explicavit immensum, affirmans Fidustum praesidialem, et cum Irenaeo Pergamium, nomen imperatori post Valentem detestandis praesagiis didicisse secretim.

[6] But when they came to a vigorous investigation of the deed, or the attempt, Palladius boldly cried out that those matters about which they were inquiring were trivial and negligible; that if he were allowed to speak, he would tell of other things more important and fearful, which had already been plotted with great preparations, and unless foresight were used would upset the whole state. And on being bidden to tell freely what he knew, he uncoiled an endless cable of crimes, declaring that the ex-governor Fidustus, and Pergamius, with Irenaeus, by detestable arts of divination, had secretly learned the name of the

man who was to succeed Valens.

[7] Et correptus Fidustius ilico (namque aderat forte,) occulteque inductus, indice viso, nulla infitiatione obumbrare iam publicata conatus, rei totius calamitosum aperit textum, absolute confessus, se cum Hilario et Patricio vaticinandi peritis, quorum Hilarius militaverat in palatio, de imperio consuluisse futuro: motasque secretis artibus sortes, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipsis consultoribus luctuosos exitus praedixisse.

[7] Fidustius was seized on the spot — for he chanced to be near by — and was brought up secretly, and on being faced with the informer, he did not attempt to veil with any denial a matter already publicly known, but disclosed the deadly details of the whole plot; he freely admitted that he had, with Hilarius and Patricius, men skilled in divination, of whom the former had served in the household troops, sought information about the succession, and that the predictions inspired by secret arts had both foretold the naming of an excellent prince, and for the questioners themselves a sad end.

[8] Atque cunctantibus quisnam ea tempestate omnibus vigore animi antistaret, visus est aliis excellere Theodorus, secundum inter notarios adeptus iam gradum. Et erat re vera ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliis natus, et liberaliter educatus a primis pueritiae rudimentis, modestia prudentia humanitate gratia litteris ornatissimus, semper officio locoque, quem retinebat, superior videbatur, altis humilibusque iuxta acceptus. Solusque paene omnium erat, cuius linguam non infrenem, sed dispicientem quae loqueretur, nullius claudebat periculi metus.

[8] And while they were in doubt who there was at the time that was superior to all in strength of character, it seemed to them that Theodorus surpassed all others; he had already gained second rank among the secretaries, and was in fact such a man as they thought him. For he was born of a clan famous in olden times in Gaul, liberally educated from earliest childhood, and so eminent for his modesty, good sense, refinement, charm, and learning that he always seemed superior to every office and rank that he was holding, and was dear alike to high and low. He was also almost the only man whose mouth was closed by no fear of danger, since he bridled his tongue and reflected on what he was going to say.

[9] His addebat idem Fidustius, excarnificatus iam ad interitum, omnia quae praedixit, se indicante Theodorum per Euserium didicisse, virum praestabilem scientia litterarum, abundeque honoratum: Asiam quippe paulo ante rexerat pro praefectis.

[9] Fidustius, already tortured almost to death, also added to this that Theodorus had learned all these prophecies from information which he himself had given him through Euserius, a man of remarkable learning and

highly honoured; for shortly before that he had governed Asia with the rank of vice-prefect.

[10] Quo in custodia condito, gestorumque volumine imperatori recitato de more, prodigiosa feritas in modum ardentissimae facis fusius vagabatur, elata turpi adulatione multorum, maximeque omnium praefecti praetorio tunc Modesti.

[10] When Euserius also was put in prison, and the record of what had been done had been read to the emperor as usual, Valens' monstrous savagery spread everywhere like a fiercely blazing torch, and was increased by the base flattery of many men, and in particular by that of Modestus, who was then praetorian prefect.

[11] Qui dum formidine successoris agitaretur in dies, obumbratis blanditiarum concinnitatibus, cavillando Valentem, subrusticum hominem, sibi varie commulcebat, horridula eius verba et rudia flosculos Tullianos appellans, et ad extollendam eius vanitatem, sidera quoque, si iussisset, exhiberi posse promittens.

[11] This man, being daily terrified by the thought of a successor, by tricking Valens, who was somewhat simple-minded, with veiled but clever flattery tried to wheedle over the emperor's favour in various ways, calling his rough, crude words 'choice Ciceronian posies'; and to increase his vanity he declared that, if Valens should order it, even the stars could be brought down and displayed for him.

[12] Igitur et Theodorus a Constantinopoli, quam ex negotio familiari petierat, rapi celeri iubetur effectum, et dum ille reducit, ex praeiudiciis variis, quae diebus exercebantur et noctibus, plures a disiunctissimis regionibus trahebantur, dignitatibus et nobilitate conspicui.

[12] Accordingly, orders were given that Theodorus also should be with swift dispatch hurried there from Constantinople, to which he had gone on domestic business, and while he was being brought back, as the result of sundry preliminary trials, which were carried on day and night, a number of men, conspicuous for their rank and high birth, were brought from widely separated places.

[13] Cumque nec carceres publici, iam distenti, inclusorum catervas, nec privata domicilia sustinerent, constipatione vaporata confertas, quoniam vinculis maxima pars eorum attinebatur, et suam et proximi cuiusque vicem omnes horrebant.

[13] And, since neither the public dungeons, already full to overflowing, nor private houses could contain the throngs of prisoners, although they were crammed together in hot and stifling crowds, and since the greater number of

them were in irons, they all dreaded their own fate and that of their nearest relatives.

[14] *Advenit aliquando tamen ipse quoque Theodorus, praemortuus et atratus, quo in devia territorii parte abscondito, paratis omnibus quae indagines futurae poscebant, internarum cladum litui iam sonabant.*

[14] Finally Theodorus himself also arrived, half dead with fear and in mourning garb, and when he had been hidden in a remote part of the country, and everything was ready that the coming inquiries required, the trumpets were already sounding the signal for the murder of citizens.

[15] *Et quia fallere non minus videtur, qui gesta praeterit sciens, quam ille, qui numquam facta confingit, non abnuimus (neque enim ambigitur) salutem Valentis, et antea saepius per occultas coitiones, et tunc in extrema demersam, ferrumque ad iugulum eius prope adactum a militaribus, fato reflectente depulsum, quem lacrimosis in Thracia discriminibus destinarat.*

[15] And because that man does not seem less deceitful who knowingly passes over what has been done, than one who invents things that never happened, I do not deny — and in fact there is no doubt about it — that Valens' life, not only often before through secret conspiracies, but also on this occasion, was plunged into extreme danger, and that a sword was almost driven into his throat by the soldiers; it was thrust away and turned aside by the hand of Fate only because she had destined him to suffer lamentable disasters in Thrace.

[16] *Namque et in nemoroso quodam inter Antiochiam et Seleuciam loco leni quiete post meridiem consopitus, a Sallustio tunc scutario, et saepe alias appetenter insidiantibus multis, vitae terminis a primigenio ortu adscriptis, ausa immania frenantibus evadebat.*

[16] For when he was quietly sleeping after midday in a wooded spot between Antioch and Seleucia, he was attacked by Sallustius, then one of the targeteers; but although at other times many men often eagerly made plots against his life, he escaped them all, since the limits of life assigned him at his very birth curbed these monstrous attempts.

[17] *Ut sub principibus Commodo et Severo non numquam accidebat, quorum summa vi salus crebro oppugnabatur, adeo ut post intestina pericula multa et varia alter in amphitheatrali cavea cum affuturus spectaculis introiret, a Quintiano senatore illicitae cupidinis homine, ad debilitatem paene pugione vulneraretur; alter inopinabili impetu, tempore aetatis extremo, a Saturnino centurione, consilio Plautiani praefecti, in cubiculo iacens confoderetur, ni tulisset suppetias filius adulescens.*

[17] The same thing sometimes happened during the reigns of Commodus and Severus, whose life was often attempted with extreme violence, until finally

the one, after escaping many varied dangers within the palace, as he was entering the pit of the amphitheatre to attend the games, was dangerously wounded with a dagger by the senator Quintianus, a man of unlawful ambition, and almost disabled; the other, when far advanced in years, would have been stabbed by the centurion Saturninus (who at the instigation of the prefect Plautianus made an unexpected attack on him as he lay in bed) had not his young son borne him aid.

[18] Quocirca etiam Valens erat venia dignus, vitam, quam ereptum ire perfidi properabant, omni cautela defendens. Sed inexpressibile illud erat, quod regaliter turgidus, pari eodemque iure, nihil inter se distantibus meritis, nocentes innocentesque maligna insectatione volucriter perurgebat, ut dum adhuc dubitaretur de crimine, imperatore non dubitante de poena, damnatos se quidam prius discerent quam suspectos.

[18] Therefore Valens also deserved excuse for taking every precaution to protect his life, which treacherous foes were trying in haste to take from him. But it was inexcusable that, with despotic anger, he was swift to assail with malicious persecution guilty and innocent under one and the same law, making no distinction in their deserts; so that while there was still doubt about the crime, the emperor had made up his mind about the penalty, and some learned that they had been condemned to death before knowing that they were under suspicion.

[19] Adulescebat autem obstinatum eius propositum, admovente stimulos avaritia, et sua et eorum qui tunc in regia versabantur, novos hiatus aperientium, et, siqua humanitatis fuisset mentio rara, hanc appellantium tarditatem: qui cruentis adulationibus, institutum hominis mortem in acie linguae portantis, ad partem pessimam depravantes, omnia turbine intempestivo perflabant, eversum ire funditus domus opulentissimas festinantes.

[19] This persistent purpose of his increased, spurred on as it was both by his own greed and that of persons who frequented the court at that time, and opened the way to fresh desires, and if any mention of mercy was made — which rarely happened — called it slackness. These men through their bloodthirsty flatteries perverted in the worst possible direction the character of a man who carried death at the tip of his tongue, and blew everything down with an untimely hurricane, hastening to overturn utterly the richest houses.

[20] Erat enim expositus accessu insidantium et reclusus, vitio gemino perniciose implicitus, quod intoleranter irascebatur, tunc magis cum eum puderet irasci, et quae facilitate privati opertis susurris audierat, an vera essent, excutere tumore principis supersedens pro veris accipiebat et certis.

[20] For he was exposed and open to the approach of plotters through his

dangerous tendency to two faults: first, he was more prone to intolerable anger, when to be angry at all was shameful; secondly, in his princely pride he did not condescend to sift the truth of what, with the readiness of access of a man in private life, he had heard in secret whispers, but accepted as true and certain.

[21] *Inde factum est ut clementiae specie penatibus multi protruderentur insontes, praeceps in exilium acti, quorum in aerario bona coacta et ipse ad quaestus proprios redigebat, ut damnati cibo precario victitarent, angustiis formidandae paupertatis attriti, cuius metu vel in mare nos ire praecipites suadet Theognis poeta vetus et prudens.*

[21] The result was that many innocent persons under the appearance of mercy were thrust forth from their homes, and driven headlong into exile; and their property, which was consigned to the treasury, the emperor himself turned to his own profit, while the condemned, worn out by the privations of fearful poverty, were reduced to beggary — and that is a fate to avoid which the wise old poet Theognis advises us actually to hurl ourselves into the sea.

[22] *Quae etiam si recta fuisse concesserit quisquam, erat tamen ipsa nimietas odiosa. Unde animadversum est recte hoc definitum, nullam esse crudeliorem sententiam ea, quae est (cum parcere videtur) asperior.*

[22] And even if anyone should admit that these things were right, yet their excess alone was hateful. Whence it was observed that the maxim is true, that no sentence is more cruel than one which conceals great severity under the guise of mercy.

[23] *Igitur cum praefecto praetorio summatibus quaesitis in unum, quibus cognitiones commissae sunt, intenduntur eculei, expediuntur pondera plumbea, cum fidiculis et verberibus, resultabant omnia truculentae vocis horroribus, inter catenarum sonitus ‘Tene, claude, comprime, abde’ ministris officiorum tristem clamitantibus.*

[23] Accordingly, when the highest officials, to whom the investigations had been entrusted together with the praetorian prefect, had been called together, the racks were made taut, the leaden weights were brought out along with the cords and the scourges. The whole place echoed with the horrible cries of a savage voice, as those who did the awful work shouted amid the clanking of chains: “Hold him; clamp; tighten; away with him.”

[24] *Et quoniam addici post cruciabiles poenas vidimus multos, ut in tenebrosis rebus confusione cuncta miscente, summatim quia nos penitissima gestorum memoria fugit, quae recolere possumus, expeditius absolvemus.*

[24] And, since I have seen many condemned after horrible tortures, but everything is a jumble of confusion as in times of darkness, I shall, since the

complete recollection of what was done has escaped me, give a brief and summary account of what I can recall.

[25] *Primo intro vocatus post interrogatiunculas leves, Pergamius, a Palladio (ut dictum est) proditus, quaedam imprecationibus praescisse nefariis, sicut erat impendio eloquentior, et in verba periculosa proiectus, inter ambigentes iudices, quid prius quaeri debeat quidve posterius, dicere audacter exorsus, multa hominum milia quasi conscriptorum sine fine strependo fundebat, modo non ab extremo Atlante magnorum criminum arguendos poscens aliquos exhiberi. Quo (ut consarcinante nimis ardua) morte multato, aliisque gregatim post illum occisis, ad ipsius Theodori causam quasi ad Olympici certaminis pulverem pervenitur.*

[25] First, after some unimportant questions, Pergamius was called in, betrayed (as has been said) by Palladius of having foreknowledge of certain things through criminal incantations. Since he was very eloquent and was prone to say dangerous things, while the judges were in doubt what ought to be asked first and what last, he began to speak boldly, and shouted out in an endless flood the names of a very large number of men as accomplices, demanding that some be produced from all but the ends of the earth, to be accused of great crimes. He, as the contriver of too hard a task, was punished with death; and after him others were executed in flocks; then finally they came to the case of Theodorus himself, as if to the dusty arena of an Olympic contest.

[26] *Eodem die inter complura alia hoc quoque evenerat triste, quod Salia, thesaurorum paulo ante per Thracias comes, cum de vinculis educitur audiendus, et calceo inserit pedem, quasi ruina incidentis immensi terroris repente percussus, animam inter retinentium manus efflavit.*

[26] And that same day, among very many others, this sad event also happened, that Salia, shortly before master of the treasures in Thrace, when he was brought out of prison to be heard, just as he was putting his foot into his shoe, as if under the stroke of great terror suddenly falling upon him, breathed his last in the arms of those who held him.

[27] *Constituto itaque iudicio, et cognitoribus praescripta ostendantibus legum, sed ex voluntate dominantis moderantibus momenta causarum, horror pervaserat universos. Totus enim devius ab aequitate dilapsus, iamque eruditior ad laedendum, in modum harenariae ferae, si admotus quisquam fabricae diffugisset, ad ultimam rabiem saeviebat.*

[27] Well then, when the court was ready to act, while the judges called attention to the provisions of the laws, but nevertheless regulated their handling of the cases according to the wish of the ruler, terror seized upon all. For Valens had entirely swerved from the high-way of justice, and had now learned better how to hurt; so he broke out into frenzied fits of rage, like a

wild beast trained for the arena if it sees that anyone brought near to the barrier has made his escape.

[28] Inducti itaque Patricius et Hilarius, ordinemque replicare iussi gestorum, cum inter exordia variarent, fodicatis lateribus, illato tripede quo utebantur, adacti ad summas angustias, aperiunt negotii fidem, ab ipsis exordiis replicatam. Et prius Hilarius:

[28] Then Patricius and Hilarius were brought in and ordered to give a connected account of what had happened. In the beginning they were at variance with each other, but when their sides had been furrowed and the tripod which they were in the habit of using was brought in, they were driven into a corner, and gave a true account of the whole business, which they unfolded from its very beginning. First Hilarius said:

[29] ‘Construximus,’ inquit, ‘magnifici iudices, ad cortinae similitudinem Delphicae, diris auspiciis, de laureis virgulis infaustam hanc mensulam, quam videtis, et imprecationibus carminum secretorum, choragiisque multis ac diuturnis, ritualiter consecratam, movimus tandem: movendi autem quotiens super rebus arcanis consulebatur, erat institutio talis.

[29] “O most honoured judges, we constructed from laurel twigs under dire auspices this unlucky little table which you see, in the likeness of the Delphic tripod, and having duly consecrated it by secret incantations, after many long-continued rehearsals we at length made it work. Now the manner of its working, whenever it was consulted about hidden matters, was as follows.

[30] Collocabatur in medio domus, emaculatae odoribus Arabicis undique, lance rotunda pure superposita, ex diversis metallicis materiis fabrefacta. Cuius in ambitu rotunditatis extremo, elementorum viginti quattuor scriptiles formae incisae perite, diiungebantur spatiis examine dimensis.

[30] It was placed in the middle of a house purified thoroughly with Arabic perfumes; on it was placed a perfectly round plate made of various metallic substances. Around its outer rim the written forms of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet were skilfully engraved, separated from one another by carefully measured spaces.

[31] Ac linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatusque itidem linteis soccis, torulo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felicitis arboris gestans, litato conceptis carminibus numine, praescitorum auctore, caerimoniali scientia supersistit cortinulae sacerdos pensilem anulum librans, aptum ex Carphathio filo perquam levi, mysticis disciplinis initiatum: qui per intervalla distincta, retinentibus singulis litteris, incidens saltuatim, heroes efficit versus, interrogationibus consonos, ad numeros et modos plene conclusos, quales leguntur Pythici vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum.

[31] Then a man clad in linen garments, shod also in linen sandals and having a fillet wound about his head, carrying twigs from a tree of good omen, after propitiating in a set formula the divine power from whom predictions come, having full knowledge of the ceremonial, stood over the tripod as priest and set swinging a hanging ring fitted to a very fine linen thread and consecrated with mystic arts. This ring, passing over the designated intervals in a series of jumps, and falling upon this and that letter which detained it, made hexameters corresponding with the questions and completely finished in feet and rhythm, like the Pythian verses which we read, or those given out from the oracles of the Branchidae.

[32] Ibi turn quaerentibus nobis, ‘qui praesenti succedet imperio’?, quoniam omni parte expolitus fore memorabatur, et assiliens anulus, duas perstrinxerat syllabas θεο cum adiectione litterae posterae, exclamavit praesentium quidam, Theodorum praescribente fatali necessitate portendi. Nec ultra super negotio est exploratum: satis enim apud nos constabat hunc esse qui poscebatur.’

[32] When we then and there inquired, ‘what man will succeed the present emperor’?, since it was said that he would be perfect in every particular, and the ring leaped forward and lightly touched the two syllables θεο, adding the next letter, then one of those present cried out that by the decision of inevitable fate Theodorus was meant. And there was no further investigation of the matter; for it was agreed among us that he was the man who was sought.”

[33] Cumque totius rei notitiam ita signate sub oculis iudicum subiecisset, adiecit benivole id Theodorum penitus ignorare. Post haec interrogati an ex fide sortium quas agitabant, ea praescierint quae sustinerent, versus illos notissimos ediderunt clare pronuntiantes capitalem eis hanc operam scrutandi sublimiora cito futuram; nihilo minus tamen ipsi quoque cum cognitoribus principi caedis incendiaque flatantes, furias imminere; quorum tres ponere sufficiet ultimos: οὐ μὰν νηποινὶ γε σὸν ἔσσεται αἶμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τισιφὼν βαρὺμηνις ἐφοπλίσσει κακὸν οἶτον ἐν πεδίοισι μίμαντος ἀγαιομένειο ἄρηος. Quibus lectis, unguibus male mulcati, separantur exanimés.

[33] And when Hilarius had laid the knowledge of the whole matter so clearly before the eyes of the judges, he kindly added that Theodorus was completely ignorant of what was done. After this, being asked whether they had, from belief in the oracles which they practised, known beforehand what they were now suffering, they uttered those familiar verses which clearly announced that this work of inquiring into the superhuman would soon be fatal to them, but that nevertheless the Furies, breathing out death and fire, threatened also the emperor himself and his judges. Of these verses it will suffice to quote the last three:”Avenged will be your blood. Against them too
Tisiphonê’s deep wrath arms evil fate,
While Ares rages on the plain of Mimas.

“When these verses had been read, both were terribly torn by the hooks of the torturers and taken away senseless.

[34] Postea ut cogitati sceleris officina pateret aperte, honoratorum inducitur globus, vertex ipsos continens rerum. Cumque nihil praeter se quisque cernens, ruinam suam impelleret super alium, permissa quaesitorum coeptans dicere Theodorus, primo in precem venialem prostratus, dein artius respondere compulsus, ostendit se cognita per Euserium, ne ad imperatorem referret, ut conatus est aliquotiens, ab eo prohibitum, asserente, non appetitu regni occupandi illicito, sed ratione quadam indeclinabilis fati, id quod sperabatur ultro venturum.

[34] Later, in order wholly to lay bare this factory of the crimes that had been meditated, a group of distinguished men was led in, comprising the very heads of the undertaking. But since each one had regard for nothing but himself, and tried to shift his ruin to another, by permission of the inquisitors Theodorus began to speak; at first lying prostrate in a humble prayer for pardon, but then, when compelled to talk more to the point, he declared that he had learned of the affair through Euserius and tried more than once to report it to the emperor, but was prevented by his informant, who assured him that no illicit attempt to usurp the throne, but some inevitable will of fate, would realize their hopes without effort on their part.

[35] Deinde haec eadem Euserio sub cruenta quaestione confesso, confutabant Theodorum litterae suae, per ambagis obliquas ad Hilarium scriptae, quibus spe iam firma concepta ex vatibus, de re non cunctabatur, sed tempus patrandae cupidinis quaeritabat.

[35] Then Euserius, under bloody torture, made the same confession, but Theodorus was convicted by a letter of his own written in ambiguous and tortuous language to Hilarius, in which he did not hesitate about the matter, but only sought an opportunity to attain his desire, having already a strong confidence begotten from the soothsayers.

[36] Quibus post haec cognita sequestratis, Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tune obtinens potestate, ut factionis conscius arcessitus in crimen, abscessit innocuus, Pasiphilo eximente philosopho, qui ut eum mendacio iniusto perverteret, crudeliter tortus, de statu robustae mentis non potuit deturbari.

[36] When these had been removed after this information, Eutropius, then governing Asia with proconsular authority, was summoned on the charge of complicity in the plot. But he escaped without harm, saved by the philosopher Pasiphilus, who, although cruelly tortured to induce him to bring about the ruin of Eutropius through a false charge, could not be turned from the firmness of a steadfast mind.

[37] His accessit philosophus Simonides, adulescens ille quidem, verum nostra

memoria severissimus. Qui cum audisse negotium per Fidustium deferretur, et causam non ex veritate sed ex unius nutu pensari vidisset, didicisse se dixit praedicta, sed commissa pro firmitate animi tacuisse.

[37] There was, besides these, the philosopher Simonides, a young man, it is true, but of anyone within our memory the strictest in his principles. When he was charged with having heard of the affair through Fidustius and saw that the trial depended, not on the truth, but on the nod of one man, he said that he had learned of the predictions, but as a man of firm purpose he kept the secret which had been confided to him.

[38] Quis omnibus perspicaciter inquisitis, imperator cognitorum consultationi respondens, sub uno proloquio cunctos iubet occidi, et vix sine animorum horrore funestum spectaculum multitudine innumera contuente, et onerante questibus caelum (namque singulorum mala omnium esse communia credebantur), ducti universi flebiliter iugulantur praeter Simonidem, quem solum saevus ille sententiae lator, efferatus ob constantiam gravem, iusserat flammis exuri.

[38] After all these matters had been examined with sharp eye, the emperor, in answer to the question put by the judges, under one decree ordered the execution of all of the accused; and in the presence of a vast throng, who could hardly look upon the dreadful sight without inward shuddering and burdening the air with laments — for the woes of individuals were regarded as common to all — they were all led away and wretchedly strangled except Simonides; him alone that cruel author of the verdict, maddened by his steadfast firmness, had ordered to be burned alive.

[39] Qui vitam ut dominam fugitans ravidam, ridens subitas momentorum ruinas, immobilis conflagravit, Peregrinum ilium imitatus (Protea cognomine) philosophum clarum, qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiae quinquennali certamine sub Graeciae conspectu totius, escenso rogo quem ipse construxit, flammis absumptus est.

[39] Simonides, however, ready to escape from life as from a cruel tyrant, and laughing at the sudden disasters of human destiny, stood unmoved amid the flames; imitating that celebrated philosopher Peregrinus, surnamed Proteus, who, when he had determined to depart from life, at the quinquennial Olympic festival, in the sight of all Greece, mounted a funeral pyre which he himself had constructed and was consumed by the flames.

[40] Et post hunc diebus secutis, omnium fere ordinum multitudo, quam nominatim recensere est arduum, in plagas calumniarum coniecta, percussorum dexteris fatigavit, tormentis et plumbo et verberibus ante debilitata, sumptumque est de quibusdam sine spiramento vel mora supplicium, dum quaeritur an sumi deberet, et ut pecudum ubique trucidatio

cernebatur.

[40] And after him, in the days that followed, a throng of men of almost all ranks, whom it would be difficult to enumerate by name, involved in the snares of calumny, wearied the arms of the executioners after being first crippled by rack, lead, and scourge. Some were punished without breathing-space or delay, while inquiry was being made whether they deserved punishment; everywhere the scene was like a slaughtering of cattle.

[41] Deinde congesti innumeri codices, et acervi voluminum multi, sub conspectu iudicum concremati sunt, ex domibus eruti variis ut illiciti, ad leniendam caesorum invidiam, cum essent plerique liberalium disciplinarum indices variarum et iuris.

[41] Then, innumerable writings and many heaps of volumes were hauled out from various houses and under the eyes of the judges were burned in heaps as being unlawful, to allay the indignation at the executions, although the greater number were treatises on the liberal arts and on jurisprudence.

[42] Neque ita multo post Maximus ille philosophus, vir ingenti nomine doctrinarum, cuius ex uberrimis sermonibus ad scientiam copiosus Iulianus exstitit imperator, oraculi supra dicti versus audisse insimulatus, seque comperisse assensus, sed reticenda professionis consideratione non effudisse, verum ultro praedixisse consultores ipsos suppliciis poenalibus perituros, Ephesum ad genuinam patriam ductus, ibique capite truncatus, sensit docente periculo postremo quaesitoris iniquitatem omnibus esse criminibus graviolem.

[42] And not so very long afterward that famous philosopher Maximus, a man with a great reputation for learning, through whose rich discourses Julian stood out as an emperor well stored as regards knowledge, was alleged to have heard the verses of the aforesaid oracle. And he admitted that he had learnt of them, but out of regard for his philosophical principles had not divulged secrets, although he had volunteered the prediction that the consultors of the future would themselves perish by capital punishment. Thereupon he was taken to his native city of Ephesus and there beheaded; and taught by his final danger he came to know that the injustice of a judge was more formidable than any accusation.

[43] Constrictus etiam Diogenes laqueis impiae falsitatis, vir nobili prosapia editus, ingenio facundia forti suavitateque praestans, dudum Bithyniae rector, ut opimum patrimonium eius diriperetur, capitali est poena affectus.

[43] Diogenes also was entangled in the snares of an impious falsehood. He was a man born of noble stock, eminent for his talent, his fearless eloquence, and his charm; he was a former governor of Bithynia, but was now punished with death in order that his rich patrimony might be plundered.

[44] Ecce autem Alypius quoque, ex vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo iucundae, post otiosam et repositam vitam (quoniam huc usque iniustitia tetenderat manus) in squalore maximo volutatus, ut veneficus reus citatus est, cum Hierocle filio, adulescente indolis bonae, urgente Diogene quodam et vili et solo, omnique laniena excruciate, ut verba placentia principi, vel potius accersitori, loqueretur: quo cum poenis non sufficerent membra, vivo exusto, ipse quoque Alypius post multationem bonorum exsulare praeceptus, filium miserabiliter ductum ad mortem casu quodam prospero revocatum excepit. Multi in Oriente veneficiorum et aliorum criminum rei delati, damnatique, pars iure, pars inuria iugulantur. Per id omne tempus, Palladius ille, coagulum omnium aerumnarum, quem captum a Fortunatiano docuimus primum, ipsa sortis infinitate ad omnia praeceps, clades alias super alias cumulando, lacrimis universa perfuderat luctuosis.

[44] Lo! even Alypius also, former vice-governor of Britain, a man amiable and gentle, after living in leisure and retirement — since even as far as this had injustice stretched her hand — was made to wallow in utmost wretchedness; he was accused with his son Hierocles, a young man of good character, as guilty of magic, on the sole evidence of a certain Diogenes, a man of low origin, who was tortured with every degree of butchery, to lead him to give testimony agreeable to the emperor, or rather to the instigator of the charge. Diogenes, when not enough of his body was left for torture, was burned alive; Alypius himself also, after confiscation of his goods, was condemned to exile, but recovered his son, who was already being led to a wretched death, but by a lucky chance was reprieved. Many in the Orient, accused of magic and other crimes and condemned, are put to death, some justly, others unjustly. During all this time, the notorious Palladius, the fomentor of all these troubles, who, as we said at first, was taken in custody by Fortunatianus, being by the very lowness of his condition ready to plunge into anything, by heaping disaster on disaster, had drenched the whole empire with grief and tears.

[2] Nanctus enim copiam nominandi, sine fortunarum distantia, quos voluisset, ut artibus interdictis imbutos, ita ut ferarum occulta vestigia doctus observare venator, multos intra casses lugubres includebat, quosdam veneficiorum notitia pollutos, alios ut appetitoribus imminuendae conscios maiestatis.

[2] For having gained leave to name all whom he desired, without distinction of fortune, as dabbling in forbidden practices, like a hunter skilled in observing the secret tracks of wild beasts, he entangled many persons in his lamentable nets, some of them on the ground of having stained themselves with the knowledge of magic, others as accomplices of those who were aiming at treason.

[3] Et ne vel coniugibus maritorum vacaret miserias flere, immittebantur confestim qui signatis domibus inter scrutinia suppellectilis patris addicti, incantamenta quaedam anilia vel ludibriosa subderent amatoria, ad insontium

perniciem concinnata: quibus in iudicio recitatis, ubi non lex non religio, non aequitas veritatem a mendaciis dirimebat, indefensi bonis ablatis, nullo contacti delicto, promiscue iuvenes alique, membris omnibus capti, ad supplicia sellis gestatoriis ducebantur.

[3] And in order that even wives should have no time to weep over the misfortunes of their husbands, men were immediately sent to put the seal on the houses, and during the examination of the furniture of the householder who had been condemned, to introduce privily old-wives' incantations or unbecoming love-potions, contrived for the ruin of innocent people. And when these were read in a court where there was no law or scruple or justice to distinguish truth from falsehood, without opportunity for defence young and old without discrimination were robbed of their goods and, although they were found stained by no fault, after being maimed in all their limbs were carried off in litters to execution.

[4] Inde effectum est per orientales provincias, ut a dominis metu similium exurerentur libraria omnia: tantus universos invaserat terror. Namque ut pressius loquar, omnes ea tempestate velut in Cimмериis tenebris reptabamus, paria convivis Siculi Dionysii pavitantes, qui cum epulis omni tristioribus fame saginarentur, ex summis domorum laqueariis, in quibus discumbebant, saetis nexos equinis, et occipitiis incumbentes, gladios perhorrebant.

[4] As a result, throughout the oriental provinces owners of books, through fear of a like fate, burned their entire libraries; so great was the terror that had seized upon all. Indeed, to speak briefly, at that time we all crept about as if in Cimmerian darkness, feeling the same fears as the guests of the Sicilian Dionysius, who, while filled to repletion with banquets more terrible than any possible hunger, saw with a shudder the swords hanging over their heads from the ceilings of the rooms in which they reclined and held only by single horsehairs.

[5] tunc et Bassianus, praeclaro genere natus, notarius militans inter primos, quas praeoscere altiora conatus, licet ipse de qualitate partus uxoris consuluisse firmaret, ambizioso necessitudinum studio, quibus tegebatur, morte ereptus, patrimonio opimo exutus est.

[5] At that time Bassianus also, one of a most illustrious family and serving as a secretary of the first class, was accused of trying to gain foreknowledge of higher power, although he himself declared that he had merely inquired about the sex of a child which his wife expected; but by the urgent efforts of the kinsfolk by whom he was defended, he was saved from death; but he was stripped of his rich patrimony.

[6] Inter fragores tot ruinarum Heliodorus, tartareus ille malorum omnium cum Palladio fabricator, mathematicus (ut memorat vulgus) colloquiis ex aula regia

praepigneratus abstrusis, iam funebres aculeos exsertabat, omni humanitatis invitamento ad prodenda quae sciret vel fingeret, laccessitus.

[6] Amid the crash of so many ruins Heliodorus, that hellish contriver with Palladius of all evils, being a mathematician (in the parlance of the vulgar) and pledged by secret instructions from the imperial court, after he had been cajoled by every enticement of kindness to induce him to reveal what he knew or could invent, now put forth his deadly stings.

[7] Nam et sollicitius cibo mundissimo fovebatur, et ad largiendum paelicibus, merebat aes collaticium grave, et incedebat passim ac late, os circumferens vultuosum, omnibusque formidatum, ea fiducia sublatur, quod ad lupanar, quo (sicut ipse voluit), liberius versabatur, cubiculariis officiis praepositus, assidue propalam ventitabat, elogia parentis publici praeferebat, futura pluribus luctuosa.

[7] For he was most solicitously pampered with the choicest foods, and earned a great amount of contributed money for presents to his concubines; and so he strode about anywhere and everywhere, displaying his grim face, which struck fear into all. And his assurance was the greater because, in his capacity as chamberlain, he constantly and openly visited the women's apartments, to which, as he himself desired, he freely resorted, displaying the warrants of the Father of his People, which were to be a cause of grief to many.

[8] Per quae eum (ut forensium causarum patronum) quid in primis orationis partibus collocaret, ut proficere possit facilius et valere, quibusve figurarum commentis, splendida loca attemptare debeat praemonebat.

[8] And through these warrants Heliodorus instructed Palladius (as though he were an advocate in public law-suits) what to put at the beginning of his speech, in order the more easily to make it effective and strong, or with which figures of rhetoric he ought to aim at brilliant passages.

[9] Et quoniam longum est narrare omnia quae cruciarius ille conflavit, hoc unum edisseram, quam praecipiti confidentia patriciatus columina ipsa pulsavit. Qui ex clandestinis (ut dictum est) regiorum confabulationibus immaniter arrogans, et ipsa vilitate ad facinus omne venalis, egregium illud par consulum, Eusebium et Hypatium (germanos fratres) Constanti principis quondam affines, ad cupidinem altioris fortunae erectos et consuluisse et agitasse quaedam super imperio detulit, addens itineri ad mendacium fecte constructo, quod Eusebio etiam principalia indumenta parata sint.

[9] And since it would be a long story to tell all this gallows-bird contrived, I will recount this one case, showing with what audacious confidence he smote the very pillars of the patriciate. For made enormously insolent by secret conferences with people of the court, as has been said, and through his very worthlessness easy to be hired to commit any and every crime, he accused that

admirable pair of consuls, the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius (connections by marriage of the late emperor Constantius) of having aspired to a desire for a higher fortune, and of having made inquiries and formed plans about the sovereignty; and he added to the path which he had falsely devised for his fabrication that royal robes had even been made ready for Eusebius.

[10] Quibus haustis averter, fremebundus et minax, cui nihil licere debuerat, quia omnia sibi licere etiam iniusta existimabat, irremisse ab extremis regionum intervallis exhibitis omnibus, quos solutus legibus accusator perducere debere profunda securitate mandaratur, suscipi quaestionem criminose praecepit.

[10] Eagerly drinking this in, the menacing madman, to whom nothing ought to have been permitted, since he thought that everything, even what was unjust, was allowed him, inexorably summoned from the farthest boundaries of the empire all those whom the accuser, exempt from the laws, with profound assurance had insisted ought to be brought before him, and ordered a calumnious trial to be set on foot.

[11] Cumque nodosis coartationibus aequitate diu calcata, et nexibili asseveratione perditum nebulonis durante, nullam confessionem exprimere tormenta graviora potuissent, ablegatosque ab omni huius modi conscientia ipsa viros ostenderent claros, calumniator quidem ita ut antea honorabiliter colebatur, illi vero exilio et pecuniariis afflictis dispendiis, paulo postea reddita sibi multa, sunt revocati, dignitatibus integris et splendore.

[11] And when in much-knotted bonds of constriction justice had long been trodden down and tied tightly, and the wretched scoundrel persisted in his strings of assertions, severe tortures could force no confession, but showed that these distinguished men were far removed even from any knowledge of anything of the kind. Nevertheless, the calumniator was as highly honoured as before, while the accused were punished with exile and with fines; but shortly afterwards they were recalled, had their fines remitted, and were restored to their former rank and honour unimpaired.

[12] Nec tamen post haec tam paenitenda repressius actum est vel pudenter, non reputante alta nimium potestate, quod recte institutis ne cum inimicorum quidem incommodis in delicta convenit ruere voluntaria, nihilque sit tam deforme quam ad ardua imperii supercilia etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungi.

[12] Yet after these so lamentable events Valens acted with no more restraint or shame; since excessive power does not reflect that it is unworthy for men of right principles, even to the disadvantage of their enemies, willingly to plunge into crime, and that nothing is so ugly as for a cruel nature to be joined to lofty pride of power.

[13] Sed Heliodoro (incertum morbo an quadam excogitata vi) mortuo (nolim dicere ‘sero’ : utinam nec ipsa res loqueretur!) funus eius per vespillones elatum, pullati praecedere honorati complures, inter quos et fratres iussi sunt consulares.

[13] But when Heliodorus died (whether naturally or through some deliberate violence is uncertain; I would rather not say “too late”: I only wish that even the facts did not speak to that effect!) his body was carried out by the undertakers, and many men of rank, clad in mourning, were ordered to precede it, including the brothers who had been consuls.

[14] Ibi tune rectoris imperil caries tota stoliditatis apertius est profanata, qui cum abstinere inconsolabili malo rogaretur obnix, inflexibilis mansit, ut videretur aures occlusisse ceris (quasi scopulos Sirenios transgressurus).

[14] Thereby the entire rottenness of the folly of the empire’s ruler was then completely revealed; for although he was earnestly besought to refrain from this inexcusable insult, yet he remained so inflexible that he seemed to have stopped his ears with wax, as if he were going to pass the rocks of the Sirens.

[15] Superatus tamen precibus destinatis, tandem nudatis capitibus, infaustam bustuarii libitinam ad usque sepulcrum incedentes et pedibus, quosdam etiam complicatis articulis, praeire mandavit. Horret mens reminisci, quo iustitio humilitati tot rerum apices visebantur, et praecipue consulares, post scipiones et trabeas et fastorum monumenta mundana.

[15] At last, however, he yielded to insistent prayers, and ordered that some persons should precede the ill-omened bier of the body-snatcher to the tomb, marching with bare heads and feet, some also with folded hands. My mind shrinks from recalling, during that suspension of justice, how many men of the highest rank, especially exconsuls, after having carried the staves of honour and worn purple robes, and having their names made known to all the world 10 in the Roman calendar, were seen exposed to humiliation.

[16] Inter quos omnes ab adulescentia virtutum pulchritudine commendabilis, noster Hypatius praeminebat, vir quieti placidique consilii, honestatem lenium morum velut ad perpendicularum librans, qui et maiorum claritudini gloriae fuit, et ipse posteritatem mirandis actibus praefecturae geminae decoravit.

[16] Conspicuous among all of these was our Hypatius, a man recommended from his youth by noble virtues, of quiet and calm discretion, and of a nobility and gentleness measured as it were by the plumb-line; he conferred honour on the fame of his ancestors and himself gave glory to posterity by the admirable acts of his two prefectures.

[17] Accesserat hoc quoque eodem tempore ad Valentis ceteras laudes, quod cum in aliis ita saeviret infeste, ut poenarum maiores aeger ferret finiri cum

morte dolores, Numerium tribunum, malitia quendam exsuperantem, eisdem diebus convictum, confessumque quod exsecto vivae mulieris ventre, atque intempestivo partu extracto, infernis manibus excitis, de permutatione imperii consulere ausus est, familiaritatis contuitu, ordine omni mussante, abire iussit, inlaesum, salutem et invidendas opes et militiae statum integrum retenturum.

[17] At the time Valens added this also to the rest of his glories, that while in other instances he was so savagely cruel as to grieve that the great pain of his punishments could not continue after death, yet he spared the tribune Numerius, a man of surpassing wickedness! This man was convicted at that same time on his own confession of having dared to cut open the womb of a living woman and take out her unripe offspring, in order to evoke the ghosts of the dead and consult them about a change of rulers; yet Valens, who looked on him with the eye of an intimate friend, in spite of the murmurs of the whole Senate gave orders that he should escape unpunished, and retain his life, his enviable wealth, and his military rank unimpaired.

[18] O praeclara informatio doctrinarum, munere caelesti indulta felicibus, quae vel vitiosas naturas saepe excoluisti! Quanta in illa caligine temporum correxisses, si Valenti scire per te licuisset, nihil aliud esse imperium, ut sapientes definiunt, nisi curam salutis alienae, bonique esse moderatoris, restringere potestatem, resistere cupiditati omnium rerum, et implacabilibus iracundiis, nosseque (ut Caesar dictator aiebat) miserum esse instrumentum senectuti recordationem crudelitatis, ideoque de vita et spiritu hominis, qui pars mundi est et animantium numerum complet, laturum sententiam diu multumque oportere cunctari, nec praecipiti studio, ubi irrevocabile factum est, agitari, ut exemplum est illud antiquitati admodum notum.

[18] O noble system of wisdom, by heaven's gift bestowed upon the fortunate, thou who hast often ennobled even sinful natures! How much wouldst thou have corrected in those dark days, if it had been permitted Valens to learn through you that royal power — as the philosophers declare — is nothing else than the care for others' welfare; that it is the duty of a good ruler to restrain his power, to resist unbounded desire and implacable anger, and to know — as the dictator Caesar used to say — that the recollection of cruelty is a wretched support for old age. And therefore, if he is going to pass judgment affecting the life and breath of a human being, who forms a part of the world and completes the number of living things, he ought to hesitate long and greatly and not be carried away by headlong passion to a point where what is done cannot be undone; of which we have a very well-known instance in olden times.

[19] Apud proconsulem Asiae Dolabellam Smyrnaea mulier subolem propriam et maritum venenis necasse confessa, quod filium e matrimonio priore susceptum occiderint, et comperendinata cum consilium, ad quod res ex more delata est, anceps, quid inter ultionem et scelus statui debeat, haesitaret, ad

Areopagitas missa est (Athenienses iudices tristiores), quorum aequitas deorum quoque iurgia dicitur distinxisse. Hi causa cognita centesimo post anno cum accusatore mulierem adesse iusserunt, ne aut absolverent veneficam, aut ultrix necessitudinum puniretur. Ita numquam tardum existimatur, quod est omnium ultimum.

[19] A woman of Smyrna confessed before Dolabella, the proconsul of Asia, that she had poisoned her husband and her own son by him, because (as she said) she had discovered that they had killed her son by a former marriage; but she was ordered to appear again two days later. Since the council, to which according to custom the matter was referred, uncertain what distinction ought to be made between revenge and crime, hesitated to decide, she was sent before the Areopagites, those strict judges at Athens, whose justice is said to have decided disputes even among the gods. They, after having considered the case, ordered the woman to appear before them with her accuser a hundred years later, since they did not wish either to acquit a poisoner or punish an avenger of her kindred; for that is never thought late which is the last of all things.

[20] Post commissa iniquitatibus variis ante dicta, et impressas foede corporibus liberis, quae supervixerant, notas, inconivus Iustitiae oculus, arbiter et vindex perpetuus rerum vigilavit attente. Namque caesorum ultimae dirae, perpetuum numen ratione querellarum iustissima commoventes, Bellonae accenderant faces, ut fides oraculi firmaretur, quod nihil impune praedixerat perpetrari.

[20] After these various deeds of injustice which have already been mentioned, and the marks of torture shamefully branded upon the bodies of such free men as bad survived, the never-closing eye of Justice, the eternal witness and avenger of all things, was watchfully attentive. For the last curses of the murdered, moving the eternal godhead through the just ground of their complaints, had kindled the firebrands of Bellona; so that the truth of the oracle was confirmed, which had predicted that no crimes would go unpunished.

[21] Dum haec quae supra digesta sunt Antiochiae Parthico fragore cessante, per intestinas dilatantur aerumnas, coetus furiarum horrificus, post convolutos multiplices casus, ab eadem urbe digressus, cervicibus Asiae totius insedit hoc modo.

[21] While these events, which have just been described, during the cessation of the Parthian storm were being spread abroad at Antioch in the form of internal troubles, the awful band of the Furies, after making a rolling flood of manifold disasters, left that city and settled on the shoulders of all Asia, in the following way.

[22] Festinus quidam Tridentinus ultimi sanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus, ut sodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fati, ad orientem transgressus est, ibique administrata Syria magisterioque memoriae peracto, bona lenitudinis et reverentiae reliquit exempla, unde regere Asiam proconsulari potestate exorsus, velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam.

[22] A certain Festinus of Tridentum, a man of the lowest and most obscure parentage, was admitted by Maximinus even into the ties of affection which true brothers show, for he had been his boon companion and with him had assumed the manly gown. By decree of the fates this man passed over to the Orient, and there in the administration of Syria, and after serving as master of the rolls, he left behind him praiseworthy examples of mildness and of respect for law; and when later he was advanced to the governorship of Asia with proconsular authority, he sailed to glory with a fair wind, as the saying is.

[23] Audiens autem Maximinum optimo cuique exitialem, obtrecebat subinde actibus eius, ut perniciosus et foedis. Sed cum impie peremptorum exsequiis suffragantibus, ad praefecturam venisse hominem comperisset immeritum, exarsit ad agenda sperandaque similia, et histrionis ritu mutata repente persona, studio nocendi concepto, incedebat oculis intentis ac diris, praefecturam autumans affore prope diem, si ipse quoque se contaminasset insontium poenis.

[23] But hearing that Maximinus planned to wipe out all decent men, from that time on he decried his actions as dangerous and shameful. But when he learned that Maximinus, merely through the recommendation of the deaths of those whom he had impiously slain, had attained the honour of prefect contrary to his deserts, he was aroused to similar deeds and hopes. Like an actor, suddenly changing his mask, he conceived the desire of doing harm and stalked about with intent and cruel eyes, imagining that the prefecture would soon be his if he also should have stained himself with the punishment of the innocent.

[24] Et quamquam sint multa et varia, quae (ut levius interpretemur) egit asperrime: pauca tamen dici sufficiet, quae sunt nota ac pervulgata, ad aemulationem eorum commissa, quae facta sunt Romae. Ratio enim eadem est ubique recte secusve gestorum, etiam si magnitudo sit dissimilis rerum.

[24] And although many of the various acts which he committed were very harsh, to express it mildly, yet it will suffice to mention a few which are familiar and generally known, and done in emulation of those which had taken place in Rome. For the principle of good or bad deeds is the same everywhere, even if the greatness of the situation is not the same.

[25] Philosophum quendam Coeranum, haut exilis meriti virum, ea causa

tormentorum immanitate invictum occidit, quod ad coniugem suam familiariter scribens, id sermone addiderat Graeco: σὺ δὲ νόει καὶ στέφε τὴν πύλην, quod dici proverbialiter solet, ut audiens altius aliquid agendum agnoscat.

[25] He executed a philosopher called Coeranius, a man of no slight merit, after he had resisted tortures of savage cruelty, because in a letter to his wife of a personal nature he had added in Greek: “But do you take note and crown the house door,” which is a common proverbial expression, used in order that the hearer may know that something of greater importance than usual is to be done.

[26] Anum quandam simplicem intervallatis febribus mederi leni carmine consuetam, occidit ut noxiam, postquam filiam suam ipso conscio curavit adscita.

[26] There was a simple-minded old woman who was in the habit of curing intermittent fevers with a harmless charm. He caused her to be put to death as a criminal, after she had been called in with his own knowledge and had treated his daughter.

[27] In chartis cuiusdam municipis clari, scrutari ex negotio iussis, genitura Valentis cuiusdam inventa est, repellensque calumnias is cuius intererat, cum obiectaretur ei quam ob rem constellationem principis collegisset, fratrem suum fuisse Valentem, dudumque obisse, documentorum plena fide monstrare pollicitus, inexpectato veritatis indicio, laniatis lateribus, trucidatus est.

[27] Among the papers of a distinguished townsman, of which an examination had been ordered for some business reason, the horoscope of a certain Valens was found; when the person concerned was asked why he had cast the nativity of the emperor, he defended himself against the false charge by saying that he had had a brother named Valens, and that he had died long ago. He promised to show this by proofs of full credibility, but they did not wait for the truth to be discovered, and he was tortured and butchered.

[28] Visus adulescens in balneis admovere marmori manus utriusque digitos alternatim et pectori, septemque vocales litteras numerasse, ad stomachi remedium prodesse id arbitratus: in iudicium tractus, percussus est gladio post tormenta. In Occidentis tractibus varia Valentinani Aug. saevitiae et efferatae crudelitatis exempla. Hic et mihi vertenti stilum in Gallias, confunditur ordo seriesque gestorum, inter multa et saeva Maximinum reperiens iam praefectum, qui potestate late diffusa, scaevum imperatori accesserat incentivum, maiestati fortunae miscenti licentiam gravem. Quisquis igitur dicta considerat, perpendat etiam cetera, quae tacentur, veniam daturus, ut prudens, si non cuncta complectimur, quae consiliorum pravitas crimina in maius exaggerando commisit.

[28] In the bath a young man was seen to touch alternately with the fingers of either hand first the marble and then his breast, and to count the seven vowels, thinking it a helpful remedy for a stomach trouble. He was haled into court, tortured and beheaded. Various instances of the ferocity and savage cruelty of Valentinianus Augustus in the western regions. At this point, as I turn my pen to Gaul, the order and series of events is a turmoil, since we find Maximus, who is now prefect, in the midst of many cruel deeds; for being in possession of extensive power, he was added as an ill-omened incentive to the emperor, who united with the majesty of his position unendurable tyranny. Therefore, whoever ponders what I have told, should also carefully weigh the rest which are passed over in silence; and, like a reasonable person, he will pardon me for not including everything which deliberate wickedness committed by exaggerating the importance of the charges.

[2] *Adullescente enim acerbitate, rationum inimica rectorum, trux suapte ingenio Valentinianus, post eiusdem Maximini adventum, nec meliora monente ullo nec retentante, per asperos actus velut aestu quodam fluctuum ferebatur et procellarum, adeo ut irascentis saepe vox et vultus et incessus mutaretur et color. Quam rem indicia varia testantur et certa, e quibus pauca sufficiet poni.*

[2] For Valentinian, who was naturally savage, as bitterness (which is a foe to righteous conduct) increased in him after the coming of the aforesaid Maximinus, having no one to give better advice or to restrain him, was carried as if by surging waves and tempests from one cruel act to another; to such a degree that, when he was in a passion, often his voice and expression, his gait and his colour, were changed. For his cruelty we have the testimony of various sure pieces of evidence, of which it will suffice to set down a few.

[3] *Adultus quidam ex his quos paedagogianos appellant, ad observandam venaticiam praedam, Spartanum canem retinere dispositus, ante praedictum tempus absolvit, adsultu eius evadere conantis appetitus et morsu: ideoque necatus ad exitium fustibus, eadem humatus est die.*

[3] A well-grown youth of the class called pages was posted, holding in leash a Spartan hound, to watch for game at a hunt; but he let the dog loose before the designated time, because the animal in an effort to escape leaped at him in a rush and bit him; for that he was beaten to death with cudgels and buried the same day.

[4] *Praepositum fabricae oblato thorace polito faberrime, praemiumque ideo exspectantem, ea re praecepit occidi diritate pari quod pondus paulo minus habuit species ferrea, quam ille firmarat. Epiroten aliquem ritus Christiani presbyterum acceptum Octaviano ex proconsule ... offensarum auctore licet tardius ad sua remisso.*

[4] A man in charge of a smithy brought to the emperor a breastplate artistically embellished, and expected a reward for it; but Valentinian ordered him to be put to death with equal cruelty because the piece of iron armour had a little less weight than he had stipulated. An elder of the Christian faith from Epirus, who was a favourite of Octavianus, the former proconsul, . . . and the author of the charges was sent back, although somewhat tardily, to his home.

[5] Constantianus strator paucos militares equos ex his ausus mutare, ad quos probandos missus est in Sardiniam, eodem iubente lapidum ictibus oppetit crebris. Athanasius favorabilis tunc auriga, ita suspectus ei vulgari levitate, ut vivus incendi iuberetur, si quid temptasset huius modi, non multo postea veneficiis usus incessebatur; nulla delata voluptatum artificii venia, ignibus aboleri praeceptus est.

[5] Constantianus, an officer of the stable, was sent to Sardinia to test horses to be used for military service, and because he had dared to exchange a few of them, he was stoned to death by the emperor's order. Athanasius, a favourite charioteer of the day, so suspected by him for his general light-mindedness that he was ordered to be burned alive if he should try anything of the kind, not long afterward used magic arts and was charged therewith; and without indulgence being granted to a man who was an artist in entertainments, he was condemned to be burned to death.

[6] Africanus causarum in urbe defensor assiduus, post administratam provinciam, ad regendam aliam adspiravit, cuius suffragatori magistro equitum Theodosio, id petenti, subagresti verbo pius responderat imperator: 'Abi,' inquit, 'comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit': et hoc elogio perit homo disertus, ad potiora festinans, ut multi.

[6] Africanus, a busy pleader of cases at law in the city, after governing a province, aspired to the rule of another; but when Theodosius, general of the cavalry, supported him in his request, the kind emperor gave this somewhat boorish reply: "Go, general, and change his head for him, since he wants a change in his province." And by this pronouncement an eloquent man lost his life merely for hastening, like many, for advancement.

[7] Claudium et Sallustium, ex Iovianorum numero ad usque tribunatus dignitates progressos, accusabat quidam vilitate ipsa despectus, quod cum imperium Procopius affectasset, aliqua pro eo locuti sunt bona. Cumque nihil quaestiones reperirent assiduae, mandare magistris equitum auditoribus princeps, ut agerent in exilium Claudium et Sallustium pronuntiarent capitis reum, pollicitus quod eum revocabit ad supplicium raptum; hocque ita (ut statutum est) observato, nec Sallustius morte exemptus est, nec Claudius nisi post eiusdem Valentiniani obitum deportationis maestitia liberatus ... longe recusaverit, cum illi saepissime torquerentur.

[7] Claudius and Sallustius, of the Jovian legion, who had advanced as far as the rank of tribune, were accused by a fellow whose low origin in itself made him an object of contempt, on the ground that when Procopius had aspired to the imperial power they had spoken some good words for him; but although constant inquisitions revealed nothing, the emperor ordered the generals of the cavalry, who were hearing the case, to drive Claudius into exile and condemn Sallustius to death, promising to pardon the latter on his way to execution. But when this had been done according to the directions, Sallustius' life was not spared and Claudius was not freed from the sorrow of banishment until after the death of the aforesaid Valentinian . . . decidedly refused, although they were repeatedly tortured.

[8] *Replicatis igitur quaestionibus dense, et quibusdam vi nimia tormentorum absumptis, ne vestigia quidem ulla delatorum reperta sunt criminum. In hoc negotio protectores, ad exhibendas missi personas, de ... fustibus praeter solitum caesi.*

[8] Accordingly, although inquisitions followed thick and fast, and some died in consequence of excessive torture, not even a trace of the alleged crimes was found. In this business even the bodyguards who had been sent to arrest persons . . . were beaten to death with cudgels, contrary to all precedent.

[9] *Horrescit animus omnia recensere, simulque reformidat, ne ex professo quaesisse videamur in vitia principis, alia commodissimi. Illud tamen nec praeteriri est aequum nec sileri, quod cum duas haberet ursas saevas hominum ambestrices, Micam auream et Innocentiam, cultu ita curabat enixo, ut earum caveas prope cubiculum suum locaret, custodesque adderet fidos, viros sollicite, nequo casu ferarum deleretur luctificus calor. Innocentiam denique, post multas quas eius laniatu cadaverum viderat sepulturas, ut bene meritam in silvas abire dimisit innoxiam, exoptans similes edituram. ...Valentinianus A. Rhenum navali ponte transgressus, culpa militis Macrianum Alamannorum Regem incautum capere non potuit. Et haec quidem morum eius et propositi cruenti sunt documenta verissima. Sollertiae vero circa rem publicam usquam digredientis, nemo eum vel obtrectator pervicax incusabit, illud contemplans, quod maius pretium operae foret in coercendis verius limite barbaris quam pellendis. Et cum dedisset ... e speculis, siquis hostium se commovisset, desuper visus obruebatur.*

[9] My mind shrinks from enumerating all the cases, and at the same time I dread seeming to give the impression of purposely having sought out merely the defects of a prince who was a very proper man in other ways. Yet one thing it is just neither to pass over nor to leave unmentioned, namely this, that having two savage, man-eating she-bears, one called Goldflake and the other Innocence, he looked after them with such extreme care that he placed their cages near his own bedroom, and appointed trustworthy keepers, who were to take particular care that the beasts' lamentable savageness should not by any

chance be destroyed. Finally, after he had seen the burial of many corpses of those whom Innocence had torn to pieces, he allowed her to return to the forest unhurt, as a good and faithful servant, in the hope that she would have cubs like herself . . . Valentinianus Augustus crosses the Rhine on a bridge of boats, but although Macrianus, king of the Alamanni, was off his guard, he was prevented from capturing him through the fault of the soldiers. These, then, are undeniable indications of Valentinian's character and his blood-thirsty tendency. But, on the other hand, no one, not even one of his persistent detractors, will reproach him with lack of ingenuity in behalf of the state, especially if one bears in mind that it was a more valuable service to check the barbarians by frontier defences than to defeat them in battle. And when he had given . . . if any of the enemy made a move, he was seen from above from the watchtowers, and overcome.

[2] Agitabatur autem inter multiplices curas id omnium primum atque potissimum, ut Macrianum regem auctum inter mutationes crebras sententiarum, iamque in nostros adultis viribus exsurgentem, vi superstitem raperet vel insidiis, ut multo ante Vadomarium Iulianus: et praevisis quae negotium poscebat et tempus, cognitoque transfugarum indiciiis, ubi comprehendi nihil hostile operiens poterit ante dictus, tacite quantum concessit facultas, nequi conserendo officeret ponti, iunxit navibus Rhenum.

[2] But among many other cares, his first and principal aim was to capture alive by violence or by craft King Macrianus, just as, long before, Julian took Vadomarius; for Macrianus, amid the frequent changes in the policy followed towards him, had increased in power, and now was rising against our countrymen with full-grown strength. Accordingly, having first provided what the circumstances and the time demanded, and having learned from the reports of deserters where the said king, who expected no hostile move, could be seized, Valentinian threw a pontoon across the Rhine as quietly as his means allowed, lest anyone should interfere with the bridge while it was being put together.

[3] Et antegressus contra Mattiacas aquas, primus Severus, qui pedestrem curabat exercitum, perpensa militum paucitate, territus stetit, timens ne resistere nequiens, irruentium opprimeretur hostilium agminum mole.

[3] And first Severus, who commanded the infantry forces, took the lead by marching against Mattiacae Aquae; but alarmed when he considered the small number of his soldiers, he halted, fearing that he might be unable to resist the onrushing hordes of the enemy, and so might be overcome by them.

[4] Et quia suspicabatur venalia ducentes mancipia scurras, casu illic repertos, id quod viderant, excursu celeri nuntiare, cunctos mercibus direptis occidit.

[4] There he chanced to find some of the traders leading slaves intended for

sale, and because he suspected that they would quickly run off and report what they had seen, he took their wares from them and killed them all.

[5] Adventu itaque plurium copiarum animati indices, castrisque ad tempus brevissimum fixis, quia nec sarcinale iumentum quisquam nec tabernaculum habuit, praeter principem, cui tapete et sisyra suffecerant pro tentorio, parumper ob tenebras morati nocturnas, exsiliente Lucifero, urgente procinctu pergebant ulterius, itinerum gnaris ducentibus, frequenti equitatu cum Theodosio rectore praeire disposito, ne quid lateret ... tempore iaceat, extento strepitu suorum est impeditus quibus assidue mandans, ut rapinis et incendiis abstinerent, impetrare non potuit. Ignium enim crepitu dissonisque clamoribus satellites exciti, idque quod acciderat suspicati, carpento veloci impositum regem angusto aditu circumfractis collibus abdiderunt.

[5] Then the generals, encouraged by the arrival of additional troops, encamped, with a view to a very short stay, since no one had a pack-animal or a tent, except the emperor, for whom a rug and a rough blanket sufficed for such a shelter. Then, after delaying for a time on account of the darkness of night, as soon as the morning-star uprose, since the campaign called for haste, they advanced farther, led by guides who knew the roads; and a large force of cavalry was ordered to precede them under command of Theodosius, that nothing might be unobserved . . . was lying at the time; but he was prevented by the continuous noise made by his men; for although he constantly commanded them to abstain from plundering and setting fires, he could not make them obey. For the crackling flames and the dissonant shouts awakened the king's attendants, and suspecting what had happened, they placed him in a swift wagon and hid him in a narrow pass of the precipitous hills.

[6] Hac Valentinianus gloria defraudatus nec sua culpa nec ducum, sed intemperantia militis, quae dispendiis gravibus saepe rem Romanam afflixit, ad usque quinquagesimum lapidem terris hostilibus inflammatis, redit Treveros maestus.

[6] Valentinian was robbed of this glory, not by his own fault or that of his generals, but by the indiscipline of the soldiers, which has often caused the Roman state heavy losses; so, after reducing the enemy's territory to ashes for fifty miles, he returned sadly to Treves.

[7] Ubi tamquam leo ob cervum amissum vel capream morsus vacuos concrepans tum cum hostium disiecta frangeret timor, in Macriani locum Bucinobantibus, quae contra Mogontiacum gens est Alamannica, regem Fraomarium ordinavit, quem paulo postea quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Britannias translatus, potestate tribuni, Alamannorum praefecerat numero, multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti: Bitheridum vero et Hortarium (nationis eiusdem primates), item regere milites iussit, e quibus Hortarius, proditus relatione Florenti,

Germaniae ducis, contra rem publicam quaedam ad Macrianum scripsisse, barbarosque optimates, veritate tormentis expressa, conflagravit flamma poenali. Theodosius, magister equitum per Gallias, Firmum Maurum Nubelis Regulifilium, qui a Valentiniano desciverat, multis procliis atterit, ac demum eo ad voluntariam mortem compulso, pacem Africae reddit. Abhinc inter ... proximo haec narratione disseri continua placuit, ne dum negotiis longe discretis et locis alia subseruntur, cognitio multiplex necessario confundatur.

[7] There, as a lion, because he has lost a deer or a goat, gnashes his empty jaws, just when the forces of the enemy were broken and scattered by fear, in place of Macrianus he made Fraomarius king of the Bucinobantes, a tribe of the Alamanni dwelling opposite Mainz. And soon afterwards, since a recent invasion had utterly devastated that, canton, he transferred him to Britain with the rank of tribune, and gave him command of a troop of the Alamanni which at that time was distinguished for its numbers and its strength. Bitheridus, indeed, and Hortarius (chiefs of the same nation) he appointed to commands in the army; but of these Hortarius was betrayed by a report of Florentius, commander in Germany, of having written certain things to the detriment of the state to Macrianus and the chiefs of the barbarians, and after the truth was wrung from him by torture he suffered the penalty of death by burning. Theodosius, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, in many battles exhausts the Moor Firmus, son of prince Nubel, who had revolted from Valentinian, and after finally driving him to suicide restores peace to Africa. Then amid . . . it has seemed best to give an account, without a break, of what happened next, lest while, amongst matters and places widely separated, others are intruded, the survey of many varying events may inevitably be confused.

[2] Nubel velut regulus per nationes Mauricas potentissimus, vita digrediens, et legitimos et natos e concubinis reliquit filios, e quibus Zammac comiti nomine Romano acceptus, latenter a fratre Firmo peremptus, discordias excitavit et bella. Eius enim necem ulcisci, impensiore studio properans comes, ad insidiatoris perniciem multa ciebat et formidanda. Utque rumores distulerunt assidui, navabatur opera diligens in palatio, Romani quidem relationes, multa et aspera congerentes in Firmum, libenter suscipi recitarique principi, in earum favorem concinentibus multis: ea vero, quae contra Firmus salutis tuendae gratia docebat crebro per suos, accepta, diutius occultari, Remigio tunc officiorum magistro, affine amicoque Romani, inter potiores imperatoris necessitates haec velut minima et superflua, non nisi opportune legi posse adseverante.

[2] Nubel, as a petty king, had great power among the Moorish peoples; on departing from life, besides legitimate sons he left some that were the offspring of concubines. Of the latter Zammac, who was beloved by the general called Romanus, was secretly murdered by his brother Firmus, an act

which occasioned dissensions and wars. For Romanus, hastening with extreme zeal to avenge his death, resorted to many formidable means for the destruction of the assassin; and, as persistent rumours divulged, even at court vigorous measures were taken to make sure that the reports of Romanus, which heaped up many serious charges against Firmus, should be gladly received and read out to the emperor; and many voices united in supporting these reports. But, on the contrary, the arguments which Firmus through his friends frequently presented in his defence for the purpose of saving his life, although they were received, were long concealed; for Remigius, at that time marshal of the court, a relative and friend of Romanus, declared that amid the more important and pressing business of the emperor such trivial and superfluous communications could not be read until opportunity offered.

[3] Quae cum ad obruendam defensionem suam agitari adverteret Maurus, ultimum metu iam trepidans, ne amendatis, quae praetendebat, ut perniciosus et contumax indemnatus occideretur, ab imperii ditione descivit et adiumenta conquirebat vicinarum gentium ... ad vastandum ...

[3] When the Moor perceived that these things were being done to break down his defence, he was now in dread of the worst; and fearing that the rebuttal which he offered would be set aside and he would be executed without a trial as dangerous and unruly, he revolted from the rule of the empire, and sought the help of neighbouring peoples . . . for devastating . . .

[4] Ad hoc periculum antequam hostis implacabilis incrementis virium adulescerent, abolendum cum comitatensis auxilio militis pauci Theodosius magister equitum mittitur, cuius virtutes (ut impetrabilis) ea tempestate praeceteris enitebant: Domitii Corbulonis et Lusii simillimi veterum, quorum prior sub Nerone, alter Traiano rem regente Romanam pluribus inclaruere fortibus factis.

[4] To avert this danger before an implacable enemy should increase in strength, Theodosius, commander of the cavalry, was sent with the aid of a small body of the court troops, since in his merits (as a man efficient in accomplishing his ends) he surpassed all others of his time. He might well be compared with Domitius Corbulo and Lusius of old, of whom the former under Nero, the latter during Trajan's reign, were famed for many brave deeds.

[5] Proinde ab Arelate secundis egressus auspiciis, emeatoque mari cum classe, quam ductabat, nullo de se rumore praegresso, defertur ad Sitifensis Mauritaniae litus, quod appellant accolae Igilitanum. Ibique inventum casu Romanum leniter allocutus, misit ad vigilias ordinandas et praetenturas, parum super his quae verebatur increpitum.

[5] Then setting out from Arles under favourable auspices and crossing the sea

with the fleet under his command, preceded by no report of his coming he landed on the coast of Sitifian Mauritania, which the natives call Igilgilitanum. There he chanced upon Romanus, whom he addressed courteously, and sent him to take charge of the guards and frontier defences, with a very slight rebuke for the conduct which made him apprehensive.

[6] Quo ad Caesariensem digresso Gildonem Firmi fratrem et Maximum misit correpturos Vincentium, qui curans Romani vicem, incivilitatis eius erat particeps et furtorum.

[6] When Theodosius had departed to Caesarean Mauritania, he sent Gildo, the brother of Firmus, and Maximus to arrest Vincentius, who as second in command to Romanus participated in his insolence and thefts.

[7] Recepto itaque tardius milite, quem amplitudo maris morabatur, Sitifim properans, Romanum cum domesticis custodiendum, protectoribus committi mandavit, agensque in oppido sollicitudine diducebatur ancipiti, multa cum animo versans, qua via quibusve commentis, per exustas caloribus terras pruinis assuetum duceret militem, vel hostem caperet discursatorem et repentinum, insidiisque potius clandestinis, quam proeliorum stabilitate confisum.

[7] Then, after being joined by his troops somewhat tardily, since they were delayed by the long sea-voyage, he hastened to Sitifis, and gave orders that Romanus should, with his attendants, be handed over to the guard, to be kept in custody. During his stay in that town Theodosius was torn with twofold anxiety and turned over many things in his mind, considering by what way and by what devices he might lead his soldiers, who were accustomed to a cold climate, through lands parched with heat, or might capture an enemy who was a runabout, making sudden moves and trusting rather to secret ambushes than to stand-up fights.

[8] Quod ubi Firmo levi rumore, dein apertis est indiciis cognitum, spectatissimi ducis adventu praestricus, veniam cum concessione praeteritorum, missis oratoribus poscebat et scriptis, docentibus eum non sponte sua ad id erupisse, quod norat scelestum, sed Romani iniquitate grassante licentius, ut monstrare pollicebatur.

[8] When this became known to Firmus, at first through uncertain rumour and then through definite information, overcome by the arrival of so brilliant a general, he sent envoys with a letter to ask pardon and indulgence for what had happened, declaring that he had not of his own volition taken a hasty step which he knew to be criminal, but because of unjust and outrageous treatment by Romanus, as he promised to show.

[9] Quibus lectis, paceque obsidibus acceptis promissa, dux ad recensendas legiones quae Africam tuebantur, ire pergebat ad Pancharianam stationem,

quo convenire praeceptae sunt. Ibi magnificis verbis atque prudentibus specunctorum erecta, reversus Sitifim, consociato indigena milite cum eo quem ipse perduxerat, aegre perpetiens moras, ad procinctus ire ocius festinabat.

[9] When the general had read the letter, he accepted hostages and promised peace; he then proceeded to the station called Pancharia, in order to review the legions which were guarding Africa and had been bidden to assemble in that place. There he aroused the hope of all by a lofty, but discreet, address, and returned to Sitifis, where he united the native troops and those which he himself had brought; then, impatient of further delay, he hastened with all speed to open the campaign.

[10] Inter residua autem multa et clara, id amorem eius auxerat in immensum, quod a provincialibus commeatum exercitui prohibuit dari, messes et condita hostium virtutis nostrorum horrea esse, fiducia memorans speciosa.

[10] But among many other excellent measures he made himself immensely more beloved by this — that he did not allow the provincials to furnish supplies for the army, declaring with splendid confidence that the harvests and stores of the enemy were the granaries of our valorous troops.

[11] His ita cum laetitia possessorum dispositis, ad Tubusuptum progressus, oppidum Ferrato contiguum monti, legationem secundam Firmi repudiavit, quae obsides (ut ante statutum est) non duxerat secum. Unde omnibus pro loco et tempore cautius exploratis, concito gradu Tyndensium gentem et Masinissensium petit, levibus armis instructas, quas Mascizel et Dius fratres Firmi ductabant.

[11] After these arrangements had thus been made to the joy of the land-owners, he marched to Tubusuptum, a town near Mount Ferratus, but declined to receive a second deputation from Firmus, because, contrary to the previous agreement, it had brought no hostages with it. From there he carefully examined into everything, so far as present circumstances allowed, and then advanced rapidly against the peoples of the Tyndenses and the Masinissenses, who were provided only with light arms and were led by Mascizel and Dius, brothers of Firmus.

[12] Cum essent hostes iam in contuitu, membris omnibus celeres, post missilia hinc inde crebrius iacta, committitur certamen asperrimum, interque gemitus mortis et vulnorum, audiebantur barbarorum ululabiles fletus captorum et caesorum, pugnaque dirempta plures agri populati sunt et incensi.

[12] When the enemy, active in all their limbs, were in sight, a fierce battle began after volleys of missiles from both sides; amid the groans of the dying and the wounded the mournful howls of the barbarians were heard, as they were taken prisoner or killed; and when the contest was ended, many fields were plundered and burned.

[13] Inter quas clades eminere fundi Petrensis, excisi radicibus, quem Salmaces dominus (Firmi frater) in modum urbis exstruxit. Hoc successu victor elatus, mira velocitate Lamfoctense oppidum occupavit, inter gentes positum ante dictas, ubi abunde rei cibariae copiam condi effecit, ut si pergens interius alimentorum offenderet penuriam, iuberet e propinquo convectari.

[13] Among such disasters conspicuous were those to an estate called Petrensis, which its owner, Salmaces, a brother of Firmus had built up in the manner of a city, and which was utterly destroyed. The victor, elated by this success, with remarkable speed seized the town of Lamfoctum, situated among the aforesaid peoples, where he caused an abundance of provisions to be stored, so that if on penetrating farther into the country he met with a scarcity of food, he might order it to be brought from near at hand.

[14] Quae dum ita procedunt, Mascizel reparatis viribus nationum confinium adminicula ductans, conserta manu cum nostris, fuis e parte suorum compluribus, ipse equi pernecitate aegre discrimine mortis exemptus est.

[14] During the course of these events Mascizel, having recovered his strength by bringing in helpers from neighbouring tribes, engaged with our men; but when very many of his troops were routed, he himself barely escaped the danger of death through the swiftness of his horse.

[15] Fessus aerumnis gemini proelii Firmus, imoque aestuans corde, nequid ultimae rationis omitteret, Christiani ritus antistites oraturos pacem cum obsidibus misit. Qui quoniam suscepti lenius pollicitique victui congrua militibus (ut praeceptum est), laeta rettulere responsa et pacem, missis muneribus, Maurus ipse fidentius ad Romanum perrexerat ducem, equo insidens apto ad ancipitis casus, cumque prope venisset, fulgore signorum et terribili vultu Theodosi praestricus, iumento desiluit, curvataque cervice humi paene affixus, temeritatem suam flebiliter incusabat, pacem obsecrando cum venia.

[15] Firmus, weakened by the losses of two battles and chafing in his inmost heart, in order not to neglect even one last measure, sent priests of the Christian sect with hostages to beg for peace. These were received courteously and, on their promise to furnish the necessities of life for the soldiers, as was ordered, they brought back a favourable reply and peace; whereupon the Moor himself, after sending presents, went with some confidence to the Roman general, mounted upon a horse that would prove useful in times of danger; and when he had come near, dazzled by the gleaming standards and the fear-inspiring expression of Theodosius, he sprang from his mount, and with bowed neck almost prostrate on the ground blamed with tears his rashness, and begged for pardon and peace.

[16] susceptusque cum osculo, quoniam id rei publicae conducebat, bonae spei

iam plenus, sufficientia praebuit alimenta, et quibusdam propinquis suis ad obsidum vicem relictis, abscessit, captivos (ut spoponderat) redditurus, quos primis barbarum exordiis rapuit: biduoque post, Icosium oppidum, cuius supra docuimus conditores, militaria signa et coronam sacerdotalem, cum ceteris quae interceperat, nihil cunctatus restituit, ut praeceptum est.

[16] Being received with a kiss, since the interests of the state so demanded, he was now filled with joyful hope, furnished a sufficient amount of provisions, left some of his relatives by way of hostages, and went away, after agreeing to fulfil his promise and return the captives which he had taken at the very beginning of the rebellion. Two days later, without hesitation, he restored, as had been ordered, the town of Icosium, of whose founders I spoke before, the military standards, and the priestly crown, as well as the rest of the booty which he had taken.

[17] Exinde cum discursis itineribus magnis, Tipasam noster dux introiret, legatis Mazicum, qui se consociaverant Firmo, suppliciter obsecrantibus veniam, animo elato respondit, se in eos ut perfidos arma protinus commoturum.

[17] When after this our general had hurried through long marches and was now entering Tipasa, to envoys from the Mazices, who had joined with Firmus, and humbly begged for pardon, he replied with lofty spirit that he would at once take the field against them as traitors.

[18] Quibus imminentis periculi metu defixis, revertique iussis ad sua, Caesaream ire tendebat, urbem opulentam quondam et nobilem, cuius itidem originem in Africae situ digessimus plene, eamque ingressus, cum omnem paene incendiis late dispersis vidisset exustam, horridasque canitie silices, primam et secundam legionem ad tempus ibi locari disposuit, ut favillarum egerentes acervos, agitent ibi praesidium, ne repetito barbarorum impetu vastaretur.

[18] And when they, paralysed with fear of the imminent danger, had been ordered to return to their homes, he went on to Caesarea, formerly a powerful and famous city, the origin of which I have also fully discussed in my description of the topography of Africa. On entering the city, and finding it almost wholly burned down from widespread fires, and the pavingstones white with mould, he decided to station the first and second legions there for a time, with orders to clear away the heaps of ashes and keep guard there, to prevent the place from being devastated by a renewed attack of the savages.

[19] Quae cum rumores crebri distulissent et veri, provinciae rectores, tribunusque Vincentius, e latibulis quibus sese commiserant, egressi tandem intrepidi ad ducem ocius pervenerunt. Quibus ille gratanter visis atque susceptis, agens etiam tum apud Caesaream, fide rerum diligentius explorata,

comperit Firmum per speciem paventis et supplicis, tectiore consilio id moliri, ut nihil hostile metuentem exercitum in modum tempestatis subitae conturbaret.

[19] When these events had been spread abroad by frequent and trustworthy rumours, the officials of the province and the tribune Vincentius came out of the hiding-places in which they had taken refuge, and at last, free from fear, quickly appeared before the general. He, after having seen and received them gladly, being then still at Caesarea, inquired carefully about the true state of affairs; he learned that Firmus, under pretence of fear and submission, was secretly forming the plan of throwing our army into confusion, as if by a sudden tempest, while it feared no hostile demonstration.

[20] Quam ob rem conversus hinc venit ad municipium Sugabarritanum, Transcellensi monti accline, ubi inventos equites quartae sagittariorum cohortis, quae ad rebellem defecerat, ut contentum se supplicio leniori monstraret, omnes contrusit ad infimum militiae gradum, eosque et Constantianorum peditum partem Tigavias venire iusserat cum tribunis, e quibus unus torquem pro diademate capiti imposuit Firmi.

[20] Therefore he turned from there and came to the municipal town of Sugabarritanum, on the slope of the Transcellian mountain, where he found the horsemen of the fourth cohort of archers, which had gone over to the rebel; and to show that he was content with a somewhat mild punishment, he degraded them all to the lowest class of the service; then he ordered them and a part of the Constantian infantry, with their tribunes, one of whom had placed his neckchain, in place of a diadem, on Firmus' head, to come to Tigaviae.

[21] Quae dum aguntur, reverterunt Gildo et Maximus, Bellen e principibus Mazicum et Fericium gentis praefectum ducentes, qui factionem iuverant quietis publicae turbatoris ... producerent victos.

[21] While this was going on, Gildo and Maximus returned, bringing Belles, one of the chiefs of the Mazices, and Fericius, prefect of the tribe, who had aided the party of the disturber of the public peace . . .

[22] Quo ita ut statutum est facto, lucis primo exortu, ipse egressus, cum invenisset eos in exercitu circumsaepatos: 'Quid de istis nefariis' inquit 'proditoribus fieri oportere, contubernales devoti, censetis?' Secutusque acclamationem rogantium, sanguine vindicari, eos qui inter Constantianos merebant, prisco more militibus dedit occidendos, sagittariorum vero primoribus manus incidit, residuos supplicio capitali multavit, ad aemulationem Curionis, acerrimi illius ducis, qui Dardanorum ferociam, in modum Lernaee serpentis aliquotiens renascentem, hoc genere poenarum extinxit.

[22] When this had been done according to order, at daybreak he himself came

out, and finding the rebels surrounded by his army, he said: “What think you, my devoted comrades, ought to be done with these abominable traitors?” And acceding to the acclamation of those who asked that they should pay for it with their blood, he turned over those who served among the Constantiani to the soldiers, to be slain in the oldfashioned way. But he had the hands of the leaders of the archers cut off and punished the rest with death, following the example of that strictest of leaders Curio, who put an end by a punishment of that kind to the wildness of the Dardani, when, like the Lernaean hydra, they constantly gained new life.

[23] *Sed obtrectatores malivoli vetus factum laudantes, hoc ut dirum vituperant et asperrium, Dardanos hostes memorantes internecivos, et iuste quae sustinuerunt perpressos, hos vero subsignatos milites debuisse lenius corrigi, ad unum prolapsos errorem. Quos nescientes forsitan admonemus, hanc cohortem et facto fuisse et exemplo adversam.*

[23] But malevolent detractors, while praising that act of the olden time, find fault with this one as cruel and inhuman, declaring that the Dardani were murderous enemies and justly suffered the punishment which befell them, while these, on the contrary, were soldiers under the flag who had allowed themselves to commit a single fault and deserved to have been punished more leniently. But such folk we remind of what they perhaps do not know, that this cohort was harmful, not only in its action, but also in the example which it set.

[24] *Ante dictos Bellen et Fericium, quos duxerat Gildo, tribunumque sagittariorum Curandium, ea re iussit occidi, quod nec ipse umquam cum hostibus congregari voluit, nec suos ut pugnarent hortari. Agebat autem haec Tullianum illud advertens, quod ‘salutaris vigor vincit inanem speciem clementiae.’*

[24] The aforesaid Belles and Fericius, whom Gildo had brought, and Curandius, tribune of the archers, he ordered to be put to death, the last named on the ground that he never wished either to engage with the enemy himself or to encourage his men to fight. Moreover, Theodosius did this bearing in mind the saying of Cicero: “Wholesome strength is better than a vain show of mercy.”

[25] *Exin profectus, fundum nomine Gaionatis, muro circumdatum valido, receptaculum Maurorum tutissimum, arietibus admotis evertit, et caesis omnibus incolis, moenibusque complanatis, ad Tingitanum castellum progressus, per Ancorarium montem, Mazicas in unum collectos invasit, iam tela reciprocantes, volitantia grandinis ritu.*

[25] Setting out from there, he came to an estate called Gaionatis, surrounded by a strong wall and hence a very safe refuge for the Moors. Against this he brought up his battering-rams and destroyed it, killing all the inhabitants and

levelling the walls; then advancing over the Ancorarian mountain to Castellum Tingitanum, he attacked the Mazices, who were gathered together into one body and replied with missiles which came flying like hail.

[26] Et cum esset utrimque discursum, agmina viribus armisque incitata nostrorum non perferentes Mazices licet bellicosum genus et durum, diversis stragibus implicati, foedo diffluxere terrore, ruentesque in fugam, caesi sunt absque his qui reperta copia discedendi supplici prece veniam (quam dari tempus flagitaverat) impetrarunt.

[26] And after both sides had rushed in to the attack, the Mazices, though a warlike and hardy race, could not resist the columns of our men, charging with all their strength and weapons, but involved in heavy losses at various points fled in shameful terror; and as they rushed to escape all were cut down except those who found a means of getting away, and later by abject prayers obtained the pardon which circumstances made it advisable to grant.

[27] Suggen eorum ductorem ... Romano successerat, in Sitifensem Mauritaniam ire disposito, ad agitanda praesidia, ne provincia pervaderetur, ipse praeteritis elatior casibus, gentem petit Musonum, quam conscientia rapinarum et caedum actibus congregaverat Firmi, ut sperabatur maiora mox adepturi.

[27] Suggen, when their leader . . . had succeeded Romanus, was ordered to go to Mauritania Sitifensis, in order to keep guard and prevent the province from being overrun, while he himself, encouraged by past successes, marched against the tribe of the Musones, which consciousness of their deeds of plunder and blood had joined with the enterprise of Firmus, since they hoped he would soon attain greater power.

[28] Progressusque aliquantum, iuxta Addense municipium comperit, dissonas cultu et sermonum varietate, nationes plurimas unum spirantibus animis, immanium exordia concitare bellorum, adigente hortanteque maxima spe praemiorum, sorore Firmi nomine Cyria, quae abundans divitiis, et destinatione feminea, nisibus magnis instituit iuvare germanum.

[28] Having advanced some distance, near the 373 f. municipal town of Adda Theodosius learned that a great number of tribes, differing in civilization and in variety of language, but united in their purpose, were stirring up the beginnings of cruel wars, instigated and abetted through very great hope of rewards by a sister of Firmus named Cyria, who, abounding in wealth and in feminine persistence, had resolved to make great efforts to aid her brother.

[29] Quocirca Theodosius veritus, ne Marti sese committeret impari, congressusque multitudini immensae cum paucis — tria enim armatorum milia ductabat atque quingentos — amitteret universos, inter pudorem cedendi, pugnandique ardorem, gradiens retro paulatim, trudente pondere

plebis abscessit.

[29] Therefore Theodosius, fearing lest he should involve himself in an unequal contest, and if he confronted a vast horde with only a few troops — for he had under his command only 3500 armed men — might lose them all, wavered between the shame of retreat and the desire for battle; but at last he gradually withdrew and made off, with the horde pressing at his heels.

[30] Hocque eventu barbari nimium quantum elati, sequentesque pertinaciter ... certare necessitate compulsus semet ipsum et ad internecionem perdidit cunctos, ni gentium turbulenta concussio, procul Mazicum visis auxiliis, quos anteibant quidam Romani, arbitrata in se impetum agminum ferri complurium, versa in pedes aperuisset nostris exitus antehac intersaeptos.

[30] The foe, tremendously elated by this success, followed persistently . . . so that he found it necessary to fight; but he himself would have been killed and his army utterly annihilated, had not the enemy, attacking in disorder, seen afar off the auxiliaries of the Mazices, in the van of which were some Romans; so thinking that they were attacked by many columns, they turned in flight and opened to our men ways of escape which before had been blocked.

[31] Exinde cum militem ducens incolumem Theodosius ad fundum venisset nomine Mazucanum, exustis desertoribus paucis, aliisque ad sagittariorum exemplum, quibus manus ademptae sunt, contruncatis, Tipasam mense Februario venit.

[31] From there, leading his army safe and sound, Theodosius came to an estate called Mazucanus, where he burned a few deserters alive and mutilated the rest as he had the archers whose hands were cut off; and in the month of February he reached Tipasa.

[32] Ubi diutius agens, ut antiquus ille Cunctator pro negotio consultabat, commentis potius et prudentia quam periculosis congressibus, hostem pugnacem et impetrabilem iactu telorum, si fors copiam dederit, oppressurus.

[32] There he made a long halt, and after the manner of the famous Lingerer of old took counsel with himself as the circumstances demanded, planning, if chance gave the opportunity, rather through strategy and discretion than by the danger of battle, to overthrow an enemy who was pugnacious and effective in the use of missiles.

[33] Mittebat tamen assidue suadendi quosdam peritos, ad gentes circumscitas, Baiuras Cantaurianos Avastomates Cafaves Davaresque et finitimos alios, nunc timore nunc praemiis eos ad societatem alliciens, veniamque petulantiae interdum promittendo cum ... t ulterius per ambages et moras hostem frangentem suos impetus oppressurus, ut quondam Pompeius Mithridatem.

[33] Nevertheless he constantly sent men experienced in persuasion to the

surrounding tribes, the Baiurae, Cantauriani, Avastomates, Cafaves, Bavares, and other neighbours, to entice them to an alliance, now by fear, now by bribes, and sometimes by promising pardon for their impudence with . . . intending by subterfuges and delays to overcome an enemy who foiled his attacks, as Pompey once vanquished Mithridates.

[34] Qua causa declinans perniciem proximam Firmus, licet praesidiorum magnitudine communitus, relicta plebe, quam coegerat magna mercede, quoniam latendi copiam nocturna quies dedit, Caprarienses montes longe remotos penetravit, et disruptis rupibus inaccessos.

[34] Therefore Firmus, to avoid imminent destruction, although he was protected by a strong body of troops, abandoned the army which he had got together at great expense; and when the quiet of night gave him the opportunity of concealment, he made his way into the far distant Caprariensian mountains, which are inaccessible because of their steep crags.

[35] Cuius abitu clandestine multitudo dispersa sine rectore particulatimque diffuens, invadendi eius castra nostris copiam dedit. Hisque direptis, et interfectis qui resistebant, vel in deditionem acceptis, regionum maxima parte vastata, gentibus per quas transibat dux consultissimus apposuit fidei compertae praefectos.

[35] In consequence of his secret departure his army scattered and roamed about in small bands without a leader, thus giving our men the opportunity of invading their camp. After this was plundered and those who resisted were killed or received in surrender, the greater part of the country was devastated and our prudent leader put prefects of tried fidelity in charge of the peoples through whose country he was marching.

[36] Hac inopina sequendi confidentia territus perduellis, servis comitantibus paucis, digressu celeri consulturus saluti, nequo praepediretur obstaculo, abiecit pretiosarum sarcinas specierum, quas avexerat secum. Uxorem namque fessam labore continuo et per ancipitis di ...

[36] The public enemy, terrified by this unexpected confidence of the pursuit, quickly departed, accompanied by a few slaves, in order to provide for his safety; and to prevent being impeded by any hindrance, he threw away packs containing valuable articles which he had carried off with him. For his wife, worn out by continual hardships and by dangers . . .

[37] Theodosius nullique adeuntium parcens, muniore victu stipendioque milite recreato, Caprariensibus Abannisque eorum vicinis proelio levi sublati, ad municipium properavit ... ense: sed veris nuntiis doctus, barbaros occupasse iam tumulos, per anfracta undique spatia in sublime porrectos, nullique pervios nisi indigenis locorum perquam gnaris, repedando dedit hostibus facultatem, per indutias (licet breves) Aethiopum iuxta agentium

adminiculis augeri vel maximis.

[37] Theodosius, sparing none of the enemy who came near, after refreshing his soldiers with better food and their pay, as well as disposing of the Caprarienses and their neighbours the Abanni in a slight skirmish, hastened to the municipal town of Audia. But having learned from trustworthy sources that the savages had already taken possession of hills which extended upwards in all directions in winding masses, and could be penetrated by no one except natives who were thoroughly acquainted with the locality, he retreated and thereby during the cessation of hostilities, brief though it was, gave the enemy an opportunity of being strengthened by very numerous auxiliaries from the Aethiopians who dwelt near by.

[38] Qui concatervatis copiis fremituque minaci, sine sui respectu ruentes in pugnam, averterunt eum inaestimabilem turmarum specie dira perterrefactum, statimque redintegratis animis, commeatus vehens abunde, revertit, et conglobatis suis scutaque in formidabilem moventibus gestum, controversas eisdem opposuit manus.

[38] When the foe, with united forces and threatening uproar, taking no thought for their own lives, rushed to battle, they drove off Theodosius in great terror at the fearful sight of their countless throngs. But he took courage and at once returned, bringing an abundance of provisions, and with his men in close order and brandishing their shields in a terrifying posture, met the enemy hand to hand.

[39] Quamquam igitur immite quiddam barbaricis concrepantibus tubis, manipuli furentium imminebant, ipsi quoque parmas genibus illidentes, tamen ut pugnator ille cautus et prudens, militis paucitate diffusus, audacter agmine quadrato incedens, ad civitatem nomine Contensem flexit iter intrepidus, ubi captivos nostros Firmus ut in munimento abstruso locarat et celso; cunctisque receptis, in proditores satellitesque memorati animadvertit acriter (ut solebat).

[39] Then, although the bands of raging savages, blaring some ferocious tune on their barbaric trumpets and also clashing their bucklers against their knees, were close upon him, nevertheless, like a careful and discreet warrior, though distrusting the small number of his men, he formed a hollow square and then advanced boldly. Then he fearlessly turned aside to a city called Conta, where Firmus, since it was a concealed and lofty fortress, had placed those of our men whom he had captured. But Theodosius recovered them all, and severely punished the traitors and the attendants of Firmus, as was his custom.

[40] Hoc ei magni numinis adiumento gerenti prosperrime, verus indicat explorator confugisse ad Isaffensium populum Firmum: ad quem reprecendum una cum fratre Mazuca, ceterisque necessitudinibus illuc ingressus, cum adipisci non posset, genti bellum indixit.

[40] While he was thus most successful, with the aid of the mighty godhead, a trustworthy scout informed him that Firmus had fled to the Isafilenses; whereupon he invaded their lands, to demand the traitor as well as his brother Mazuca and the rest of his kinsfolk; and when his demand was refused, he declared war upon that race.

[41] Et proelio atroci commisso, ferocientibus barbaris ultra modum, aciem rotundo habitu figuratam opponit, adeoque Isafilenses pondere catervarum urgentium inclinati sunt, ut plurimi caderent, et ipse Firmus ferox et saepe in suam perniciem praeceps equo auferretur in fugam, per saxa et rupes discurrere citius assueto, Mazuca vero frater eius caperetur letaliter saucius.

[41] A fierce battle followed, since the savages were uncommonly ferocious; but he opposed his army to them in circular formation and the Isafilenses were so overcome by the weight of the onrushing troops that many of them were slain. Firmus himself, after fighting bravely and often risking his life, was carried off in headlong flight by his horse, which was accustomed to run swiftly over rocks and crags; but his brother Mazuca was fatally wounded and taken prisoner.

[42] Qui Caesaream mitti dispositus, ubi saeva inusserat monumenta facinorum pessimorum, dilatato vulneris hiatu discessit. Caput tamen eius avulsum residue integro corpore, cum magno visentium gaudio urbi illatum est ante dictae.

[42] Theodosius gave orders to send Mazuca to Caesarea, a city on which the Moor had branded the savage marks of his evil deeds; but he tore open his wound and died. However, his head was torn off, leaving the rest of his body intact, and to the great joy of all who saw it was brought into the aforesaid city.

[43] Post haec Isafilensium gentem, quae obstitit, superatam dux nobilis incommodis multis (ut aequitas poscebat) afflixit. Ibi Evasium potentem municipem, Florumque eius filium, et quosdam alios per secretiora consilia temeratorem quietis iuvisse confutatos aperte, flammis absumpsit.

[43] After this our famous general overcame the race of the Isafilenses, who still resisted, and, as justice demanded, inflicted many vexatious penalties upon them. There Evasius, an important citizen, Florus his son, and some others, who were clearly convicted of having aided the violator of peace by secret counsel, were burned alive.

[44] Exindeque pergens interius, nationem Iubalenam spiritu aggressus ingenti, ubi natum Nubelem patrem didicerat Firmi, repulsus altitudine montium et flexuosis angustiiis, stetit. Et quamlibet facto in hostem impetu pluribusque peremptis aperuerit viam, formidans tamen sublimia collium ad insidiandum aptissima, ducens suos incolumes, revertit ad Audiense castellum: ubi

Iesalensium gens fera semet deditit voluntaria, auxilia praestare spondens et commeatus.

[44] Then Theodosius marched farther into the country, and with great courage attacked the tribe of the Iubaleni, to which he had learned that Nubel, the father of Firmus, belonged; but he was brought to a halt by the high mountains and the circuitous passes; and although he attacked the enemy and after killing many of them opened a way, yet dreading the high hills, so well adapted to ambuscades, he led his men back in safety to the fortress of Audia. There the wild race of the Iesalenses voluntarily surrendered, promising to furnish aid and provisions.

[45] His et eius modi gloriosis actibus exsultans amplissimus ductor, ipsum otii turbatorem petebat valido virium nisu, ideoque prope munimentum nomine Medianum diu consistens, per multas prudentesque sententiarum vias eundem sibi prodi posse sperabat.

[45] The mighty leader, exulting in these and similar glorious actions, then went in quest of the disturber of peace himself with a mighty effort of strength. To that end he made a long halt near the castle of Medianum, hoping that through many carefully devised plans Firmus might be betrayed into his hands.

[46] Haecque cogitationibus anxiis, altioreque prospiciens cura, rursus ad Isafenses hostem comperit revertisse; quos nihil moratus, ut antea, agminibus adoritur incitatis. Cui rex Igmazen nomine spectatus per eos tractus opibusque insignis, progressus obviam confidenter: 'Cuius loci es tu' inquit 'vel quid acturus huc venisti? responde.' Quem Theodosius fundata mente intuens torvum: 'Comes,' ait, 'Valentiniani sum (orbis terrarum domini) ad opprimendum latronem funereum missus; quem nisi statim reddideris, ut invictus statuit imperator, peribis funditus cum gente quam regis.' Quo audito Igmazen post convicia multa, quae congeffit in ducem, ira doloreque percussus abscessit.

[46] While he was looking forward to this with perplexed thoughts and deep care, he found that his enemy had returned to the Isafenses; whereupon he did not delay, as before, but attacked them with all the speed he could. Their king, Igmazen by name, who was highly regarded in those parts and notable for his resources, boldly came forward to meet him. "What is your rank," said he, "or what have you come here to do? Tell me." Theodosius, with stern glance and resolute mind, replied: "I am the general of Valentinian, lord of the world, sent to destroy a murderous robber. Unless you give him up at once, as the invincible emperor has ordered, you will perish utterly with the race over which you rule." On hearing this, Igmazen, after heaping a flood of abuse upon the general, departed, full of wrath and resentment.

[47] Et secutae principio lucis, utrimque occursurae sibi ad confligendum processerunt acies minacissimae, et barbarorum viginti paene milia in ipsis locata sunt frontibus, occultatis pone terga subsidialibus globis, ut assurgentes paulatim nostros multitudine clauderent insperata: hisque Iesalenses auxiliares accessere quam plures, quos adiumenta et commeatus nostris docuimus promississe.

[47] At the first appearance of the following daylight both armies, with threatening mien, advanced to meet each other in battle. Nearly 20,000 savages were stationed in the very van, with bands of reserves concealed behind them, in order that they might gradually rise up and surround our men with their unexpected numbers. Besides these there were a great many auxiliaries from the Iesalenses, who, as we have pointed out, had promised help and provisions to our side.

[48] Contra Romani, quamvis admodum pauci, tamen fortibus animis, victoriisque antegressis elati, densetis lateribus, scutisque in testudinis formam cohaerenter aptatis, restiterunt gradibus fixis, et a sole orto usque ad diei extimum pugna protenta, paulo ante vesperam visus est Firmus, equo celsiori insidens, sago puniceo porrectius panso, milites clamoribus magnis hortari, ut dedant Theodosium opportune, truculentum eum appellans et dirum, et suppliciorum saevum repertorem, si discriminibus eximi vellent, quae perferebant.

[48] On the other hand, the Romans, although very few in number, nevertheless brave in spirit and encouraged by their former victories, pressed side to side in close order and with shields closely held together in the tortoise-formation, stood fast and resisted them; and the battle was continued from sunrise to the end of the day. A little before evening Firmus was seen, mounted on a tall horse, his purple cloak trailing out and spreading wide, urging our soldiers with loud shouts to take advantage of the opportunity and give up Theodosius, if they wished to be saved from the dangers to which they were exposed, calling him a fierce savage and a cruel deviser of inhuman punishments.

[49] Hae insperatae voces ad dimicandum quosdam acius incitarunt, alios deserere proelium illexerunt. Proinde ubi noctis advenit quies prima, partibus tenebrarum obvolutis horrore, dux reversus ad Duodiense castellum, militesque recognoscens, eos quos a pugnandi proposito pavor et verba detorserant Firmi, diverso genere poenarum exstinxit: alios adeptis dexteris quosdam vivos combustos.

[49] These unexpected words roused some to fight more fiercely but induced others to abandon the battle. Accordingly, when the first quiet of night came, and the landscape was wrapped in fear-inspiring darkness, the general returned to the stronghold of Duodia, and, reviewing his soldiers, rid himself by various forms of punishment of those whom panic and the words of Firmus

had turned from their duty in the battle; some had their right hands cut off, others were burned alive.

[50] Excubiasque agens cura pervigili, barbarorum aliquos ausos, cum apparere non possent, post occasum lunae castra sua temptare effudit, vel irruentes audentius capit. Digressus exinde passibus citis, Iesalenses ut ambiguae fidei per tramites adortus obliquos undere parum sperari potuit) ad penuriam vastavit extremam, perque Caesariensis Mauritaniae oppida reversus Sitifim, Castorem et Martinianum rapinarum flagitiorumque Romani participes, ad interitum tortos incendit.

[50] And keeping watch by night with most vigilant care, he repulsed some of the barbarians who ventured to make an attempt on his camp after the setting of the moon, when they thought they could not be seen, or took prisoners those who rushed in too boldly. Then departing by quick marches and following by-paths, he attacked the Iesalenses from a quarter where they could least expect it, believing them to be of doubtful loyalty, and so devastated their lands that they were reduced to dire need; then he returned by way of the towns of Mauritania Caesariensis to Sitifis, where he tortured to the verge of death and then burned alive Castor and Martinianus, as sharers in the robberies and atrocities of Romanus.

[51] Redintegratur post haec cum Isafilensibus bellum, primoque conflictu barbarorum pluribus pulsus et interfectis, rex eorum Igmazen, vincere antehac assuetus, terrore fluctuans mali praesentis, nihilque commerciis vetitis ad vitam spei sibi restare, si obstinatius egerit, arbitratus, quantum caute fieri potuit et occulte, prorupit ex acie solus, visumque Theodosium suppliciter petit, ut Masillam Mazicum optatam ad se venire iuberet.

[51] After this the war with the Isafilenses was renewed; and when in the first engagement great numbers of the savages were put to flight or killed, their king Igmazen, who had before been accustomed to victory, wavering through fear of the present danger, and thinking that because of his unlawful associations no hope of life was left him if he made obstinate resistance, rushed forth alone and with all possible caution and secrecy from the scene of the battle. When he came into the presence of Theodosius, he humbly begged that the general would order Masilla, a chief of the Mazices, to appear before him.

[52] Per quem (ut rogaverat) missum, clandestinis colloquiis monuit, ducem suoapte ingenio pertinacem, ut ad praebendam sibi copiam agendi quae vellet, popularibus suis acriter immineret, eosque assiduitate pugnandi mutaret in metum, promptos quidem ad perduellis favorem sed iacturis multiplicibus fessos.

[52] When Masilla had been sent to Theodosius, as he had asked, the king

through him, in a secret interview, urged the general, who by his own nature was inclined to resolution, that in order to provide himself with the means of accomplishing his desires, he should vigorously assail his fellow-countrymen, and by constant fighting reduce them to fear; he said that they were indeed inclined to favour the public enemy, but were wearied by their many losses.

[53] Paruit Theodosius dictis, et crebritate certaminum Isafilenses ita protrivit, ut eisdem labentibus pecudum ritu, Firmus ipse latenter evaderet, et aviis et diuturnis latebris amandandus, inibi dum de fuga consultat, tentus ab Igmazene custodiretur.

[53] Theodosius did as he was advised, and so wore out the Isafilenses by frequent contests, that they were falling like cattle; and Firmus himself secretly escaped, intending to hide in remote and lasting retreats; but while he was there planning flight, he was taken prisoner by Igmazen and kept in custody.

[54] Et quoniam obscurius gesta didicerat per Masillam, in extremis rebus unum remedium superesse contemplans, calcare vivendi cupiditatem voluntaria statuit morte: vinoque consulto distentis et crapulatis, silenti nocte oppressis altiore somno custodibus, pervigil ipse impendentis aerumnae terrore, insonis gradibus relicto cubili, manibus repens et pedibus, longius sese discrevit, repertumque funiculum, quem ad finiendae vitae paraverat casus, de clavo parieti affixo suspendit, ubi collo inserto, animam absque mortis cruciabilibus exhalavit.

[54] And since he had learned through Masilla of the secret negotiations, he saw that in his extremity only one remedy was left, and decided by a voluntary death to spurn with his foot the desire to live. Accordingly, having purposely filled his guards with wine and made them drunk, and in the silence of the night they were buried in sound sleep, he himself, kept awake by fear of the trouble which hung over him, with noiseless steps left his bed, by creeping on hands and knees got himself some distance off, and finding a rope which he had procured for the calamity of ending his life, he hung it from a nail fastened in the wall, and putting his neck in it breathed his last without the torments of a painful death.

[55] Quod dolenter ferens Igmazen, ereptamque sibi gloriam gemens, quia non contigerat ad castra Romana vivum ducere perduellem, interposita fide publica per Masillam, ipse camelo necati cadaver impositum ferens, cum tentoria exercitus adventaret, ad Subicarensse castellum locata, in iumentum transtulit sarcinale, et Theodosio obtulit exultanti.

[55] This event troubled Igmazen, who lamented that he had been robbed of glory, in not having had the good fortune of bringing the usurper alive to the Roman camp. Therefore, after gaining a public pledge of safety through

Masilla he placed the corpse of the dead man on his camel to bring it in; and on reaching the tents of the army, which were pitched near the fortress of Subicara, he transferred the body to a pack-animal and himself offered it to the exultant Theodosius.

[56] Qui convocatis armatis simul atque plebeiis, interrogatisque an agnoscerent vultum, cum eiusdem esse sine ulla didicisset ambage, ibi paulisper moratus, Sitifim triumphanti similis redit, aetatum ordinumque omnium celebrabili favore susceptus. Quadi, nefaria Gabinii regis sui caede incitati, Pannonias et Valeriam igni et ferro cum Sarmatis vastant, et legiones duas paene totas delent. De Claudii praefectura urbana. Dum hoc pulvere per Mauritaniam dux ante dictus anhelat et Africam, Quadorum natio mota est diu inexcita repentino, parum nunc formidanda, sed immensum quantum antehac bellatrix et potens, ut indicant properata quondam raptim proclivia, obsessaque ab eisdem Marcomannisque Aquileia, Opitergiumque excisum, et cruenta complura perceleri acta procinctu, vix resistente perruptis Alpibus Iuliis principe Pio, quem ante docuimus, Marco. Et erat (ut barbaris) ratio iusta querellarum.

[56] The latter called together his soldiers and with them the populace, and asked them whether they recognized the features; and when he had learned beyond any doubt that it was the face of Firmus, after a brief stay there he returned to Sitifis in the guise of a triumphing general, where he was received with applause and commendation by all, of every age and rank. The Quadi, aroused by the ruthless murder of their king Gabinius, with the Sarmatians lay waste Pannonia and Valeria with fire and sword, and almost wholly destroyed two legions. Of the city prefecture of Claudius. While the said general was panting through this dust of Mars throughout Mauritania and Africa, the Quadi, who had long been quiet, were suddenly aroused to an outbreak; they are a nation now not greatly to be feared, but were formerly immensely warlike and powerful, as is shown by their swift and sudden swoops in former times, their siege of Aquileia in company with the Marcomanni, the destruction of Opitergium, and many other bloody deeds performed in rapid campaigns; so that when they broke through the Julian Alps, the emperor Marcus Pius, of whom we have previously written, could with difficulty check them. And, for savages, they had a just cause of complaint.

[2] Valentinianus enim studio muniendorum limitum glorioso quidem sed nimio, ab ipso principatus initio flagrans, trans flumen Histrum in ipsis Quadorum terris quasi Romano iuri iam vindicatis, aedificari praesidiaria castra mandavit: quod accolae ferentes indigne, suique cautiores, legatione tenus interim et susurris arcebant.

[2] For Valentinian from the very beginning of his reign burned with a desire of protecting his frontiers, which was indeed praiseworthy, but carried too far; for he ordered the building of a garrison-camp across the Danube in the very

territories of the Quadi, as if they were already claimed for Roman rule. The natives, being indignant at this and cautious for their own interests, tried to prevent them for a time merely by a deputation and by whispered complaints.

[3] Sed Maximinus in omne avidus nefas, et genuinos mitigare nequiens flatus, quibus praefecturae accesserat tumor, increpabat Aequitium, per Illyricum eo tempore magistrum armorum, ut pervicacem et desidem, necdum opere, quod maturari dispositum est, consummate: addebatque ut consulens in commune, quod, si parvo suo Marcelliano deferretur potestas per Valeriam ducis, munimentum absque ulla causatione consurgeret.

[3] But Maximinus, being prone to every kind of wickedness and unable to control his native arrogance, which was swollen still more by his prefecture, upbraided Aequitius, who was at the time commander of the cavalry in Illyricum, as rebellious and slothful in not yet having finished the work the earlier construction of which had been arranged; and he added, as if having regard for the general welfare, that if the rank of general in Valeria were given to his own son Marcellianus, the fortification would rise without any excuses.

[4] Utrumque mox est impetratum. Qui promotus profectusque cum venisset ad loca, intempestive turgens ut filius, nullis affatibus delentis his quos numquam temptatae cupiditatis figmenta regionum suarum faciebant extorres, opus paulo ante inchoatum aggreditur, admissa copia refragandi suspensum.

[4] Both objects were presently attained. When the newly appointed general had set out and had reached the spot, with unreasonable arrogance, as was to be expected of the son of such a father, without any words to soothe those whom the dreams of a design never actually carried out was driving from their country, he took up the work which had been begun a short time before, but was suspended because of the opportunity given for protesting.

[5] Denique Gabinium regem, nequid novaretur modeste poscentem, ut assensurus humanitate simulata cum aliis ad convivium corrogavit, quem digredientem post epulas, hospitalis officii sanctitate nefarie violata, trucidari securum fecit.

[5] Finally, when king Gabinius mildly asked that no new step should be taken, he pretended that he would assent, and with feigned kindness invited the king with others to a banquet. But as Gabinius was departing after the feast and suspected no treachery, Marcellianus, with abominable violation of the sacred duties of hospitality, had him murdered.

[6] Cuius rei tam atrocis disseminatus rumor ilico per diversa et Quados et gentes circumsit as effervit, regisque flentes interitum, in unum coactas misere vastatorias manus, quae Danubium transgressae, cum nihil exspectaretur hostile, occupatam circa messem agrestem, adortae sunt plebem, maioreque parte truncata, quicquid superfuit, domum cum multitudine varii

pecoris abduxerunt.

[6] The report of so atrocious a deed at once spread abroad on all sides and roused the Quadi and the tribes round about them to madness. Weeping for the death of the king, they mustered and sent out devastating bands, which crossed the Danube while no hostility was anticipated, and fell upon the country people, who were busy with their harvest; most of them they killed, the survivors they led home as prisoners, along with a quantity of all kinds of domestic animals.

[7] *Evenisset profecto tunc inexpiabile scelus, numerandum inter probrosas rei Romanae iacturas; paulo enim afuit, quin filia caperetur Constanti, cibum sumens in publica villa, quam appellant Pistrensem, cum duceretur Gratiano nuptura, ni favore propitii numinis, praesens Messalla, provinciae rector, eam iudiciali carpento impositam, ad Sirmium vicensimo sexto lapide disparatam, cursu reduxisset effuso.*

[7] Surely at that time an irreparable crime would have been committed, to be numbered among the shameful disasters of Roman history; for the daughter of Constantius, when being conducted to marry Gratianus, was very nearly captured while she was taking food in a public villa called *Pistensis*, but (by the favour of the propitious godhead) Messalla, the governor of the province, was at hand and placed her in a state-carriage and took her in all haste back to Sirmium, twenty-six miles away.

[8] *Hoc casu prospero regia virgine periculo miserae servitutis exempta, cuius ni potuisset impetrari redemptio captae, magnas inuississet rei publicae clades, latius se cum Sarmatis Quadi pandentes, ad raptus et latrocinia gentes aptissimae, praedas hominum virile et muliebre secus agebant et pecorum, villarum cineribus exustarum, caesorumque incolentium exsultantes aerumnis, quos necopinantes sine ulla parsimonia deleverunt.*

[8] After the princess was saved by this fortunate chance from the danger of wretched slavery, which, if it had been impossible to ransom the captive, would have branded the state with the greatest disaster, the Quadi, in company with the Sarmatians, ranged more widely; and being peoples most skilled in rapine and brigandage, they drove off as booty human beings of both sexes as well as cattle, exulting in the ashes of burned farmhouses and the sufferings of the slain inhabitants, whom they took by surprise and destroyed without any mercy.

[9] *Per omnia itaque propinqua malorum similium dispersa formidine, praefectus praetorio agens tunc apud Sirmium Probus, nullis bellorum terroribus assuetus, rerum novarum lugubri visu praestriatus, oculosque vix attollens, haerebat, diu quid capesseret ambigens: et cum, paratis velocibus equis, noctem proximam destinasset in fugam, monitus tutiore consilio,*

mansit immobilis.

[9] So, when the dread of similar evils spread over the whole . neighbouring country, Probus, the praetorian prefect, then at Sirmium, being accustomed to no horrors of war and so overcome by the sorrowful and unusual sights that he barely raised his eyes, hesitated for a long time in doubt what action to take. And after he had equipped swift horses and determined on flight the next night, he thought of a safer plan and remained where he was.

[10] *Didicerat enim omnes secuturos confestim, qui moenibus claudebantur, tegendos latebris opportunis: quod si contigisset, impropugnata civitas venisset in manus hostiles.*

[10] For he had learnt that all those who were shut up within the walls would at once follow him, in order to take refuge in convenient hiding-places; and that if this should happen, the city, being without defenders, would fall into the hands of the enemy.

[11] *Proinde parumper lenito pavore, ad arripienda quae urgebant acri nisu adsurgens, retersit obrutas ruderibus fossas, murorumque maximam partem, pacis diuturnitate contemptam et subversam, ad usque celsarum turrium minas expedit, studio aedificandi coalitus: hac ratione opere velociter absolute, quod impensas aedificandi causa theatri, dudum congestas, sufficientis ad id quod efficere maturabat, invenit. Atque huic spectato consilio salutare addidit aliud, et sagittariorum cohortem e statione proxima, adfuturam obsidio (si venisset), accivit.*

[11] Therefore, soon calming his fear, he roused himself with vigorous effort to meet the urgent situation. He cleared out the moats, which were choked with rubbish, and being naturally inclined to building, since the walls through long-continued peace had in great part been neglected and had fallen, he raised them even to the completion of pinnacles of lofty towers. And the work was quickly finished, because he found that the materials which had long since been collected for the purpose of building a theatre were sufficient for what he was hastening to accomplish. Also to this excellent plan he added another equally useful by summoning a cohort of bowmen from the nearest station, to aid them in a siege, if one should come.

[12] *His velut obicibus, barbari ab oppugnanda urbe depulsi, parum ad has calliditates dimicandi sollertes, sarcinisque impediti praedarum, ad Aequitii vertuntur indaginem. Et cum ad Valeriae spatia longe remota secessisse raptorum didicissent indicii, illuc properato petierant gradu, frendentes, hacque ex causa iugulo eius intenti, quod per ipsum circumventum regem existimabant insontem.*

[12] By these stumbling-blocks (so to speak) the barbarians were turned from attacking the city, having little skill in such refinements of warfare as well as

being impeded by their packs of booty, and turned to the pursuit of Aequitins. And when they learned from the information of prisoners that he had gone to the remote spaces of Valeria, they quickly made their way thither, grinding their teeth and bent upon cutting his throat for this reason — that they believed that it was he who had brought their guiltless king to destruction.

[13] Quibus cognitis, cursu ruenti, infestius obviam legiones motae sunt duae, Pannonica et Moesiaca, valida proeliis manus: quae si conspirasset, abierat procul dubio victrix. Sed dum discretim grassatores adoriri festinant, ortis inter se discordiis impediti, de honore certabant et dignitate.

[13] When this became known, at headlong speed two legions were sent to meet them in battle, the Pannonica and the Moesiaca, a strong combination for fighting, which, if they had acted in harmony, would undoubtedly have come off victorious. But while they were hastening to attack the bands of plunderers separately, they were made ineffective by quarrels that broke out between them, and contended for honour and prestige.

[14] Quo intellecto, Sarmatae sagacissimi, non expectato certandi signo sollemni, Moesiacam primam incessunt, dumque militias arma tardius per tumultum expediuntur, interfectis plurimis, aucti fiducia aciem perrupere Pannonicam, disiectaque agminis mole, geminatis ictibus omnem paene delessent, ni periculo mortis aliquos citum extraxisset effugium.

[14] When the Sarmatians, who were very keen-witted, learned of this, without waiting for the usual signal for battle, they attacked the Moesiaca first; and while the soldiers were somewhat slow in getting their arms ready because of the confusion, they killed a great number of them, and then with increased confidence broke through the line of the Pannonica. They thus threw the whole army into disorder, and with repeated attacks would almost have annihilated it, had not speedy flight saved some from the danger of death.

[15] Inter haec fortunae dispendia tristioris, dux Moesiae Theodosius iunior, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus, Sarmatas Liberos ad discretionem servorum rebellium appellatos, collimitia nostra, ex alio latere invadentes, aliquotiens expulit et afflixit, congressibus densis attritos, adeoque obsistentes fortissime turbas confluentes oppressit, ut caesorum plurium alites iusta sagina satiaret et feras.

[15] At the time of these losses due to a harsher fortune, Theodosius the younger, general in Moesia, a young man whose beard was then only just beginning to appear, afterwards a most glorious emperor, wore out by frequent engagements, drove back and defeated the Free Sarmatians (so called to distinguish them from their rebellious slaves) who were invading our territories from the other side, crushing them in densely packed conflicts; and so thoroughly did he overwhelm the hordes which converged in floods and

resisted most bravely, that he sated the birds and beasts of prey with a veritable feast of many slain.

[16] Unde residui, tumore iam deflagrante, metuentes ne idem dux virtutis (ut apparuit) expeditae, in primo finium aditu, incursantes cuneos sterneret aut fugaret, vel insidias per silvarum locaret occulta, post multos perrumpendi conatus subinde temptatos in cassum, abiecta pugnandi fiducia, concessionem petivere praeteritorum et veniam, victique ad tempus, indultae foederibus pacis nihil egere contrarium, eo maxime timore perculsi, quod ad tutelam Illyrici Gallicani militis validum accesserat robur.

[16] Therefore, the remainder, their arrogance now cooling down, feared lest the same leader, a man of ready valour (as was evident), on his first entrance into their territories should lay low or put to flight the invading hordes, or should lay ambushes for them in the dark woods; so, after making many vain attempts from time to time to break through, they lost their confidence for battle and begged for indulgence and pardon for the past. And after being thus conquered for the time, they did nothing in violation of the conditions of the peace that was granted them, being especially struck with fear because a strong force of Gallic troops had been added to the defence of Illyricum.

[17] Dum haec tot ac talia per turbines agitantur assiduos, Claudio regente urbem aeternam, Tiberis qui media intersecans moenia, cloacis et fluviis abundantibus multis, Tyrreno mari miscetur, effusione imbrum exuberans nimia, et supra amnis speciem pansus, omnia paene contextit.

[17] At the time when these storms, so many and so terrible, were causing constant disturbances, while Claudius was governing the Eternal City, the Tiber, which cuts through the midst of our walled town and, with many drains and streams pouring into it, mingles with the Tyrrenian Sea, was swollen by an excessive rainfall, and extending beyond the appearance of a river, covered almost the whole place.

[18] Et stagnantibus civitatis residuis membris, quae tenduntur in planitiem molliorem, montes soli et quicquid insularum celsius eminebat, a praesenti metu defendebatur: et ne multi inedia contabescerent, undarum magnitudine nusquam progredi permittente, lembis et scaphis copia suggerebatur abunde ciborum. At vero ubi tempestas mollivit, et flumen retinaculis ruptis redit ad solitum cursum, absterso metu nihil postea molestius expectabatur.

[18] While all the remaining quarters of the city, which extend down to a gentler level, were under water, the mountains alone, and such buildings as were especially high, were protected from present danger. And since the height of the waters prevented movement anywhere on foot, a supply of food was furnished in abundance by boats and skiffs, for fear that many people might starve to death. But, in fact, when the stormy weather moderated, and

the river, which had broken its bonds, returned to its usual course, all fear was dispelled and no further trouble was looked for.

[19] Hic ipse praefectus egit admodum quiete, nullam seditionem super querella iusta peressus, et instauravit vetera plurima. Inter quae porticum excitavit ingentem, lavacro Agrippae contiguam, Eventus Boni cognominatam ea re quod huius numinis prope visitur templum.

[19] This prefect himself passed his term of office in complete quiet, allowing no public discord over and above reasonable remonstrance ; and he restored many old buildings. Among others he built a huge colonnade near the Baths of Agrippa and called it the Portico of Good Outcome, because there is a temple to that deity to be seen near by

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LIBER XXX — BOOK XXX

[1] Papa, rex Armeniorum evocatus a Valente, et Tarsi specie obsequiorum custoditus, cum trecentis popularibus fugit, et frustratus viarum observatores, equis regnum repetit, nec multo post a Traiano duce in convivio interficitur. Inter has turbarum difficultates, quas perfidia ducis rege Quadorum excitavit occiso per scelus, dirum in Oriente committitur facinus, Papa Armeniorum rege clandestinis insidiis obtruncato: cuius materiae impio conceptae consilio hanc primordiale fuisse novimus causam.

Papa, king of the Armenians, called to the court by Valens and held prisoner at Tarsus under pretence of doing him honour, flees with 300 of his countrymen, and, eluding those who were watching the roads, returns to his kingdom on horseback, and shortly afterwards is killed at a banquet by the general Trajanus. Amid these troublesome disturbances, which the treachery of a general brought about by the atrocious murder of the king of the Quadi, a terrible crime was committed in the Orient, where Papa, king of the Armenians, was killed by secret plots. Of this matter, which was conceived by a nefarious plan, the following (as we have learned) was the original cause.

[2] Consarcinabant in hunc etiam tum adultum crimina quaedam apud Valentem exaggerantes male sollertes homines, dispendiis saepe communibus pasti. Inter quos erat Terentius dux demisse ambulans semperque submaestus, sed, quoad vixerat, acer dissensionum instigator.

[2] Some crafty men, who had often fattened themselves through losses sustained by the public, brought before Valens and maliciously exaggerated a patchwork of charges against this king, even then only just come to manhood. Among these was the general Terentius, a man who walked humbly and always wore a somewhat sad expression, but so long as he lived was a zealous abettor of dissensions.

[3] Qui adscitis in societatem gentilibus paucis, ob flagitia sua suspensis in metum, scribendo ad comitatum assidue, Cylacis necem replicabat et Artabanis, addens eundem iuvenem, ad superbos actus elatum, nimis esse in subiectos immanem.

[3] He formed a cabal with a few of the gentiles who were in fear and suspense because of their misdeeds, and writing constantly to the court harped on the death of Cylaces and Arrabanes, adding that this same young king was aroused to acts of arrogance and was excessively cruel to his subjects.

[4] Unde quasi futurus particeps suscipiendi tunc pro instantium rerum ratione tractatus, idem Papa regaliter vocatus, et apud Tarsum Ciliciae obsequiorum specie custoditus, cum neque ad imperatoris castra accipi nec urgentis

adventus causam scire cunctis reticentibus posset, tandem secretiore indicio comperit, per litteras Romano rectori suadere Terentium, mittere prope diem alterum Armeniae regem, ne odio Papae, speque quod revertetur, natio nobis opportuna deficeret ad iura Persarum, eam rapere vi vel metu vel adulatione flagrantium.

[4] Accordingly, under pretence that he was to take part in a consultation to be held at the time with regard to the present situation of affairs, the said Papa was summoned with the courtesy due to his royal rank; but at Tarsus in Cilicia he was put under guard as if it were doing him honour. And when he could neither get access to the emperor's quarters, nor learn the reason for his urgent coming, since all kept silence, he finally found out through secret information, that Terentius by letters was advising the Roman ruler at once to appoint another king of Armenia, to prevent a nation that was useful to us from going over to the side of the Persians through hatred of Papa and the expectation that he would return; for they were burning with the desire of seizing Armenia by force, or threats, or flattery.

[5] Quae reputans ille, impendere sibi praesagibat exitium grave. Et doli iam prudens, neque aliam nisi cito discessu salutis reperiens viam, suadentibus his quibus fidebat, conglobatis trecentis comitibus, secutis eum e patria, cum equis velocissimis, ut in magnis solet dubiisque terroribus, audacter magis quam considerate pleraque diei parte emensa, egressus cuneatim, properabat intrepidus.

[5] The king, thinking over the matter, foresaw that he was threatened by a sad end. And being now aware of the plot, and seeing no other way to save himself except by a swift departure, at the advice of trusted friends he got together three hundred companions who had followed him from his native country; and when the greater part of the day had passed they mounted swift horses and set out with more boldness than discretion, as is usual under pressing and doubtful alarms, and fearlessly hastened away in close order.

[6] Cumque eum provinciae moderator, apparitoris qui portam tuebatur indicio percitus, festinato studio repperisset in suburbanis, ut remaneret enixius obsecrabat, et parum hoc impetrato, mortis aversus est metu.

[6] The governor of the province, aroused by a message from the officer who guarded the gate, proceeded in eager haste and overtook the king in the suburbs. He earnestly besought him to remain; but since this request was not granted, he turned his back through fear of his life.

[7] Nec minus paulo postea legionem secutam, iamque adventantem ipse cum promptissimis retrorsus excurrens, fundensque in modum scintillarum sagittas, sed voluntate deerrans, ita in fugam compulit ut cum tribuno milites universi perterrefacti, vividius quam venerant remearent ad muros.

[7] More than that, when a legion followed him a little later and overtook him, Papa charged back upon them with his bravest men, pouring in his arrows like a shower of sparks. He missed intentionally but put them to flight, so that the whole legion with its tribune was terrified and they all returned to the walls more briskly than they had come.

[8] Exin solutus omni formidine, biduo et binotio exanclatis itinerum laboribus magnis, cum ad flumen venisset Euphraten, et inopia navium, voraginosum amnem vado transire non posset, nandi imprudentia paventibus multis, ipse omnium maxime cunctabatur: et remansisset ni cunctis versantibus varia, id reperire potuisset effugium, in necessitatis abrupto tutissimum.

[8] Then, freed from all fear, after completing two days and two nights of very toilsome marching, he came to the bank of the Euphrates; but since he had no boats he could not ford the eddying stream, so that many of his men, being unable to swim were terrified, and the king himself hesitated most of all. Indeed, he would have remained there, if he had not, amid the various plans suggested by all, been able to find an expedient which seemed safest in their dire necessity.

[9] Lectulos in villis repertos binis utribus suffulserunt, quorum erat abundans prope in agris vinariis copia, quibus singulis proceres insidentes, et regulus ipse, iumenta trahentes, praeruptos undarum occursantium fluctus obliquatis meatibus declinabant: hocque commento tandem ad ulteriorem ripam post extrema discrimina pervenerunt.

[9] They took the beds which they found in the farmhouses and supported each of them upon two bladders, of which there was an abundant supply in the vine-producing fields. The prince himself and his most distinguished followers seated themselves each upon one of these, led their horses behind them, and by taking oblique courses avoided the high waves of the onrushing waters; and by this device, after extreme dangers, they at length reached the opposite bank.

[10] Residui omnes, equis invecti natantibus, et circumfluente flumine saepe demersi iactatique, infirmati periculoso madore, expelluntur ad contrarias margines, ubi paulisper refecti, expeditius quam diebus praeteritis incedebant.

[10] All the rest, carried by their swimming horses, and often submerged and tossed about by the flood swirling around them, exhausted by the danger and the wetting, were thrown out on the opposite bank. There they refreshed themselves with a brief rest and went on more rapidly than on the days just past.

[11] Hoc nuntiato, princeps ante dicti fuga percussus, quem elaqueatum fidem rupturum existimabat, cum sagittariis mille succinctis et levibus, Danielum

mittit et Barzimerem, revocatuos eum -comitem unum, alterum scutariorum tribunum.

[11] When this was reported, the emperor, greatly troubled by the flight of the king, and thinking that after escaping this snare he would break faith, sent Danielus and Barzimeres (the one a general, the other tribune of the targeteers) with a thousand nimble and light-armed archers, to call him back.

[12] Hi locorum gnaritate confisi, quia ille properans ut peregrinus et insuetus, maeandros faciebat et gyros, compendiosis vallibus eius itinera praevenirent, et divisis inter se copiis, clausere vias proximas duas, trium milium intervallo distinctas, ut transiturus per utramvis caperetur improvidus: sed evanuit cogitatum hoc casu.

[12] They, trusting to their knowledge of the region, since the king, though in haste, yet being a foreigner and unacquainted with the neighbourhood, kept making meanders and circles, got ahead of him by short cuts through the valleys. Then, dividing their forces, they beset the two nearest roads, which were separated by a distance of three miles, in order that, through whichever of the two he should pass, he might be caught off his guard; but the plan came to nothing through this chance event:

[13] Viator quidam ad citeriora festinans, cum clivum armato milite vidisset oppletum, per posterulam tramitem medium, squalentem frutectis et sentibus, vitabundus excedens, in Armenios incidit fessos, et ductus ad regem, arcano sermone solum quae viderat docet, ac retinetur intactus.

[13] A wayfarer who was hastening towards the nearer bank of the river, seeing the ascent filled with armed soldiers, in order to avoid them took to a bypath between the two roads, rough with thickets and brambles; falling in with the wearied Armenians, and being led before the king, he told him in a private interview what he had seen; he was then detained, but not harmed.

[14] Moxque metu dissimulato, eques mittitur clandestinus ad dextrum itineris latus, diversoria paraturus et cibum, quo paulum progresso, in laevum tractum item alius talia facturus ire iubetur ocissime, alterum aliorum nesciens missum.

[14] Presently the king, pretending that there was nothing to fear, secretly sent a horseman on the road to the right with orders to secure lodging and food; but after he had gone a little way, another was ordered to go with all speed towards the left on a similar errand, but without knowing that the other horseman had been sent in a different direction.

[15] Quibus ita utiliter ordinatis, rex ipse cum suis, dumeta per quae venerat viatore relegente retrorsus, monstranteque hispidam et iumento onusto exiguum callem, post terga relictis militibus evolavit, qui captis eius ministris,

missis ad mentes observantium praestringendas, quasi venaticiam praedam, modo non porrectis brachiis exspectabant. Dumque hi venturum operiuntur, ille regno incolumis restitutus, et cum gaudio popularium summo susceptus, fide pari deinde mansit immobilis, iniuriis quas pertulerat omnibus demussatis.

[15] After these helpful precautions, the king himself, with his followers — the wayfarer tracing his way back amongst the thickets through which he had come and showing a rough path very narrow indeed for a loaded pack-animal — left the soldiers behind him, and made his escape. They, after capturing his messengers, who had been sent merely to confuse the minds of those who were lying in wait for the king, were almost expecting him to rush into their open arms, like a wild beast at a hunt. But while they were waiting for his coming, he was restored safe and sound to his kingdom, where he was received with the greatest joy by his subjects; but thereafter he remained unmoved in true allegiance, bearing in silence all the wrongs that he had suffered.

[16] Danielus post haec et Barzimeres, cum lusi iam revertissent, probrosis lacerati conviciis, ac si inertes et desides, ut hebetatae primo appetitu venenatae serpentes, ora exacuere letalia, cum primum potuissent, lapso pro virium copia nocituri.

[16] After this, as soon as Danielus and Barzimeres, baffled, had returned, they were assailed with shameful reproaches as blunderers and slothful, and like venomous serpents whose bite had been blunted by the first attack, they sharpened their deadly fangs, intending as soon as they could and to the extent of their powers to injure him who had given them the slip.

[17] Et leniendi causa flagitii sui vel fraudis, quam meliore consilio pertulerunt, apud imperatoris aures (rumorum omnium tenacissimas) incessebant falsis criminibus Papam, intentiones Circeas, in vertendis debilitandisque corporibus, miris modis eum callere fingentes: addentesque quod huius modi artibus, offusa sibi caligine, mutata sua suorumque forma transgressus, tristes sollicitudines (si huic irrisioni superfuerit) excitabit.

[17] And to palliate their fault or the deception which they had suffered from greater cleverness, they bombarded the ears of the emperor (most retentive of all gossip) with false charges against Papa, alleging that he was wonderfully skilled through the incantations of Circe in changing and weakening men's bodies; and they added that, having by arts of that kind spread darkness round himself, and by changing his own form and that of his followers, having passed through their lines, if he survived this trickery, he would cause sad troubles.

[18] Hinc in illum inexpiabile auctum principis odium, et doli struebantur in

dies, ut per vim ei vel clam vita adimeretur: agentique tune in Armenia Traiano, et rem militarem curanti, id secretis committitur scriptis.

[18] In this way the irreconcilable hatred of the emperor for Papa was increased, and plots were devised every day for taking his life either by violence or secretly; and to Trajanus, who was then in Armenia in command of the military forces, this work was entrusted through secret letters.

[19] Qui illecebrosis regem insidiis ambiens, et modo serenae mentis Valentis indices litteras tradens, modo ipse sese eius convivii ingerens, ad ultimum composita fraude, ad prandium verecundius invitavit: qui nihil adversum metuens venit, concessoque honoratiore discubuit loco.

[19] That general sought to win the king by treacherous flattery, now showing him letters of Valens as tokens of his calm state of mind, and now forcing himself upon his banquets; finally, when his plot was matured, he invited him with great respect to a luncheon. The king came, fearing no hostility, and took his place in the seat of honour granted him.

[20] Cumque apponerentur exquisitae cuppediae, et aedes amplae nervorum et articulate flatileque sonitu resultarent, iam vino incalescente ipso convivii domino, per simulationem naturalis cuiusdam urgentis egresso, gladium dstrictum intentans, torvo lumine ferociens quidam immittitur barbarus asper, ex his quos scurras appellant, confossurus iuvenem, ne exsilire posset etiam tum praepeditum.

[20] And when choice dainties were set before him, and the great building rang with the music of strings, songs, and wind-instruments, the host himself, already heated with wine, went out, under pretence of a call of nature. Then a rude barbarian, fiercely glaring with savage eyes and brandishing a drawn sword, one of the class called scurrae, was sent in to kill the young man, who had already been cut off from any possibility of escape.

[21] Quo viso regulus forte prominens ultra torum, expedito dolone, adsurgens ut vitam omni ratione defenderet, perforato pectore deformis procubuit victima, multiplicatis ictibus foede concisa.

[21] At this sight the young king, who, as it happened, was leaning forward beyond his couch, drew his dagger and was rising to defend his life by every possible means, but fell disfigured, pierced through the breast like some victim at the altar, foully slain by repeated strokes.

[22] Hocque figmento nefarie decepta credulitate, inter epulas quae reverendae sunt vel in Euxino ponto, hospitali numine contuente, peregrinus cruor in ambitiosa lintea conspersus spumante sanie satietati superfuit convivarum, horrore maximo dispersorum. Ingemiscat, siquis vita digressis est dolor, huius arrogantiam facti Fabricius ille Luscinus, sciens qua animi magnitudine

Democharen, vel (ut quidam scribunt) Niciam, ministrum reppulerit regium, colloquio occultiore pollicitum, quod Pyrrum Italiam tune bellis saevissimis exurentem, veneno poculis necabit infectis, scripseritque ad regem, ut a ceteriore caveret obsequio. Tantum reverentiae locum apud priscam illam iustitiam vel hostilis mensae genialitas obtinebat.

[22] By such treachery was credulity basely deceived, and at a banquet, which ought to be respected even on the Euxine Sea, before the eyes of the god of hospitality a stranger's blood was shed, which bespattered the splendid linen cloths with foaming gore, was more than enough to sate the guests, who scattered in utmost horror. If the dead can feel grief, the famous Fabricius Luscinus might groan at this arrogant act, when he recalled with what greatness of soul he rejected the promise of Demochares or (as some write) Nicias, the king's attendant, made in a secret conference; for he said that he would kill king Pyrrhus, who at that time was reducing Italy to ashes in cruel warfare, by mixing poison with his cups; but Fabricius warned the king in a letter to beware of his more intimate servants. Such a place of respect in those days of old-time justice was held by the conviviality even of an enemy's table.

[23] Verum excusabatur recens inusitatum facinus et pudendum, necis exemplo Sertorianae, adulatoribus forsitan ignorantibus, quod (ut Demosthenes, perpetuum Graeciae decus, affirmat) numquam similitudine aut impunitate alterius criminis diluitur id quod contra ac liceat arguitur factum. Valens A. et Saporis P.R. de Armeniae et Hiberiae regnis contententium legationes. Haec per Armeniam notabiliter gesta sunt. Sapor vero post suorum pristinam cladem, comperto interitu Papae, quem sociare sibi impendio conabatur, maerore gravi perculsus, augenteque nostri exercitus alacritate formidinem, maiora sibi praese minans,

[23] True, some sought to excuse this recent extraordinary and shameful deed by the example of the assassination of Sertorius, but those flatterers perhaps did not know that no act which is proved to be contrary to law is justified because another crime was similar or went unpunished, as Demosthenes, eternal glory of Greece, declares. The deputations of Valens Augustus and Sapor, king of the Persians, in their contest for the rule of Armenia and Hiberia. These are the noteworthy events that took place in Armenia. But Sapor, after the former disaster to his men, on learning of the murder of Papa, whom he was making great efforts to enlist on his side, overwhelmed with heavy grief and with his fear increased by the activity of our army, sowed the seeds of greater troubles for himself.

[2] Arsace legato ad principem misso, perpetuam aerumnarum causam deserui penitus suadebat Armeniam: si id displicuisset, aliud poscens, ut Hiberiae divisione cessante, remotisque inde partis Romanae praesidiis, Aspacures solus regnare permetteretur, quem ipse praefecerat genti.

[2] Accordingly, he sent Arraces as an envoy to the emperor, advising him to withdraw entirely from Armenia, since it was a continual source of troubles; or if that was not acceptable, proposing as an alternative that abandoning the division of Hiberia and withdrawing the garrisons of the Roman part, he should allow Aspacures, whom Sapor had made ruler of that nation, to reign alone.

[3] Ad quae Valens in hanc respondit sententiam, nihil derogare se posse placitis ex consensu firmatis, sed ea studio curatiore defendere. Glorioso proposito contrariae regis litterae hieme iam extrema perlatae sunt, vana causantis et tumida. adseverabat enim non posse semina radicitus amputari discordiarum, nisi intervenissent conscii pacis foederatae cum Ioviano, quorum aliquos vita didicerat abscessisse.

[3] To this Valens made answer to this effect: that he could not repeal anything of that which had been agreed upon by common consent, but would maintain it with the utmost vigour. In reply to this noble utterance a letter was brought from the king when the winter was already nearly ended, giving trivial and arrogant reasons. For he asserted that the weeds of discord could not be pruned away by the roots except in the presence of those who had been witnesses to the conclusion of the peace with Jovian, some of whom (as he had learned) had since died.

[4] Ingravescente post haec altius cura, imperator eligere consilia quam invenire sufficiens, id conducere rebus existimans, Victorem magistrum equitum et Urbicium, Mesopotamiae ducem, ire propere iussit in Persas, responsum absolutum et unius modi perferentes: quod rex iustus et suo contentus, ut iactitabat, sceleste concupiscat Armeniam, ad arbitrium suum vivere cultoribus eius permissis: et ni Sauromaci praesidia militum impertita principio sequentis anni (ut dispositum est) impraepedita reverterint, invitus ea complebit, quae sponte sua facere supersedit.

[4] After this the emperor's cares grew heavier. Now he was in condition rather to make a choice of plans than to discover any; and so, thinking it to be to the advantage of the State, he ordered Victor, commander of the cavalry, and Urbicius, general in Mesopotamia, to go quickly to the Persians, bearing an ultimatum in plain language: that it was criminal of a king who was just and contented with his own (as he boasted) wrongfully to covet Armenia, whose people had been granted permission to live independently; and that, unless the guard of soldiers given to Sauromaces should return without hindrance at the beginning of the following year (as had been agreed), Sapor would be forced to do against his will what he had refrained from doing of his own accord.

[5] Quae legatio recta quidem et libera, ni deviasset in eo, quod absque mandatis, oblatas sibi regiones in eadem Armenia suscepit exiguas. Qua regressa advenit Surena potestatis secundae post regem, has easdem

imperatorī offerens partes, quas audacter nostri sumpserē legati.

[5] This embassy was indeed straightforward and frank, had its members not erred in one particular; for they accepted without orders some small territories that offered themselves to them in that same Armenia. On their return the Surena, who ranked next to the king, came and offered to the emperor these same lands that our envoys had recklessly taken.

[6] Quo suscepto liberaliter et magnifice, sed parum impetrato, quod poscebat, remisso, parabantur magna instrumenta bellorum, ut mollita hieme imperatore trinis agminibus perrupturo Persidem, ideoque Scytharum auxilia festina celeritate mercante.

[6] He was received courteously and handsomely entertained, but was sent back without obtaining what he asked, and in consequence great preparations were made for war, in the expectation that when the winter grew milder the emperor would invade Persia with three armies and for that purpose was in great haste hiring mercenaries from the Scythians.

[7] Proinde parum adeptus ea quae spe vana conceperat, Sapor, ultraque solitum asperatus, quod ad expeditionem accingi rectorem compererat nostrum: iram eius conculcans Surenae dedit negotium, ut ea, quae Victor comes susceperat et Urbicius, armis repeteret, si quisquam repugnaret, et milites Sauromacis praesidio destinati malis affligerentur extremis.

[7] Accordingly Sapor, having failed to gain that for which he had vainly hoped, and exasperated even more than usual because he had learned that our ruler was preparing for a campaign, defied Valens' anger and instructed the Surena to recover by arms, in case anyone made opposition, the lands which Count Victor and Urbicius had taken over; also to do all possible harm to the soldiers appointed for the protection of Sauromaces.

[8] Haecque (ut statuerat) maturata confestim, nec emendari potuerunt nec vindicari, quia rem Romanam alius circumsteterat metus, totius Gothiae Thracias licentius perrumpentis: quae funera tunc explicari poterunt carptim, si ad ea quoque venerimus.

[8] These instructions were hastily carried out, as he had ordered, and could not be remedied or punished, since the Roman state was encompassed by another danger from all the Gothic peoples, who were lawlessly overrunning Thrace; these disasters can briefly be set forth, when I come also to that part of my narrative.

[9] Haec per eos agitata sunt tractus. Quorum inter seriem Africanas clades et legatorum Tripoleos manes, inultos etiam tum et errantes, sempiternus vindicavit Iustitiae vigor, aliquotiens serus, sed scrupulosus quaesitor gestorum recte vel secius, hoc modo.

[9] This is what happened in the eastern regions. During the course of these events the eternal power of Justice, the judge, sometimes tardy, but always strict, of right or wrong actions, avenged the disasters in Africa and the still unsatisfied and wandering shades of the envoys of Tripolis, in the following manner.

[10] Remigius (quem populanti provincias rettulimus comiti fuisse Romano), postquam Leo in eius locum magister esse coepit officiorum, a muneribus rei publicae iam quiescens, negotiis se ruralibus dedit prope Mogontiacum in genitalibus locis.

[10] Remigius, who (as we have said) favoured the general Romanus in his oppression of the provinces, after Leo had been appointed chief marshal of the court in his place, was now resting from public duties and gave himself up to rural life in his native place near Mayence.

[11] Quem ibi morantem securius, praefectus praetorio Maximinus reversum ad otium spernens, ut solebat dirae luis ritu grassari per omnia, laedere modis quibus poterat affectabat: utque rimaretur plura quae latebant, Caesarium antehac eius domesticum, postea notarium principis, raptum, quae Remigius egerit, vel quantum acceperit, ut Romani iuvaret actus infandos, per quaestionem cruentam interrogabat.

[11] While he was there passing a care-free life, Maximinus, the praetorian prefect, scorning him, now that he turned back to a life of leisure, and being wont to overrun all things like a dire pestilence, aspired to injure him in every possible manner. And in his desire to discover more secrets, he seized Caesarius, who had formerly been in the service of Remigius and later a secretary of the emperor, and tried by cruel tortures to learn what Remigius had done, and how much he had received for aiding the criminal acts of Romanus.

[12] Quibus ille cognitis, cum esset (ut dictum est) in secessu, conscientia malorum urgente, vel rationem formidine superante calumniarum, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit. Valentinianus A. post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos, cum Macriano Alamannorum rege colloquitur, ac pacem facit. Secuto post haec anno Gratiano ascito in trabeae societatem Aequitio consule, Valentiniano post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos, munimentum aedificanti prope Basiliam, quod appellant accolae Robur, offertur praefecti relatio Probi, docentis Illyrici clades.

[12] When Remigius (who, as has been said, was in retirement) learned of this, either driven by the consciousness of guilt or because the dread of false charges overcame his reason, he strangled himself, and so died. Valentinian Augustus, after devastating some cantons of the Alamanni, has a conference with their king Macrianus, and makes peace. In the year following these

events, Gratianus was made consul as the colleague of Aequitius; and Valentinian, who after devastating several cantons of the Alamanni was building a fortification near Basle, which the neighbours call Robur, received the report of the prefect Probus, telling of the devastation in Illyricum.

[2] Quibus ille ut cunctatorem decuerat ducem, examinatus lectis, attonitus cogitationibus anxiiis, Paterniano notario misso, negotium scrupulosa quaeisivit indagine, moxque veris per eum nuntiis gestorum acceptis, evolare protinus festinarat, ausos temerare limitem barbaros, primo fragore (ut mente conceperat), oppressurus armorum.

[2] On reading this with careful attention, as became a cautious general, he was distracted by anxious reflections and sending the secretary Paternianus, gave the matter the most searching investigation. As soon as he received through him a true account of what had happened, he hastened to set out at once, in order (as he intended) to crush by the first clash of his arms the savages who had ventured to violate our frontier.

[3] Quia igitur abeunte autumno multa impediabant et aspera, annitebantur omnes per regiam optimates, ut ad usque veris principium oratum retinerent et exoratum: primum durata pruinis itinera, ubi nec adultae in pastum herbae reperirentur, nec cetera usui congrua, penetrari non posse firmantes: dein vicinorum Galliis regum immanitatem, maximeque omnium Macriani, ut formidati, tunc praetendentes, quem constabat impacatum relictum etiam ipsa urbium moenia temptaturum.

[3] But since autumn was waning and many difficulties stood in the way, all the principal men at the court strove by entreaties and prayers to hold him back until the beginning of spring. In the first place, they urged that the roads, hardened with frost, where neither any growth of grass would be found for fodder nor anything else fit for the use of the army, could not be penetrated. In the second place, they set before him the alleged savagery of the kings bordering on Gaul, and most of all of Macrianus, who was formidable, and (as was well known) had been left unsubdued, and would actually attack even fortified cities.

[4] Haec memorantes, addentesque utilia, reduxere eum in meliorem sententiam, statimque (ut conducebat rei communi), prope Mogontiacum blandius rex ante dictus accitur, proclivis ipse quoque ad excipiendum foedus (ut apparebat). Et venit immane quo quantoque flatu distentus, ut futurus arbiter superior pacis, dieque praedicto colloqui ad ipsam marginem Rheni, caput altius erigens, stetit hinc inde sonitu scutorum intonante gentilium.

[4] Calling to mind these things and adding other salutary advice, they led the emperor to a better opinion, and at once (as was for the advantage of the state) the said king was courteously summoned to the vicinity of Mayence, being

himself also inclined (as was evident) to accepting a treaty. And he arrived enormously puffed up in every way, as if he expected to be the supreme arbiter of peace, and on the day set for the conference, with head high uplifted, he stood at the very edge of the Rhine while the clashing shields of his countrymen thundered all about him.

[5] *Contra Augustus escensis amnicis lembis, saeptus ipse quoque multitudine castrensium ordinum, tutius prope ripas accessit, signorum fulgentium nitore conspicuus, et immodestis gestibus murmureque barbarico tandem sedato, post dicta et audita ultro citroque versus, amicitia media sacramenti fide firmatur.*

[5] On the other side the Augustus embarked on some river-boats, himself also hedged by a throng of military officers and conspicuous amid the brilliance of flashing standards, and cautiously approached the shore. Finally, the savages ceased their immoderate gesticulation and barbaric tumult, and after much had been said and heard on both sides, friendship was confirmed between them by the sanctity of an oath.

[6] *Hisque perfectis, discessit turbarum rex artifex delenitus, futurus nobis deinceps socius, et dedit postea ad usque vitae tempus extremum, constantis in concordiam animi facinorum documentum pulchrorum.*

[6] When this was accomplished, the king who had caused the disturbances withdrew pacified, henceforth to be our ally; and after that up to the very end of his life he gave proof by noble conduct of a spirit of steadfast loyalty.

[7] *Periit autem in Francia postea, quam dum internecive vastando perrupit avidius, oppetit, Mallobaudis bellicosi regis insidiis circumventus. Post foedus tamen sollemni ritu impletum, Treveros Valentinianus ad hiberna discessit. Modestus praefectus praetorio a iure dicundo Valentem avertit; et de causidicina atque iurisconsultis, et variis advocatorum generibus. Haec per Gallias et latus agebantur arctum. At in eois partibus alto externorum silentio, intestina perniciēs augebatur, per Valentis amicos et proximos, apud quos honestate utilitas erat antiquior. Navabatur enim opera diligens, ut homo rigidus audire cupiens lites, a studio iudicandi revocaretur, metu ne ita ut Iuliani temporibus, defensione innocentiae respirante, frangeretur potentium tumor, assumpta licentia latius solitus evagari.*

[7] He found his death later in the land of the Franks; for while amid murderous devastation he penetrated that country too eagerly, he was lured into an ambush by the warlike king Mallobaudes and perished. But after the solemn ratification of the treaty Valentinian retired to Treves for winter quarters. Modestus, the praetorian prefect, leads Valens to give up the administration of justice; a discussion of the pleader's profession, of jurisconsults, and of various classes of advocates. This is what took place

throughout Gaul and Before the northern part of the empire. But in the regions of the East, amid the profound quiet of foreign affairs, destructive internal corruption was increasing through the friends and intimates of Valens, with whom advantage prevailed over honour. For diligent efforts were exerted to turn the emperor, as a severe man and eager to hear cases at law, from his desire to act as judge; for fear that as in the times of Julian, if the defence of innocence should revive, the arrogance of powerful men, which under the licence that they had assumed was in the habit of always reaching out farther, might be checked.

[2] Ob haec et similia, concordi consensu dehortantibus multis, maximeque Modesto, praefecto praetorio, regionum arbitrio spadonum exposito, et subagreste ingenium, nullis vetustatis lectionibus expolitur, coacto vultu fallente, et asserente, quod infra imperiale columnen causarum essent minutiae privatarum; ille ad humilitandam celsitudinem potestatis negotiorum examina spectanda instituta esse arbitratus (ut monebat), abstinuit penitus, laxavitque rapinarum fores quae roborabantur in dies, iudicum advocatorumque pravitae sententiarum paria, qui tenuiorum negotia militaris rei rectoribus, vel intra palatium validis venditantes, aut opes aut honores quaesivere praeclaros.

[2] On these and similar grounds many united in a common attempt at dissuasion and in particular the praetorian prefect Modestus, a man wholly subjected to the influence of the eunuchs of the court, of a boorish nature refined by no reading of the ancient writers. He, wearing a forced and deceptive expression, declared that the trivialities of private cases at law were beneath the dignity of the imperial majesty. Accordingly Valens, thinking that the examination of swarms of legal cases was devised to humble the loftiness of the royal power, in accordance with the advice of Modestus, abstained from it wholly, thereby opening the doors to robbery; and this grew stronger day by day through the wickedness of judges and advocates in collusion; for they sold their decisions of the cases of poorer people to officers in the army, or to powerful men within the palace, and thus gained either wealth or high position.

[3] Hanc professionem oratorum forensium, πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (id est civilitatis particulae umbram) vel adulationis partem quartam esse definit amplitudo Platonis, Epicurus autem κακοτεχνίαν nominans inter artes numerat malas. Tisias suasionis opificem esse memorat assentiente Leontino Gorgia.

[3] This trade of forensic oratory the great Plato defined as πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (that is, the shadow of a small part of the science of government) or as the fourth part of flattery; but Epicurus counts it among evil arts, calling it κακοτεχνία.> Tisias says that it is the artist of persuasion, and Gorgias of Leontini agrees with him.

[4] Quam a veteribus ita determinatam, orientalium quorundam versutia ad

usque bonorum extulit odium, unde etiam retinaculis temporis praestituti frenatur. Ergo absolutis super eius indignitate perpaucis, quam in illis partibus agens expertus sum, ad coeporum cursum regrediar institutum.

[4] This art, thus defined by the men of old, the cunning of certain Orientals raised to a degree hateful to good men, for which reason it is even confined by the restraints of a time fixed beforehand. Therefore after having described in a very few words its unworthiness, with which I became acquainted while I was living in those parts, I shall return to the course of the narrative with which I began.

[5] Florebant elegantiae praeae patrociniis tribunalia, cum oratores concitae facundiae, attentis studiis doctrinarum, ingenio fide copiis ornamentisque dicendi pluribus eminebant, ut Demosthenes, quo dicturo concursus audiendi causa ex tota Graecia fieri solitos monumentis Atticis continetur, et Callistratus, quem nobilem illam super Oropo causam (qui locus in Euboea est) perorantem, idem Demosthenes, Academia cum Platone relicta, sectatus est: ut Hyperides et Aeschines et Andocides et Dinarchus et Antiphon ille Rhamnusius, quem ob defensum negotium omnium primum antiquitas prodidit accepisse mercedem.

[5] Formerly judgement-seats gained glory through the support of old-time refinement, when orators of fiery eloquence, devoted to learned studies, were eminent for talent and justice, and for the fluency and many adornments of their diction; for example Demosthenes, to hear whom, when he was going to speak, as the Attic records testify, the people were wont to flock together from all Greece ; and Callistratus, to whom, when he pleaded in that celebrated case in defence of Oropos (which is a place in Euboea) that same Demosthenes attached himself, forsaking the Academy and Plato; also, Hyperides, Aeschines, Andocides, Dinarchus, and the famous Antiphon of Rhamnus, who, according to the testimony of antiquity, was the first of all to accept a fee for conducting a defence.

[6] Nec minus apud Romanos, Rutilii et Galbae et Scauri vita moribus frugalitateque spectati, et postea per varias aevi sequentis aetates, censorii et consulares multi et triumphales, Crassi et Antonii et cum Philippis Scaevolae alique numerosi, post exercitus prosperrime ductos, post victorias et tropaea, civilibus stipendiorum officiis floruerunt, laeasque fori speciosis certaminibus occupantes, summis gloriae honoribus fruebantur.

[6] Not less eminent among the Romans were men like Rutilius, Galba, and Scaurus, conspicuous for their life, their character, and their uprightness; and later in the various epochs of subsequent times many former censors and consuls, and men who had been honoured with triumphs, such as Crassus, Antonius, Philippus, Scaevola, and many others, after successful campaigns, after victories and trophies, distinguished themselves by civic services to the

State, and winning laurels in the glorious contests of the Forum, enjoyed Fame's highest honours.

[7] Post quos excellentissimus omnium Cicero, orationis imperiosae fluminibus saepe depresses aliquos iudiciorum eripiens flammis, 'Non defendi homines sine vituperatione fortasse posse, neglegenter defendi sine scelere non posse' firmabat.

[7] After these Cicero, the most eminent of them all, by the floods of his all-conquering oratory often saved the oppressed from the fiery ordeal of the courts, and declared: "It might perhaps be pardonable to refuse to defend some men, but to defend them negligently could be nothing but criminal."

[8] At nunc videre est per eos omnes tractus violenta et rapacissima genera hominum, per fora omnia volitantium, et subsidantium divites domus, of the wealthy, and like Spartan or Cretan ut Spartanos canes aut Cretas, vestigia sagacius colligendo, ad ipsa cubilia pervenire causerum.

[8] But now it is possible to see in all the regions of the Orient powerful and rapacious classes of men flitting from one forum to another, besieging the home hounds sagaciously picking up the tracks until they come to the very lairs of lawsuits.

[9] In his primus est coetus eorum, qui seminando diversa iurgia per vadimonia mille iactantur, viduarum postes et orborum limina deterentes, et aut inter discordantes amicos, aut propinquant, vel affines, si simultatum leviter senserint receptacula, odia struentes infesta: in quibus aetatis progressu non ut aliorum vitia intepescunt, sed magis magisque roborantur: inter rapinas insatiabiles inopes, ad capiendam versutis orationibus iudicium fidem, quorum nomen ex iustitia natum est, sicam ingenii destringentes.

[9] Among these the first class consists of those who, by sowing the seeds of all sorts of quarrels, busy themselves with thousands of recognisances, wearing out the doors of widows and the thresholds of childless men; and if they have found even slight retreats of secret enmity, they rouse deadly hatred among discordant friends, kinsfolk, or relatives. And in these men their vices do not cool down in course of time, as do those of others, but grow stronger and stronger. Poor amid insatiable robbery, they draw the dagger of their talent to lead astray by crafty speeches the good faith of the judges, whose title is derived from justice.

[10] Horum obstinatione libertatem temeritas, constantiam audacia praecept, eloquentiam inanis quaedam imitatur affluentia loquendi: quarum artium scaevitate, ut Tullius asseverat, nefas est religionem decipi iudicantis. Ait enim 'Cumque nihil tam incorruptum esse debeat in re publica quam suffragium, quam sententia, non intellego cur qui ea pecunia corruperit, poena dignus sit: qui eloquentia, laudem etiam ferat. Mihi quidem hoc plus mali

facere videtur, qui oratione, quam qui pretio iudicem corrumpit: quod pecunia corrumpere prudentem nemo potest, dicendo potest.’

[10] By their persistence rashness tries to pass itself off as freedom of speech; and reckless audacity as firmness of purpose; a kind of empty flow of words as eloquence. By the perversity of these arts, as Cicero insists, it is a sin for the conscientiousness of a judge to be deceived. For he says: “And since nothing in a state ought to be so free from corruption as the suffrage and judicial decisions, I do not understand why one who corrupts them by money deserves punishment, while one who corrupts them by his eloquence is even praised. For my part, I think that he does more evil who corrupts a judge by a speech than one who does so by money; for no one can corrupt a sensible man by money, but he can do so by words.”

[11] Secundum est genus eorum, qui iuris professi scientiam, quam repugnantium sibi legum abolvere discidia, velut vinculis ori impositis reticentes, iugi silentio umbrarum sunt similes propriarum. Hi velut fata natalicia praemonstrantes, aut Sibyllae oraculorum interpretes, vultus gravitate ad habitum composita tristiores, ipsum quoque venditant, quod oscitantur.

[11] A second class consists of those who profess a knowledge of law, which, however, the self-contradictory statutes have destroyed, and reticent as if they were muzzled, in never-ending silence they are like their own shadows. These men, as though revealing destinies by nativities or interpreting a Sibyl’s oracles, assume a solemn expression of severe bearing and try to make even their yawning saleable.

[12] Hi ut altius videantur iura callere, Trebatium loquuntur et Cascellium et Alfenum, et Auruncorum Sicanorumque iam diu leges ignotas, cum Evandri matre abhinc saeculis obrutas multis. Et si voluntate matrem tuam finxeris occidisse, multas tibi suffragari absolutionem lectiones reconditas pollicentur, si te senserint esse nummatum.

[12] In order to seem to have a deeper knowledge of the law, they talk of Trebatius, Cascellius, and Alfenus, and of the laws of the Aurunci and Sicani, which were long since forgotten and buried many ages ago along with Evander’s mother. And if you pretend that you have purposely murdered *your* mother, they promise, if they have observed that you are a moneyed man, that their many recondite studies will secure an acquittal for you.

[13] Tertius eorum est ordo, qui ut in professione turbulenta clarescant, ad expugnandam veritatem ora mercenaria procudentes, per prostitutas frontes vilesque latratus, quo velint aditus sibi patefaciunt crebros: qui inter sollicitudines iudicum per multa distentas, irresolubili nexu vincientes negotia, laborant, ut omnis quies litibus implicetur, et nodosis quaestionibus

de industria iudicia circumscribunt, quae cum recte procedunt, delubra sunt aequitatis: cum depravantur, foveae fallaces et caecae: in quas si captus ceciderit quisquam, non nisi per multa exsiliet lustra, ad usque ipsas medullas exsuctus.

[13] A third group consists of those who, in order to gain glory by their troublous profession, sharpen their venal tongues to attack the truth, and with shameless brow and base yelping often gain entrance wherever they wish. When the anxious judges are distracted by many cares, they tie up the business in an inexplicable tangle, and do their best to involve all peace and quiet in lawsuits and purposely by knotty inquisitions they deceive the courts, which, when their procedure is right, are temples of justice, when corrupted, are deceptive and hidden pits: and if anyone is deluded and falls into those pits, he will not get out except after many a term of years, when he has been sucked dry to his very marrow.

[14] Quartum atque postremum est genus impudens, pervicax et indoctum, eorum qui cum immature a litterariis eruperint ludis, per angulos civitatum discurrunt, mimiambos non causarum remediis congrua commentantes, fores divitum deterendo, cenarum ciborumque aucupantes delicias exquisitas.

[14] The fourth and last class, shameless, headstrong, and ignorant, consists of those who have broken away too soon from the elementary schools, run to and fro through the corners of the cities, thinking out mimiambic lines, rather than speeches suitable to win law-suits, wearing out the doors of the rich, and hunting for banquets and fine choice food.

[15] Qui cum semel umbraticis lucris, et inhiandae undique pecuniae sese dediderint, litigare frustra quoslibet innocentes hortantur, et ad defendendam causam admissi, quod raro contingit, suscepti nomen et vim negotii sub ore disceptatoris inter ipsos conflictuum articulos instruuntur, circumlocutionibus indigestis ita scatentes, ut in colluvione taeterrima audire existimes ululabili clamore Thersiten.

[15] When they have once devoted themselves to shady gain and to eagerness for money from any and every source, they urge all kinds of innocent people to involve themselves in vain litigations. And when they are allowed to defend suits, which rarely happens, amidst the very turning-points of the disputes they learn the name of their client and the purport of the business in hand from the mouth of the judge, and they so overflow with disarranged circumlocutions that in the foul hotchpotch you would think you were hearing a Thersites with his howling din.

[16] Cum autem ad inopiam muniendarum venerint allegationum, ad effrenatam deflectunt conviciandi licentiam: quo nomine ob assidua in personas honorabiles probra, diebus dictis aliquotiens sunt damnati, e quibus ita sunt

rudes non nulli, ut numquam se codices habuisse meminerint.

[16] But when they find themselves in the end unable to defend the charges, they turn to unbridled licence in abuse; and on this account, because of their constant insults of persons of rank, they are prosecuted and often condemned; and among them are some who are so ignorant that they cannot remember that they ever possessed a law-book.

[17] Et si in circulo doctorum auctoris veteris inciderit nomen, piscis aut edulii peregrinum esse vocabulum arbitrantur: si vero advena quisquam inusitatum sibi antea Marcianum (verbo tenus) quaesierit oratorem, omnes confestim Marcianos appellari se fingunt.

[17] And if in a circle of learned men the name of an ancient writer happens to be mentioned, they think it is a foreign word for some fish or other edible; but if any stranger asks for the orator Marcianus (for example), who was before unknown to him, at once they all pretend that their own name is Marcianus.

[18] Nec iam fas ullum prae oculis habent, sed tamquam avaritiae venundati et usucapti, nihil praeter interminatam petendi licentiam norunt. Et siquem semel intra retia ceperint, cassibus mille impedicant, per morborum simulationem vicissim consulto cessantes: utque pervulgati iuris proferatur lectio vana, septem vendibiles introitus praeparant, dilationum examina longissima contextentes.

[18] And they no longer have before their eyes any right, but as if sold to and enslaved by avarice, they understand nothing except endless licence in making demands. And if once they have caught anyone in their nets, they entangle him in a thousand toils, purposely defaulting by pretending sicknesses one after another; and they prepare seven plausible preambles in order that the useless reading of well-known law may be introduced, thus weaving swarms of long delays.

[19] Et cum nudatis litigatoribus dies cesserint et menses et anni, tandem obtrita vetustate controversia intromissa, ipsa capita splendoris ingressa, alia secum advocatorum simulacra inducunt. Cumque intra cancellorum venerint saepta, et agi coeperint alicuius fortunae vel salus, atque laborari debeat ut ab insonte gladius vel calamitosa detrimenta pellantur, corrugatis hinc inde frontibus brachiisque histrionico gestu formatis, ut contionaria Gracchi fistula sola post occipitium desit, consistitur altrinsecus diu: tandemque ex praemeditato colludio, per eum qui est in verba fidentior, suave quoddam principium dicendi exoritur, Cluentianae vel pro Ctesiphonte orationum aemula ornamenta promittens: et in eam conclusionem cunctis finem cupientibus desinit, ut nondum se patroni post speciem litis triennium editam causentur instructos, spatioque prorogati temporis impetrato, quasi cum Antaeo vetere colluctati, perseveranter flagitant pulveris periculosi mercedes.

[19] And when the contending parties are stripped of everything, and days, months and years are used up, at last the case, now worn out with age, is introduced, and those brilliant principals come forth, bringing with them other shadows of advocates. And when they have come within the barriers of the court, and the fortunes or safety of some one begins to be discussed, and they ought to work to turn the sword or ruinous loss from an innocent person, the advocates on both sides wrinkling their brows and waving their arms in semblance of the gestures of actors (so that they lack only the oratorical pipe of Gracchus behind them) stand for a long time opposite each other. At last, in accordance with a prearranged agreement, the one who is more confident in speech utters a kind of a sweet prologue, promising to emulate the ornamental language of a speech for Cluentius or Ctesiphon; and when all are wishing for the end, such is the method of his peroration that the advocates, after the semblance of a trial has gone on for three years, allege that they are not yet fully informed; and after they have obtained a further postponement, as if they had struggled with Antaeus of old, they persistently demand the pay for their danger and toil.

[20] Verum tamen haec cum ita sint, non desunt advocatis incommoda plurima, parum sustinenda recte victuro. Namque sellulariis quaestibus inescati, inter se hostiliter dissident, et abrupta maledicendi ferocia (ut dictum est) multos offendunt: quam tunc effutiunt, cum commissarum sibi causarum infirmitatem rationibus validis convallare non possunt.

[20] But yet, in spite of this, advocates suffer many inconveniences, not easy to be endured by a man who would live rightly. For, allured by the profits of their sedentary trade, they differ among themselves and become enemies, and they offend many by their outbursts of abusive ferocity (as has been said), which they blab out in a torrent when they have no arguments strong enough to fortify the weakness of the cases which have been entrusted to them.

[21] Et iudices patiuntur interdum doctos ex Philistionis aut Aesopi cavillationibus, quam ex Aristidis illius Iusti vel Catonis disciplina productos: qui aere gravi mercati publicas potestates, ut creditores molesti, opes cuiusque modi fortunae rimantes, alienis gremiis excutiunt praedas.

[21] And they have to deal with judges who sometimes are taught by the sophisms of Philistion or Aesopus, rather than reared in the discipline of your Aristides the Just or Cato. Such men, having bought public office for large sums of money, like tiresome creditors prying into the resources of every kind of fortune, shake out booty from other men's bosoms.

[22] Ad ultimum id habet causidicina cum ceteris metuendum et grave, quod hoc ingenitum est paene litigantibus cunctis, ut cum iurgia mille casibus cadant, accidentia secus in potestate esse existiment patronorum, et omnem certaminum exitum eisdem soleant assignare, et non vitiis rerum, aut iniquitati

aliquotiens disceptantium, sed solis defensantibus irascantur. Verum unde huc declinavimus, revertamur. Valentinianus Sarmatis et Quadis Pannoniarum populatoribus bellum illaturus, in Illyricum proficiscitur, et transito Danubio Quadorum pagos vastat, vicos incendit, barbaros cuiusque aetatis iugulat. Pubescente iam vere, Valentinianus a Treveris motus, per nota itinera gradu celeri contendebat, eique regiones adventanti quas petebat, legatio Sarmatarum offertur: pedibusque eius prostrata, orabat pacifica prece, ut propitius veniret et lenis, nullius diri facinoris participes popularis suos inventurus aut conscios.

[22] Finally, the profession of advocate has, with the rest, this serious and dangerous evil, which is native to almost all litigants, that although their cases may be lost by a thousand accidents, they think their ill-success lies wholly in the ability of their advocates, and they are accustomed to attribute the outcome of every contest to them; and they vent their anger not on the weakness of their case or the frequent injustice of the magistrate who decides it, but only on their defenders. But let us return to the point from which we made the digression. Valentinian goes to Illyricum to make war on the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who are devastating Pannonia. Crossing the Danube he lays waste the cantons of the Quadi, burns their villages, and massacres savages of all ages. When spring was already ripening, Valentinian moved from Trier and hastened by quick marches along the familiar roads; and when he came to the regions for which he was aiming, he was met by a deputation of the Sarmatians, who threw themselves at his feet and begged in peaceful terms that his visit might be favourable and merciful to them, since he would find that their countrymen were neither participants in, nor aware of, any outrage.

[2] Quibus saepe eadem iterantibus, hactenus perpensa deliberatione respondit, haec in locis ubi dicuntur admissa, quaerenda verissimis documentis et vindicanda. Cumque exinde Carnuntum Illyriorum oppidum introisset, desertum quidem nunc et squalens, sed ductori exercitus perquam opportunum, ubi fors copiam dedisset aut ratio, e statione proxima reprimebat barbaricos appetitus.

[2] When they often repeated these same statements, after mature deliberation the emperor made this answer: that these acts must be investigated, in the place where they were said to have been committed, and punished in the light of the most reliable evidence. And when thereafter he entered Carnuntum, a town of the prefecture of Illyricum, now indeed deserted and in ruins, but very convenient for the leader of an army, he proceeded (whenever chance or design gave the opportunity) to check the attacks of the savages from a station near by.

[3] Et quamquam terrori cunctis erat dum sperabatur, ut acer et vehemens, mox iudices damnari iussurus, quorum perfidia vel secessione Pannoniarum

nudatum est latus: cum illuc venisset, ita intepuit, ut neque in Gabinii regis inquireret necem, necque inusta rei publicae vulnera, quo sinente vel agente segnius evenissent, curatius vestigaret: eo videlicet more, quo erat severus in gregariis corrigendis, remissior erga maiores fortunas vel verbis asperioribus incessendas.

[3] And though he was a terror to all while his arrival was waited for, since he was likely in bitter anger to order at once the punishment of officials who through perfidy or desertion had exposed that side of Pannonia, yet on his arrival he became so mild that he neither made inquiry into the murder of King Gabinius, nor carefully investigated the wounds branded on the body of the state to learn through whose negligence or guilt they had come about. And indeed it was his way to be severe in punishing common people, but more lenient towards personages of higher rank, even when they deserved a severe rebuke in harsh words.

[4] Solum tamen incitato petebat odio Probum, numquam ex quo eum viderat minari desinens vel mitescens: cuius rei causae nec obscurae fuerunt nec leves. Hic praefecturam praetorio non tunc primitus nactus, eamque multis atque utinam probabilibus modis, in longum proferre gestiens, non ut prosapiae suae claritudo monebat, plus adulationi quam verecundiae dedit.

[4] Probus alone he attacked with bitter hatred, never ceasing to threaten him from the first time he had seen him, nor showing him any mildness; and for this conduct there were obvious weighty reasons. Probus had then, not for the first time, attained the rank of praetorian prefect, and in his longing to prolong his tenure of office in many ways (I only wish that they had been justifiable), he relied more on flattery than on worth otherwise than the glory of his stock admonished him.

[5] Contemplatus enim propositum principis, quaerendae undique pecuniae vias absque iustorum iniustorumque discretionem scrutantis, errantem non reducebat ad aequitatis tramitem (ut saepe moderatores fecere tranquilli) sed ipse quoque flexibilem sequebatur atque transversum.

[5] For considering the emperor's inclination to seek out ways of getting money from every quarter without distinction between right and wrong, he did not call him back when he strayed from the path of justice (as peace-loving counsellors have often done), but himself also followed the emperor on his devious and perverse course.

[6] Unde graves oboedientium casus, et exitialia provisorum nomina titulorum, iuxta opulentas et tenues enervatas succidere fortunas, argumentis aliis post alia validioribus, usu laedendi reperiente longaevo. Denique per tributorum onera vectigaliumque augmenta multiplicata, optimatum quosdam ultimorum metu exagitatos, mutare compulit sedes, et flagitantium ministrorum

amaritudine quidam expressi, cum non suppeteret quod daretur, erant perpetui carcerum inquilini: e quibus aliquos, cum vitae iam taederet et lucis, suspendiorum exoptata remedia consumpserunt.

[6] Hence resulted the grievous troubles of his subjects, and the ruinous items of imposts that had been instituted, long-continued practice in oppression finding one pretext after another, each more effective than the others, enfeebled and cut the sinews of the fortunes of rich and poor alike. Finally, the burden of tributes and the repeated increase in taxes compelled some of the most distinguished families, hounded by the fear of the worst, to leave their country; others, crushed by the severity of the dunning tax-collectors, having nothing to give, became permanent inmates of the prisons; and some of these, now weary of life and light, died by the noose as a welcome release.

[7] Haec ita illecebrosius atque inhumanus agi loquebatur quidem pertinax rumor; Valentinianus vero tamquam auribus cera illitis ignorabat, indifferenter quidem lucrandi vel ex rebus minimis avidus, idque tantum cogitans quod offerebatur, parsurus tamen fortasse Pannoniis, si haec ante ingemiscenda compendia comperisset, quae nimium sero tali didicit casu.

[7] These things, as persistent rumour maintained, went on thus with increasing treachery and ruthlessness; but Valentinian knew nothing of them, as if his ears were stopped with wax, being eager for indiscriminate gain even from the slightest things, and taking into consideration only what was offered. Yet perhaps he would have spared Pannonia, if he had known earlier of these lamentable sources of profit, of which he learned all too late from the following chance occurrence.

[8] Ad provincialium residuorum exemplum, etiam Epirotae acturos sibi gratias a praefecto mittere compulsi legatos, Iphiclem quendam philosophum, spectatum robore pectoris hominem, adegere (non sponte propria) pergere ad id munus implendum.

[8] After the example of the rest of the provincials the Epirotes also were compelled by the prefect to send envoys to the emperor to offer him their thanks, and forced a philosopher called Iphicles, a man renowned for his strength of soul, against his own desire to go and perform that duty.

[9] Qui cum imperatorem vidisset, agnitus adventusque sui causam interrogatus, Graece respondit, atque ut philosophus veritatis professor, quaerente curatius principe, si hi qui misere ex animo bene sentiunt de praefecto, 'gementes,' inquit, 'et inviti.'

[9] And he, when he came into the emperor's presence, being recognized and asked the reason for his coming, replied in Greek; and when the emperor asked explicitly whether those who sent him thought well of the prefect in their hearts, he said, as became a philosopher who made a profession of truth:

“With groans and against their will.”

[10] Quo ille verbo tamquam telo percussus, actus eius ut sagax bestia rimabatur, genuino percunctando sermone quos noscitabat, ubinam ille esset (verbi gratia) honore suos antecellens et nomine, vel ille dives, aut alius ordinis primus. Cumque disceret perisse aliquem laqueo, abisse alium trans mare, conscivisse sibi alium mortem aut plumbo vita erepta extinctum, in immensum excanduit, urente irarum nutrimenta tunc officiorum magistro Leone (pro nefas!) ipso quoque praefecturam, ut e celsiore scopulo caderet, affectante: quam si adeptus rexisset, prae his quae erat ausurus, administratio Probi ferebatur in caelum.

[10] By these words the emperor was struck as by a dagger, and like a keen-scented hound he searched into all the conduct of the prefect, asking Iphicles in his native tongue about people whom he personally knew: where in the world, for example, was so and so who excelled his countrymen in honour and reputation; or another, who was rich; or still another of high rank. And when he learned that one had fallen victim to the noose, that another had gone across the sea, that a third had committed suicide or had died under the blows of the knout, he burned with tremendous rage, to which Leo, who was then chief marshal of the Court (oh, horror!), added blazing fuel, a man who himself aspired to the prefecture, in order to fall from a greater height. And if he had attained and ruled the office, in comparison with what he would have dared, the administration of a Probus would be praised to the skies!

[11] Agens itaque apud Carnuntum imperator per continuos tres menses aestivos arma parabat et alimenta, siqua fors secundasset, pervasurus opportune Quados, tumultus atrocis auctores; in quo oppido Faustinus, filius sororis Viventii praefecti praetorio, notarius militans, Probo spectante negotium, carnificis manu peremptus est post tormenta, vocatus in crimen, quod asinum occidisse dicebatur ad usum artium secretarum, ut asserebant quidam urgentes; ut autem aiebat ille ad imbecillitatem firmandam fluentium capillorum.

[11] And so the emperor remained at Carnuntum, where throughout the entire three summer months he was preparing arms and supplies, intending, if in anyway fortune favoured, to find opportunity to attack the Quadi, the instigators of the terrible uprising. It was in that town that Faustinus, nephew of Viventius, the praetorian prefect, when serving as a state-secretary, after an investigation conducted by Probus, was first tortured and then put to death by the hand of the executioner. The charge was that he had killed an ass, as some of his accusers alleged, for use in secret arts, but as he himself declared, to strengthen the weakness of his hair, which was falling out.

[12] Alio quoque in eum perniciose composito, quod petenti per iocum cuidam Nigrino, ut eum notarium faceret, exclamavit ille hominem ridens: ‘Fac me

imperatorem, si id volueris impetrare.’ Hocque ludibrio inique interpretato, et Faustinus ipse et Nigrinus et alii sunt interfecti.

[12] According to another, who was also suborned to ruin him, when one Nigrinus in jest asked for an appointment as state-secretary, Faustinus laughed at the man and said: “Make me emperor, if you want to get that office.” Since this jest was unjustly interpreted, Faustinus himself, as well as Nigrinus and others, were put to death.

[13] Praemisso igitur Merobaude cum militari peditum manu, quam regebat, ad vastandos cremandosque barbaricos pagos, comite adiuncto Sebastiano, Valentinianus Acincum propere castra commovit, navigiisque ad repentinum casum coniunctis, et contabulato celeri studio ponte, per partem aliam transiit in Quados, speculantes quidem ex diruptis montibus eius adventum, quo plerique ancipites, incertique accidentium, cum suis caritatibus secesserunt: sed stupore defixos, cum in regionibus suis, contra quam opinabantur, augusta cernerent signa.

[13] Valentinian now sent Merobaudes on ahead with the division of foot-soldiers under his command, and in company with Count Sebastianus, to plunder and burn the cantons of the barbarians; the emperor himself quickly moved his camp to Acincum, joined together boats for the sudden emergency, and having with swift energy made a bridge of planks upon them, crossed through another quarter into the territory of the Quadi. They indeed were watching for his coming from the steep mountains, to which most of them, in doubt and uncertain what was happening, had withdrawn with their families; but they were overcome with amazement when, contrary to their expectation, they saw the imperial standards in their territories.

[14] Progressus ergo coacto gradu in quantum res tulit, iugulataque aetate promiscua, quam etiam tum palantem subitus occupavit excursus, et tectis combustis, redit cum incolumibus cunctis, quos duxerat secum, itidemque apud Acincum moratus, autumno praecipiti, per tractus congelari frigore assuetos, commoda quaerebat hiberna, nullaque sedes idonea reperiri praeter Savariam poterat, quamvis eo invalidam tempore, assiduisque malis afflictam.

[14] Valentinian then advanced forcing the pace as far as occasion demanded, put to death without distinction of age all those who were still roaming about and were taken unawares by his sudden onset, burned the dwellings, and returned without losing a man of those whom he had led with him. He also lingered at Acincum, since the autumn was swiftly passing on, and being in lands where the cold weather always covered everything with ice, he looked about for suitable winter quarters; and he could find no convenient place except Savaria, although that town was then weak and had suffered from repeated misfortunes.

[15] Unde hoc, etiam si magni intererat, paulisper sequestrate, impigre motus, peragrata fluminis ripa, castrisque praesidio competenti munitis atque castellis, Bregitionem pervenit, ibique diu compositum ad quietem principis fatum sortem denuntiabat ei supremam, prodigiis ingerentibus multis.

[15] Therefore, setting this aside for a time, in spite of the great need for a halt, he quickly moved from there, marched along the banks of the river, and having protected his camp with an adequate force and with castles came to Bregitio. There the fate which had long been designed to end the emperor's labours foretold his approaching end by a repeated series of portents.

[16] Namque diebus ante paucissimis, ruinas fortunarum indicantia celsarum, arsere crinita sidera cometarum, quorum originem supra docuimus. Ante apud Sirmium repentino fragore nubium fulmen excussum, palatii et curiae partem incendit et fori, et apud Savariam eodem adhuc constitute, bubo culminibus regii lavacri insidens, occentansque funebria, nulla iacentium sagittas et lapides contemplabili dextera cadere potuit, certatim licet ardenti studio petebatur.

[16] For a very few days before his arrival comets blazed in the heavens; these foreshadow the downfall of men of high position, and of their origin I have already given an account. Before that, at Sirmium, with sudden crash of the clouds, a thunderbolt fell and set fire to a part of the palace, the senate house, and the forum. Also at Savaria, where the emperor was still settled, an owl perched on the top of the imperial bath, and uttered notes foretelling death; and no skilful hand could bring it down with arrows or with stones, although many vied with one another in eager attacks upon it.

[17] Item cum ab urbe praedicta tenderet ad procinctum, per portam voluit unde introiit exire, ut omen colligeret, quod cite remeabit ad Gallias. Dumque locus aggestis ruderibus neglectus purgatur, lapsam forem ferratam, quae exitum obseravit, multitudo remove non potuit, viribus magnis enisa, et ille ne frustra tereret diem, coactus per aliam egressus est portam.

[17] Again, when he was on his way from the aforesaid city to a campaign, he wished to go out through the same gate by which he had entered, in order to gain an omen that he would quickly return to Gaul; but while the neglected place was being cleared of accumulated debris, the iron-clad door which barred the exit was found to have fallen, and could not be removed by the greatest efforts of a large number of men; and to avoid wasting a day there, he was forced to go out by another gate.

[18] Nocteque quam lux ereptura eum vita secuta est (ut per quietem solet) videbat coniugem suam absentem, sedere passis capillis, amictu squalenti contextam: quam aestimari dabatur Fortunam eius esse, cum taetro habitu iam discessuram.

[18] And on the night before the day which was to deprive him of life, he had a vision (as men often do in their sleep); he saw his absent wife sitting with disordered hair and dressed in mourning attire; and it was possible to infer that she was his own Fortune, on the point of leaving him in the garb of sorrow.

[19] Progressus deinde matutinus, contractiore vultu subtristis, cum eum oblatus non susceperet equus, anteriores pedes praeter morem erigens in sublime, innata feritate concitus, ut erat immanis, dexteram stratoris militis iussit abscidi, quae eum insipientem iumento fulserat consuete: perissetque cruciabiliter innocens iuvenis, ni tribunus stabuli Cerealis dirum nefas cum sui periculo distulisset. Idem dum legatis Quadorum populares suos purgantibus respondet iratus, ictu sanguinis exstinguitur. Post haec Quadorum venere legati, pacem cum praeteritorum oblitteratione, suppliciter obsecrantes, quam ut adipisci sine obstaculo possent, et tirocinium et quaedam utilia rei Romanae pollicebantur.

[19] Then the next morning, when he came out somewhat gloomy and with frowning brow, the horse that was brought to him would not allow him to mount, but reared its fore feet high in the air contrary to its usual manner; whereupon the emperor fell into one of his innate fits of anger and, being naturally cruel, ordered the groom's right hand, which as usual had supported him in leaping on to the animal, to be cut off. And the guiltless young man would have suffered a cruel fate, had not Cerealis, the tribune in charge of the stable, at the risk of his own life postponed the terrible wrong. Valentinian, while making an angry reply to the envoys of the Quadi, who were trying to excuse their fellow-countrymen, dies of apoplexy. After this, envoys of the Quadi appeared, humbly begging for peace and forgetfulness of their past offences; and in order to obtain this without hindrance, they promised to provide recruits and some other things helpful to the Roman state.

[2] Quos quoniam suscipi placuit, et redire indutiis, quae poscebantur, indutis, quippe eos vexari diutius, nec ciborum inopia, nec alienum tempus anni patiebantur, in consistorium, Aequitio suadente, sunt intromissi. Cumque membris incurvatis starent metu debiles et praestricti, docere iussi quae ferebant, usitatas illas causationum species iurandi fidem addendo firmabant; nihil ex communi mente procerum gentis delictum asseverantes in nostros, sed per extimos quosdam latrones, amnique confines evenisse, quae incivilter gesta sunt, etiam id quoque addendo, ut sufficiens ad facta purganda firmantes, quod munimentum extrui coeptum nec iuste nec opportune ad ferociam animos agrestes accendit.

[2] When it was decided that the envoys be received and allowed to return home with the grant of the truce for which they were asking (for neither lack of supplies nor the unfavourable time of year allowed further attacks upon them), on the advice of Aequitius they were admitted to the councilchamber.

And as they stood there with bended limbs weak and stricken by fear, on being bidden to tell their mission, they gave the usual series of excuses and supported them by adding the pledge of an oath. They declared that there had been no common consent of the chiefs of their race in any wrong that had been done us, but that the hostile acts had been committed by bands of foreign brigands dwelling near the river; and they added, and maintained that it was a valid excuse for their conduct, that the building of a barrier, which was begun both unjustly and without due occasion, roused their rude spirits to anger.

[3] *Ad haec imperator, ira vehementi perculsus, et inter exordia respondendi tumidior, increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu nationem omnem ut beneficiorum immemorem et ingratham. Paulatimque lenitus, et ad molliora propensior, tamquam ictus e caelo, vitalique via voceque simul obstructa, suffectus igneo lumine cernebatur; et repente cohibito sanguine, letali sudore perfusus, ne laberetur spectantibus multis et vilibus, concursu ministrorum vitae secretioris ad conclave ductus est intimum.*

[3] At this the emperor burst into a mighty fit of wrath, and being particularly incensed during the first part of his reply, he railed at the whole nation in noisy and abusive language, as ungrateful and forgetful of acts of kindness. Then he gradually calmed himself and seemed more inclined to mildness, when, as if struck by a bolt from the sky, he was seen to be speechless and suffocating, and his face was tinged with a fiery flush. On a sudden his blood was checked and the sweat of death broke out upon him. Then, that he might not fall before the eyes of a throng of the common sort, his body-servants rushed to him and led him into an inner chamber.

[4] *Ubi locatus in lecto, exiguas spiritus reliquias trahens, nondum intellegendi minuto vigore, cunctos agnoscebat adstantes, quos cubicularii, nequis eum necatum suspicaretur, celeritate maxima corrogarant. Et quoniam viscerum flagrante compage, laxanda erat necessario vena, nullus inveniri potuit medicus, hanc ob causam quod eos per varia sparserat, curaturos militem pestilentiae morbo temptatum.*

[4] There he was laid upon a bed; but although he was drawing more feeble remnants of breath, the vigour of his mind was not yet lessened, and he recognized all those who stood about him, whom the chamberlains had summoned. With all speed, in order to avert any suspicion that he had been murdered. And since all parts of his body were burning hot, it was necessary to open a vein, but no physician could be found, since he had sent them to various places, to give attention to the soldiers who were attacked by the plague.

[5] *Unus tamen repertus, venam eius iterum saepiusque pungendo, ne guttam quidem cruoris elicere potuit, internis nimietate calorum ambustis, vel (ut quidam existimabant), arefactis ideo membris, quod meatus aliqui (quos*

haemorrhoidas nunc appellamus), obserati sunt gelidis frigoribus concrustati.

[5] At last however one was found, but although he repeatedly pierced a vein, he could not draw even a single drop of blood, since the emperor's inner parts were consumed by excessive heat, or (as some thought) because his body was dried up, since some passages for the blood (which we now all hemorrhoids) were closed and incrustated by the cold chills.

[6] Sensit immensa vi quadam urgente morborum, ultimae necessitatis adesse praescripta, dicereque conatus aliqua vel mandare, ut singultus ilia crebrius pulsans, stridorque dentium et brachiorum motus velut caestibus dimicantium indicabat, iam superatus, liventibusque maculis interfusus, animam diu colluctatam efflavit, aetatis quinquagesimo anno et quinto, imperii (minus centum dies) secundo et decimo. Quo patre natus sit, et quas res princeps gesserit. Replicare nunc est opportunum (ut aliquotiens fecimus), et ab ortu primigenio patris huius principis ad usque ipsius obitum, actus eius discurrere per epilogos brevis, nec vitiorum praetermisso discrimine, vel bonorum, quae potestatis amplitudo monstravit, nudare solita semper animorum interna.

[6] He felt the disease crushing him with a mighty force, and knew that the fated end of his life was at hand; and he tried to speak or give some orders, as was indicated by the gasps that often heaved his sides, by the grinding of his teeth, and by movements of his arms as if of men fighting with the cestus; but finally his strength failed him, his body was covered with livid spots, and after a long struggle for life he breathed his last, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the twelfth of his reign, less a hundred days.

Valentinian's parentage and his deeds as ruler.

It is now in place to go back and (as we have often done) in a brief epilogue run through the deeds of this emperor, from the very birth of his father to his own decease, without omitting to distinguish his faults or his good qualities, brought to light as they were by greatness of power, which is always wont to lay bare a man's inmost character.

[2] Natus apud Cibalas, Pannoniae oppidum, Gratianus maior ignobili stirpe, cognominatus est a pueritia prima Funarius, ea re quod nondum adultus, venalem circumferens funem, quinque militibus eum rapere studio magno conatis, nequaquam cessit: aemulatus Crotoniaten Milonem, cui mala saepe cohaerenter laeva manu retinenti vel dextra, nulla umquam virium fortitudo abstraxit.

[2] His father, the elder Gratianus, was born at Cibalae, a town of Pannonia, of a humble family, and from his early boyhood was surnamed Funarius, because when he was not yet grown up and was carrying round a rope for sale, and five soldiers tried with all their might to tear it from him, he gave way not an inch; he thus rivalled Milo of Croton, from whom no possible

exercise of strength could ever take an apple, when he held it tightly in his left or his right hand, as he often did.

[3] Ob ergo validi corporis robur, et peritiam militum more luctandi, notior multis, post dignitatem protectoris atque tribuni, comes praefuit rei castrensis per Africam, unde furtorum suspicione contactus, digressusque multo postea pari potestate Britannum rexit exercitum, tandemque honeste sacramento solutus, revertit ad larem, et agens procul a strepitu, multatione bonorum afflictus est a Constantio, hoc nomine, quod civili flagrante discordia, hospitio dicebatur suscepisse Magnentium, per agrum suum ad proposita festinantem.

[3] Hence, because of his mighty strength of body and his skill in wrestling in the soldiers' fashion he became widely known, and after holding the position of one of the bodyguard and of a tribune, he commanded the army in Africa with the title of count. There he incurred the suspicion of theft, but he departed long afterwards and commanded the army in Britain with the same rank; and at last, after being honourably discharged, he returned to his home. While he was living there far from the noise and bustle, his property was confiscated by Constantius, on the ground that when civil discord was raging he was said to have shown hospitality to Magnentius when the usurper was hastening through Gratianus's land to carry out his designs.

[4] Cuius meritis Valentinianus ab ineunte adulescentia commendabilis, contextu suarum quoque suffragante virtutum, indutibus imperatoriae maiestatis apud Nicaeam ornatus, in Augustum collegium fratrem Valentem adscivit, ut germanitate ita concordia sibi iunctissimum, inter probra medium et praecipua, quae loco docebimus competenti.

[4] Because of his father's services Valentinian was favoured from early youth, and being commended also by the addition of his own merits, he was clad in the insignia of imperial majesty at Nicaea. He took as his imperial colleague his brother Valens, to whom he was greatly attached both by the tie of fraternity and by sympathy, a man with an equal amount of excellent and bad qualities, as we shall point out in the proper place.

[5] Igitur Valentinianus post periculorum molestias plures, dum esset privatus, emensas, imperitare exorsus, ut arces prope flumina sitas et urbes muniret, Gallias petit, Alamannicis patentes excursibus, revisiscentibus erectius cognito principis Iuliani interitu, quem post Constantem solum omnium formidabant.

[5] Valentinian, then, after suffering many annoyances and dangers while he was a private citizen, had no sooner begun to reign than he went to Gaul, to fortify the strongholds and cities lying near the rivers; for these were exposed to the raids of the Alamanni, who were raising their heads higher after learning of the death of the emperor Julian, who was absolutely the only one

whom they feared after the death of Constans.

[6] Ideo autem etiam Valentinianus merito timebatur, quod auxit et exercitus valido supplemento, et utrobique Rhenum celsioribus castris munivit atque castellis, ne latere usquam hostis ad nostra se propiciens possit.

[6] But Valentinian also was rightly dreaded by them, both because he increased the armies with a strong reinforcement and because he so fortified both banks of the Rhine with lofty castles and strongholds, that nowhere should an enemy be able to hurl himself at our territories unobserved.

[7] Utque multa praetereamus, quae egit moderatoris auctoritate fundati, quaeque per se vel duces correxit industrios, post Gratianum filium in societatem suae potestatis assumptum, Vithicabium regem Alamannorum, Vadomario genitum, adulescentem in flore primo genarum, nationes ad tumultus cientem et bella, clam (quia non potuit aperte) confodit; et Alamannis congressus, prope Solicinium locum, ubi insidiis paene perierat, circumventus, ad exitium ultimum delere potuit universos, ni paucos velox effugium tenebris amendasset.

[7] And to pass over many things which he did with the authority of an established ruler, and the reforms that he effected either personally or through energetic generals, after admitting his son Gratianus to a share in his power, he secretly, since he could not do so openly, caused Vithicabius, king of the Alamanni, son of Vadomarius, a young man in the first bloom of manhood, to be stabbed, because he was rousing his people to rebellion and war. And joining battle with the Alamanni near a place called Solicinium, where, after falling into an ambushade and all but losing his life, he could have utterly destroyed their entire army, had not swift flight saved a few of them under cover of darkness.

[8] Inter haec tamen caute gesta, iam conversos ad metuendam rabiem Saxonas, semper quolibet inexplorato ruentes, delatosque tunc ad maritimos tractus, quorum spoliis paene redierant locupletes, malefido quidem sed utili commento peremit, praeda raptoribus vi fractis excussa.

[8] While he was accomplishing these exploits with due caution, the Saxons, who had already broken out into formidable madness and were always rushing wherever they pleased without reconnaissances, had then invaded the maritime districts, and had almost returned enriched with the spoils which they took; but by a device which was treacherous but expedient he overwhelmed and stripped of their booty the robbers thus forcibly crushed.

[9] Itidemque Britannos, catervas superfusorum hostium non ferentes, spe meliorum assumpta, in libertatem et quietem restituit placidam, nullo paene redire permisso grassatorum ad sua.

[9] Again, when the Britons could not resist the hordes of enemies that were overrunning their country, he restored them to freedom and quiet peace with the hope of better conditions, and allowed almost none of the plunderers to return to his home.

[10] Efficacia pari Valentinum quoque, Pannonium exsulem, per has provincias molientem otium turbare commune, antequam negotium efferverescat, oppressit. Africam deinde malo repentino percussam, discriminibus magnis exemit, cum voracis militarium fastus ferre nequiens Firmus, ad omnes dissensionum motus perflabiles gentes Mauricas concitasset. Similique fortitudine clades ingemiscendas Illyrici vindicasset, ni morte praeventus reliquisset rem seriam imperfectam.

[10] With like effectiveness he also crushed Valentinus, the exile from Pannonia, who was trying to disturb the public peace in that province, before his design came to a head. Next, he saved Africa from great dangers, when that country was in the throes of an unexpected disaster; for Firmus was unable to endure the greed and arrogance of the military officials and had aroused the Moorish tribes, whose ardour can always easily be fanned to any plan of dissension. With equal courage he would have avenged the lamentable catastrophes in Illyricum, had he not been overtaken by death and left that important matter unfinished.

[11] Ac licet opera praestabilium ducum haec quae rettulimus consummata sunt, tamen ipsum quoque satis constat, ut erat expeditae mentis usuque castrensis negotii diuturno firmatus, egisse complura; inter quae illud elucere clarius potuit, si Macrianum regem ea tempestate terribilem, vivum capere potuisset, ut industria magna temptarat, postquam eum evasisse Burgundios, quos ipse admoverat Alamannis, maerens didicisset et tristis. Eius saevitia, avaritia, invidia, et timor. Haec super actibus principis brevi sunt textu percurta: nunc confisi quod nec metu nec adulandi foeditate constricta posteritas, incorrupta praeteritorum solet esse spectatrix, summatim eius numerabimus vitia, post et praecipua narraturi.

[11] And although these successes which I have mentioned were brought about by his admirable generals, yet it is also well known that he himself, being a man of nimble mind and hardened by long experience in military life, performed very many exploits; and among these it would have been a most glorious feat if he had been able to take King Macrianus alive, who was at that time formidable. He had made great efforts to do so after he learned with grief and sorrow that the king had escaped from the Burgundians, whom Valentinian himself had aroused against the Alamanni.

His cruelty, greed, jealousy, and cowardice.

This is a brief account of the emperor's deeds. Now, in the belief that

posterity, being bound neither by fear nor by base flattery, is usually an uncorrupted judge of the past, I shall give a summary of his defects, to be followed by an account of his excellent qualities.

[2] *Adsimulavit non numquam clementiae speciem, cum esset in acerbitem naturae calore propensior, oblitus profecto quod regenti imperium omnia nimia, velut praecipites scopuli, sunt evitanda.*

[2] He sometimes assumed an appearance of mildness, although his hot temper made him more inclined to severity; for he evidently forgot that a ruler should avoid all excess, as he would a precipice.

[3] *Nec enim usquam reperitur miti coercitione contentus, sed aliquoties quaestiones multiplicari iussisse cruentas, per interrogationes funestas, non nullis ad usque discrimina vitae vexatis: et ita erat effusior ad nocendum ut nullum aliquando damnatorum capitis eriperet morte, subscriptionis elogio leni, cum id etiam principes interdum fecere saevissimi.*

[3] For he was never found to be content with a mild punishment, but he continually ordered blood-thirsty investigations one after the other; and in his cruel inquisitions some were tortured even to the danger of their lives; in fact, he was so prone to cruelty that he never rescued from death any of those who had been capitally condemned, by merciful terms in a warrant which was presented for his subscription, although sometimes this has been done even by the most savage of princes.

[4] *Atquin potuit exempla multa contueri maiorum, et imitari peregrina atque interna humanitatis et pietatis, quas sapientes consanguineas virtutum esse definiunt bonas. E quibus haec sufficiet poni. Artaxerxes Persarum ille rex potentissimus, quem Macrochira membri unius longitudo commemoravit, suppliciorum varietates, quas natio semper exercuit cruda, lenitate genuina castigans, tiaras ad vicem capitum quibusdam noxiis amputabat: et ne secaret aures more regio pro delictis, ex galeris fila pendentia praecidebat: quae temperantia morum ita tolerabilem eum fecit et verecundum, ut annitentibus cunctis, multos et mirabiles actus impleret, Graecis scriptoribus celebratos.*

[4] And yet he could have contemplated many examples of the men of old, and might have imitated native and foreign instances of humanity and righteous mercy, which philosophers call the kind sisters of the virtues. Of these it will suffice to mention the following. Artaxerxes, that mighty king of the Persians, whom the length of one of his limbs made known as Macrochir, with inborn mildness corrected various punishments which that cruel nation had always practised, by sometimes cutting off the turbans of the guilty, in lieu of their heads; and instead of cutting off men's ears for various offences, as was the habit of the kings, he sheared off threads hanging from their head-coverings. This moderation of character so won for him the contentment and respect of

his subjects, that through their unanimous support he accomplished many noteworthy deeds, which are celebrated by the Greek writers.

[5] Praenestino praetore, qui bello quodam Samnitico properare iussus ad praesidium venerat segnius, ad crimen diluendum exhibito, Papirius Cursor, ea tempestate dictator, securem per lictorem expediri homineque abiecta purgandi se fiducia stupefacto, visum prope fruticem iussit abscidi: hocque ioci genere castigatum, cum eum absolveret, non ideo contemptus, bella diuturna patrum superavit et gravia, solus ad resistendum aptus Alexandro Magno, si calcasset Italiam, aestimatus.

[5] A general of Praeneste in one of the Samnite wars had been ordered to hasten to his post, but had been slow to obey, and was summoned to expiate that misdeed; Papirius Cursor, who was dictator at the time, ordered the lictor to make ready his axe, and in sight of the man, who was overcome with terror and had given up hope of excusing himself, he gave orders that a bush seen near should be cut down, by a jest of this kind at the same time punishing and acquitting the man; and thereby he suffered no loss of respect, and he brought to an end the long and difficult wars of his fathers and was considered the only man capable of resisting Alexander the Great, if that king should have set foot on Italian soil.

[6] Haec forsitan Valentinianus ignorans, minimeque reputans, afflicti solacium status semper esse lenitudinem principum, poenas per ignes augebat et gladios: quod ultimum in adversis rebus remedium pietas reperit animorum, ut Isocratis memorat pulchritudo: cuius vox est perpetua docentis, ignosci debere interdum armis superato rectori, quam iustum quid sit ignorant.

[6] Valentinian, who perhaps knew nothing of these instances, and did not consider that slowness to anger in rulers is always a solace for unhappy circumstances, increased the number of punishments by fire and sword, which a righteous spirit regards as the last resort in times of stress, as the splendid writer Isocrates says; there is an utterance of his for all time whereby he teaches that sometimes a ruler who has been overcome by arms ought to be pardoned, more than one who did not know what is just.

[7] Unde motum existimo Tullium praeclare pronuntiassse, cum defenderet Oppium: ‘Et enim multum posse ad salutem alterius, honori multis; parum potuisse ad exitium, probro nemini umquam fuit.’

[7] I think it was under the influence of this that Cicero made the glorious statement in his defence of Oppius: “and indeed, to have great power for the salvation of another has brought honour to many; to have had too little power to destroy him has never been a reproach to anyone.”

[8] Aviditas plus habendi, sine honesti praeque differentia, et indagandi quaestus varios per alienae vitae naufragia, exundavit in hoc principe

flagrantius adulescens, Quam quidam praetendentes imperatorem Aurelium purgare temptabant, id affirmando quod ut ille post Gallienum, et lamentabilis rei publicae casus, exinanito aerario, torrentis ritu ferebatur in divites, ita hic quoque post procinctus Parthici clades, magnitudine indigens impensarum, ut militi supplementa suppeterent et stipendium, crudelitati cupiditatem opes nimias congerendi miscebat: dissimulans scire, quod sunt aliqua quae fieri non oportet, etiam si licet, Themistoclis illius vere dissimilis, qui cum post pugnam agminaque deleta Persarum, licenter obambulans, armillas aureas vidisset humi proiectas, et torquem, ‘Tolle’ inquit ‘haec,’ ad comitem quendam prope adstantem versus, ‘quia Themistocles non es,’ quodlibet spernens in duce magnanimo lucrum.

[8] The greed for greater possessions without distinguishing right from wrong, and of seeking advantages of various kinds through the shipwreck of others’ lives, grew ever greater and became excessive in this emperor. This fault some tried to excuse by offering the example of the emperor Aurelian, declaring that as, when the treasury was exhausted after Gallienus and the lamentable disasters to the state, he fell upon the rich like a torrent, so Valentinian, after the losses of the Parthian campaign, feeling the need of a vast quantity of expenditure in order to provide reinforcements and pay for his troops, mingled with cruelty the desire to amass excessive wealth, affecting not to know that there are some things which ought not to be done, even if one has the power to do them. In this he was quite unlike the famous Themistocles, for when after the fight with the Persians and the annihilation of their army the Athenian was aimlessly strolling about, and saw golden bracelets and a neck-chain lying on the ground, he turned to one of his attendants who stood near by and said: “Pick up these, since you are not Themistocles,” thus showing his scorn of any love of money in a noble leader.

[9] Huius exempla continentiae similia plurima in Romanis exuberant ducibus: quibus omissis, quoniam non sunt perfectae virtutis indicia, (nec enim aliena non rapere laudis est), unum ex multis constans innocentiae vulgi veteris specimen ponam. Cum proscriptorum locupletes domus diripiendas Romanae plebei Marius dedisset et Cinna, ita vulgi rudes animi sed humana soliti respectare, alienis laboribus pepercerunt, ut nullus egens reperiretur aut infimus, qui de civili luctu fructum contrectare pateretur sibi concessum.

[9] Like instances of this same selfrestraint are found in abundance in Roman generals. Passing these by, since they are no indication of perfect virtue (for not to seize the property of others deserves no praise), I will give one certain indication (among many) of the integrity of the common people of early days. When Marius and Cinna had turned over to the Roman plebeians the rich dwellings of the proscribed to be plundered, the rough spirit of the commons, wont however to respect human misfortunes, so spared what had been gained by the toil of others that no one of the poor or of the lowest class was found

who allowed himself, though permission was given him, to handle profits from the woes of his country.

[10] *Invidia praeter haec ante dictus medullitus urebatur, et sciens pleraque vitiorum imitari solere virtutes, memorabat assidue, livorem severitatis rectae potestatis esse individuum sociam. Utque sunt dignitatum apices maximi, licere sibi cuncta existimantes, et ad suspicandum contrarios, exturbandosque meliores pronius inclinati, bene vestitos oderat et eruditos et opulentos et nobiles, et fortibus detrahebat, ut solus videretur bonis artibus eminere, quo vitio exarsisse principem legimus Hadrianum.*

[10] Besides this there was a fire of envy in the very marrow of this same emperor, and knowing that most vices are wont to assume the appearance of virtues, he had ever upon his lips the saying, that malice of severity is the inseparable associate of rightful power. And as men of the highest position always think that everything is allowed them, and they are strongly inclined to suspect those who oppose them and to overthrow better men than themselves, so he hated the well dressed, the learned, the rich, and the high-born; and he depreciated brave men, in order to give the appearance of surpassing all men in good qualities, a fault, as we read, by which the emperor Hadrian was inflamed.

[11] *Arguebat hic idem princeps timidos saepius, maculosos tales appellans et sordidos, et infra sortem humilem amendandos, ipse ad pavores irritos aliquotiens abiectius pallens, et quod nusquam erat, ima mente formidans.*

[11] This same prince often denounced cowards, calling such men sullied, unclean, and deserving to be thrust down below the humblest estate; and yet he himself, in the presence of empty terrors, sometimes turned abjectly pale and dreaded in his inmost soul something that did not exist at all.

[12] *Quo intellecto, magister officiorum Remigius, cum eum ex incidentibus ira fervere sentiret, fieri motus quosdam barbaricos, inter alia subserebat: hocque ille audito, quia timore mox frangebatur, ut Antoninus Pius erat serenus et clemens.*

[12] It was the knowledge of this that led Remigius, marshal of the court, when he perceived that the emperor was boiling with anger at something which had occurred, to hint among other things that some outbreaks of the barbarians threatened; and when Valentinian heard this, immediately he was so overcome with fear that he became as calm and mild as Antoninus the Good himself.

[13] *Iudices numquam consulto malignos elegit, sed si semel promotos agere didicisset immaniter, Lycurgos invenisse praedicabat et Cassios, columnina iustitiae prisca, scribensque hortabatur assidue, ut noxas vel leves acerbius vindicarent.*

[13] He never intentionally chose cruel judges, but if he had learned that Those whom he had once advanced were acting cruelly, he maintained that he had found men like Lycinus and Cassius, those ancient pillars of justice; and he often urged them in writing to punish even light offences with all severity.

[14] nec afflictis (si fors ingruisset inferior) erat ullum in principis benignitate perfugium, quod semper, ut agitato mari iactatis, portus patuit exoptatus. Finis enim iusti imperii (ut sapientes docent) utilitas oboedientium aestimatur et salus. Eiusdem virtutes. Consentaneum est venire post haec ad eius actus, sequendos recte sentientibus et probandos: ad quos si reliqua temperasset, vixerat ut Traianus et Marcus. In provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas: oppidorum et limitum conditor tempestivus: militaris disciplinae censor eximius, in hoc tantum deerrans, quod cum gregariorum etiam levia puniret errata, potiorum ducum flagitia progredi sinebat in maius, ad querellas in eos motas aliquotiens obscurdescens: unde Britannici strepitus et Africanae clades et vastitas emersit Illyrici.

[14] Those in trouble, whom a reverse of fortune had befallen, found no refuge in the kindness of their prince, which has always been a longed-for haven, as it were, for those tossed on a stormy sea. For the purpose of a just rule (as the philosophers teach) is supposed to be the advantage and safety of its subjects.

His virtues.

It is fitting after this to pass to those acts of his which were praiseworthy and to be imitated by right-thinking men; and if he had regulated the rest of his conduct in accordance with these, his career would have been that of a Trajan or a Marcus. He was very indulgent towards the provincials and everywhere lightened the burden of their tributes; he was always timely in founding towns and establishing frontier defences. He was an excellent critic of military discipline, failing only in this, that while he punished even slight offences of the common soldiers, he suffered the serious offences of his higher commanders to go to excess, often turning a deaf ear to the complaints made against them. The result of this was turmoil in Britain, disaster in Africa, and the devastation of Illyricum.

[2] Omni pudicitiae cultu domi castus et foris, nullo contagio conscientiae violatus obscenae, nihil incestum: hancque ob causam tamquam retinaculis petulantiam frenarat aulae regalis, quod custodire facile potuit, necessitudinibus suis nihil indulgens, quas aut in otio reprimebat, aut mediocriter honoravit absque fratre, quem temporis compulsus angustis, in amplitudinis suae societatem assumpsit.

[2] In every observance of chastity he was pure at home and abroad; he was stained by the foul touch of no obscene feelings or lewdness; and for that reason he controlled the wantonness of the imperial court as if by a curb; and

this course he could easily keep; he showed no indulgence to his own kindred, whom he either restrained in retirement or honoured with unimportant posts, with the exception of his brother, whom, compelled by press of circumstances, he admitted to a share in his own eminence.

[3] *Scrupulosus in deferendis potestatibus celsis nec imperante eo provinciam nummularius rexit, aut administratio venundata, nisi inter imperandi exordia, ut solent occupationis spe impune quaedam sceleste committi.*

[3] He was most cautious in bestowing high official positions: under his rule no money-changer governed a province, no office was ever sold, except at the beginning of his reign, a time when it is usual for some crimes to be committed with impunity through reliance on the distractions of a new ruler.

[4] *Ad inferenda propulsandaque bella sollertissime cautus, aestu Martii pulveris induratus, boni pravique suasor et desuasor admodum prudens, militaris rei ordinum scrutantissimus: scribens decore, venusteque pingens et fingens, et novorum inventor armorum: memoria sermoneque incitato quidem sed raro, facundiae proximo vicens, amator munditiarum, laetusque non profusis epulis sed excultis.*

[4] In war, whether offensive or defensive, he was most skilful and careful, a veteran in the heat and dust of the battlefield. In council he was a foresighted persuader of what was right and a dissuader of wrong, most strict in examining all ranks of the military service. He wrote a neat hand, was an elegant painter and modeller, and an inventor of new kinds of arms. His memory was lively; so was his speech (although he spoke seldom), and he was vigorous therein, almost to the point of eloquence. He loved neatness, and enjoyed banquets that were choice but not extravagant.

[5] *Postremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur, imperavit aut illud: nec interdictis minacibus subiectorum cervicem ad id, quod ipse coluit, inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes ut repperit.*

[5] Finally, his reign was distinguished by toleration, in that he remained neutral in religious differences neither troubling anyone on that ground nor ordering him to reverence this or that. He did not bend the necks of his subjects to his own belief by threatening edicts, but left such matters undisturbed as he found them.

[6] *Corpus eius lacertosum et validum, capilli fulgor colorisque nitor cum oculis caesiis, semper obliquum intuentibus et torvum, atque pulchritudo staturae, liniamentorumque recta compago, maiestatis regiae decus implebat. Valentinianus iunior, Valentiniani filius, in castris apud Bregetionem Augustus appellatur. Post conclamata imperatoris suprema, corpusque curatum ad sepulturam, ut missum Constantinopolim inter divorum reliquias*

humaretur, suspenso instante procinctu, anceps rei timebatur eventus cohortibus Gallicanis, quae non semper dicatae legitimorum principum fidei, velut imperiorum arbitri, ausurae novum quoddam in tempore sperabantur: hoc temptandae novitatis spes adiciente, quod gestorum ignarus etiam tum Gratianus agebat tum apud Treveros, ubi profecturus eum morari disposuerat pater.

[6] His strong and muscular body, the gleam of his hair, his brilliant complexion, his grey eyes, with a gaze that was always sidelong and stern, his fine stature, and his regular features completed a figure of regal charm and majesty. The younger Valentinian, son of the late emperor, is hailed as Augustus in the camp at Bregetio. After the last invocation of the emperor his body was prepared for burial, in order to be sent to Constantinople and interred among the remains of the deified rulers. Meanwhile the campaign that was approaching was suspended, and an uncertain outcome of the situation was feared, because of the cohorts serving in Gaul, which were not always of devoted loyalty to legitimate emperors, and regarded themselves as arbiters of the imperial power; and it was suspected that they might take the opportunity to venture on some new step; and this fact added some hopes of attempting a revolution — that Gratianus was still at Trier (where his father, when he was on the point of beginning his march, had arranged for him to stay) and even then knew nothing of what had happened.

[2] Cum negotium in his esset angustiis, et tamquam in eadem navi futuri periculorum (si accidissent) participes, omnes eadem formidarent: sedit summatum consilio, avulso ponte quem compaginarat ante necessitas, invadens terras hostilis, ut superstitis Valentiniani mandatu Merobaudes protinus acciretur.

[2] When affairs were in this critical state, and all were equally in dread, and likely to share in whatever dangers that might arise, as if in the same boat, it was agreed in accordance with the advice of the highest officers, after having torn down the bridge, which they had previously built under necessity when invading the enemy's territory, that Merobaudes at once should be summoned by order of Valentinian when he was still alive.

[3] Hocque ille ut erat sollertis ingenii, quod evenerat ratus, aut forte doctus ab eo per quem vocabatur, rupturum concordiae iura Gallicanum militem suspicatus, missam ad se tesseram finxit redeundi cum eo, ad observandas Rheni ripas quasi furore barbarico crudescente: utque erat secrete mandatum, Sebastianum principis adhuc ignorantem excessum, longius amendavit, quietum quidem virum et placidum, sed militari favore sublatum, ideo maxime tunc cavendum.

[3] He, being a sharp-wittedman, either guessing what had happened, or perhaps having learned it from the messenger who summoned him, and

suspecting that the Gallic troops would violate the terms of peace, pretended that an order-ticket had been sent to him to return with the messenger, in order to guard the banks of the Rhine because the barbarians were getting wilder. And Sebastianus, who was still unaware of the emperor's death, he sent to a more distant post, which had been secretly ordered; for although Sebastianus was a quiet and peace-loving man, he stood in high favour with the troops, and hence he was particularly to be feared at that time.

[4] *Reverso itaque Merobaude, altiore cura prospectum, expedite consilio, Valentinianus puer defuncti filius tum quadrimus, vocaretur in imperium cooptandus, centesimo lapide disparatus, degensque cum Iustina matre in villa, quam Murocinctam appellant.*

[4] Accordingly, after Merobaudes turned back, the matter of succession was carefully considered and the plan was unfolded that the boy Valentinianus, son of the deceased emperor and then four years old, should be summoned and given a share in the rule. He was at the time a hundred miles distant, living with his mother Justina at the country house called Murocincta.

[5] *Hocque concinenti omnium sententia confirmato, Cerealis avunculus eius ocius missus, eundem puerum lecticae impositum, duxit in castra sextoque die post parentis obitum imperator legitime declaratus, Augustus nuncupatur more sollemni.*

[5] When this had been approved by unanimous consent, the boy's uncle Cerealis was immediately sent to the place, put him in a litter, and brought him to the camp; and on the sixth day after the passing of his father he was in due form declared emperor, and after the customary manner hailed as Augustus.

[6] *Et licet cum haec agerentur, Gratianum indigne laturum existimantes, absque sui permissu principem alium institutum, postea tamen sollicitudine discussa vixere securius, quod ille (ut erat benivulus et pius) consanguineum pietate nimia dilexit et educavit.*

[6] And although, while this was being done, there was some thought that Gratianus would take it amiss that another emperor was chosen without his permission, this fear later vanished and men lived free from care, since Gratianus, besides being a kindly and righteous man, loved his kinsman with great affection and saw to his education.

LIBER XXXI — BOOK XXXI

[1] Caedis Valentis A. et cladis a Gothis inferendae prodigia. Inter haec Fortunae volucris rota, adversa prosperis semper alternans, Bellonam furiis in societatem adscitis, armabat, maestosque transtulit ad Orientem eventus, quos adventare praesagiorum fides clara monebat, et portentorum.

Omens of the death of Valens Augustus and of the impending defeat by the Goths. Meanwhile Fortune's rapid wheel, which is always interchanging adversity and prosperity, armed Bellona in the company of her attendant Furies, and transferred to the Orient melancholy events, the coming of which was foreshadowed by the clear testimony of omens and portents.

[2] Post multa enim quae vates auguresque praedixere veridice, resultabant canes ululantibus lupis, et querulum quoddam nocturnae volucres tinniebant et flebile, et squalidi solis exortus hebetabant matutinos diei candores, et Antiochiae per rixas tumultusque vulgares id in consuetudinem venerat, ut quisquis vim se pati existimaret, 'Vivus ardeat Valens' licentius clamitaret, vocesque praeconum audiebantur, assidue mandantium congeri ligna ad Valentini lavacri succensionem, studio ipsius principis conditi.

[2] For after many true predictions of seers and augurs, dogs leaped back when wolves howled, night birds rang out a kind of doleful lament, the sun rose in gloom and dimmed the clear morning light; at Antioch, in quarrels and riots of the common people, it became usual that whoever thought that he was suffering wrong shouted without restraint: "Let Valens be burned alive!" and the words of public criers were continually heard, directing the people to gather firewood, to set fire to the baths of Valens, in the building of which the emperor himself had taken such interest.

[3] Quae hunc illi impendere exitum vitae modo non aperte loquendo monstrabant. Super his larvale simulacrum Armeniae regis, et miserabiles umbrae paulo ante in negotio Theodori caesorum, per quietem stridendo carmina quaedam neniarum horrenda, multos diris terroribus agitabant.

[3] All this almost in plain speech showed that this kind of death threatened him. Furthermore, the ghostly form of the king of Armenia and the piteous shades of those who shortly before had been executed in connection with the fall of Theodorus, shrieking horrible songs at night, in the form of dirges, tormented many with dire terrors.

[4] Vaccula gurgulione consecto, exanimis visa est iacens, cuius mors publicorum funerum aerumnas indicabat amplas et pervulgatas. Denique cum Chalcedonos subverterentur veteres muri, ut apud Constantinopolim aedificaretur lavacrum, ordine resoluta saxorum, in quadrato lapide qui

structura latebat in media, hi Graeci versus incisi reperti sunt, futura plene pandentes:

[4] A heifer was found lying lifeless with its windpipe cut, and its death was an indication of great and widespread sorrow from funerals of the people. Finally, when the old walls of Chalcedon were torn down, in order that a bath might be built at Constantinople, and the rows of stones were taken apart, there was found on a squared block hidden in the midst of the structure of the wall an inscription containing the following Greek verses, clearly revealing what was to happen:

[5] ἄλλα' ὅποταν νύμφαι δροσεραὶ κατὰ ἄστν χορεῖη τερπόμεναι στρωφῶνται
ἔνστεφέας κατ' ἀγνιάς, καὶ τεῖχος λουτροῖο πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἄλκαρ, δὴ
τότε μυρία φύλα πολυπερέων ἀνθρώπων ἴστρον καλλιρόοιο πόρον
περάοντα σὺν αἰχμῇ, καὶ σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ μυσίδα γαῖαν, παιονίης
δ' ἐπιβάντα σὺν ἐλπίσι μαινομένησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ βιότοιο τέλος καὶ δῆρις
ἐφέξει. De Hunnorum et Alanorum, aliarumque Scythiae Asiaticae gentium
sedibus et moribus. Totius autem sementem exitii et cladum originem
diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito miscendo cuncta concivit,
hanc comperimus causam. Hunorum gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota,
ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis
excedit.

[5] When gaily through the city's festal streets
Shall whirl soft maidens in a happy dance,
When mournfully a wall shall guard a bath,
Then countless hordes of men spread far and wide
With warlike arms shall cross clear Istrus' stream
To ravage Scythia's fields and Mysia's land.
But mad with hope when they Pannonia raid,
There battle and life's end their course shall check. Of the homes and customs
of the Huns, the Halani, and other nations of Asiatic Scythia.' However, the
seed and origin of all the ruin and various disasters that the wrath of Mars
aroused, putting in turmoil all places with unwonted fires, we have found to
be this. The people of the Huns, but little known from ancient records,
dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every
degree of savagery.

[2] Ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro sulcantur altius
genae, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens, corrugatis cicatricibus
hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes,
compactis omnes firmisque membris et opimis cervicibus, prodigiose
deformes et pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in commarginandis
pontibus effigati stipites dolantur incompte.

[2] Since there the cheeks of the children are deeply furrowed with the steel

from their very birth, in order that the growth of hair, when it appears at the proper time, may be checked by the wrinkled scars, they grow old without beards and without any beauty, like eunuchs. They all have compact, strong limbs and thick necks, and are so monstrously ugly and misshapen, that one might take them for two-legged beasts or for the stumps, rough-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges.

[3] *In hominum autem figura, licet insuavi, ita victu sunt asperi, ut neque igni neque saporatis indigeant cibis, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium, et semicruda cuiusvis pecoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua equorumque terga subsertam, fotu calefaciunt brevi.*

[3] But although they have the form of men, however ugly, they are so hardy in their mode of life that they have no need of fire nor of savory food, but eat the roots of wild plants and the half-raw flesh of any kind of animal whatever, which they put between their thighs and the backs of their horses, and thus warm it a little.

[4] *Aedificiis nullis umquam tecti, sed haec velut ab usu communi discreta sepulcra declinant. Nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum reperiri tugurium potest. Sed vagi montes peragrantes et silvas, pruinas famem sitimque perferre ab incunabulis adsuescunt. Peregre tecta (nisi adigente maxima necessitate) non subeunt: nec enim se tutos existimant esse sub tectis morantes.*

[4] They are never protected by any buildings, but they avoid these like tombs, which are set apart from everyday use. For not even a hut thatched with reed can be found among them. But roaming at large amid the mountains and woods, they learn from the cradle to endure cold, hunger, and thirst. When away from their homes they never enter a house unless compelled by extreme necessity; for they think they are not safe when staying under a roof.

[5] *Indumentis operiuntur linteis vel ex pellibus silvestrium murum consarcinatis; nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis. Sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta, non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos diffluxerit defrustata.*

[5] They dress in linen cloth or in the skins of field-mice sewn together, and they wear the same clothing indoors and out. But when they have once put their necks into a faded tunic, it is not taken off or changed until by long wear and tear it has been reduced to rags and fallen from them bit by bit.

[6] *Galeris incurvis capita tegunt, hirsuta crura coriis munientes haedinis, eorumque calcei formulis nullis aptati, vetant incedere gressibus liberis. Qua causa ad pedestres parum adcommodatati sunt pugnas, verum equis prope affixi, duris quidem sed deformibus, et muliebriter eisdem non numquam insidentes, funguntur muneribus consuetis. Ex ipsis quivis in hac natione pernox et*

perdius emit et vendit, cibumque sumit et potum, et inclinatus cervici angustae iumentum, in altum soporem ad usque varietatem effunditur somniorum.

[6] They cover their heads with round caps and protect their hairy legs with goatskins; their shoes are formed upon no lasts, and so prevent their walking with free step. For this reason they are not at all adapted to battles on foot, but they are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy, it is true, but ugly, and sometimes they sit them woman-fashion and thus perform their ordinary tasks. From their horses by night or day every one of that nation buys and sells, eats and drinks, and bowed over the narrow neck of the animal relaxes into a sleep so deep as to be accompanied by many dreams.

[7] Et deliberatione super rebus proposita seriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. Aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario primatum ductu contenti, perrumpunt quicquid incident.

[7] And when deliberation is called for about weighty matters, they all consult as a common body in that fashion. They are subject to no royal restraint, but they are content with the disorderly government of their important men, and led by them they force their way through every obstacle.

[8] Et pugnant non numquam lacescunt, ineuntes proelia cuneatim, variis vocibus sonantibus torvum. Utque ad pernicitatem sunt leves et repentini, ita subito de industria dispersi incessunt, et incompressa acie, cum caede vasta discurrent, nec invadentes vallum, nec castra inimica pilantes, prae nimia rapiditate cernuntur.

[8] They also sometimes fight when provoked, and then they enter the battle drawn up in wedge-shaped masses, while their medley of voices makes a savage noise. And as they are lightly equipped for swift motion, and unexpected in action, they purposely divide suddenly into scattered bands and attack, rushing about in disorder here and there, dealing terrific slaughter; and because of their extraordinary rapidity of movement they are never seen to attack a rampart or pillage an enemy's camp.

[9] Eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores, quod procul missilibus telis, acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine, arte mira coagmentatis, et distantis decursis comminus ferro sine sui respectu confligunt, hostisque dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis illigant, ut laqueatis resistentium membris, equitandi vel gradiendi adimant facultatem.

[9] And on this account you would not hesitate to call them the most terrible of all warriors, because they fight from a distance with missiles having sharp bone, instead of their usual points, joined to the shafts with wonderful skill; then they gallop over the intervening spaces and fight hand to hand with swords, regardless of their own lives; and while the enemy are guarding

against wounds from the sabre-thrusts, they throw strips of cloth plaited into nooses over their opponents and so entangle them that they fetter their limbs and take from them the power of riding or walking.

[10] *Nemo apud eos arat nec stivam aliquando contingit. Omnes enim sine sedibus fixis, absque lare vel lege aut victu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi coniuges taetra illis vestimenta contextunt, et coeunt cum maritis, et pariunt, et ad usque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. Nullusque apud eos interrogatus respondere unde oritur potest, alibi conceptus natusque procul, et longius educatus.*

[10] No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or law, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by the wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty. None of their offspring, when asked, can tell you where he comes from, since he was conceived in one place, born far from there, and brought up still farther away.

[11] *Per indutias infidi et inconstantes, ad omnem auram incidentis spei novae perquam mobiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes. Inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit, penitus ignorantes, flexiloqui et obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti, auri cupidine immensa flagrantes, adeo permutabiles et irasci faciles ut eodem aliquotiens die a sociis nullo irritante saepe desciscant, itidemque propitientur, nemine leniente.*

[11] In truces they are faithless and unreliable, strongly inclined to sway to the motion of every breeze of new hope that presents itself, and sacrificing every feeling to the mad impulse of the moment. Like unreasoning beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the difference between right and wrong; they are deceitful and ambiguous in speech, never bound by any reverence for religion or for superstition. They burn with an infinite thirst for gold, and they are so fickle and prone to anger, that they often quarrel with their allies without provocation, more than once on the same day, and make friends with them again without a mediator.

[12] *Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus, externa praedandi aviditate flagrans immani, per rapinas finitimorum grassatum et caedes, ad usque Halanos pervenit, veteres Massagetarum, qui unde sint vel quas incolant terras (quoniam huc res prolapsa est), consentaneum est demonstrare, geographica perplexitate monstrata, quae diu multimoda tractans et varia, tandem reperit veritatis interna.*

[12] This race of untamed men, without encumbrances, aflame with an inhuman

desire for plundering others' property, made their violent way amid the rapine and slaughter of the neighbouring peoples as far as the Halani, once known as the Massagetae. And since we have come to this point, it is in place to tell of the origin and dwelling-place of this people also, and to point out the confused opinions of geographers, who after many different attempts to deal with the subject have at last come upon the core of the truth.

[13] *Abundans aquarum Hister advenarum magnitudine fluenti Sauromatas praetermeat, ad usque amnem Tanaim pertinentes, qui Asiam terminat ab Europa. Hoc transito in immensum extentas Scythiae solitudines Halani inhabitant, ex montium appellatione cognominati, paulatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem sui vocabuli traxerunt (ut Persae).*

[13] The Hister, filled to overflowing by a great number of tributaries, flows past the Sauromatians, and these extend as far as the river Tanais, which separates Asia from Europe. On the other side of this river the Halani, so called from the mountain range of the same name, inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name.

[14] *Inter hos Nervi mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos praeruptos geluque torpentes, aquilones adstringunt. Post quos Vidini sunt et Geloni, perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus, indumenta sibi equisque tegmina conficiunt bellatoria. Gelonis Agathyrsi collimitant, interstincti colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius fucatis et densioribus notis.*

[14] Among these the Nervii inhabit the interior of the country near the lofty, precipitous peaks nipped by the north winds and benumbed with ice and snow. Behind these are the Vidini and the Geloni, exceedingly savage races, who strip the skins from their slain enemies to make clothing for themselves and coverings for their horses in war. On the frontier of the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, who checker their bodies and dye their hair with a blue colour — the common people with a few small marks, but the nobles with more and broader spots of dye.

[15] *Post hos Melanchlaenas et Anthropophagos palari accepimus per diversa, humanis corporibus victitantes, quibus ob haec alimenta nefanda desertis, finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. Ideoque plaga omnis orienti aestivo obiecta, usque dum venit ad Seras, inhabitabilis mansit.*

[15] Beyond these are the Melanchlaenae and the Anthropophagi, who according to report lead a nomadic life and feed upon human flesh; and because of this abominable food they are left to themselves and all their

former neighbours have moved to distant parts of the earth. And so the entire north-eastern tract, until one comes to the Seres, has remained uninhabitable.

[16] Parte alia prope Amazonum sedes, Halani sunt orienti acclines, diffusi per populosas gentes et amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangem accepi, fluvium intersecantem terras Indorum, mareque inundantem australe.

[16] In another part of the country, near the abodes of the Amazons, the Halani mount to the eastward, divided into populous and extensive nations; these reach as far as Asia, and, as I have heard, stretch all the way to the river Ganges, which flows through the territories of India and empties into the southern ocean.

[17] Hi bipertiti per utramque mundi plagam Halani, quorum gentes varias nunc recensere non refert, licet dirempti spatiis longis, per pagos (ut Nomades) vagantur immensos, aevi tamen progressu, ad unum concessere vocabulum, et summam omnes Halani cognominantur, ob mores et modum efferatum vivendi, eandemque armaturam.

[17] Thus the Halani (whose various peoples it is unnecessary now to enumerate) are divided between the two parts of the earth, but although widely separated from each other and roaming over vast tracts, as Nomads do, yet in the course of time they have united under one name, and are, for short, all called Halani because of the similarity in their customs, their savage mode of life, and their weapons.

[18] Nec enim ulla sunt illis vel tuguria, aut versandi vomeris cura, sed carne et copia victitant lactis, plaustis supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt sine fine distentas. Cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis, ferino ritu vescuntur, absumptisque pabulis velut carpentis civitates impositas vehunt, maresque supra cum feminis coeunt, et nascuntur in his et educantur infantes, et habitacula sunt haec illis perpetua, et quocumque ierint, illic genuinum existimant larem.

[18] For they have no huts and care nothing for using the plowshare, but they live upon flesh and an abundance of milk, and dwell in wagons, which they cover with rounded canopies of bark and drive over the boundless wastes. And when they come to a place rich in grass, they place their carts in a circle and feed like wild beasts. As soon as the fodder is used up, they place their cities, as we might call them, on the wagons and so convey them: in the wagons the males have intercourse with the women, and in the wagons their babes are born and reared; wagons form their permanent dwellings, and wherever they come, that place they look upon as their natural home.

[19] Armenta prae se agentes, cum gregibus pascunt, maximeque equini pecoris

est eis sollicitior cura. Ibi campi semper herbescent, intersitis pomiferis locis: atque ideo transeuntes quolibet, nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent, quod efficit umectum solum et crebri fluminum praetermeantium cursus.

[19] Driving their plow-cattle before them, they pasture them with their flocks, and they give particular attention to breeding horses. In that land the fields are always green, and here and there are places set thick with fruit trees. Hence, wherever they go, they lack neither food for themselves nor fodder for their cattle, because of the moist soil and the numerous courses of rivers that flow hard by them.

[20] Omnis igitur aetas et sexus imbellis, circa vehicula ipsa versatur, muniisque distringitur mollibus: iuventus vero equitandi usu a prima pueritia coalescens, incedere pedibus existimat vile, et omnes multiplici disciplina prudentes sunt bellatores. Unde etiam Persae, qui sunt originitus Scythae, pugnandi sunt peritissimi.

[20] Therefore, all those who through age or sex are unfit for war remain close by the wagons and are occupied in light tasks; but the young men grow up in the habit of riding from their earliest boyhood and regard it as contemptible to go on foot; and by various forms of training they are all skilled warriors. From the same causes the Persians also, who are Scythians by origin, are highly expert in fighting.

[21] Proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles, et armorum levitate veloces, Hunisque per omnia suppare, verum victu mitiores et cultu, latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna, et Cimmerium Bosporum, itidemque Armenios discurrentes, et Mediam.

[21] Moreover, almost all the Halani are tall and handsome, their hair inclines to blond, by the ferocity of their glance they inspire dread, subdued though it is. They are light and active in the use of arms. In all respects they are somewhat like the Huns, but in their manner of life and their habits they are less savage. In their plundering and hunting expeditions they roam here and there as far as the Maeotic Sea and the Cimmerian Bosporus, and also to Armenia and Media.

[22] Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula iuvant et bella. Iudicatur ibi beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam, senescentes enim et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur, nec quicquam est quod elatius iactent, quam homine quolibet occiso, proque exuviis gloriosis interfectorum, avulsis capitibus, detractas pelles pro phaleris iumentis accommodant bellatoriis.

[22] Just as quiet and peaceful men find pleasure in rest, so the Halani delight in danger and warfare. There the man is judged happy who has sacrificed his life

in battle, while those who grow old and depart from the world by a natural death they assail with bitter reproaches, as degenerate and cowardly; and there is nothing in which they take more pride than in killing any man whatever: as glorious spoils of the slain they tear off their heads, then strip off their skins and hang them upon their war-horses as trappings.

[23] *Nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcolunt praesulem, verecundius colunt.*

[23] No temple or sacred place is to be seen in their country, not even a hut thatched with straw can be discerned anywhere, but after the manner of barbarians a naked sword is fixed in the ground and they reverently worship it as their god of war, the presiding deity of those lands over which they range.

[24] *Futura mire praesagiunt mode. Nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis, praestituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portenditur norunt.*

[24] They have a remarkable way of divining the future; for they gather very straight twigs of osier and sort them out at an appointed time with certain secret incantations, and thus clearly learn what impends.

[25] *Servitus quid sit ignorant, omnes generoso semine procreati, iudicesque etiam nunc eligunt diurno bellandi usu spectatos. Sed ad reliqua textus propositi revertamur. Hunni Alanos Tanaitas armis aut pactis sibi adiungunt, Gothosque irvadunt, ac suis sedibus pellunt. Igitur Huni pervasis Halanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines Tanaitas consuetudo cognominavit, interfectisque multis et spoliatis, reliquos sibi concordandi fide pacta iunxerunt, eisque adhibitis confidentius Ermenrichi late patentes et uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicosissimi regis, et per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis nationibus formidati.*

[25] They do not know the meaning of slavery, since all are born of noble blood, and moreover they choose as chiefs those men who are conspicuous for long experience as warriors. But let us return to what remains of our chosen subject. The Huns compel the Halani on the Tanais to join them, either by force of arms or by treaties; they invade the Goths, and drive them from their homes. The Huns, then, having overrun the territories of those Halani (bordering on the Greuthungi) to whom usage has given the surname Tanaites, killed and plundered many of them, and joined the survivors to themselves in a treaty of alliance; then in company with these they made the more boldly a sudden inroad into the extensive and rich cantons of Ermenrichus, a most warlike monarch, dreaded by the neighbouring nations because of his many and varied deeds of valour.

[2] Qui vi subitae procellae percussus, quamvis manere fundatus et stabilis diu conatus est, impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatus fama, magnorum discriminum metum voluntaria morte sedavit.

[2] He was struck with consternation at the violence of this sudden storm; for a long time he did his best to maintain a firm and continued stand, but since rumour gave wide currency to and exaggerated the horror of the impending dangers, he put an end to his fear of these great perils by a voluntary death.

[3] Cuius post obitum, rex Vithimiris creatus, restitit aliquantis per Halanis, Hunis aliis fretus, quos mercede sociaverat partibus suis. Verum post multas quas pertulit clades, animam effudit in proelio, vi superatus armorum. Cuius parvi filii Viderichi nomine curam susceptam Alatheus tuebatur et Saphrax, duces exerciti et firmitate pectorum noti, qui cum tempore arto praeventi, abiecissent fiduciam repugnandi, cautius discedentes, ad amnem Danastium pervenerunt, inter Histrum et Borysthenem, per camporum ampla spatia diffluentem.

[3] After his demise Vithimiris was made king and resisted the Halani for a time, relying on other Huns, whom he had paid to take his side. But after many defeats which he sustained, he was overcome by force of arms and died in battle. In the name of his little son, Viderichus, the management of affairs was undertaken by Alatheus and Saphrax, experienced generals known for their courage; but since the stress of circumstances compelled them to abandon confidence in resistance, they cautiously retreated until they came to the river Danastius, which flows through the wide extent of plain between the Hister and the Borysthenes.

[4] Haec ita praeter spem accidisse doctus Athanarichus, Theruingorum iudex (in quem ut ante relatum est, ob auxilia missa Procopio, dudum Valens commoverat signa) stare gradu fixo temptabat, surrecturus in vires, si ipse quoque laceraretur, ut ceteri.

[4] On learning of these unexpected events, Athanarichus, the chief of the Therungi (against whom, as has been told before, because of aid which he had sent to Procopius, Valens had recently taken the field) attempted to stand his ground, and if he too should be attacked like the rest, was ready to put forth all his strength.

[5] Castris denique prope Danasti margines a Greuthungorum vallo longius opportune metatis, Munderichum ducem postea limitis per Arabiam, cum Lagarimano et optimatibus aliis, ad usque vicensimum lapidem misit, hostium speculatu ad adventum, ipse aciem nullo turbante, interim struens.

[5] Accordingly, he established his camp near the banks of the Danastius, conveniently at some distance from the stockade of the Greuthungi, and sent Munderichus, afterwards in charge of the frontier throughout Arabia, with

Lagarimanus and some other men of high rank, to a distance of twenty miles in advance, to observe the advance of the enemy, while he himself in the meantime, disturbed by no one, was preparing his army for battle.

[6] Verum longe aliter quam rebatur evenit. Huni enim (ut sunt in coniectura sagaces), multitudinem esse longius aliquam suspicati, praetermissis quos viderant, in quietem tamquam nullo obstante compositis, rumpente noctis tenebras luna, vado fluminis penetrate, id quod erat potissimum elegerunt, et veriti ne praecursorius index procul agentes absterreat, Athanaricum ipsum ictu petivere veloci.

[6] But the result was far other than he expected. For the Huns, who are shrewd in arriving at conclusions, suspecting that there was some large force farther off, disregarded the troops which they had seen, and who had disposed themselves to rest, as if there was nothing to disturb them; then, when the moon broke into the darkness of night, they chose what seemed to be the best course, crossed the river by a ford, and fearing lest some informer should get ahead of them and frighten off the enemy who were at a distance, they made a swift attack on Athanaricus himself.

[7] Eumque stupentem ad impetum primum, amissis quibusdam suorum, coegerunt ad effugia properare montium praeruptorum. Qua rei novitate, maioreque venturi pavore constrictus, a superciliis Gerasi fluminis ad usque Danubium, Taifalorum terras praestringens, muros altius erigebat: hac lorica diligentia celeri consummata, in tuto locandam securitatem suam existimans et salutem.

[7] As he was stunned by their first onset, they forced him to take speedy refuge in the steep mountains, after losing a few of their own men. Athanaricus, troubled by this unexpected attack and still more through fear of what might come, had walls built high, skirting the lands of the Taifali from the banks of the river Gerasus as far as the Danube, thinking that by this hastily but diligently constructed barrier his security and safety would be assured.

[8] Dumque efficax opera suscitatur, Huni passibus eum citis urgebant, et iam oppresserant adventantes, ni gravati praedarum onere destitissent. Fama tamen late serpente per Gothorum reliquas gentes, quod invisitatum antehac hominum genus, modo, nivium ut turbo montibus celsis, ex abdito sinu coortum apposita quaeque convellit et corrumpit: populi pars maior, quae Athanaricum attenuata necessariorum penuria deseruerat, quaeritabat domicilium remotum ab omni notitia barbarorum, diuque deliberans, quas eligeret sedes, cogitavit Thraciae receptaculum gemina ratione sibi conveniens, quod et caespitis est feracissimi, et amplitudine fluentorum Histri distinguitur ab arvis patentibus iam peregrini fulminibus Martis: hoc quoque idem residui velut mente cogitare communi. Pars maior Gothorum

cognomine Theruingerum finibus suis expulsa, permissu Valentis a Romanis transportatur in Thraciam, obsequium et auxilia pollicita. Greuthungi quoque, pars altera Gothorum, furtim ratibus Histrum transeunt. Itaque duce Alavivo ripas occupavere Danubii, missisque oratoribus ad Valentem, suscipi se humili prece poscebant, et quiete victuros se pollicentes, et daturos (si res flagitasset) auxilia.

[8] But while this well-planned work was being pushed on, the Huns swiftly fell upon him, and would have crushed him at once on their arrival had they not been so loaded down with booty that they gave up the attempt. Yet when the report spread widely among the other Gothic peoples, that a race of men hitherto unknown had now arisen from a hidden nook of the earth, like a tempest of snows from the high mountains, and was seizing or destroying everything in its way, the greater part of the people, who, worn out by lack of the necessities of life, had deserted Athanaricus, looked for a home removed from all knowledge of the savages; and after long deliberation what abode to choose they thought that Thrace offered them a convenient refuge, for two reasons: both because it has a very fertile soil, and because it is separated by the mighty flood of the Hister from the fields that were already exposed to the thunderbolts of a foreign war; and the rest of the nation as if with one mind agreed to this plan. The greater part of the so-called Theruings, driven from their lands, are transported to Thrace by the Romans with Valens' consent, after promising obedience and help in war. The Greuthungi also, another division of the Goths, secretly cross the Hister on rafts. Therefore, under the lead of Alavivus, they took possession of the banks of the Danube, and sending envoys to Valens, with humble entreaty begged to be received, promising that they would not only lead a peaceful life but would also furnish auxiliaries, if circumstances required.

[2] Dum aguntur haec in externis, novos maioresque solitis casus versare gentes arctas, rumores terribiles diffuderunt: per omne quicquid ad Pontum a Marcomannis praetenditur et Quadis, multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum, vi subita sedibus pulsam, circa flumen Histrum, vagari cum caritatibus suis disseminantes.

[2] While this was happening in foreign parts, terrifying rumours spread abroad that the peoples of the north were stirring up new and uncommonly great commotions: that throughout the entire region which extends from the Marcomanni and the Quadi to the Pontus, a savage horde of unknown peoples, driven from their abodes by sudden violence, were roving about the river Hister in scattered bands with their families.

[3] Quae res aspernanter a nostris inter initia ipsa accepta est, hanc ob causam, quod illis tractibus non nisi peracta aut sopita audiri procul agentibus consueverant bella.

[3] In the very beginning this news was viewed with contempt by our people, because wars in those districts were not ordinarily heard of by those living at a distance until they were ended or at least quieted for a time.

[4] Verum pubescente fide gestorum, cui robur adventus gentilium addiderat legatorum, precibus et obtestatione petentium, citra flumen suscipi plebem extorrem: negotium laetitiae fuit potius quam timori, eruditis adulatoribus in maius fortunam principis extollentibus, quae ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia trahens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum suis et alienigenis viribus, invictum haberet exercitum, et pro militari supplemento, quod provinciatim annuum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus.

[4] But when the belief in what had taken place gained strength, and was confirmed by the coming of the foreign envoys, who begged with prayers and protestations that an exiled race might be received on our side of the river, the affair caused more joy than fear; and experienced flatterers immoderately praised the good fortune of the prince, which unexpectedly brought him so many young recruits from the ends of the earth, that by the union of his own and foreign forces he would have an invincible army; also that instead of the levy of soldiers which was contributed annually by each province, there would accrue to the treasuries a vast amount of gold.

[5] Hacque spe mittuntur diversi, qui cum vehiculis plebem transferant truculentam. Et navabatur opera diligens, nequi Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur, vel quassatus morbo letali. Proinde permissu imperatoris transeundi Danubium copiam, colendique adepti Thraciae partes, transfretabantur in dies et noctes, navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis agminatim impositi, atque per amnem longe omnium difficillimum, imbriumque crebritate tunc auctum, ob densitatem nimiam contra ictus aquarum nitentes quidam, et natare conati, hausti sunt plures.

[5] In this expectation various officials were sent with vehicles to transport the savage horde, and diligent care was taken that no future destroyer of the Roman state should be left behind, even if he were smitten with a fatal disease. Accordingly, having by the emperor's permission obtained the privilege of crossing the Danube and settling in parts of Thrace, they were ferried over for some nights and days embarked by companies in boats, on rafts, and in hollowed tree-trunks ; and because the river is by far the most dangerous of all and was then swollen by frequent rains, some who, because of the great crowd, struggled against the force of the waves and tried to swim were drowned; and they were a good many.

[6] Ita turbido instantium studio orbis Romani perniciēs ducebatur. Illud sane neque obscurum est neque incertum, infaustos transvehendi barbaram plebem ministros, numerum eius comprehendere calculo saepe temptantes, conquevisse frustratos, ut eminentissimus memorat vates, 'Quem qui scire

velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem Discere, quam multae zephyro trudentur harenae.'

[6] With such stormy eagerness on the part of insistent men was the ruin of the Roman world brought in. This at any rate is neither obscure nor uncertain, that the ill-omened officials who ferried the barbarian hordes often tried to reckon their number, but gave up their vain attempt; as the most distinguished of poets says: Who wishes to know this would wish to know
How many grains of sand on Libyan plain
By Zephyrus are swept.

[7] Resipiscant tandem memoriae veteres, Medicas acies ductantes ad Graeciam: quae dum Hellespontiacos pontes, et discidio quodam fabрили, mare sub imo Athonis pede quaesitum exponunt et turmatim apud Doriscum exercitus recensitos, concordante omni posteritate, ut fabulosae sunt lectae.

[7] Well then, let the old tales revive of bringing the Medic hordes to Greece; for while they describe the bridging of the Hellespont, the quest of a sea at the foot of Mount Athos by a kind of mechanical severing, and the numbering of the armies by squadrons at Doriscus, later times have unanimously regarded all this as fabulous reading.

[8] Nam postquam innumerae gentium multitudines, per provincias circumfusae, pandentesque se in spatia ampla camporum, regiones omnes et cuncta opplevere montium iuga, fides quoque vetustatis recenti documento firmata est. Et primus cum Alavivo suscipitur Fritigernus, quibus et alimenta pro tempore, et subigendos agros tribui statuerat imperator.

[8] For after the countless swarms of nations were poured through the provinces, spreading over a great extent of plain and filling all regions and every mountain height, by this new evidence the trustworthiness also of old stories was confirmed. First Fritigern and Alavivus were received, and the emperor gave orders that they should be given food for their present needs and fields to cultivate.

[9] Per id tempus nostri limitis reseratis obicibus, atque (ut Aetnaeas favillas armatorum agmina diffundente barbaria), cum difficiles necessitatum articuli correctores rei militaris poscerent aliquos claritudine gestarum rerum notissimos: quasi laevo quodam numine diligente, in unum quaesiti potestatibus praefuere castrensibus homines maculosi: quibus Lupicinus antistabat et Maximus, alter per Thracias comes, dux alter exitiosus, aemulae ambo temeritatis.

[9] During this time, when the barriers of our frontier were unlocked and the realm of savagery was spreading far and wide columns of armed men like glowing ashes from Aetna, when our difficulties and imminent dangers called for military reformers who were most distinguished for the fame of their

exploits: then it was, as if at the choice of some adverse deity, that men were gathered together and given command of armies who bore stained reputations. At their head were two rivals in recklessness: one was Lupicinus, commanding general in Thrace, the other Maximus, a pernicious leader.

[10] Quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit. Nam (ut alia omittamus, quae memorati vel certe, sinentibus eisdem, alii perditis rationibus in commeantes peregrinos adhuc innoxios deliquerunt) illud dicetur, quod nec apud sui periculi iudices absolvere ulla poterat venia, triste et inauditum.

[10] Their treacherous greed was the source of all our evils. I say nothing of other crimes which these two men, or at least others with their permission, with the worst of motives committed against the foreign new-comers, who were as yet blameless; but one melancholy and unheard-of act shall be mentioned, of which, even if they were their own judges of their own case, they could not be acquitted by any excuse.

[11] Cum traducti barbari victus inopia vexarentur, turpe commercium duces invisissimi cogitarunt, et quantos undique insatiabilitas colligere potuit canes, pro singulis dederunt Mancipiiis, inter quae et filii ducti sunt optimum.

[11] When the barbarians after their crossing were harassed by lack of food, those most hateful generals devised a disgraceful traffic; they exchanged every dog that their insatiability could gather from far and wide for one slave each, and among these were carried off also sons of the chieftains.

[12] Per hos dies interea etiam Vithericus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo et Saphrace, quorum arbitrio regebatur, itemque Farnobio, propinquans Histri marginibus, ut simili susciperetur humanitate, obsecravit imperatorem legatis prope missis.

[12] During these days also Vithericus, king of the Greuthungi, accompanied by Alatheus and Saphrax, by whose will he was ruled, and also by Farnobius, coming near to the banks of the Danube, hastily sent envoys and besought the emperor that he might be received with like kindness.

[13] Quibus (ut communi rei conducere videbatur) repudiatis, et quid capessent anxii, Athanarichus paria pertimescens abscessit, memor Valentem dudum cum foederaretur concordia despexisse, affirmantem se religione devinctum, ne calcaret solum aliquando Romanum, hacque causatione, principem firmare pacem in medio flumine coegisse: quam simultatem veritus, ut adhuc durantem, ad Caucalandensem locum altitudine silvarum inaccessum et montium, cum suis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extrusis. Theruingi fame et inopia pressi ac pessime habiti, ducibus Alavivo et Fritigerno a Valente deficiunt, ac Lupicinum cum suis fundunt. At vero Theruingi, iam dudum transire permissi, prope ripas etiam tum vagabantur, duplici impedimento adstricti, quod ducum dissimulatione perniciose, nec

victui congruis sunt adiuti, et tenebantur consulto nefandis nundinandi commerciis.

[13] When these envoys were rejected, as the interests of the state seemed to demand, and were in doubt what course to take, Athanarichus, fearing a like fate, departed, remembering that he had some time before treated Valens with contempt when they were making a treaty of friendship, declaring that he was prevented by conscientious scruples from ever setting foot on Roman soil; and by this excuse he had forced the emperor to conclude peace in the middle of the river. Fearing that the grudge caused by this still endured, Athanaricus withdrew with all his followers to Caucalanda, a place inaccessible because of high mountains and deep forests, from which he first drove out the Sarmatians. The Theruingi, hard pressed by famine and want, and shamefully treated, under the lead of Alavivus and Fritigern revolt from Valens, and rout Lupicinus and his army. But now the Theruingi, who had long since been permitted to cross, were still roaming about near the banks of the river, detained by a twofold obstacle, both because, through the ruinous negligence of the generals, they were not supplied with the necessities of life, and also because they were purposely held back by an abominable kind of traffic.

[2] Quo intellecto, ad perfidiam instantium malorum subsidium verti mussabant, et Lupicinus ne iam deficerent pertimescens, eos admotis militibus adigebat ocus proficisci. uerti, Pet.; uertendi, WE, Val.; uerter di, V.

[2] When this became clear to them, they muttered that they were being forced to disloyalty as a remedy for the evils that threatened them, and Lupicinus, fearing that they might soon revolt, sent soldiers and compelled them to move out more quickly.

[3] Id tempus opportunum nancti Greuthungi, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultro citroque discurrere solita, transgressum eorum prohibentia, quiescere perspexissent, ratibus transiere male contextis, castraque a Fritigerno locavere longissime.

[3] The Greuthungi took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and when they saw that our soldiers were busy elsewhere, and that the boats that usually went up and down the river and prevented them from crossing were inactive, they passed over the stream in badly made craft and pitched their camp at a long distance from Fritigern.

[4] At ille genuina praevidendi sollertia, venturos muniens casus, ut et imperiis oboediret, et regibus validis iungeretur, incedens segnius, Marcianopolim tarde pervenit itineribus lentis. Ubi aliud accessit atrocius, quod arsuras in commune exitium faces furiales accendit.

[4] But he with his natural cleverness in foresight protecting himself against anything that might happen, in order to obey the emperor's commands and at

the same time join with the powerful Gothic kings, advanced slowly and in leisurely marches arrived late at Marcianopolis. There another, and more atrocious, thing was done, which kindled the frightful torches that were to burn for the destruction of the state.

[5] Alavivo et Fritigerno ad convivium corrogatis, Lupicinus ab oppidi moenibus barbaram plebem, opposito milite, procul arcebat, introire ad comparanda victui necessaria, ut dicioni nostrae obnoxiam et concordem, per preces assidue postulantem, ortisque maioribus iurgiis inter habitatores et vetitos, ad usque necessitatem pugnandi est ventum. Efferatique acrius barbari, cum necessitudines hostiliter rapi sentirent, spoliarunt interfectam militum magnam manum.

[5] Having invited Alavivus and Fritigern to a dinner-party, Lupicinus posted soldiers against the main body of the barbarians and kept them at a distance from the walls of the town; and when they asked with continual entreaties that they might, as friendly people submissive to our rule, be allowed to enter and obtain what they needed for food, great wrangling arose between the inhabitants and those who were shut out, which finally reached a point where fighting was inevitable. Whereupon the barbarians, becoming wildly excited when they perceived that some of their kindred were being carried off by force, killed and despoiled a great troop of soldiers.

[6] Quae accidisce idem Lupicinus, latenti nuntio doctus, dum in nepotali mensa ludicris concrepantibus, diu discumbens vino marcebat et somno, futuri coniciens exitum, satellites omnes, qui pro praetorio (honoris et tutelae causa) duces praestolabantur, occidit.

[6] When the aforesaid Lupicinus learned by a secret message that this had happened, while he had long been reclining at the prodigal table amid noisy entertainments and was drowsy and half drunk, guessing what the outcome would be, he put to death all the attendants of the two leaders, who as a guard of honour and to ensure their safety, were waiting for them before the general's quarters.

[7] Hocque populus qui muros obsidebat dolenter accepto, ad vindictam detentorum regum (ut opinabatur) paulatim augescens, multa minabatur et saeva. Utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii, veritus ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit, graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sineretur exire cum sociis, quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos, in tumultum exarsit. Hocque impetrato, egressi omnes exceptique cum plausu et gaudiis, ascensis equis evolarunt, moturi incitamenta diversa bellorum.

[7] When the people who were besieging the walls heard this news, in their resentment they gradually increased their number to avenge their kings, who,

as they thought, had been detained by force; and they uttered many savage threats. And since Fritigern was quickwitted and feared that he might be held with the rest as a hostage, he cried out that they would have to fight with heavy loss of life, unless he himself were allowed to go out with his companions to quiet the people, who, believing that their leaders had been slain under pretence of friendly entertainment, had blazed out into turbulence. And when this request was granted, they all departed. They were received with applause and rejoicing, and mounting horses hastened away, to set in motion the various incitements that lead to wars.

[8] *Haec ubi fama rumorum nutrix maligna dispersit, urebatur dimicandi studio Theruingorum natio omnis, et inter metuenda multa periculorumque praevia maximorum, vexillis de more sublatis, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis, iam turmae praedatoriae concursabant, pilando villas et incendendo, vastisque cladibus quicquid inveniri poterat permiscentes.*

[8] When report, that spiteful nurse of rumours, spread abroad what had happened, the whole nation of the Theruingi was fired with ardour for battle, and amid many fearful scenes, portentous of extreme dangers, after the standards had been raised according to their custom and the doleful sound of the trumpets had been heard, predatory bands were already rushing about, pillaging and burning the country-houses and making whatever places they could find a confusion of awful devastation.

[9] *Adversus quos Lupicinus properatione tumultuaria coactis militibus, temere magis quam consulte progressus, in nono ab urbe miliario stetit, paratus ad decernendum. Barbarique hoc contemplate, globos irrupere nostrorum incauti, et parmas oppositis corporibus illidendo, obvios hastis perforabant et gladiis, furoreque urgente cruento, et tribuni et pleraque pars armatorum periire, signis ereptis, praeter ducem infaustum, qui ad id solum intentus, ut confligentibus aliis, proriperet ipse semet in fugam, urbem cursu concito petit. Post quae hostes armis induti Romanis, nullo vetante per varia grassabantur.*

[9] Against them Lupicinus mustered all his soldiers in tumultuous speed, and advancing with more haste than discretion, halted nine miles from the city, ready to join battle. On seeing this the barbarians rushed recklessly on crowds of our men, dashed their shield's upon opponents' bodies, and with lance and sword ran through those who opposed them. And in the press of mad and bloody strife the tribunes and the greater part of the army perished, with the loss of their standards, except for their ill-omened leader, who, intent only upon saving himself by flight while the others were fighting, made for the town in hot haste. After this the enemy put on the Romans' arms and ranged about, devastating sundry places without opposition.

[10] *Et quoniam ad has partes post multiplices ventum est actus, id lecturos (siqui erunt unquam), obtestamur, nequis a nobis scrupulose gesta vel*

numerus exigat peremptorum, qui comprehendi nullo genere potuit. Sufficiet enim, veritate nullo velata mendacio, ipsas rerum digerere summitates: cum explicandae rerum memoriae ubique debeatur integritas fida.

[10] And since after many events the narrative has reached this point, I earnestly entreat my readers (if I ever have any) not to demand of me a strictly accurate account of what happened or the exact number of the slain, which there was no way of finding out. For it will be enough to describe simply the main points of events, without concealing the truth through any false statement, since faithful honesty is ever a requisite in giving an historical account.

[11] Negant antiquitatum ignari, tantis malorum tenebris offusam aliquando fuisse rem publicam, sed falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi. Namque si superiores vel recens praeteritae revolvantur aetates, tales tamque tristes rerum motus saepe contigisse monstrabunt.

[11] Those who are unacquainted with ancient records say that the state was never before overspread by such a dark cloud of misfortune, but they are deceived by the horror of the recent ills which have overwhelmed them. For if they study earlier times or those which have recently passed, these will show that such dire disturbances have often happened.

[12] Inundarunt Italiam ex abditis oceani partibus Teutones repente cum Cimbris, sed post inflictas rei Romanae clades immensas, ultimis proeliis per duces amplissimos superati, quid potestas Martia adhibita prudentia valeat, radicitus extirpati discriminibus didicere supremis.

[12] The Teutones with the Cimbri, coming from unknown parts of the ocean, suddenly overflowed Italy, but after inflicting enormous disasters on our country, in the final battles they were overcome by our great generals, and being destroyed root and branch, they learned from the uttermost perils what warlike might combined with prudent discipline can accomplish.

[13] Marco itidem moderante imperium, unum spirando vesania gentium dissonarum, post bellorum fragores immensos, post aerumnas urbium captarum et direptarum, et pessum datas copias, concitas probi rectoris interitu, partes earum exiguas reliquisset intactas.

[13] Again, when Marcus was ruling the empire, the united madness of different tribes, after endless alarms of war, after the woes of captured and plundered cities, after the destruction of forces shaken by the death of their able leader, would have left only a small part of them unscathed.

[14] Verum mox post calamitosa dispendia res in integrum sunt restitutae, hac gratia, quod nondum solutoris vitae mollitie sobria vetustas infecta nec ambitiosis mensis nec flagitiosis quaestibus inhiabat, sed unanimanti ardore,

summi et infimi inter se congruentes, ad speciosam pro re publica mortem tamquam ad portum aliquem tranquillum properabant et placidum.

[14] But after calamitous losses the state was presently restored to its former condition, because the temperance of old times was not yet infected by the effeminacy of a more licentious mode of life, and did not crave extravagant feasts or shameful gains; but high and low alike with united ardour and in agreement hastened to a noble death for their country, as if to some quiet and peaceful haven.

[15] Duobus navium milibus, perrupto Bosporo et litoribus Propontidis, Scythicarum gentium catervae transgressae, ediderunt quidem acerbas terrae marique strages; sed amissa suorum parte maxima reverterunt.

[15] Swarms of the Scythian peoples with two thousand ships broke through the Bosphorus and the shores of the Propontis, and after crossing inflicted bitter losses by land and sea; but they lost the greater part of their number and were obliged to retreat.

[16] Ceciderunt dimicando cum barbaris imperatores Decii pater et filius. Obsessae Pamphylicae civitates, insulae populae complures, inflammata Macedonia omnis; diu multitudo Thessalonicam circumdedit itidemque Cyzicum. Anchialos capta et tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator.

[16] Emperor Decius and Decius his son fell in battle with the barbarians. The cities of Pamphylia were beleaguered, very many islands laid waste, all Macedonia was given to the flames; for a long time the horde laid siege to Thessalonica and to Cyzicus as well. Anchialos was taken, and at the same time Nicopolis, which the emperor Trajan founded to commemorate his victory over the Dacians.

[17] Post clades acceptas, illatasque multas et saevas, excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum milibus, nisi fingunt annales, intra moenia iugulatis. Vagati per Epirum Thessaliamque et omnem Graeciam licentius hostes externi, sed assumpto in imperium Claudio, glorioso ductore, et eodem honesta morte praerepto, per Aurelium, acrem virum, et severissimum noxarum ultorem, pulsus per longa saecula siluerunt immobiles, nisi quod postea latrociniales globi vicina cum sui exitio rarius incursabant. Verum ea persequar unde deverti. Sueridus et Colias, Gothorum optimates, una cum suis prius recepti, cur rebellaverint, et caesis Hadrianopolitanis, Fritigerno se adiunxerint, ad diripiendas Thracias conversi. Hoc gestorum textu circumlato nuntiis densis, Sueridus et Colias (Gothorum optimates) cum populis suis longe ante suscepti, et curare apud Hadrianopolim hiberna dispositi, salutem suam ducentes antiquissimam omnium, otiosis animis accidentia cuncta contuebantur.

[17] After many disasters had been suffered and many cruel calamities had been inflicted, Philippopolis was destroyed and a hundred thousand people (unless the histories are false) were butchered within her walls. Foreign foes roamed at will over Epirus, Thessaly and the whole of Greece; but after the illustrious general Claudius became emperor and after he had been snatched from us by a noble death, they were driven out by Aurelian, a vigorous man and a severe avenger of their sins, and remained quiet for long ages, except that afterwards single bands of robbers made raids into the neighbouring regions, but very rarely and to their own destruction. But let me go on with the narrative from which I digressed. Why the Gothic chieftains, Sueridus and Colias, who had previously been received with their people, rebelled, and after slaying the inhabitants of Hadrianopolis, joined with Fritigern and turned to plundering Thrace. When this series of events was noised abroad by one message coming after another, Sueridus and Colias, Gothic chieftains, who had long since been received with their peoples and assigned to keep winter quarters at Hadrianopolis, considering their own welfare the most important thing of all, looked with indifference on all that took place.

[2] Verum imperatoris litteris repente perlatis, quibus transire iussi sunt in Hellespontum, viaticum cibos biduique dilationem tribui sibi sine tumore poscebant. Quod civitatis magistratus ferens indigne (succensebat enim eisdem ob rem suam in suburbano vastatam) imam plebem omnem cum Fabricensibus, quorum illic ampla est multitudo, productam, in eorum armavit exitium, iussisque bellicum canere bucinis, ni abirent ocius (ut statutum est) pericula omnibus minabatur extrema.

[2] But when on a sudden a letter came from the emperor, in which they were ordered to cross to Hellespontus, without any arrogance they asked for money for the journey, food, and a postponement of two days. At this the chief magistrate of the city was vexed — for he was incensed at them besides, because of the pillaging of his own property in his suburban villa; so he brought out and armed for their destruction all the lowest of the populace, along with the Armourers, of whom there is a large force there, and ordering the horns to sound the alarm, threatened them all with the utmost punishment, if they did not leave at once, as had been ordered.

[3] Quo malo praeter spem Gothi perculsi, et concito quam considerato civium assultu perterriti, steterunt immobiles, laceratique ad ultimum detestatione atque conviciis, et temptati missilium iactibus raris, ad defectionem erupere confessam, et caesis plurimis, quos impetus deceperat petulantior, aversisque residuis, et telorum varietate confixis, habitu iam Romano cadaveribus spoliatis armati, viso propius Fritigerno, iunxerunt semet ut morigeri socii, urbemque clausam obsidionalibus aerumnis urgebant. In qua difficultate diutius positi, passim et promiscue ruebant, eminensque aliquorum audacia peribat inulta, multaque sagittis et rotatis per fundas lapidibus interibant.

[3] The Goths, shocked by this unexpected ill-treatment, and alarmed by the attack of the citizens, rather excited than well-considered, remained immovable; but when they were finally driven desperate by curses and abuse, and a few missiles were hurled at them, they broke out into open rebellion. They slew very many citizens, whom their too impudent attack had entrapped, and put to flight the rest, wounding them with various kinds of weapons. Then, plundering the dead bodies and arming themselves in the Roman equipment, they joined forces with Fritigern, whom they saw to be near at hand, as compliant allies, and beleaguered the city. visiting it with all the horrors of a siege. Remaining in this difficult situation for some time, they made scattered and promiscuous attacks; the conspicuous audacity of some perished unavenged, and many lost their lives from arrows or from stones whirled from slings.

[4] tunc Fritigernus frustra cum tot cladibus colluctari homines ignaros obsidendi contemplans, relicta ibi manu sufficiente, abire negotio imperfecto suavit, pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans, suadensque ut populandas opimas regiones et uberes, absque discrimine ullo, vacuas praesidiis etiamtum adorerentur.

[4] Then Fritigern, seeing that his men, being inexperienced in conducting a siege, were carrying on the struggle with such loss of life, left a sufficient force there and persuaded the rest to go away without finishing the task; he reminded them that he kept peace with walls and advised them to attack and devastate the rich and fruitful parts of the country, which were still without protectors and could be pillaged without any danger.

[5] Laudato regis consilio, quem cogitatorum norant fore socium efficacem, per Thraciarum latus omne dispersi caute gradiebantur, dediticiis vel captivis vices uberes ostendentibus, eos praecipue, ubi alimentorum reperiri satias dicebatur, eo maxime adiumento, praeter genuinam erecti fiduciam, quod confluebat ad eos in dies ex eadem gente multitudine, dudum a mercatoribus venundati, adiectis plurimis quos primo transgressu necati inedia vino exili vel panis frustis mutavere vilissimis.

[5] They approved the counsel of the king, who they knew would be an active participator in the plan, and advancing cautiously they spread over every quarter of Thrace, while their prisoners or those who surrendered to them pointed out the rich villages, especially those in which it was said that abundant supplies of food were to be found. Besides their native self-confidence, they were encouraged especially by this help, that day by day great numbers of their countrymen flocked to them, including those who had been sold some time before by the traders, as well as many other persons, whom those who were half-dead with hunger when they first crossed into the country had bartered for a drink of bad wine or bits of the poorest of bread.

[6] Quibus accessere sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci, vectigalium perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves, susceptique libenti consensione cunctorum, magno usui eisdem fuere ignota peragrantibus loca, conditoria frugum occulta, et latebras hominum et receptacula secretiora monstrando.

[6] Besides these there were not a few who were expert in following out veins of gold, and who could no longer endure the heavy burden of taxes; these were welcomed with the glad consent of all, and rendered great service to the same, as they wandered through strange places, by pointing out hidden stores of grain, and the secret refuges and hiding-places of the inhabitants.

[7] Nec quicquam nisi inaccessum et devium praeuntibus eisdem mansit intactum. Sine distantia enim aetatis vel sexus, caedibus incendiorumque magnitudine cuncta flagrabant, abstractisque ab ipso uberum suctu parvulis et necatis, raptae sunt matres et viduae maritis coniuges ante oculos caesis, et puberes adultique pueri per parentum cadavera tracti sunt.

[7] With such guides nothing that was not inaccessible and out of the way remained untouched. For without distinction of age or sex all places were ablaze with slaughter and great fires, sucklings were torn from the very breasts of their mothers and slain, matrons and widows whose husbands had been killed before their eyes were carried off, boys of tender or adult age were dragged away over the dead bodies of their parents.

[8] Senes denique multi, ad satietatem vixisse clamantes, post amissas opes cum speciosis feminis, manibus post terga contortis, defletisque gentilium favillis aedium ducebantur extorres. Profuturus et Traianus ac Richomeres pugnant aequo Marte cum Gothis. Haec ex Thraciis magno maerore accepta Valentem principem in sollicitudines varias distraxerunt. Et confestim Victore magistro equitum misso ad Persas, ut super Armeniae statu pro captu rerum componeret impendentium, ipse Antiochia protinus egressurus, ut Constantinopolim interim peteret, Profuturum praemisit et Traianum, ambo rectores, anhelantes quidem altius sed imbellis.

[8] Finally many aged men, crying that they had lived long enough after losing their possessions and their beautiful women, were led into exile with their arms pinioned behind their backs, and weeping over the glowing ashes of their ancestral homes. Profuturus, Trajanus, and Richomeres fight a drawn battle with the Goths. This news, received from Thrace with great sorrow, distracted the emperor Valens with manifold cares. He quickly sent Victor, commander of the cavalry, to Persia, that he might, in view of great impending dangers, arrange about the status of Armenia; he himself, planning to leave Antioch at once and go to Constantinople in the meantime, sent on in advance Profuturus and Trajanus, both generals who had high aspirations, but were unfit for war.

[2] Qui cum ad loca venissent, ubi particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia multitudo minui deberet hostilis, ad id quod erat perniciosum intempestive conversi, legiones ab Armenia ductas opposuere vesanum adhuc spirantibus barbaris, opere quidem Martio saepe recte compertas, sed impares plebi immensae, quae celsorum iuga montium occuparat et campos.

[2] When these men had come to places where it was more fitting in small divisions to diminish the enemy's numbers by stealthy and guerilla warfare, they turned to the ruinous and untimely plan of opposing to the barbarians, who were still breathing out madness, the legions brought from Armenia; these had indeed often given a good account of themselves in warfare, but were no match for the countless horde that had taken possession of the mountain heights as well as the plains.

[3] Hi numeri nondum experti, quid cum desperatione rabies valeret indomita, trusos hostes ultra Haemi montis abscisos scopulos faucibus impingere praeruptis, ut in locis desertis et solis inclusos, nusquam reperientes exitum, diuturna consumeret fames, et opperirentur ipsi Frigeridum ducem, cum Pannonicis et transalpinis auxiliis adventantem, quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire disposuit in procinctum, laturum suppetias his qui ad ultimum vexabantur exitium.

[3] These troops, who had not yet learned the power of unbridled madness combined with desperation, drove the enemy beyond the precipitous crags of Mount Haemus and forced them into the steep defiles, in order that shut up in deserted and solitary places, and finding nowhere an outlet, they might be worn out by long continued hunger; they themselves in the meantime would await the coming of the general Frigeridus, who was on his way with the Pannonian and the transalpine auxiliaries, since Gratian, at Valens' request, had directed him to take the field and bear aid to those who were harassed to the point of utter destruction.

[4] Post quem Richomerus, domesticorum tunc comes, imperatu eiusdem Gratiani motus e Galliis, properavit ad Thracias, ductans cohortes aliquas nomine tenus, quarum pars pleraque deseruerat, ut iactavere quidam, Merobaudis suasu, veriti ne destitutae adminiculis Galliae vastarentur licenter, Rheno perrupto.

[4] After him Richomerus, then commander of the household troops, who had been moved from Gaul, also at the order of Gratian, hastened to Thrace at the head of some so-called cohorts, of which the greater part had deserted, induced (as some maintained) by Merobaudes, who feared that if Gaul should be deprived of its defences, it would be laid waste at will by raids from across the Rhine.

[5] Verum articulorum dolore Frigerido praepedito, vel certe (ut obtrectatores

finxere malivoli), morbum causante, ne ferventibus proeliis interesset, universos regens ex communi sententia, Richomeres Profuturo sociatur et Traiano, tendentibus prope oppidum Salices: unde haut longo spatio separatum, vulgus inaestimabile barbarorum, ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum, tamquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis, otio fruebatur, et ubertate praedarum.

[5] But since Frigeridus was disabled by an attack of gout, or at any rate, as his envious detractors alleged, feigned illness in order to avoid taking part in the hot contests, Richomeres by common consent took command of the whole force, and was joined by Profuturus and Trajanus, who were encamped near the town of Salices. Not far from there a countless mass of the barbarians had arranged their numerous wagons in the form of a circle, and as if enclosed in a space between city-walls, were enjoying their rich booty at their ease.

[6] Praevia igitur spe meliorum, Romani duces (si fors copiam attulisset), ausuri aliquid gloriosum, Gothos quicquid molirentur, sagaciter observabant: id scilicet praestruentes, ut si aliorum castra movissent, quod fecere creberrime, terga ultimum adorti, plures perfoderent contis, magnamque spoliolum averterent partem.

[6] The Roman leaders, therefore, led by hopes for a more favourable turn of affairs, and intending to dare some glorious deed when chance brought the opportunity, were keenly watching for any movement that the Goths might attempt; making ready of course for this, that in case the enemy moved their camp to any other place, as they very frequently did, they might attack the hindmost in the rear, kill many of them with their pikes, and appropriate a great part of their spoils.

[7] Hoc intellecto hostes vel transfugarum indicibus docti, per quos nihil latebat incognitum, in eodem loco diu manserunt: sed oppositi exercitus metu praestrici, aliorumque militum, quos affluere iam sperabant, tessera data gentili, per diversa prope diffusas accivere vastatorias manus, quae iussis optimatum acceptis, statim ut incensi malleoli, ad carraginem (quam ita ipsi appellant), aliti velocitate regressae, incentivum audendi maiora popularibus addiderunt.

[7] When the Goths perceived this, or were informed by the reports of deserters, through whom everything was made known to them, they remained for a long time in the same position. But overwhelmed with fear of the opposing army, and of the additional soldiers that they now expected to flock to it, by means of the message used by their race they summoned the predatory bands scattered over various places near by; these at once, in obedience to the orders of their chiefs, like fire-darts, returned with winged speed to their wagon city (as they themselves call it) and gave their countrymen an incentive to greater deeds of daring.

[8] Nihil post haec inter partes praeter indutias laxatum est breves. Reversis enim his quos necessitas evocarat, plebs omnis intra saeptorum ambitum etiam tum contrusa, immaniter fremens, animisque concita truculentis, experiri postrema discrimina, nec principibus gentis, qui aderant, renuentibus, cupiditate raecipiti festinabat. Et quoniam haec sole agebantur extremo, noxque adventans ad quietem invitos retinebat et maestos, capto per otium cibo, somni manserunt expertes.

[8] After this there was no rest for either side except for a short armistice. For upon the return of those whom necessity had called forth, the whole multitude, even then crowded within the ring of their defences, with frightful outcries and roused by their furious mood were all in haste with headlong eagerness to try the extremest dangers; and the chiefs of the nation who were present were in accord with them. But since these things took place when it was nearly sundown, and the coming of night kept them quiet against their wills and in sorrow, they took food at leisure, but remained sleepless.

[9] Contra Romani, his cognitis, ipsi quoque exsomnes, verebantur hostes et male sanos eorum ductores, ut rabidas feras: eventum licet ancipitem, ut numero satis inferiores, prosperum tamen ob iustiorum sui causam, mentibus expectantes impavidis.

[9] For their part the Romans, on learning this, also spent the night without sleep, because they feared the enemy and their insane leaders as they might fear madly raging beasts; and although the outcome was doubtful, since they were considerably fewer in number, yet because of the greater justice of their cause they looked for success with unterrified minds.

[10] Candente itaque protinus die, signo ad arma capienda ex utraque parte per lituos dato, barbari postquam inter eos ex more iuratum est, tumultuosos locos appetere temptaverunt, quo exinde per proclive rotarum modo obvios impetu convolverent acriore. Hocque viso, ad suos quisque manipulos properans miles, stabili gradu consistens, nec vagabatur nec relictis ordinibus procursabat.

[10] Therefore the light of day had hardly appeared, when the trumpets on both sides sounded the call to take up arms, and the barbarians, after taking oath together according to their custom, tried to reach the heights, in order that from there by a swift rush down the slope like so many rollers they might overwhelm all before them. On seeing this, our soldiers hastened each to his own company, where they stood fast without moving about or leaving the ranks and rushing forward.

[11] Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes, gressu steterunt immobili, torvitate mutua bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis. Et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes, a minore solita ad maiorem protolli,

quam gentilitate appellanti barritum, vires validas erigebant. Barbari vero maiorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis, interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus, leviora proelia temptabantur.

[11] So, when both armies after advancing cautiously remained unmoved, the opposing warriors stared at each other with savage and sidelong glances. The Romans in unison sounded their war-cry, as usual rising from a low to a louder tone, of which the national name is *barritus*, and thus roused themselves to mighty strength. But the barbarians sounded the glories of their forefathers with wild shouts, and amid this discordant clamour of different languages skirmishes were first tried.

[12] Iamque verrutis et missilibus aliis, utrimque semet eminus lacescentes, ad conferendas coiere minaciter manus, et scutis in testudinum formam coagmentatis, pes cum pede collatus est. Barbarique ut reparabiles semper et celeres, ingentes clavas in nostros conicientes ambustas, mucronesque acrius resistentium pectoribus illidentes, sinistrum cornu perrumpunt: quod inclinatum subsidialis robustissimus globus, e propinquo latere fortiter excitus, haerente iam morte cervicibus sustentavit.

[12] And now, after attacking each other from a distance with javelins and other missiles, they came together menacingly for a hand-to-hand conflict; the shields were fixed side to side in the form of a tortoise-shed, and they stood foot to foot. The barbarians, who are always alert and nimble, threw at our men huge clubs, hardened in the fire, and ran their swords through the breasts of those who showed most resistance; thus they broke through the left wing. When this gave way, a strong troop of reserves bravely hastened to their aid from near at hand, and rallied them when death already sat upon their necks.

[13] Fervente igitur densis caedibus proelio, in confertos quisque promptior ruens, ritu grandinis undique volitantibus telis oppetebat et gladiis; et sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientium occipitia lacertis ingentibus praecedentes et terga, itidemque altrinsecus pedites, lapsorum timore impeditorum secundo suffragines.

[13] Then the battle grew hot and the slaughter was great; all the more active rushed into the thick of the fray and met their death from the arrows that flew like hail, or from the swords. Those who fled were pursued on this side and on that by troops of cavalry, who with mighty strength slashed at their heads and backs; and likewise on both sides by foot soldiers, hamstringing those who were in the toils of fear and had fallen.

[14] Et cum omnia caesorum corporibus opplerentur, iacebant inter eos quidam semianimes, spem vitae inaniter usurpando, alii glande fundis excussa, vel harundinibus armatis ferro confixi, quorundam capita per medium frontis et verticis mucrone distincta, in utrumque humerum magno cum horrore

pendebant.

[14] And while the whole battlefield was covered with corpses, some were lying among them who were mortally wounded, and cherished a vain hope of life; some were smitten with a bullet from a sling or pierced with arrows tipped with iron; the heads of others were split through mid forehead and crown with swords and hung down on both shoulders, a most horrible sight.

[15] Et pertinaci concertatione nondum lassatae, aequo Marte partes semet altrinsecus afflictabant, nec de rigore genuine quidquam remittebant, dum vires animorum alacritas excitaret. Diremit tamen interneciva certamina cedens vespero dies, et cunctis, qua quisque potuit, incomposite discedentibus, residui omnes repetunt tentoria tristiores.

[15] But not yet wearied by the obstinate struggle, both sides continued to assail each other without a decision, and felt no diminution at all of their native hardihood, so long as eager courage kept up their strength. But at last day gave way to evening and ended the murderous contests, and withdrawing in disorder wherever each one could, all the survivors returned in sorrow to their tents.

[16] Humatis denique, pro locorum et temporis ratione, honoratis quibusdam inter defunctos, reliqua peremptorum corpora dirae volucres consumpserunt, assuetae illo tempore cadaveribus pasci, ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi. Constat tamen in numero longe minores Romanos, cum copiosa multitudine colluctatos, funerea multa perpressos: non tamen sine deflendis aerumnis exagitasse barbaram plebem. Clausi intra Hemimontanas Gothi, deinde a Romanis emissi, Thraciam rapinis, caedibus, stupris, incendiisque foedant, et Barzimerem, scutariorum tribunum interficiunt. His casibus proeliorum ita luctuose finitis, nostri proximos Marcianopoleos petivere secessus. Gothi intra vehiculorum anfractus sponte sua contrusi, numquam exinde per dies septem egredi vel videri sunt ausi, ideoque opportunitatem milites nacti, immensas alias barbarorum catervas inter Haemimontanas angustias clauserunt, aggerum obiectu celsorum, hac spe nimirum ut inter Histrum et solitudines perniciose hostium multitudo compacta, nullosque reperiens exitus, periret inedia, cunctis utilibus ad vivendum in civitates validas comportatis, quarum nullam etiam tum circumsedere conati sunt, haec et similia machinari penitus ignorantes.

[16] Finally, some of the dead, who were men of distinction, were buried in such manner as the present circumstances allowed; the bodies of the rest of the slain were devoured by the foul birds that are wont at such a time to feed upon corpses, as is shown by the plains even now white with bones. However, while it is a fact that the Romans, who, far fewer in number, struggled with that vast multitude, suffered great losses, yet lamentable was the distress with which they afflicted the barbarian horde. The Goths, after being beleaguered in

the defiles of Mount Haemus and then allowed by the Romans to escape, lay waste Thrace with robbery, murder, rape, and fire, and slay Barzimeres tribune of the body-guard. When these disasters of battle were thus mournfully ended, our men sought retreat in the neighbouring city of Marcianopolis. The Goths, of their own accord, crowded within the winding line of wagons, did not venture to come out or show themselves for seven days, and our soldiers, having thus found an opportunity, shut in the other huge hordes of barbarians within the narrow passes of the Haemus range by building high barriers. They doubtless hoped that the dangerous mass of enemies, crowded together between the Hister and the waste places, and finding no way out, would perish from lack of food; for all the necessities of life had been taken to the strong cities, none of which the enemy even then attempted to besiege because of their complete ignorance of these and other operations of the kind.

[2] Post quae repetivit Gallias Richomeres, ob maiorem proeliorum fremitum, qui sperabatur, inde adminicula perducturus. Haec Gratiano quater et Merobaude consulibus agebantur, anno in autumnum vergente.

[2] After this Richomeres returned to Gaul, in order to bring aid from there because there was expectation of still greater tumult of war. All this took place in the consulships of Gratian and Merobaudes, the former for the fourth time, towards the coming of autumn.

[3] Inter quae Valens audito lugubri bellorum direptionumque eventu, Saturninum equestris exercitus ad tempus cura commissa, suppetias Traiano ferentem misit et Profuturo.

[3] Meanwhile Valens, on hearing of the sad results of the war and the pillage, sent Saturninus, who was temporarily given command of the cavalry, to render aid to Trajanus and Profuturus.

[4] Forteque eisdem diebus, per Scythiae regiones et Moesiae omnibus quae poterant mandi consumptis, feritate urgente pariter et inopia erumpere barbari molibus magnis ardebant. Hocque saepe temptato, cum obruerentur vigore nostrorum, per asperitates scruposas valide resistentium, adacti necessitate postrema, Hunorum et Halanorum aliquos ad societatem spe praedarum ingentium adsciverunt.

[4] And it chanced at that same time, since everything that could serve as food throughout the lands of Scythia and Moesia had been used up, that the barbarians, driven alike by ferocity and hunger, strove with all their might to break out. And when after many attempts they were overwhelmed by the vigour of our men, who strongly opposed them amid the rugged heights, compelled by dire necessity they gained an alliance with some of the Huns and Halani by holding out the hope of immense booty.

[5] Quo cognito Saturninus (iam enim aderat, et praetenturas stationesque

disponebat agrarias), paulatim colligens suos, digredi parabat consilio non absurdo: ne subita multitudo, ut amnis immani pulsu undarum obicibus ruptis emissus, convelleret levi negotio cunctos, suspecta loca acutius observantes.

[5] As soon as Saturninus heard of this — for he had already arrived and was arranging a line of outposts and field pickets — he gradually gathered his forces together and prepared to retreat; his plan was not a foolish one—namely that suddenly the mass of barbarians, like a river that has burst its barriers and rushes forth with an awful drive of waters, might not with slight difficulty whirl to destruction one and all while keenly watching the points of danger.

[6] Deinde post reseratas angustias abitumque militis tempestivum, incomposite, qua quisque clausorum potuit (nullo vetante), turbandis incubuit rebus: et vastabundi omnes per latitudines Thraciae pandebantur impune, ab ipsis tractibus, quos praetermeat Hister, exorsi, ad usque Rhodopen et fretum, quod immensa disternat maria, rapinis et caedibus, sanguineque et incendiis et liberorum corporum corruptelis, omnia foedissime permiscentes.

[6] But scarcely were the passes open and our men conveniently gone, when the imprisoned barbarians, in disorder, wherever each man found no opposition, pressed on to set all in confusion; and unhindered they spread devastation over all the wide plains of Thrace, beginning at the very regions past which the Hister flows, and filling the whole country, as far as Rhodope and the strait which separates two great seas, with a most foul confusion of robbery, murder, bloodshed, fires, and shameful violation of the bodies of freemen.

[7] tunc erat spectare cum gemitu facta dictu visuque praedira, attonitas metu feminas flagris concrepantibus agitari, fetibus gravidas adhuc immaturis, antequam prodirent in lucem, impia tolerantibus multa, implicatos alios matribus parvulos, et puberum audire lamenta, puellarumque nobilium, quarum stringebat fera captivitas manus.

[7] Then there were to be seen and to lament acts most frightful to see and to describe: women driven along by cracking whips, and stupified with fear, still heavy with their unborn children, which before coming into the world endured many horrors; little children too clinging to their mothers. Then could be heard the laments of high-born boys and maidens, whose hands were fettered incruel captivity.

[8] Post quae adulta virginitas, castitasque nuptarum, ore abiecto, flens ultima ducebatur, mox profanandum pudorem optans morte (licet cruciabili) praevenire. Inter quae cum beluae ritu traheretur ingenuus paulo ante dives et liber, de te, Fortuna, ut inclementi querebatur et caeca, quae eum puncto temporis brevi opibus exutum et dulcedine caritatum, domoque extorrem, quam concidisse vidit in cinerem et ruinas, aut lacerandum membratim, aut

servitutum sub verberibus et tormentis crudo devovisti victori.

[8] Behind these were led last of all grown-up girls and chaste wives, weeping and with downcast faces, longing even by a death of torment to forestall the imminent violation of their modesty. Among these was a freeborn man, not long ago rich and independent, dragged along like some wild beast and railing at thee, Fortune, as merciless and blind, since thou hadst in a brief moment deprived him of his possessions, and of the sweet society of his dear ones; had driven him from his home, which he saw fallen to ashes and ruins, and sacrificed him to a bloodthirsty victor, either to be torn limb from limb or amid blows and tortures to serve as a slave.

[9] Barbari tamen, velut diffractis caveis bestiae, per Thraciarum amplitudines fusius incitati, oppidum petivere nomine Dibaltum, ubi tribunum scutariorum Barzimeren inventum cum suis Cornutisque et aliis peditum numeris castra ponentem assiliunt, eruditum pulvere militari rectorem.

[9] The barbarians, however, like savage beasts that had broken their cages, poured raging over the wide extent of Thrace and made for a town called Dibaltum, where they found Barzimeres, tribune of the targeteers, a leader experienced in the dust of warfare, with his own men, the Cornuti, and other companies of infantry, and fell upon him just as he was pitching his camp.

[10] Qui confestim (ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitii) iussa canere bellicum tuba, lateribus firmatis prorupit, cum promptis accinctis ad proelium: fortiterque resistendo pari pugnandi sorte discesserat, ni eum equitum accursus complurium anhelum circumvenisset et fessum. Et ita cecidit interfectis barbarorum non paucis, quorum clades copiarum magnitudo celabat. Frigeridus dux Gratiani Farnobium optimatem cum multis Gothis et Taifalis caedit: reliquis vita et agri circa Padum dati. Re in hunc modum peracta, Gothi quid postea molirentur incerti, quaeritabant Frigeridum, tamquam obicem validum, ubi reppererint excisuri: et cultiore victu somnoque parumper assumpto, eum sequebantur ut ferae: docti quod Gratiani monitu reversus in Thracias, et prope Beroeam vallo metato, eventus rerum speculabatur ancipites.

[10] He at once, as the exigency of imminent destruction compelled him, ordered the trumpet to sound the attack, and having protected his flanks, charged out at the head of his brave soldiers, who were ready and armed for battle; and by his valiant resistance he would have withdrawn on equal terms, had not the charge of a large force of cavalry surrounded him when he was breathless from fatigue. And so he fell, after having slain not a few of the barbarians, whose losses were concealed by their great numbers. Frigeridus, Gratian's general, slays the chieftain Farnobius with many of the Goths and the Taifali; to the rest, their lives and lands about the Po were granted. After accomplishing this as related, the Goths, uncertain what to try next, sought for

Frigeridus, with the intention of extirpating him, when they found him, as a powerful obstacle in their way; and after taking better food than usual and sleeping for a short time, they followed his trail like wild beasts; for they had learned that at Gratian's advice he had returned to Thrace, and, having constructed a fortification near Beroea, was watching the uncertain outcome of events.

[2] Et hi quidem ad patrandum propositum discursione rapida maturabant. Ille vero regendi conservandique militis non ignarus, id quod cogitatum est suspicatus, vel exploratorum relatione, quos miserat, aperte instructus, per montium celsa silvarumque densitates ad Illyricum redit, erectus prosperitate nimia, quam ei fors obtulit insperata.

[2] And they indeed in rapid march hastened to the execution of their design. But he, knowing how both to command his soldiers and to preserve them, either suspected their purpose or had plain information of it from the report of the scouts that he had sent out; so he returned over lofty mountains and through dense forests to Illyricum, much uplifted in spirit by the passing great opportunity which an unhopd-for chance put in his way.

[3] Repedando enim congregatusque in cuneos sensim progrediens, Gothorum optimatem Farnobium cum vastatoriis globis vagantem licentius occupavit, ducentemque Taifalos, nuper in societatem adhibitos: qui (si dignum est dici), nostris ignotarum gentium terrore dispersis, transiere flumen directuri vacua defensoribus loca.

[3] For while he was returning and, massed into wedge-formations, slowly advancing, he came upon the Gothic chieftain Farnobius, who was freely ranging about with his predatory bands and leading the Taifali, whom he had lately received as allies. Since our people (if it is proper to say so) through fear of these unknown peoples had dispersed, they crossed the river, intending to pillage the unprotected country.

[4] Eorum catervis subito visis, certare comminus dux cautissimus parans, adortusque nationis utriusque grassatores, minantes etiam tum acerbis strages multos occidit, trucidassetque omnes ad unum, ut ne nuntius quidem cladis post appareret, ni cum aliis multis perempto Farnobio, metuendo antehac incensore turbarum, obtestatus prece impensa superstitibus pepercisset, vivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit.

[4] When their bands suddenly came in sight, our careful leader prepared for a hand-to-hand conflict and opened an attack upon these marauders of both nations, which even then were threatening cruel carnage; he killed a large number and he would have slaughtered them all to the last man, leaving not even anyone to report the disaster, had he not, after the fall of Farnobius,

before this a dreaded inciter of turmoil, and many others with him, spared the survivors in response to their earnest entreaties. But though he spared their lives, he banished them to the neighbourhood of Mutina, Regium, and Parma, towns in Italy, where they were to work in the fields.

[5] Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem ac obscenae vitae flagitiis ita accepimus mersam, ut apud eos nefandi concubitus foedere copulentur maribus puberes, aetatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro siqui iam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemerit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti. Lentienses Alamanni a Gratiani A. ducibus proelio superati, Rege Priario item interfecto; et post deditionem datis Gratiano tironibus, domum redire permissi. Haec autumno vergente in hiemem funesti per Thracias turbines converrebant. Quae temporum rabies, velut cuncta cientibus Furiis, ad regiones quoque longinquas progrediens, late serpebat.

[5] We have learned that these Taifali were a shameful folk, so sunken in a life of shame and obscenity, that in their country the boys are coupled with the men in a union of unmentionable lust, to consume the flower of their youth in the polluted intercourse of those paramours. We may add that, if any grown person alone catches a boar or kills a huge bear, he is purified thereby from the shame of unchastity. The Lentiensian Alamanni are defeated in battle by the generals of Gratianus Augustus, and their king Priarius also is slain; after their surrender they give Gratian recruits and are allowed to return to their homes. This is what, throughout Thrace, the destructive storms of affairs swept together as autumn was verging upon winter. And this madness of the times, as if the Furies were stirring up the whole world, spread widely and made its way also to distant regions.

[2] Et iam Lentiensis Alamannicus populus, tractibus Raetiarum confinis, per fallaces discursus, violato foedere dudum concepto, collimitia nostra temptabat, quae clades hinc exitiale primordium sumpsit.

[2] And now the Lentienses, an Alamannic race bordering on Raetia, by treacherous raids broke the treaty which had long since been concluded with them and made an attempt upon our frontier; the ruinous beginning of this disaster was the following occurrence.

[3] Ex hac natione quidam inter principis armigeros militans, poscente negotio reversus in larem, ut erat in loquendo effusior, interrogantes multos quid ageretur in palatio, docet arcessitu Valentis patris Gratianum Orientem versus mox signa moturum, ut duplicatis viribus repellantur plagarum terminalium accolae, ad Romanarum rerum excidium coniurati.

[3] One of their nation, who was serving among the emperor's armour-bearers, returned to his home because of pressing business, and being a loose talker, when many asked him what was going on in the palace, he told them that

Gratian, summoned by his uncle Valens, would presently march towards the Orient, in order that with doubled forces he might repel the peoples dwelling on the border, who had conspired to destroy the Roman state.

[4] Quibus avide Lentienses acceptis, ipsi quoque haec quasi vicini cernentes, ut sunt veloces et rapidi, conferti in praedatorios globos, Rhenum gelu pervium pruinis Februario mense transire tentarunt; quos tendentes prope cum Petulantibus Celtae, non sine sui iactura, afflictos graviter adultis viribus averterunt.

[4] The Lentienses greedily seized upon this information, and, looking on these acts from the point of view of neighbours of the frontier, and being swift and hasty in action, they formed themselves into predatory bands, and in the month of February tried to cross the Rhine, which was sufficiently frozen over to be passable. But the Celts, who were encamped near by with the Petulantes, with mighty strength turned them back with great slaughter, yet not without loss to themselves.

[5] Verum retrocedere coacti Germani, atque noscentes exercitus pleramque partem in Illyricum (ut imperatore mox adfuturo) praegressam, exarsere flagrantius: maioraque coeptantes, pagorum omnium incolis in unum collectis, cum quadraginta armorum milibus vel septuaginta, ut quidam laudes extollendo principis iactitarunt, sublati in superbiam nostra confidentius irruerunt.

[5] But although the Germans were forced to retire, being aware that the greater part of the army had gone ahead to Illyricum, where the emperor was soon expected to appear, they were fired with hotter rage; and planning still greater enterprises, they gathered into one place the inhabitants of all the villages, and with forty thousand armed men, or seventy thousand, as some boasted in order to exaggerate the emperor's glory, full of pride and confidence broke into our territory.

[6] Quibus Gratianus cum formidine magna compertis, revocatis cohortibus, quas praemiserat in Pannonias, convocatisque aliis, quas in Galliis retinuerat dispositio prudens, Nannieno negotium dedit, virtutis sobriae duci: eique Mallobauden iunxit pari potestate collegam, domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum, virum bellicosum et fortem.

[6] Gratian learned of this with great alarm, recalled the cohorts which he had sent on into Pannonia, brought together the others, which wise policy had kept in Gaul, and gave the command to Nannienus, a leader of valour and discretion; but he joined with him as a colleague of equal rank Mallobaudes, commander of the household troops and king of the Franks, a brave man, always ready for fighting.

[7] Nannieno igitur pensante fortunarum versabiles casus, ideoque cunctandum

esse censente, Mallobaudes alta pugnandi cupiditate raptatus (ut consueverat), ire in hostem, differendi impatiens, angebatur.

[7] Accordingly, while Nannienus weighed the changeable events of fortune and hence believed that they ought to act deliberately, Mallobaudes, carried away (as usual) by his strong eagerness for battle and impatient of postponement, was tormented with longing to go against the foe.

[8] Proinde horrifico adversum fragore terrente, ubi primum apud Argentariam signo per cornicines dato, concurrere est coeptum, sagittarum verrutorumque missilium pulsibus crebriores hinc indeque sternebantur.

[8] Therefore, when from the opposite side the terrifying battle-cry was heard, the signal was given by the horn-blowers and the battle began at Argentaria; and many were struck down on both sides by wounds from flying arrows and javelins.

[9] Sed in ipso proeliorum ardore, infinita hostium multitudine milites visa, vitantesque aperta discrimina, per calles consitas arboribus et angustas, ut quisque potuit, dispersi, paulo postea stetere fidentius, et splendore consimili, proculque nitore fulgentes armorum, imperatorii adventus iniecere barbaris metum.

[9] But in the very heat of the fight, our soldiers, seeing the countless numbers of the enemy, and avoiding combat in the open. dispersed as best they could over the narrow pastures planted with trees, and presently stood their ground with greater confidence; and gleaming with like resplendence and brilliance of arms when seen from afar, they struck the barbarians with fear that the emperor was coming.

[10] Qui repente versi in terga, resistentesque interdum, nequid ultimae rationis omitterent, ita sunt caesi, ut ex praedicto numero non plus quam quinque milia, ut aestimabatur, evaderent, densitate nemorum tecta, inter complures alios audaces et fortes, rege quoque Priario interfecto, exitium concitore pugnatum.

[10] So the enemy turned in flight, sometimes however resisting, that they might not lose their last chance of safety; but they were so thoroughly defeated that from the above mentioned number it was estimated that not more than five thousand escaped under cover of the thick woods, and among other bold and brave men King Priarius also, the inciter of the deadly battles, was killed.

[11] Hac laeti successus fiducia Gratianus erectus, iamque ad partes tendens eoas, laevorsus flexo itinere, latenter Rheno transito, spe incitator bona, universam, si id temptanti fors adfuisset, delere statuit malefidam et turbatum avidam gentem.

[11] Gratian, filled with confidence at this happy success, and being already on his way to the regions of the east, turned his line of march to the left, secretly crossed the Rhine, and spurred on the more by sanguine hope, determined, if fortune favoured his attempt, utterly to destroy a race faithless and greedy for trouble.

[12] Hocque urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis cognito, Lentienses aerumnis populi sui ad internecionem paene deleti, et repentino principis adventu defixi, quid capessere ambigentes, cum neque repugnandi neque agendi aliquid aut moliendi laxamentum possent invenire vel breve, impetu celeri obsessos petiverunt inviis cautibus colles, abruptisque per ambitum rupibus insistentes, rebus caritatibusque suis, quas secum conduxerant, omni virium robore propugnabant.

[12] When one urgent message after another brought this news to the Lentienses, who were almost annihilated by the disasters to their people and were stunned by the emperor's sudden arrival, they were in doubt what plan to adopt; and since they could find no respite, however short, from fighting, nor from any action or effort, in swift course they made for the hills, which were beset by pathless crags. There, taking their place round about on the sheer rocks, they tried to defend their possessions and their dear wives and children, whom they had brought with them, with all the strength that they possessed.

[13] Qua difficultate perpensa, velut murorum obicibus opponendi, per legiones singulas quingenteni leguntur armati, usu prudenter bellandi comperti. Qui ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod versari inter antesignanos visebatur acriter princeps, montes scandere nitebantur, tamquam venaticias praedas, si calcassent editiora, confestim sine certamine ullo rapturi: exorsumque proelium vergente in meridiem die, tenebrae quoque occupavere nocturnae.

[13] After consideration of the difficult situation, five hundred soldiers who were approved by experience as prudent in battle were selected from each legion, to be opposed to obstacles like those of city walls. Their confident spirit was all the greater because the emperor was seen actively engaged in the foremost ranks, and they strove to scale the mountains, expecting that if they should set foot on the higher places, they would at once and without a struggle carry them off, as if they were booty taken in the chase. But the battle, which began towards midday, was even overtaken by the darkness of night.

[14] Quippe magno utriusque partis pugnabatur exitio: caedebant cadebantque nostrorum non pauci, simul arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine, iaculatione ponderum densa confringebantur.

[14] Both sides indeed suffered severe losses; our men slew many, but not a few of their own number fell, and at the same time the armour of the imperial guard, gleaming with gold and bright colours, was shattered by the heavy

missiles thickly cast upon it.

[15] Exinde diu reputante Gratiano cum optimatibus, perniciosum apparebat et irritum, contra asperitates aggerum prominentium intempestiva contendere pertinacia, multis (ut in tali negotio), variatis sententiis, otioso milite circumvallari placuit barbaros, inedia fatigatos, quia locorum iniquitate defenderentur.

[15] Then, after long conference with the men of highest rank, Gratian thought it dangerous and fruitless to struggle with untimely obstinacy against rugged jutting heights; opinions varied greatly, as was natural in such circumstances, but it was finally decided that, with the soldiers at rest, the barbarians should be shut in on all sides and exhausted by famine, since they were protected by the unevenness of the ground.

[16] Verum cum obstinatione simili renitentes Germani, peritique regionum, petissent alios montes, his quos ante insederant, altiores: conversus illuc cum exercitu imperator, eadem qua antea fortitudine, semitas ducentes ad ardua quaeritabat.

[16] But when the Germans resisted with the same persistence, and, being acquainted with the country, made for other mountains, higher than those which they had occupied before, the emperor wheeled in that direction with his army, and with the same courage as before sought to find paths leading to the heights.

[17] Quem Lentienses intentum iugulis suis omni perseverandi studio contemplantes, post deditionem, quam impetravere supplici prece, oblata (ut praeceptum est) iuventute valida nostris tirociniis permiscenda, ad genitales terras innoxii ire permissi sunt.

[17] When the Lentienses perceived that he was determined with most earnest persistence to have their lives, they obtained mercy as the result of humble supplications, and surrendered; then giving their strong young manhood (as they were ordered) to be mingled with our recruits, they were allowed to go without punishment to their native lands.

[18] Hanc victoriam, opportunam et fructuosam, quae gentes hebetavit occiduas, sempiterni numinis nutu, Gratianus incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque vigore exserta celeritate aliorum properans expedivit: praeclarae indolis adulescens, facundus et moderatus et bellicosus et clemens, ad aemulationem lectorum progrediens principum, dum etiam tum lanugo genis inserperet speciosa, ni vergens in ludibriosos actus natura, laxantibus proximis, semet ad vana studia Caesaris Commodi convertisset, licet hic incruentus.

[18] Incredibly great energy and conspicuous rapidity were shown by Gratian,

while he was hastening in another direction, when through the favour of the eternal deity he won this victory, which was at once seasonable and profitable, since it tamed the western nations. He was a young man of spendid character, eloquent, self-restrained, war-like, and merciful, and was already on his way to rivalry with the most distinguished emperors while yet a comely down was creeping over his cheeks, had not his natural inclination for unbecoming conduct, which was given free rein by his intimates, turned him to the frivolous pursuits of the emperor Commodus, although without that prince's thirst for blood.

[19] Ut enim ille, quia perimere iaculis plurimas feras spectante consueverat populo, et centum leones in amphitheatrali circulo simul emissos, telorum vario genere, nullo geminato vulnere, contruncavit, ultra hominem exsultavit, ita hic quoque, intra saepta quae appellant vivaria, sagittarum pulsibus crebris dentatas conficiens bestias, incidentia multa parvi ducebat et seria: eo tempore quo etiam si imperium Marcus regeret Antoninus, aegre sine collegis similibus et magna sobrietate consiliorum, lenire luctuosos rei publicae poterat casus.

[19] For as that emperor felt superhuman exultation because he so often killed a great number of wild animals with javelins in the presence of the people, and slaughtered with various kinds of weapons in the arena of the amphitheatre a hundred lions that were let in together, without needing to inflict a second wound, just so Gratian also, while he pierced sharptoothed beasts with many an arrow-shot within the enclosures which are called *vivaria*, neglected as of little moment many serious occurrences; and that too at a time when, even if Marcus Antoninus had been emperor, he could not without like-minded colleagues and most prudent counsel have mitigated the grievous disasters to our country.

[20] Dispositis igitur, quae pro temporum captu per Gallias res rationesque poscebant, et punito scutario proditore, qui festinare principem ad Illyricum barbaris indicarat, Gratianus exinde digressus per castra, quibus Felicis Arboris nomen est, per Lauriacum ad opitulandum oppressae parti porrectis itineribus ire tendebat.

[20] Gratian, then, after making the arrangements which affairs and policy throughout Gaul demanded according to the trend of the times, and punishing the traitorous targeteer who had revealed to the barbarians that the emperor was hurrying to Illyricum, hastened next to go by long marches past the castle called Felix Arbor and past Lauriacum, to bring aid to the hard-pressed part of the country.

[21] Eisdemque diebus, Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti, munireque properanti Succorum angustias, ne discursatores hostes et leves, tamquam exaestuantes nivis torrentes, per

septentrionales provincias fusius vagarentur, successor Maurus nomine mittitur comes, venalis ferociae specie, et ad cuncta mobilis et incertus; is est quem praeteritorum textu rettulimus, ambigenti super corona capita imponenda Caesari Iuliano, dum inter eius armigeros militaret, Arroganti astu fidenter torquem obtulisse collo abstractam.

[21] At that same time Frigeridus, who was carefully making many useful plans for the general security, and was hastening to fortify the pass of Succī, in order that the roving light-armed bands of the enemy might not, like torrents swollen by melting snow, roam at large over the northern provinces, was given a successor in the person of a general called Maurus, notoriously venal under a pretence of boldness, and changeable and unreliable in all his conduct. He it was who (as I have told in my narrative of previous events) when Caesar Julian was in doubt about the crown to be put upon his head, with haughty cleverness took off his neck-chain and boldly offered it to him for the purpose, being at the time one of Julian's bodyguard.

[22] Remotusque in ipsa vertigine pereuntium rerum dux cautus et diligens, cum etiam si dudum discessisset in otium, ad procinctum reduci negotiorum magnitudine poscente deberet. Sebastianus Gothos spoliis onustos apud Beroeam inopinantes concidit; paucos fuga servavit. Gratianus A. ad patrum Valentem properat, ei contra Gothos laturus auxilium. His forte diebus, Valens tandem excitus Antiochia, longitudine viarum emensa, venit Constantinopolim, ubi moratus paucissimos dies, seditioneque popularium levi pulsatus, Sebastiano paulo ante ab Italia (ut petierat) misso, vigilantiae notae ductori, pedestris exercitus cura commissa, quem regebat antea Traianus: ipse ad Melanthiada villam Caesarianam profectus, militem stipendio fovebat et alimentis, et blanda crebritate sermonum.

[22] Thus even in the dizzy whirl of disasters a careful and active leader was removed, whereas he should have been recalled to active service at the demand of such important affairs, even if he had long since retired to a peaceful life. Sebastianus at Beroea surprises and cuts to pieces the Goths laden with booty; a few were saved by flight. Gratianus Augustus hastens to his uncle Valens, to bring him aid against the Goths. It chanced that at that time Valens was at last called forth from Antioch, and after making the long journey arrived at Constantinople, where his stay was for only a very few days, and he was disturbed by a slight outbreak of the populace. He gave the command of the infantry, which Trajanus had formerly held, to Sebastianus, a leader of recognized vigilance, who had shortly before been sent from Italy at his own request. He himself went to the imperial villa Melanthias and tried to win the favour of the soldiers by pay, supplies, and many flattering words.

[2] Unde cum itinere edicto per tesseram Nicen venisset, quae statio ita cognominatur, relatione speculatorum didicit refertos opima barbaros praeda, a Rhodopes tractibus prope Hadrianopolim revertisse: qui motu imperatoris

cum abundanti milite cognito, popularibus iungere se festinant, circa Beroeam et Nicopolim agentibus praesidiis fixis: atque ilico ut oblatae occasionis maturitas postulabat, cum trecentenis militibus per singulos numeros lectis, Sebastianus properare dispositus erat, conducens rebus publicis aliquid (ut promittebat) acturus.

[2] Having commanded a march from there by written order, he came to the military post called Nice, where he learned from the report of scouts that the barbarians, laden with rich spoils, had returned from the lands at the foot of Rhodope to the neighbourhood of Hadrianopolis; they, on hearing that the emperor was on the march with a large force, were hastening to join their countrymen, who were staying in a permanent garrison near Beroea and Nicopolis. At once, as timeliness of the offered opportunity demanded, Sebastianus had been directed to choose three hundred soldiers from each legion and hasten to the spot, to do, as he promised, something advantageous to the state.

[3] Qui itineribus celeratis, conspectus prope Hadrianopolim, obseratis vi portis, iuxta adire prohibebatur: veritis defensoribus ne captus ab hoste veniret et subornatus, atque contingeret aliquid in civitatis perniciem, quale per Acacium acciderat comitem, quo per fraudem a Magnentiacis militibus capto, claustra patefacta sunt Alpium Iuliarum.

[3] He advanced by rapid marches until he was seen near Hadrianopolis, when the gates were strongly barred, and he was not allowed to approach them; for the besieged feared that he came as one who had been captured by the enemy, and won over to their side, and some harm might be caused to the city; such as had happened through the general Acacius, when the troops of Magnentius had captured him by treachery, and brought about the opening of the fastnesses of the Julian Alps.

[4] Agnitus tamen licet sero Sebastianus, et urbem introire permissus, cibo et quiete curatis pro copia, quos ductabat, secuta luce impetu clandestino erupit, vesperaque incedente, Gothorum vastatorios cuneos prope flumen Hebrum subito visos, paulisper opertus aggeribus et fructectis, obscura nocte suspensis passibus consopitos adgressus est, adeoque prostravit, ut praeter paucos quos morte velocitas exemerat pedum, interirent reliqui omnes, praedamque retraxit innumeram, quam nec civitas cepit nec planities lata camporum.

[4] However, when Sebastianus was recognized, although late, and allowed to enter the city, his men were refreshed with such food and rest as were available; and on the following morning he sallied forth in secret haste. Just as evening was coming on some predatory bands of Goths suddenly came in sight near the river Hebrus, whereupon Sebastianus remained hidden for a time behind mounds and thickets; and when it was dark night he advanced with light step and fell upon them in their sleep, inflicting such a defeat upon

them that all the rest perished except a few, whom swiftness of foot saved from death. He brought back countless booty, which was too great to be contained in the city and the broad plain about it.

[5] Qua causa percitus Fritigernus, et extimescens, ne dux (ut saepe audierat) impetrabilis, dispersos licenter suorum globos raptuique intentos consumeret, improvises adoriens: revocatis omnibus prope Cabylen oppidum cito discessit, ut agentes in regionibus patulis nec inedia nec occultis vexarentur insidiis.

[5] Fritigern was greatly alarmed by this stroke, and feared lest the general, whom he had always heard to be successful, might make an unexpected attack upon his scattered and heedless bands, which were intent only upon pillage, and utterly destroy them; he therefore recalled all his men to the vicinity of the town of Cabyle and quickly left that neighbourhood, in order that his people, by living in the open plains, might not suffer from famine or from secret attacks.

[6] Dum haec aguntur in Thraciis, Gratianus docto litteris patruo, qua industria superaverit Alamanos, pedestri itinere praemissis impedimentis et sarcinis, ipse cum expeditiore militum manu, permeato Danubio, delatus Bononiam, Sirmium introiit, et quadriduum ibi moratus, per idem flumen ad Martis castra descendit, febribus intervallatis afflictus: in quo tractu Halanorum impetu repentino temptatus, amisit sequentium paucos. Valens A. ante adventum Gratiani cum Gothis pugnare constituit. Eisdemque diebus exagitatus ratione gemina Valens, quod Lentienses compererat superatos, quodque Sebastianus subinde scribens facta dictis exaggerabat, e Melanthiade signa commovit, aequiperare facinore quodam egregio adolescentem properans filium fratris, cuius virtutibus urebatur: ducebatque multiplices copias, nec contemnendas nec segnes, quippe etiam veteranos eisdem iunxerat plurimos, inter quos et honoratiores alii et Traianus recinctus est, paulo ante magister armorum.

[6] While this was going on in Thrace, Gratian, having informed his uncle by letter with what energy he had overthrown the Alamanni, sent on ahead by land all his baggage and packs, and descending the Danube with a band of light-armed troops, came to Bononia and entered Sirmium. Having delayed there for four days, he went on over the same river to the Camp of Mars, although attacked by intermittent fevers. In that region the Halani unexpectedly fell upon him, and he lost a few of his followers. Valens Augustus decides to fight with the Goths before the coming of Gratian. In those same days Valens was troubled for two reasons: first, by the news that the Lentienses had been defeated; secondly, because Sebastianus wrote from time to time exaggerating his exploits. He therefore marched forth from Melanthias, being eager to do some glorious deed to equal his young nephew, whose valiant exploits consumed him with envy. He had under his command a force made up of varying elements, but one neither contemptible, nor unwarlike; for he had joined with them also a large number of veterans,

among whom were other officers of high rank and Trajanus, shortly before a commander-in-chief, whom he had recalled to active service.

[2] Et quoniam exploratione sollicita cognitum est cogitare hostes fortibus praesidiis itinera claudere, per quae commeatus necessarii portabantur, occursum est huic conatui competenter, ad retinendas opportunitates angustiarum, quae prope erant, peditibus sagittariis et equitum turma citius missa.

[2] And since it was learned from careful reconnoitring that the enemy were planning with strong guards to block the roads over which the necessary supplies were being brought, he tried competently to frustrate this attempt by quickly sending an infantry troop of bowmen and a squadron of cavalry, in order to secure the advantages of the narrow passes, which were near by.

[3] Triduoque proximo, cum barbari gradu incederent leni et metuentes eruptionem per devia, quindecim milibus passuum a civitate discreti, stationem peterent Nicen, incertum quo errore procursatoribus omnem illam multitudinis partem, quam viderant, in numero decem milium esse firmantibus, imperator procaci quodam calore percussus eisdem occurrere festinabat.

[3] During the next three days, when the barbarians, advancing at a slow pace and through unfrequented places, since they feared a sally, were fifteen miles distant from the city, and were making for the station of Nice, through some mistake or other the emperor was assured by his skirmishers that all that part of the enemy's horde which they had seen consisted of only ten thousand men, and carried away by a kind of rash ardour, he determined to attack them at once.

[4] Proinde agmine quadrato incedens, prope suburbanum Hadrianopoleos venit, ubi vallo sudibus fossaque firmato, Gratianum impatienter operiens, Richomerem comitem domesticorum suscepit, ab eodem imperatore praemisum cum litteris, ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus.

[4] Accordingly, advancing in square formation, he came to the vicinity of a suburb of Hadrianopolis, where he made a strong rampart of stakes, surrounded by a moat, and impatiently waited for Gratian; there he received Richomeres, general of the household troops, sent in advance by Gratian with a letter, in which he said that he himself also would soon be there.

[5] Quarum textu oratus, ut praestolaretur paulisper periculorum participem, neve abruptis discriminibus temere semet committeret solum, adhibitis in consilium potestatibus variis, quid facto opus esset deliberabat.

[5] Since the contents besought him to wait a while for the partner in his dangers, and not rashly to expose himself alone to serious perils, Valens

called a council of various of his higher officers and considered what ought to be done.

[6] Et cum Sebastiano auctore quidam protinus eundum ad certamen urgerent, Victor nomine (magister equitum) Sarmata sed cunctator et cautus, eadem sentientibus multis, imperii socium exspectari censebat, ut incrementis exercitus Gallicani adscitis, opprimeretur levius tumor barbaricus flammans.

[6] And while some, influenced by Sebastianus, urged him to give battle at once, the man called Victor, a commander of cavalry, a Sarmatian by birth, but foresighted and careful, with the support of many others recommended that his imperial colleague be awaited, so that, strengthened by the addition of the Gallic army, he might the more easily crush the fiery over-confidence of the barbarians.

[7] Vicit tamen funesta principis destinatio, et adulabilis quorundam sententia regiorum, qui ne paene iam partae victoriae (ut opinabantur) consors fieret Gratianus, properari cursu celeri suadebant.

[7] However, the fatal insistence of the emperor prevailed, supported by the flattering opinion of some of his courtiers, who urged him to make all haste in order that Gratian might not have a share in the victory which (as they represented) was already all but won.

[8] Et dum necessaria parabantur ad decernendum, Christiani ritus presbyter (ut ipsi appellant), missus a Fritigerno legatus, cum aliis humilibus venit ad principis castra, susceptusque leniter, eiusdem ductoris obtulit scripta, petentis propalam ut sibi suisque, quos extorres patriis laribus rapidi ferarum gentium exegere discursus, habitanda Thracia sola cum pecore omni concederetur et frugibus: hoc impetrato, spondentis perpetuam pacem.

[8] While the necessary preparations for the decisive battle were going on, a Christian presbyter (to use their own term), who had been sent by Fritigem as an envoy, in company with some humble folk came to the emperor's camp. He was courteously received and presented a letter from the same chieftain, openly requesting that to him and his people, whom the rapid forays of savage races had made exiles from their native lands, Thrace only should be granted as a habitation, with all its flocks and crops; and they promised lasting peace if this request were granted.

[9] Praeter haec idem Christianus, ut conscius arcanorum et fidus, secretas alias eiusdem regis obtulit litteras, qui astu et ludificandi varietate nimium sollers, docebat Valentem quasi mox amicus futurus et socius, aliter se popularium saevitiam mollire non posse vel ad condiciones rei Romanae profuturas allicere, nisi subinde armatum eisdem iuxta monstraret exercitum, et timore imperatorii nominis intentato, eos a pernicioso pugnandi revocaret ardore. Et legati quidem ut ambigui frustra habiti discesserunt.

[9] Besides this the aforesaid Christian, apparently a confidant and trusted friend of Fritigern, presented also a private letter of the same king, who, all too skilled in craft and in various forms of deception, informed Valens, pretending that he hoped soon to be his friend and ally, that he could not tame the savagery of his people, or entice them to adopt conditions favourable to the Roman state, unless the emperor should from time to time show them near at hand his army ready for battle, and through the fear aroused by the imperial name check their destructive eagerness for war. But as to the envoys, their sincerity was doubted, and they left without accomplishing their purpose.

[10] Exoriente vero aurora diei, quem quintum Iduum Augustarum numerus ostendit annalis, signa praepropere commoventur, impedimentis et sarcinis prope Hadrianopoleos muros cum legionum tutela congrua collocatis. Thesauri enim et principalis fortunae insignia cetera, cum praefecto et consistorianis ambitu moenium tenebantur.

[10] But on the dawn of that day which is numbered in the calendar as the fifth before the Ides of August the army began its march with extreme haste, leaving all its baggage and packs near the walls of Hadrianopolis with a suitable guard of legions; for the treasury, and the insignia of imperial dignity besides, with the prefect and the emperor's council, were kept within the circuit of the walls.

[11] Decursis itaque viarum spatiis confragosis, cum in medium torridus procederet dies, octava tandem hora hostium carpenta cernuntur, quae ad speciem rotunditatis detornatae digesta exploratorum relatione affirmabantur. Atque (ut mos est) ululante barbara plebe ferum et triste, Romani duces aciem instruxere, et anteposito dextro cornu equitum prime, peditatus pars maxima subsidebat.

[11] So after hastening a long distance over rough ground, while the hot day was advancing towards noon, finally at the eighth hour they saw the wagons of the enemy, which, as the report of the scouts had declared, were arranged in the form of a perfect circle. And while the barbarian soldiers, according to their custom, uttered savage and dismal howls, the Roman leaders so drew up their line of battle that the cavalry on the right wing were first pushed forward, while the greater part of the infantry waited in reserve.

[12] Cornu autem equitum laevum, disiectis adhuc per itinera plurimis, summa difficultate conductum, properabat passibus citis. Dumque idem cornu, nullo etiam tum inturbante, extenditur, horrendo fragore, sibilantibus armis, pulsuque minaci scutorum, terrii barbari, quoniam pars eorum cum Alatheo et Saphrace, procul agens et accita, nondum venerat, oraturos pacem misere legatos.

[12] But the left wing of the horsemen (which was formed with the greatest

difficulty, since very many of them were still scattered along the roads) was hastening to the spot at swift pace. And while that same wing was being extended, still without interruption, the barbarians were terrified by the awful din, the hiss of whirring arrows and the menacing clash of shields; and since a part of their forces under Alatheus and Saphrax was far away and, though sent for, had not yet returned, they sent envoys to beg for peace.

[13] Eorum dum vilitatem despicit imperator, ut firma fierent paciscenda, optimates poscens idoneos mitti, illi de industria cunctabantur, ut inter fallaces indutias equites sui redirent, quos affore iam sperabant: et miles fervore calefactus aestivo, siccis faucibus commarceret, relucente amplitudine camporum incendiis, quos lignis nutrimentisque aridis subditis, ut hoc fieret idem, hostes urebant. Cui malo aliud quoque accedebat exitiale, quod homines et iumenta cruciabat inedia gravis.

[13] The emperor scorned these because of their low origin, demanding for the execution of a lasting treaty that suitable chieftains be sent; meanwhile the enemy purposely delayed, in order that during the pretended truce their cavalry might return, who, they hoped, would soon make their appearance; also that our soldiers might be exposed to the fiery summer heat and exhausted by their dry throats, while the broad plains gleamed with fires, which the enemy were feeding with wood and dry fuel, for this same purpose. To that evil was added another deadly one, namely, that men and beasts were tormented by severe hunger.

[14] Inter quae Fritigernus, callidus futuri coniectore, Martemque pertimescens ancipitem, velut caduceatorem, unum e plebe suo misit arbitrio, impetens nobiles quosdam et electos ad se prope diem obsides mitti, impavidus ipse minas militares laturus, et necessaria.

[14] Meanwhile Fritigern, shrewd to foresee the future and fearing the uncertainty of war, on his own initiative sent one of his common soldiers as a herald, requesting that picked men of noble rank be sent to him at once as hostages and saying that he himself would fearlessly meet the threats of his soldiers and do what was necessary.

[15] Laudato probatoque formidati ducis proposito, tribunus Aequitius, cui tunc erat cura palatii credita, Valentis propinquus, assentientibus cunctis ire pignoris loco mature disponitur. Quo renitente, quia semel captus ab hostibus, lapsusque a Dibalto, verebatur eorum irrationabiles motus, Richomeres se sponte obtulit propria, ireque promiserat libens, pulcrum hoc quoque facinus, et viro convenire existimans forti. Iamque pergebat, indicia dignitatis et natalium ...

[15] The proposal of the dreaded leader was welcome and approved, and the tribune Aequitius, then marshal of the court and a relative of Valens, with the

general consent was chosen to go speedily as a surety. When he objected, on the ground that he had once been captured by the enemy but had escaped from Dibaltum, and therefore feared their unreasonable anger, Richomeres voluntarily offered his own services and gladly promised to go, thinking this also to be a fine act and worthy of a brave man. And soon he was on his way [bringing] proofs of his rank and birth. . . .

[16] *Eo ad vallum hostile tendente, sagittarii et scutarii, quos Bacurius Hiberus quidam tunc regebat et Cassio, avidius impetu calenti progressi, iamque adversis conexi, ut immature proruperant, ita inertis discessu, primordia belli foedarunt.*

[16] As he was on his way to the enemy's rampart, the archers and the targeteers, then under the command of one Bacurius of Hiberia and Cassio, had rushed forward too eagerly in hot attack, and were already engaged with their adversaries; and as their charge had been untimely, so their retreat was cowardly; and thus they gave an unfavourable omen to the beginning of the battle.

[17] *Hocque impedimento conatus intempestivi et Richomeris alacritas fracta est, nusquam ire permissi, et equitatus Gothorum cum Alatheo reversus et Saphrace, Halanorum manu permixta, ut fulmen prope montes celsos excussus, quoscumque accursu veloci invenire comminus potuit, incitata caede turbavit. Gothi omnes in unum coniuncti, nimirum Theruingi ductu Fritigerni R. et Greuthungi ducibus Alatheo et Saphrace, cum Romanis acie instructa configunt, et fuso equitatu, pedites nudatos atque confertos cum maxima strage in fugam coniiciunt. Valens occisus nusquam comparuit. Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur et tela, lituosque Bellona luctuosos inflaret in clades Romanas solito immanius furens, cedentes nostri multis interclamantibus restiterunt, et proelium flammarum ritu accrescens, terrebat militum animos, confixis quibusdam rotatis ictibus iaculorum et sagittarum.*

[17] This unseasonable proceeding not only thwarted the prompt action of Richomeres, who was not allowed to go at all, but also the Gothic cavalry, returning with Alatheus and Saphrax, combined with a band of the Halani, dashed out as a thunderbolt does near high mountains, and threw into confusion all those whom they could find in the way of their swift onslaught, and quickly slew them. All the Goths united, namely, the Theruingi under the command of King Fritigern, and the Greuthungi led by Alatheus and Saphrax, and engaged with the Romans in the open, routed their cavalry, and put to flight the infantry, thus left unprotected and crowded together, with enormous losses; Valens was killed, but his body could not be found. On every side armour and weapons clashed, and Bellona, raging with more than usual madness for the destruction of the Romans, blew her lamentable war-trumpets; our soldiers who were giving way rallied, exchanging many

encouraging shouts, but the battle, spreading like flames, filled their hearts with terror, as numbers of them were pierced by strokes of whirling spears and arrows.

[2] Deinde collisae in modum rostratarum navium acies, trudentesque se vicissim, undarum specie motibus sunt reciprocis iactitatae. Et quia sinistrum cornu ad usque plaustra ipsa accessit, ultra (siqui tulissent suppetias) processurum: a reliquo equitatu desertum, multitudine hostili urgente, ac si ruina aggeris magni, oppressum atque deiectum est: steterunt improtecti pedites ita concatervatis manipulis, ut vix mucronem exserere aut manus reducere quisquam posset. Nec iam obiectu pulveris caelum patere potuit ad prospectum, clamoribus resultans horrificis. Qua causa tela undique mortem vibrantia, destinata cadebant et noxia, quod nec provideri poterant nec caveri.

[2] Then the lines dashed together like beaked ships, pushing each other back and forth in turn, and tossed about by alternate movements, like waves at sea. And because the left wing, which had made its way as far as the very wagons, and would have gone farther if it had had any support, being deserted by the rest of the cavalry, was hard pressed by the enemy's numbers, it was crushed, and overwhelmed, as if by the downfall of a mighty rampart. The foot-soldiers thus stood unprotected, and their companies were so crowded together that hardly anyone could pull out his sword or draw back his arm. Because of clouds of dust the heavens could no longer be seen, and echoed with frightful cries. Hence the arrows whirling death from every side always found their mark with fatal effect, since they could not be seen beforehand nor guarded against.

[3] Verum ubi effusi immensis agminibus barbari, iumenta conterebant et viros, et neque ad receptum confertis ordinibus laxari usquam poterat locus, et evadendi copiam constipatio densior adimebat: nostri quoque ultimo cadendi contemptu, occursantes receptis gladiis obtruncabant, et mutuis securium ictibus galeae perfringebantur atque loricae.

[3] But when the barbarians, pouring forth in huge hordes, trampled down horse and man, and in the press of ranks no room for retreat could be gained anywhere, and the increased crowding left no opportunity for escape, our soldiers also, showing extreme contempt of falling in the fight, received their death-blows, yet struck down their assailants; and on both sides the strokes of axes split helmet and breastplate.

[4] Videreque licebat celsum ferocia barbarum, genis stridore constrictis, succiso poplite aut abscisa ferro dextera vel confosso latere inter ipsa quoque mortis confinia minaciter circumferentem oculos truces: ruinaque confligentium mutua, humi corporibus stratis, campi peremptis impleti sunt, et morientium gemitus, profundisque vulneribus transfixorum, cum timore audiebantur ingenti.

[4] Here one might see a barbarian filled with lofty courage, his cheeks contracted in a hiss, hamstrung or with right hand severed, or pierced through the side, on the very verge of death threateningly casting about his fierce glance; and by the fall of the combatants on both sides the plains were covered with the bodies of the slain strewn over the ground, while the groans of the dying and of those who had suffered deep wounds caused immense fear when they were heard.

[5] In hoc tanto tamque confusae rei tumultu, exhausti labore et periculis pedites, cum deinceps neque vires illis neque mentes suppetere ad consilium, diffractis hastarum plerisque collisione assidua, gladiis contenti dstrictis, in confertas hostium turmas se immergebant, salutis immemores, circumspectantes ademptum esse omne evadendi suffugium.

[5] In this great tumult and confusion the infantry, exhausted by their efforts and the danger, when in turn strength and mind for planning anything were lacking, their lances for the most part broken by constant clashing, content to fight with drawn swords, plunged into the dense masses of the foe, regardless of their lives, seeing all around that every loophole of escape was lost.

[6] Et quia humus ravis operta sanguineis gressus labiles evertibat, conabantur modis omnibus vitam impendere non inultam: adeo magno animorum robore oppositi incumbentibus, ut etiam telis quidam propriis interirent. Atra denique cruoris facie omnia conturbante, et quocumque se inflexerant oculi, acervis caesorum aggestis, exanimata cadavera sine parsimonia calcabantur.

[6] The ground covered with streams of blood whirled their slippery foothold from under them, so they could only strain every nerve to sell their lives dearly; and they opposed the onrushing foe with such great resolution that some fell by the weapons of their own comrades. Finally, when the whole scene was discoloured with the hue of dark blood, and wherever men turned their eyes heaps of slain met them, they trod upon the bodies of the dead without mercy.

[7] Solque sublimior, decurso Leone, ad domicilium caelestis Virginis transiens, Romanos magis attenuatos inedia, sitique confectos, etiam armorum gravantibus sarcinis exurebat. Ad ultimum incumbente barbarorum pondere acies inclinatae nostrorum, quod solum postremis malis habuere subsidium, incondite qua quisque poterat, vertuntur in pedes.

[7] Now the sun had risen higher, and when it had finished its course though Leo, and was passing into the house of the heavenly Virgo, scorched the Romans, who were more and more exhausted by hunger and worn out by thirst, as well as distressed by the heavy burden of their armour. Finally our line was broken by the onrushing weight of the barbarians, and since that was the only resort in their last extremity, they took to their heels in disorder as

best they could.

[8] Dumque omnes dispersi per ignotos tramites cedunt, imperator diris pavoribus circumsaepus, paulatimque insiliens funerum moles, ad lancearios confugit et mattiarios: qui dum multitudo tolerabatur hostilis, fixis corporibus steterant inconcussi. Eoque viso Traianus exclamat spem omnem absumptam, ni desertus ab armigeris princeps saltem adventicio tegetetur auxilio.

[8] While all scattered in flight over unknown paths, the emperor, hedged about by dire terrors, and slowly treading over heaps of corpses, took refuge with the lancers and the *mattiarii*, who, so long as the vast numbers of the enemy could be sustained, had stood unshaken with bodies firmly planted. On seeing him Trajanus cried that all hope was gone, unless the emperor, abandoned by his body-guard, should at least be protected by his foreign auxiliaries.

[9] Hocque audito, Victor nomine comes, Batavos in subsidiis locatos haut procul, ad imperatoris praesidium raptim cogere properans, cum invenire neminem posset, gradiens retro discessit. Parique modo Richomeres periculo semet exemit et Saturninus.

[9] On hearing this the general called Victor hastened to bring quickly to the emperor's aid the Batavi, who had been posted not far off as a reserve force; but when he could find none of them, he retired and went away. And in the same way Richomeres and Saturninus made their escape from danger.

[10] Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari nostros, iam linquente venarum calore torpentes: quorum aliqui percussoribus cadebant incertis, non nulli ponderibus solis urgentium obruti, ictuque suorum aliqui trucidati: nec enim saepe renitentibus cedebatur, aut parcebat cedentibus quisquam.

[10] And so the barbarians, their eyes blazing with frenzy, were pursuing our men, in whose veins the blood was chilled with numb horror: some fell without knowing who struck them down, others were buried beneath the mere weight of their assailants; some were slain by the sword of a comrade; for though they often rallied, there was no ground given, nor did anyone spare those who retreated.

[11] Super his obstruebant itinera iacentes multi semineces, cruciatus vulnerum conquerentes, cum quibus aggeres quoque equorum constrati, cadaveribus campos implerant. Diremit haec numquam pensabilia damna, quae magno rebus stetero Romanis, nullo splendore lunari nox fulgens.

[11] Besides all this, the roads were blocked by many who lay mortally wounded, lamenting the torment of their wounds; and with them also mounds of fallen horses filled the plains with corpses. To these ever irreparable losses, so costly to the Roman state, a night without the bright light of the moon put an end.

[12] Primaque caligine tenebrarum, inter gregarios imperator, ut opinari dabatur (neque enim vidisse se quisquam vel praesto fuisse adseveravit), sagitta perniciose saucius ruit, spirituque mox consumpto decessit, nec postea repertus est usquam. Hostium enim paucis spoliandi gratia mortuos per ea loca diu versatis, nullus fugatorum vel accolarum illuc adire est ausus.

[12] At the first coming of darkness the emperor, amid the common soldiers as was supposed (for no one asserted that he had seen him or been with him), fell mortally wounded by an arrow, and presently breathed his last breath; and he was never afterwards found anywhere. For since a few of the foe were active for long in the neighbourhood for the purpose of robbing the dead, no one of the fugitives or of the natives ventured to approach the spot.

[13] Simili clade Caesarem accepimus Decium, dimicantem cum barbaris acriter, equi lapsu prostratum, quem ferventem retinere non valuit, abiectumque in paludem, nec emergere potuisse nec inveniri.

[13] The Caesar Decius, we are told, met a similar fate; for when he was fiercely fighting with the barbarians and his horse, whose excitement he could not restrain, stumbled and threw him, he fell into a marsh, from which he could not get out, nor could his body be found.

[14] Alii dicunt Valentem animam non exhalasse confestim, sed cum candidatis et spadonibus paucis, prope ad agrestem casam relatum, secunda contignatione fabre munitam, dum fovetur manibus imperitis, circumsessum ab hostibus, qui esset ignorantibus, dedecore captivitatis exemptum.

[14] Others say that Valens did not give up the ghost at once, but with his bodyguard and a few eunuchs was taken to a peasant's cottage near by, well fortified in its second storey; and while he was being treated by unskilful hands, he was surrounded by the enemy, who did not know who he was, but was saved from the shame of captivity.

[15] Cum enim oppessulatas ianuas perrumpere conati qui secuti sunt, a parte pensili domus sagittis incesserentur, ne per moras inexpedibiles populandi amitterent copiam, congestis stipulae fascibus et lignorum, flammaque supposita, aedificium cum hominibus torruerunt.

[15] For while the pursuers were trying to break open the bolted doors, they were assailed with arrows from a balcony of the house; and fearing through the inevitable delay to lose the opportunity for pillage, they piled bundles of straw and firewood about the house, set fire to them, and burned it men and all.

[16] Unde quidam de candidatis, per fenestram lapsus captusque a barbaris, prodidit factum et eos maerore afflixit, magna gloria defraudatos, quod Romanae rei rectorem non cepere superstitem. Is ipse iuvenis, occulte postea

reversus ad nostros, haec ita accidisse narravit.

[16] From it one of the bodyguard leaped through a window, but was taken by the enemy; when he told them what had happened, he filled them with sorrow at being cheated of great glory, in not having taken the ruler of the Roman empire alive. This same young man, having later escaped and returned secretly to our army, gave this account of what had occurred.

[17] *Pari clade recuperatis Hispaniis, Scipionum alterum cremata turri in quam confugerat, absumptum incendio hostili comperimus. Illud tamen certum est, nec Scipioni nec Valenti sepulturam (qui supremitatis honor est) contigisse.*

[17] When Spain had been recovered, with a similar disaster the second of the Scipios, we are told, was burned with a tower in which he had taken refuge and which the enemy had set on fire. This much, at any rate, is certain, that neither Scipio nor Valens had the fortune of burial which is death's final honour.

[18] *In hac multiplici virorum illustrium clade, Traiani mors eminuit et Sebastiani, cum quibus triginta quinque oppetivere tribuni, vacantes et numerorum rectores, et Valerianus atque Aequitius, quorum alter stabulum, alter curabat palatium. Inter hos etiam promotorum tribunus, Potentius, cecidit in primaevae flore aetatis, bono cuique spectatus, meritis Ursicini patris, magistri quondam armorum suisque commendabilis. Constatque vix tertiam evasisse exercitus partem.*

[18] Amid this manifold loss of distinguished men, the deaths of Trajanus and Sebastianus stood out. With them fell thirty-five tribunes, without special assignments, and leaders of bodies of troops, as well as Valerianus and Aequitius, the one having charge of the stables, the other, of the Palace. Among these also Potentius lost his life in the first flower of his youth; he was tribune of the *promoti*, respected by all good men and honoured both for his own services and those of his father Ursicinus, formerly a commander-in-chief. Certain it is that barely a third part of our army escaped.

[19] *Nec ulla annalibus praeter Cannensem pugnam ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta, quamquam Romani aliquotiens reflante Fortuna fallaciis lusi, bellorum iniquitati cesserunt ad tempus, et certamina multa fabulosae naeniae flevire Graecorum. Valentis A. virtutes et vitia. Perit autem hoc exitu Valens, quinquagesimo anno contiguus, cum per annos quattuor imperasset et decem, parvo minus.*

[19] The annals record no such massacre of a battle except the one at Cannae, although the Romans more than once, deceived by trickery due to an adverse breeze of Fortune, yielded for a time to illsuccess in their wars, and although the storied dirges of the Greeks have mourned over many a contest.

Thus then died Valens, at the age of almost fifty and after a reign of a little less than fourteen years.

[2] Cuius bona multis cognita dicemus et vitia. Amicus fidelis et firmus, ultor acer ambitionum, severus militaris et civilis disciplinae corrector, pervigil semper et anxius, ne quis propinquitatem praetendens, altius semet efferret, erga deferendas potestates vel adimendas nimium tardus, provinciarum aequissimus tutor, quarum singulas ut domum propriam custodibat indemnes, tributorum onera studio quodam molliens singulari, nulla vectigalium admittens augmenta in adaerandis reliquorum debitis non molestus, furibus et in peculatu deprehensis iudicibus inimicus asper et vehemens. Nec sub alio principe in huius modi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit Oriens.

[2] Of his merits, as known to many, we shall now speak, and of his defects. He was a firm and faithful friend, severe in punishing ambitious designs, strict in maintaining discipline in the army and in civil life, always watchful and anxious lest anyone should elevate himself on the ground of kinship with him; he was excessively slow towards conferring or taking away official positions, very just in his rule of the provinces, each of which he protected from injury as he would his own house, lightening the burden of tributes with a kind of special care, allowing no increase in taxes, not extortionate in estimating the indebtedness from arrears, a harsh and bitter enemy of thievish officials and of those detected in peculation. Under no other emperor does the Orient recall meeting better treatment in matters of this kind.

[3] Super his omnibus liberalis erat cum moderatione, cuius rei licet abundant exempla, unum tamen sufficiet poni. Ut sunt in palatiis non nulli alienarum avidi rerum, siqui caducum vel aliud petisset ex usu, cum magna iustorum iniustorumque distinctione, contradicturis copia servata, donabat ei qui petierat, tres vel quattuor alios absentes aliquotiens impetratorum participes iungens, ut castigatius agerent inquieti, lucra quibus inhiabant, hoc minui commento cernentes.

[3] Besides all this, he combined liberality with moderation, and although there are many instances of such conduct, yet it will suffice to set forth one. Since there are always at court some men who are greedy for others' possessions, if anyone, as often happens, claimed a lapsed estate or anything else of the kind, he distinguished clearly between justice and injustice, allowing those who intended to protest a chance to state their case; and if he gave it to the petitioner, he often added as sharers in the gifts gained three or four absentees, to the end that restless people might act with more restraint, when they saw that by this device the gain for which they were so greedy was diminished.

[4] Super aedificiis autem, quae per diversas urbes et oppida vel instauravit, vel

a primis instruxit auspiciis, (ne sim longior) taceo, rebus ipsis id apertius monstrare concedens. Haec bonis omnibus aemulanda sunt, ut existimo: nunc eius vitia percurramus.

[4] As to the public buildings which he restored or built from their very beginning in various cities and towns, in order not to be prolix I say nothing, but leaving this matter to the objects themselves to demonstrate it more obviously than I can. Such conduct is worthy, I think, of emulation by all good men; let me now run through his defects.

[5] Magnarum opum intemperans appetitor, laborum impatiens, duritiamque magis affectans immanem, in crudelitatem proclivior, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus: alienis gemitibus libenter emolumenta fructusque conquirens, tuncque magis intolerabilis, cum incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel laesam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem saeviebat, et dispendia locupletum.

[5] He was immoderately desirous of great wealth, and impatient of toil, rather affecting awesome austerity than possessing it, and somewhat inclined to cruelty; he had rather an uncultivated mind, and was trained neither in the art of war nor in liberal studies; he was ready to gain advantage and profit at the expense of others' suffering, and more intolerable when he attributed offences that were committed to contempt of, or injury to, the imperial dignity; then he vented his rage in bloodshed, and on the ruin of the rich.

[6] Illud quoque ferri non poterat, quod cum legibus lites omnes quaestionesque committere videri se vellet, destinatisque velut lectis iudicibus negotia spectanda mandabat, nihil agi contra libidinem suam patiebatur: iniuriosus alia et iracundus, et criminantibus, sine differentia veri vel falsi, facillime patens, quae vitiolum labes etiam in his privatis cotidianisque rationibus impendio est formidanda.

[6] It was unendurable also, that although he wished to appear to refer all controversies and judicial investigations to the laws, and entrusted the examination of such affairs to the regular judges as being specially selected men, nevertheless he suffered nothing to be done contrary to his own caprice. He was in other ways unjust, hot tempered, and ready to listen to informers without distinguishing truth from falsity — a shameful fault, which is very greatly to be dreaded even in these our private affairs of every-day occurrence.

[7] Cessator et piger: nigri coloris, pupula oculi unius obstructa, sed ita ut non eminus appareret, figura bene compacta membrorum, staturae nec procerae nec humilis, incurvis cruribus exstanteque mediocriter ventre.

[7] He was a procrastinator and irresolute. His complexion was dark, the pupil of one of his eyes was dimmed, but in such a way as not to be noticed at a

distance; his body was well-knit, his height neither above nor below the average; he was knock-kneed, and somewhat pot-bellied.

[8] Haec super Valente dixisse sufficiet, quae vera esse aequalis nobis memoria plene testatur. Illud autem praeteriri non convenit, quod cum oraculo tripodis, quem movisse Patricium docuimus et Hilarium, tres versus illos fatidicos comperisset, quorum ultimus est Ἐν πεδίοισι μίμαντος ἄγαιομένοιο ἄρης, ut erat inconsummatus et rudis, inter initia contemnebat, processu vero luctuum maximorum, abiecte etiam timidus, eiusdem sortis recordatione Asiae nomen horrebat: ubi Erythraeo oppido superpositum montem Mimanta, et Homerum scripsisse, et Tullium, doctis referentibus audiebat.

[8] This will be enough to say about Valens, and it is fully confirmed by the testimony of records contemporary with me. But it is proper not to omit the following story. At the time of the oracle of the tripod, for which, as I have said, Patricius and Hilarius were responsible, he had heard of those three prophetic verses, of which the last is: When in Mimas' plains the war-god Ares rages. Being uneducated and rude, he disregarded them at first, but as his very great troubles increased he became abjectly timid, and in recalling that prediction used to shudder at the mention of Asia, where, as he heard from the mouths of learned men, Homer and Cicero have written of a mountain called Mimas, rising above the city of Erythrae.

[9] Denique post interitum eius, discessumque hostilem, prope locum in quo cecidisse existimatus est, inventus dicitur saxeus monumenti suggestus, cui lapis affixus incisis litteris Graecis, sepultum ibi nobilem quandam Mimanta veterem indicabat. Gothi victores Hadrianopolim oppugnant, ubi thesauros sues Valens et imperatoria insignia cum praefecto et consistorianis reliquerat; et omnia frustra experti discedunt. Post exitialem pugnam cum iam tenebris nox terras implesset, hi qui superfuere, dextra pars alii laeva, vel quo metus traxerat ferebantur, quisque proximos quaerens: cum praeter se nihil singuli cernere poterant, occipitiis propriis ferrum arbitantes haerere. Audiebantur tamen (licet longius) heulatus miserabiles relictorum, singultusque morientium, et vulneratorum cruciabiles fletus.

[9] Finally, after his death and the departure of the enemy, it is said that near the place where he was thought to have fallen a monument made of a heap of stones was found, to which was fastened a tablet engraved with Greek characters, showing that a distinguished man of old called Mimas was buried there. The victorious Goths lay siege to Hadrianopolis, where Valens had left his treasures and the imperial insignia in charge of the prefect and the members of the council; but after vainly trying every means of taking the city they withdrew unsuccessful. After the murderous battle, when night had already spread darkness over the earth, the survivors departed, some to the right, others to the left, or wherever their fear took them, each seeking his nearest associates, for none could see anything save himself, and everyone

imagined that the enemy's sword hung over his own head. Yet there were still heard, though from far off, the pitiful cries of those who were left behind, the death-rattle of the dying, and the tortured wails of the wounded.

[2] Luce vero coeptante, victores, ut bestiae sanguinis irritamento atrocius efferatae, spei inanis illecebris agitati, Hadrianopolim agminibus petivere densetis, eam vel cum discriminibus excisuri postremis: docti per proditores et transfugas, potestatum culmina maximarum, et fortunae principalis insignia, thesaurosque Valentis, illic ut in munimento arduo conditos.

[2] But at daybreak the victors, like wild beasts roused to cruel ferocity by the provocative tang of blood, driven by the lure of a vain hope, made for Hadrianopolis in dense throngs, intending to destroy the city even at the cost of the utmost dangers; for they had heard through traitors and deserters that the most distinguished officials, the insignia of imperial fortune, and the treasures of Valens were hidden there, as within an impregnable fortress.

[3] Et ne intervallatis ardor intepesceret moris, hora diei quarta ambitu cincto murorum, infestissime certabatur oppugnatoribus genuina ferocia ad praeceps exitium festinantibus, contraque defensorum vigore validis viribus incitato.

[3] And in order that no delays meanwhile might cool their ardour, at the fourth hour of the day they had encircled the walls and were engaged in a most bitter struggle; for the besiegers with their natural ferocity rushed upon swift death, while on the other hand the defenders were encouraged to vigorous resistance with might and main.

[4] Et quia militum calorumque numerus magnus, civitatem cum iumentis introire prohibitus, affixus parietibus moenium, aedibusque continuis, pro loci humilitate fortiter decernebat, superaratque rabies imminentium ad usque horam diei nonam, subito pedites nostri trecenti, ex his qui prope ipsas stetere loricas, conferti in cuneum, desciverunt ad barbaros, eosque illi avidè raptos, confestim (incertum quo consilio) trucidarunt; et ex eo deinceps observatum est, neminem huius modi aliquid vel in desperatione rerum ultima cogitasse.

[4] And because a great number of soldiers and batmen had been prevented from entering the city with their beasts, they took their place close to the shelter of the walls and in the adjoining buildings, and made a brave fight considering their low position; and the mad rage of their assailants had lasted until the ninth hour of the day, when on a sudden three hundred of our infantry, of those who stood near the very breastworks, formed a wedge and went over to the barbarians. They were eagerly seized by the Goths, and (it is not known why) were immediately butchered; and from that time on it was noticed that not a man thought of any similar action, even when the outlook was most desperate.

[5] Fervente itaque tot malorum congerie, repente cum fragore caelesti, imbres

nubibus atris effusi, dispersere circumfrementium globes, reversique ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustrorum, immanes spiritus latius porrigentes, iuebant nostris per minaces litteras et legatum dedere civitatem, fide retinendae salutis accepta.

[5] Now, while this accumulation of misfortunes was raging, suddenly with peals of thunder rain poured from the black clouds and scattered the hordes roaring around the city; but they returned to the circular rampart formed by their wagons, and carried their measureless arrogance so far as to send an envoy with a threatening letter, ordering our men to surrender the city on receiving a pledge that their lives would be spared.

[6] Verum introire non auso, qui missus est, per Christianum quendam portatis scriptis et recitatis, utque decebat contemptis, parandis operibus diei residuum et nox omnis absumpta. Nam intrinsecus silicibus magnis obstrusae sunt portae, et moenium intuta firmata, et ad emittenda undique tela vel saxa, tormenta per locos aptata sunt habiles, aggestaque prope sufficiens aqua. Pridie enim dimicantium quidam siti ad usque ipsa vitae detrimenta vexati sunt.

[6] The messenger did not dare to enter the city, and the letter was delivered by a certain Christian and read: but it was scorned, as was fitting, and the rest of the day and the whole night were spent in preparing defensive works. For the gates were blocked from within with huge rocks, the unsafe parts of the walls were strengthened, artillery was placed in suitable places for hurling missiles or rocks in all directions, and a supply of water that was sufficient was stored nearby; for on the day before some of those who fought were tormented with thirst almost to the point of death.

[7] Contra Gothi reputantes difficiles Martis eventus, anxiique cum sterni et sauciari cernerent fortiores, et particulatim vires suas convelli, astutum iniere consilium, quod ipsa indicante Iustitia publicatum est.

[7] The Goths on the other hand, bearing in mind the dangerous chances of war, and worried from seeing their bravest men stretched dead or wounded, while their strength was being worn away bit by bit, formed a clever plan, which Justice herself revealed.

[8] Partis enim nostrae candidatos aliquos qui die praeterito ad eos defecerant, pellexere, ut simulata fuga velut ad propria remeantes, intra muros suscipi se curarent, ingressique latenter quandam incenderent partem: ut tamquam signo erecto occultius, dum circa extinguendum incendium distringitur multitudo clausorum, civitas perrumperetur impugnata.

[8] For they enticed some of our subalterns, who had deserted to them the day before, to simulate flight, as if returning to their own side, and to manage to be admitted within the walls, and when let in, secretly to set fire to some part of

the city; in order that as if a kind of secret signal had been raised, while the attention of the throng of the besieged was distracted with extinguishing the flames, the city, left undefended, might be broken into.

[9] Perrexere (ut statutum est) candidati: cumque prope fossas venissent, manus tendentes, orantesque ut Romanos semet admitti poscebant. Et recepti quia nulla erat suspicio quae vetaret, interrogatique super consiliis hostium, variarunt: unde factum est ut cruenta quaestione vexati, cervicibus perirent abscisis, quid acturi venerant, aperte confessi.

[9] The subalterns went on their way as had been arranged, and when they had come near the moat, with outstretched hands and prayers they begged to be admitted, as being Romans. And they were let in, as there was no suspicion to prevent it; but on being questioned as to the plans of the enemy they varied in their answers. The result was that after being tortured in a bloody investigation they openly confessed with what purpose they had come, and were beheaded.

[10] Omni itaque bellandi apparatu praestructo, adventante vigilia tertia, barbari abolito praeteritorum vulnere metu, in urbis obseratos aditus multiplicatis ordinibus inundarunt, et obstinatione magna caventium malo. At cum armatis provinciales et palatini ad obruendos eos excitatius exsurgebant, et cuiusque modi tela in multitudine tanta, vel temere missa, cadere sine noxa non poterant.

[10] So, when all the preparations for battle had been made, the barbarians just before the beginning of the third watch, since the fear caused by their former wounds had died out, poured in more numerous masses upon the barred gates of the city, with the great persistency of those who are guarding against disaster. But with the soldiers the provincials and the court attendants rose up with all the greater vigour to overwhelm them, and such were the numbers of the foe that weapons of every kind, even though thrown at random, could not fall without effect.

[11] Animadversum est a nostris eisdem telis barbaros uti, quibus appetebantur. Ideoque mandatum est, ut nervis ferrum lignumque conectentibus, ante iactum incisis, emitterentur arcu sagittae, quae volitantes vires integras reservabant. Infixae vero corporibus, nihil vigoris perdebant, aut certe (si cecidissent in vanum), ilico frangebantur.

[11] Our men noticed that the barbarians were using the same missiles that had been hurled at them. And so it was ordered that the cords by which the barbs were fastened to the shaft should be partly severed before the arrows were shot from the bows; these during their flight kept their whole strength, and when they were fixed in the bodies of the enemy lost none of their effectiveness, or at any rate, if they found no mark, were at once broken.

[12] Dedit autem rebus ita flagrantibus grave momentum casus admodum inopinus. Scorpio genus tormenti, quem onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat, e regione contra hostium aciem densam locatus, lapidem contorsit ingentem, qui licet humo frustra illisus est, visus tamen ita eos metu exanimavit, ut stupore spectaculi novi, cedentes e medio, abire temptarent.

[12] But an entirely unexpected chance had great influence in the midst of this hot fight. A piece of artillery known as a “scorpion,” but called a “wild ass” in the language of the people, placed exactly opposite a great mass of the enemy, hurled a huge stone, and although it dashed to the ground without effect, yet the sight of it caused the enemy such great terror, that in their amazement at the strange spectacle they fled to a distance and tried to leave the place.

[13] Sed bucinis optimatum monitu occinentibus, instauratum est proelium, et pari modo res Romana superior stetit, nullo ferme alio telo, vel funditoris amento, in cassum excusso. Agmina enim prae-euntium ductorum, quos rapiendi Valentis malis lucrationibus quaesita cupiditas incendebat, secuti ceteri prae se ferebant, aequiperasse discrimina potiorum: namque semineces aliquot, aut magnis obriti ponderibus, vel confixi iaculis pectora, volvebantur, non nulli scalas vehendo, ascensumque in muros ex latere omni parantes, sub oneribus ipsis obruebantur, contrusis per pronum saxis et columnarum fragmentis et cylindris.

[13] But at the order of their chiefs the horns sounded and the battle was renewed, and in the same way the Romans held the upper hand, since almost no bullet from the thong of a slinger, or any other missile when hurled, missed its mark. For the chiefs, inflamed by a desire to carry off the treasures which Valens had acquired by his ill-gotten gains took their place in the foremost ranks and were followed by the rest, who made a display of equalling the dangers of their superiors. For some were writhing mortally wounded, either crushed by great masses of stone, or with their breasts pierced with javelins; others who carried scaling-ladders and were preparing to mount the walls from every side were buried under their own burdens, as stones, fragments and whole drums of columns were thrown down upon them.

[14] Nec quemquam furentium cruoris horrenda species ad serum usque diem ab alacritate faciendi fortiter avertebat, hoc incitante, quod etiam defensorum plurimos cadere diversis ictibus videntes eminus laetabantur. Ita sine requie ulla vel modo, pro moenibus et contra moenia ingentibus animis pugnabatur.

[14] But until late in the day, not a man of the raging throng was turned by the awful sight of carnage from his desire to play a brave part, being excited by the numbers of the defenders who also fell, slain by all kinds of weapons, as they saw from afar with joy. So, without any rest or respite, the battle in defence of the walls and against the walls went on with great determination.

[15] Et quia nullo ordine iam sed per procursus pugnabatur et globos, quod desperationis erat signum extremae, flexo in vesperam die, digressi omnes rediere ad tentoria tristes, inconsideratae dementiae alter alterum arguentes, quod non (ut suaserat antea Fritigernus), obsidionales aerumnas ubique declinarunt. Gothi, Hunnorum Alanorumque copiis auro sibi adiunctis, frustra Constantinopolim tentant. Qua arte Iulius, magister militum trans Taurum, orientales provincias Gothis exoneraverit. Conversi post haec per omne tempus noctis (ut aestivae) non longum, ad vulnorum curas, artesque medendi gentiles, reddita luce in varias consiliorum vias diducebantur, quorsum tenderent ambigentes, multisque dictatis et controversis, occupare statuunt Perinthum, exinde vicinas urbes divitiarum refertas, docentibus omnia perfugis, etiam domorum nedum urbium interna noscentes. Hanc secuti sententiam, quam utilem existimarunt, itineribus lentis, miscentes cuncta populationibus et incendiis, nullo renitente pergebant.

[15] And since they no longer fought in any order, but rushed forward in detached groups (a sign of extreme discouragement) as the day was drawing towards evening all the enemy retired disconsolate to their tents, accusing one another of reckless folly because they had not, as Fritigern had earlier advised, wholly held aloof from the miseries of a siege. The Goths, after bribing the forces of the Huns and the Halani to join them, make a vain attempt on Constantinople. With what skill Julius, the commanding general beyond the Taurus, relieved the eastern provinces of the Goths. After this the Goths gave their attention during the whole night-time, which was not long in the summer season, to caring for their wounds, using their native methods of treatment. When day broke again, their minds were led this way and that as to their plans, since they were in doubt whither they should turn; and after a great deal of talk and disagreement they decided to take possession of Perinthus, and afterwards of any neighbouring cities that were brimful of riches, of which they were given such full information by deserters that they knew even the interior of the houses, to say nothing of the cities. Following this decision, which they thought advantageous, they marched on slowly without opposition, devastating the whole district with pillage and fires.

[2] Obsessi vero apud Hadrianopolim, post eorum abitum tempestivum, cum vacare hoste loca proxima compertae fidei nuntiassent exploratores, egressi media nocte, vitatis aggeribus publicis, per nemorosa et devia, pars Philippopolim, exindeque Serdicam, alia ad Macedoniam, cum intemeratis opibus quas vehebant, omni studio ad properandum excogitato, currebant, velut in regionibus illis repperiendo Valente: quem inter medios certaminum turbines oppetisse, vel certe ad tugurium confugisse, ubi aestimatus est vi periisse flammaram, penitus ignorabant.

[2] After their timely departure, those who had been besieged in Hadrianopolis, having learned from scouts who had been found trustworthy that the

neighbouring places were free from enemies, set out at midnight and avoiding the public highways and devising every effort for increasing their speed, hastened with the valuables which they were carrying still safe, through wooded and pathless places, some to Philippopolis and from there to Serdica, others to Macedonia, in the hope of finding Valens in those regions (for it was wholly unknown to them that he had fallen in the midst of the storms of battle, or at any rate had taken refuge in a hut, where it was thought that he had been burned to death).

[3] At Gothi Hunis Halanisque permixti, nimium bellicosus et fortibus, rerumque asperarum difficultatibus induratis, quos miris praemiorum illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia Fritigerni, fixis iuxta Perinthum castris, ipsam quidem urbem, cladum memores pristinarum, nec adire nec temptare sunt ausi, agros vero fertiles late distentos et longe, ad extremam vastavere penuriam, cultoribus caesis aut captis.

[3] But the Goths, joined with the Huns and the Halani, exceedingly warlike and brave peoples, hardened to the difficulties of severe toils, whom the craft of Fritigern had won over to them by the attractions of wonderful prizes, set up their camp near Perinthus; but mindful of their previous disasters they did not indeed venture to approach or attempt the city itself, but reduced to utter ruin the fertile fields which extend far and wide about it, killing or capturing those who dwelt there.

[4] Unde Constantinopolim, copiarum cumulis inhiantes amplissimis, formas quadratorum agminum insidiarum metu servantes, ire ocus festinabant, multa in exitium urbis inclitae molituri. Quos inferentes sese immodice, obicesque portarum paene pulsantes, hoc casu caeleste reppulit numen.

[4] From there they hastened in rapid march to Constantinople, greedy for its vast heaps of treasure, marching in square formations for fear of ambushes, and intending to make many mighty efforts to destroy the famous city. But while they were madly rushing on and almost knocking at the barriers of the gates, the celestial power checked them by the following event.

[5] Saracenorum cuneus (super quorum origine moribusque diversis in locis retulimus plura), ad furta magis expeditionalium rerum, quam ad concursatorias habilis pugnas, recens illuc accersitus, congressurus barbarorum globo repente conspecto, a civitate fidenter erupit, diuque extento certamine pertinaci, aequis partes discessere momentis.

[5] A troop of Saracens (of whose origin and customs I have spoken at length in various places,) who are more adapted to stealthy raiding expeditions than to pitched battles, and had recently been summoned to the city, desiring to attack the horde of barbarians of which they had suddenly caught sight, rushed forth boldly from the city to attack them. The contest was long and

obstinate, and both sides separated on equal terms.

[6] *Sed orientalis turma novo neque ante vise superavit eventum. Ex ea enim crinitus quidam, nudus omnia praeter pubem, subraucum et lugubre strepens, educto pugione, agmini se medio Gothorum inseruit, et interfecti hostis iugulo labra admovit, effusumque cruorem exsuxit. Quo monstroso miraculo barbari territi, postea non ferocientes ex more, cum agendum appeterent aliquid, sed ambiguis gressibus incedebant.*

[6] But the oriental troop had the advantage from a strange event, never witnessed before. For one of their number, a man with long hair and naked except for a loin-cloth, uttering hoarse and dismal cries, with drawn dagger rushed into the thick of the Gothic army, and after killing a man applied his lips to his throat and sucked the blood that poured out. The barbarians, terrified by this strange and monstrous sight, after that did not show their usual self-confidence when they attempted any action, but advanced with hesitating steps.

[7] *Processu dein audacia fracta, cum murorum ambitum insularumque spatii immensis oblongum, et inaccessas pulchritudines urbis, et incolentium plebem considerarent immensam, iuxtaque fretum, quod Pontum disternat et Aegaeum, disiectis bellorum officinis, quas parabant, post accepta maiora funera quam illata, exinde digressi sunt effusorie per arctos provincias, quas peragrare licenter ad usque radices Alpium Iuliarum, quas Venetas appellabat antiquitas.*

[7] Then, as they went on, their courage was further broken when they beheld the oblong circuit of the walls, the blocks of houses covering a vast space, the beauties of the city beyond their reach, the vast population inhabiting it, and the strait near by that separates the Pontus from the Aegean; so the Goths destroyed the manufactories of warlike materials which they were preparing, and after suffering greater losses than they had inflicted they then departed and spread everywhere over the northern provinces, which they traversed at will as far as the foot of the Julian, or, as they were formerly called, the Venetic Alps.

[8] *His diebus efficacia Iulii, magistri militiae trans Taurum, enituit salutaris et velox. Comperta enim factorum sorte per Thracias, Gothos antea susceptos, dispersosque per varias civitates et castra, datis tectioribus litteris ad eorum rectores, Romanos omnes (quod his temporibus raro contingit), universos tamquam vexillo erecto, uno eodemque die mandavit occidi, exspectatione promissi stipendii securos, ad suburbana productos. Quo consilio prudenti sine strepitu vel mora completo, orientales provinciae discriminibus ereptae sunt magnis.*

[8] At that time the salutary and swift efficiency of Julius, commander-in-chief

of the troops beyond the Taurus, was conspicuous. For on learning of the ill-fated events in Thrace, by secret letters to their leaders, who were all Romans (a rare case in these times) he gave orders that the Goths who had been admitted before and were scattered through the various cities and camps, should be enticed to come without suspicion into the suburbs in the hope of receiving the pay that had been promised them, and there, as if on the raising of a banner, should all be slain on one and the same day. This prudent plan was carried out without confusion or delay, and thus the eastern provinces were saved from great dangers.

[9] Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensura: opus veritatem professum numquam (ut arbitror) sciens silentio ausus corrumpere, vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores, aetate et doctrinis florentes. Quos id (si libuerit) aggressuros, procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos.

[9] These events, from the principate of the emperor Nerva to the death of Valens, I, a former soldier and a Greek, have set forth to the measure of my ability, without ever (I believe) consciously venturing to debase through silence or through falsehood a work whose aim was the truth. The rest may be written by abler men, who are in the prime of life and learning. But if they chose to undertake such a task, I advise them to forge their tongues to the loftier style. The second part, written about 550 in barbarous Latin by another unknown author, under the title *Item ex libris Chronicorum inter cetera*, covers the period from 474 to 526, and deals mainly with the history of Theodoric. The writer was an opponent of Arianism, and he seems to have based his compilation on the *Chronicle* of Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna in 546, who died in 556. For this part we have, besides B, cod. Vaticanus Palatinus, Lat. n. 927 (P) of the twelfth century, in which the title appears as *De adventu Oduachar regis Cyrorum et Erulorum in Italia, et quomodo Rex Theodericus eum fuerit persecutus*. The *Excerpts* as a whole furnish an introduction and a sequel to the narrative of Ammianus.

ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR: ORIGO CONSTANTINI IMPERATORIS — THE ANONYMUS VALESIANUS, FIRST PART

Diocletianus cum Herculio Maximiano imperavit annos XX.

The lineage of the Emperor Constantine

The excerpts of Valesius: Introduction

The *Excerpta Valesiana* are so-called because they were first published in Paris by Henricus Valesius in 1636 from one manuscript, which is now in the Royal Library of Berlin (cod. Berolinensis, formerly cod. Philip, Meermanianus). It belongs to the ninth century, and is cited by Gardthausen as M, by Mommsen as B. The *Excerpts* were reprinted by Hadrian Valesius in his edition of Ammianus of 1681, and they have been published in several subsequent editions of the historian (in Wagner-Erfurdt with a commentary) and in the *Chronica Minora I* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctorum Antiquissimorum, IX*) of Mommsen, p–11 (*Pars Prior*) and 306 ff. (*Pars Posterior*). They are translated by C. Büchele (see Vol. I, p. xlix). I know of no commentary in English, and no English translation. The first part, composed about A.D. 390, is a biography of Constantine the Great from 305 to 337, under the title *Origo Constantini Imperatoris*. It is based upon good sources, and the anonymous author is regarded by Mommsen as “Ammiano neque aetate neque auctoritate inferior.” Although it corresponds to some extent with the account of Orosius, it is clear that it was not compiled from his History, although that work is often useful in determining the text.

Diocletian ruled with Herculius Maximianus for twenty years.

[2] Constantius, divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre, protector primum, inde tribunus, postea praeses Dalmatiarum fuit. Iste cum Galerio a Diocletiano Caesar factus est. Relicta enim Helena priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem, ex qua postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Sed de priore uxore Helena filium iam Constantinum habuit, qui postea princeps potentissimus fuit.

[2] Constantius, grandson of the brother of that best of emperors Claudius, was first one of the emperor's bodyguard, then a tribune, and later, governor of Dalmatia. With Galerius he was appointed Caesar by Diocletian ; for he put away his former wife Helena and married Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, by whom he afterwards had six children, brothers of Constantine. But by his former wife Helena he already had a son Constantine, who was later the mightiest of emperors.

[2] Hic igitur Constantinus, natus Helena matre vilissima in oppido Naisso atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit, litteris minus instructus, obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium, sub eisdem fortiter in Asia militavit; quem post depositum imperium Diocletiani et Herculi, Constantius a Galerio repetit; sed hunc Galerius obiecit ante pluribus periculis.

[2] This Constantine, then, born of Helena, a mother of very common origin, and brought up in the town of Naissus, which he afterwards splendidly adorned, had but slight training in letters. He was held as a hostage by Diocletian and Galerius, and did valiant service under those emperors in Asia. After the abdication of Diocletian and Hercules, Constantius asked Galerius to return his son; but Galerius first exposed him to many dangers.

[3] Nam et in Sarmatas iuvenis equestris militans ferocem barbarum, capillis tentis raptum, ante pedes Galerii imperatoris adduxerat. Deinde Galerio mittente per paludem, equo ingressus suo, viam ceteris fecit ad Sarmatas, ex quibus plurimis stratis Galerio victoriam reportavit.

[3] For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius.

[4] Tune eum Galerius patri remisit. Qui ut Severum per Italiam transiens vitaret, summa festinatione veredis post se truncatis Alpes transgressus, ad patrem Constantium venit apud Bononiam, quam Galli prius Gesoriacum vocabant. Post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est, et Constantinus omnium militum consensu Caesar creatus.

[4] Then at last Galerius sent him back to his father. But in order to avoid meeting Severus as he passed through Italy, Constantine crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, ordering the post-horses to be killed as he went on; and he came up with his father Constantius at Bononia, which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But his father Constantius, after winning a victory over the Picts, died at York, and Constantine was unanimously hailed as Caesar by all the troops.

[5] Interea Caesares duo facti, Severus et Maximinus; Maximino datum est Orientis imperium: Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thracias, et Bithyniam tenuit. Severus suscepit Italiam et quicquid Hercules obtinebat.

[5] In the meantime, two other Caesars had been appointed, Severus and Maximinus; to Maximinus was given the rule of the Orient; Galerius retained Illyricum for himself, as well as the Thracian provinces and Bithynia; Severus received Italy and whatever Hercules had formerly governed.

[6] Postquam vero Constantius in Britannia mortuus est et Constantinus filius successit, subito in urbe Roma praetoriani milites Maxentium, filium Herculi, imperatorem crearunt. Sed adversum Maxentium iussu Galerii Severus duxit exercitum. Qui repente ab omnibus suis desertus est et Ravennam fugit. Dehinc Galerius cum ingentibus copiis Romam venit, minatus civitatis interitum, et castra Interamniae ad Tiberim posuit.

[6] But after Constantius died in Britain, and his son Constantine succeeded him, Maxentius, the son of Hercules, was suddenly hailed as emperor by the praetorian soldiers in the city of Rome. By order of Galerius, Severus took the field against Maxentius, but he was suddenly deserted by all his followers and fled to Ravenna. Thereupon Galerius, with a great army, came against Rome, threatening the destruction of the city, and encamped at Interamna near the Tiber.

[7] Tunc legatos ad urbem misit Licinium et Probum, per colloquium petens ut gener apud socerum, id est Maxentius apud Galerium, precibus magis quam armis optata mercaretur. Qui contemptus agnovit promissis motos multos suorum Maxenti partes suas deseruisse ; quibus perturbatus retro versus est, et ut militi suo praedam quamcunque conferret, Flaminiam iussit auferri.

[7] Then he sent Licinius and Probus to the city as envoys, asking that the son-in-law, that is Maxentius, should attain his desires from the father-in-law, that is Galerius, at the price of requests rather than of arms. Galerius' proposal was scorned, and having learned that through Maxentius' promises many of his own men had been led to desert his cause, he was disturbed and turned back; and in order to furnish his men with whatever booty he could, he gave orders that the Flaminian Road should be plundered.

[8] Ille ad Constantinum refugit. Tunc Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Caesarem fecit. Deinde illo in Pannonia relicto, ipse ad Serdicam regressus, morbo ingenti occupatus sic distabit, ut aperto et putrescenti viscere moreretur, in supplicium persecutionis iniquissimae ad auctorem scelerati praecepti iustissima poena redeunte. Imperavit annos XVIII.

[8] Maximianus took refuge with Constantine. Then Galerius made Licinius a Caesar in Illyricum, and after that, leaving him in Pannonia, returned himself to Serdica, where he was attacked by a violent disease and wasted away so completely, that he died with the inner parts of his body exposed and in a state of corruption — a punishment for a most unjust persecution, which recoiled as a well-merited penalty upon the author of the iniquitous order. He ruled for nineteen years.

[9] Severus Caesar ignobilis et moribus et natalibus, ebriosus et hoc Galerius amicus. Hunc ergo et Maximinum Caesares Galerius fecit, Constantino nihil tale noscente. Huic Severo Pannoniae et Italiae urbes et Africae contigerunt.

Quo casu Maxentius factus est imperator; nam desertus Severus a suis fugit Ravennam.

[9] Severus Caesar was low both in character and in origin, given to drink, and hence a friend to Galerius. Accordingly Galerius made Caesars of him and Maximinus, without Constantine having knowledge of any such step. To this Severus were assigned some cities of Pannonia, Italy, and Africa. Through this chance Maxentius became emperor; for Severus was deserted by his men and fled to Ravenna.

[10] Pro Maxentio filio evocatus illuc venit Herculus, qui per peiurium Severum deceptum custodiae tradidit et captivi habitu in Urbem perduxit et in villa publica Appiae viae tricensimo miliario custodiri fecit. Postea cum Galerius Italiam peteret, ille iugulatus est et deinde relatus ad octavum miliarium conditusque in Gallieni monumento.

[10] Summoned to support his son Maxentius, Herculus came to Ravenna, deceived Severus by a false oath, gave him into custody, and took him to Rome in the condition of a captive; there he had him kept under guard in a villa belonging to the state, situated thirty miles from Rome on the Appian Road. When Galerius later went to Italy, Severus was executed; then his body was taken to a place eight miles from the city, and laid in the tomb of Gallienus.

[11] Igitur Galerius sic ebriosus fuit, ut, cum iuberet temulentus ea quae facienda non essent, a praefecto admonitus, constituerit ne iussa eius aliquis post prandium faceret.

[11] Now Galerius was such a tippler that when he was drunk he gave orders such as ought not to be obeyed; and so, at the advice of his prefect, he directed that no one should execute any commands which he issued after luncheon.

[12] Interea Constantinus, apud Veronam victis ducibus tyranni, Romam petiit. Cum autem ad urbem Constantinus venisset, egressus ex urbe Maxentius campum supra Tiberim, in quo dimicaret, elegit. Ubi victus, fugatis omnibus suis, inter angustias arcentis populi periit, equo praecipitatus in fluvium. Postera die corpus ipsius levatum flumine et caput eius incisum in urbem perlatum est. De cuius origine mater eius, cum quaesitum esset, Syro quodam genitum esse confessa. Imperavit annos VI.

[12] Meanwhile Constantine, after defeating the tyrant's generals at Verona, went on to Rome. When he had reached the city, Maxentius came out and chose a plain above the Tiber as the place to do battle. There the usurper was defeated, and when all his men were put to flight, he was prevented from escaping by the crowd of fugitives, thrown from his horse into the river, and drowned. On the following day his body was recovered from the Tiber, and the head was cut off and taken to Rome. When his mother was questioned

about his parentage, she admitted that he was the son of a Syrian. He ruled for six years.

[13] *Licinius itaque ex Nova Dacia vilioris originis a Galerio factus imperator, velut adversum Maxentium pugnaturus. Sed oppresso Maxentio cum recepisset Italiam Constantinus, hoc Licinium foedere sibi fecit adiungi: ut Licinius Constantiam, sororem Constantini, apud Mediolanum duxisset uxorem. Nuptiis celebratis Gallias repetit Constantinus, Licinio ad Illyricum reverse.*

[13] Now Licinius was a native of New Dacia, and was of somewhat common origin. He was made emperor by Galerius, in order that he might take the field against Maxentius. But when Maxentius was overthrown and Constantine had recovered Italy, he made Licinius his colleague on condition that he should marry Constantine's sister Constantia at Mediolanum. After the celebration of the wedding Constantine went to Gaul, and Licinius returned to Illyricum.

[14] *Post aliquantum deinde temporis Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit, persuadens ut Bassianus Caesar fieret, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anatasiam, ut exemplo Maximiani inter Constantinum et Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius optineret.*

[14] Some time after that Constantine sent Constantius to Licinius, to persuade him to confer the rank of Caesar on Bassianus, who was married to a second sister of Constantine (named Anastasia), to the end that, after the manner of Maximianus, Bassianus might hold Italy and thus stand as a buffer between Constantine and Licinius.

[15] *Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Senicionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. Qui tamen in conatu deprehensus, Constantino iubente convictus et stratus est. Cum Senicio auctor insidiarum posceretur ad poenam, negante Licinio fracta concordia est; additis etiam causis quod apud Emonam Constantini imagines statuasque deiecerat. Bellum deinde apertum convenit ambobus.*

[15] But Licinius thwarted such an arrangement, and influenced by Bassianus' brother Senicio, who was loyal to Licinius, Bassianus took up arms against Constantine. But he was arrested in the act of accomplishing his purpose, and by order of Constantine was condemned and executed. When the punishment of Senicio was demanded as the instigator of the plot and Licinius refused, the harmony between the two emperors came to an end; an additional reason for the break was, that Licinius had overthrown the busts and statues of Constantine at Emona. Then the two emperors declared open war.

[16] *Utriusque ad Cibalensem campum ductus exercitus. Licinio XXXV milia peditum et equitum fuere; Constantinus XX milia peditum et equitum duxit. Caesis post dubium certamen Licinianis viginti peditum milibus et equitum*

ferratorum parte, Licinius cum magna parte equitatus noctis auxilio pervolvit ad Sirmium.

[16] Their armies were led to the plain of Cibalae. Licinius had 35,000 infantry and cavalry; Constantine commanded 20,000. After an indecisive contest, in which 20,000 of Licinius' foot soldiers and a part of his mail-clad horsemen were slain, he himself with a great part of his other cavalry made his escape under cover of night to Sirmium.

[17] Sublata inde uxore ac filio et thesauris tetendit ad Daciam. Valentem ducem limitis Caesarem fecit. Inde apud Hadrianopolim Thraciae civitatem per Valentem collecta ingenti multitudine, legatos ad Constantinum de pace misit apud Philippos constitutum. Quibus frustra remissis, iterum reparato bello, in campo Mardienne ab utroque concurritur et post dubium ac diuturnum proelium Licini partibus inclinatis profuit noctis auxilium.

[17] From there, taking with him his wife, his son, and his treasures, he went to Dacia and appointed Valens, who was commander on the frontier, to the rank of Caesar. Then, having through Valens mustered a large force at Hadrianopolis, a city of Thrace, he sent envoys to Constantine, who had established himself at Philippi, to treat for peace. When the envoys were sent back without accomplishing anything, the war was renewed and the two rivals joined battle on the plain of Mardia. After a long and indecisive struggle, the troops of Licinius gave way and night aided them to escape.

[18] Licinius et Valens credentes Constantinum, quod et verum erat, ad persequendum longius ad Byzantium processurum, flexi in partem Beroeam concesserunt. Ita Constantinus vehementer in ulteriora festinans, deprehendit Licinium remansisse post tergum. Fatigatis bello et itinere militibus, missus deinde Mestrianus legatus pacem petiit, Licinio postulante et pollicente se imperata facturum. Denuo, sicut ante, mandatum est Valens privatus fieret; quo facto pax ab ambobus firmata est, ut Licinius Orientem, Asiam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam possideret.

[18] Thereupon Licinius and Valens, believing that Constantine (as turned out to be the case), in order to follow up his advantage, would advance farther in the direction of Byzantium, turned aside and made their way towards Beroea. As Constantine was eagerly pushing on, he learned that Licinius had remained behind him; and just then, when his men were worn out from fighting and marching, Mestrianus was sent to him as an envoy, to propose peace in the name of Licinius, who promised to do as he was bidden. Valens was ordered to return again to his former private station; when that was done, peace was concluded by both emperors, with the stipulation that Licinius should hold the Orient, Asia, Thrace, Moesia, and Lesser Scythia.

[19] Deinde reversus Serdicam Constantinus hoc cum Licinio absente

constituit, ut filii Constantini Crispus et Constantinus, filius etiam Licini Licinius, Caesares fierent et sic ab utroque concorditer regnaretur. Itaque Constantinus et Licinius simul consules facti.

[19] Then Constantine, having returned to Serdica, arranged with Licinius, who was elsewhere, that Crispus and Constantinus, sons of Constantine, and Licinius, son of Licinius, should be made Caesars, and that thus the rule should be carried on in harmony by both emperors. Thus Constantine and Licinius became colleagues in the consulship.

[20] In Orientis partibus, Licinio Constantino consulibus, repentina rabie suscitatus Licinius omnes Christianos a palatio iussit expelli. Mox bellum inter ipsum Licinium et Constantinum efferbuit.

[20] In the regions of the Orient, while Licinius and Constantine were consuls, Licinius was stirred by sudden madness and ordered that all the Christians should be driven from the Palace. Soon war flamed out again between Licinius himself and Constantine.

[21] Item cum Constantinus Thessalonica esset, Gothi per neglectos limites eruperunt et, vastata Thracia et Moesia, praedas agere coeperunt. Tunc Constantini terrore et impetu represso, captives illi impetrata pace reddiderunt. Sed hoc Licinius contra fidem factum questus est, quod partes suae ab alio fuerint vindicatae.

[21] Also, when Constantine was at Thessalonica, the Goths broke through the neglected frontiers, devastated Thrace and Moesia, and began to drive off booty. Then because of fear of Constantine and his check of their attack they returned their prisoners to him and peace was granted them. But Licinius complained of this action as a breach of faith, on the ground that his function had been usurped by another.

[22] Deinde cum variasset inter supplicandia et superba mandata, iram Constantini merito excitavit. Per tempora quibus nondum gerebatur bellum civile, sed item parabatur, Licinius scelere, avaritia, crudelitate, libidine saeviebat, occisis ob divitias pluribus, uxoribus eorum corruptis.

[22] Finally, by using sometimes humble entreaties and sometimes arrogant threats, he aroused the deserved wrath of Constantine. During the interval before the civil war began, but while it was in preparation, Licinius gave himself up to a frenzy of wickedness, cruelty, avarice and lust; he put many men to death for the sake of their riches, and violated their wives.

[23] Rupta iam pace utriusque consensu, Constantinus Caesarem Crispum cum grandi classe ad occupandam Asiam miserat, cui de parte Licinii similiter cum navalibus copiis Amandus obstabat.

[23] Now peace was broken by consent of both sides; Constantine sent Crispus

Caesar with a large fleet to take possession of Asia, and on the side of Licinius, Amandus opposed him, likewise with naval forces.

[24] Licinius vero circa Hadrianopolim maximo exercitu latera ardui montis impleverat. Illuc toto agmine Constantinus inflexit. Cum bellum terra marique traheretur. quamvis per arduum suis nitentibus, at tamen disciplina militari et felicitate Constantinus Licini confusum et sine ordine agentem vicit exercitum, leviter femore sauciatus.

[24] Licinius himself had covered the slopes of a high mountain near Hadrianopolis with a huge army. Hither Constantine turned his march with his entire force. While the war went on slowly by land and sea, although Constantine's army had great difficulty in scaling the heights, at last his good fortune and the discipline of his army prevailed, and he defeated the confused and disorganised army of Licinius; but Constantine was slightly wounded in the thigh.

[25] Dehinc fugiens Licinius Byzantium petit; quo dum multitudo dissipata contenderet, clauso Byzantio Licinius obsidionem terrenam maris securus agitabat. Sed Constantinus classem collegit ex Thracia. Dehinc solita vanitate Licinius Martinianum sibi Caesarem fecit.

[25] Then Licinius fled to Byzantium; and while his scattered forces were on the way to the city, Licinius closed it, and feeling secure against an attack by sea, planned to meet a siege from the land-side. But Constantine got together a fleet from Thrace. Then Licinius, with his usual lack of consideration, chose Martinianus as his Caesar.

[26] Crispus vero cum classe Constantini Callipolim pervenit; ibi bello maritimo sic Amandum vicit, ut vix per eos qui in litore remanserant vivus Amandus refugeret. Classis vero Licini vel oppressa vel capta est.

[26] But Crispus, with Constantine's fleet, sailed to Callipolis, where in a sea-fight he so utterly defeated Amandus that the latter barely made his escape with the help of the forces which he had left on shore. But Licinius' fleet was in part destroyed and in part captured.

[27] Licinius, desperata maris spe, per quod se viderat obsidendum, Chalcedonam cum thesauris refugit. Byzantium Constantinus invasit, victoriam maritimam Crispo conveniente cognoscens. Deinde apud Chrysopolim Licinius pugnavit, maxime auxiliantibus Gothis quos Alica regalis deduxerat; tum Constantini pars vincens XXV milia armatorum fudit partis adversae, ceteris fugientibus.

[27] Licinius, abandoning hope on the sea, by way of which he saw that he would be blockaded, fled with his treasures to Chalcedon. Constantine entered Byzantium, where he met Crispus and learned of his naval victory. Then

Licinius began a battle at Chrysopolis, being especially aided by the Gothic auxiliaries which their prince Alica had brought; whereupon the army of Constantine was victorious, slaying 25,000 soldiers of the opposing side and putting the rest to flight.

[28] Postea cum legiones Constantini per liburnas venire vidissent, proiectis armis se dederunt. Sequenti autem die Constantia, soror Constantini, uxor Licini, venit ad castra fratris et marito vitam poposcit et impetravit. Ita Licinius privatus factus est et convivio Constantini adhibitus, et Martiniano vita concessa est.

[28] Later, when they saw Constantine's legions coming in Liburnian galleys, the survivors threw down their arms and gave themselves up. But on the following day Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, came to her brother's camp and begged that her husband's life be spared, which was granted. Thus Licinius became a private citizen, and was entertained at a banquet by Constantine. Martinianus' life was also spared.

[29] Licinius Thessalonicam missus est; sed Herculii Maximiani, soceri sui, motus exemplo, ne iterum depositam purpuram in perniciem rei publicae sumeret, tumultu militaribus exigentibus in Thessalonica iussit occidi, Martinianum in Cappadocia. Qui regnavit annos XVIII, filio et uxore superstite. Quamvis omnibus iam ministris nefariae persecutionis extinctis, hunc quoque in quantum exercere potuit persecutorem digna punitio flagitaret.

[29] Licinius was sent to Thessalonica; but Constantine, influenced by the example of his father-in-law Herculus Maximianus, for fear that Licinius might again, with disastrous consequences to the State, resume the purple which he had laid down, and also because the soldiers mutinously demanded his death, had him assassinated at Thessalonica, and Martinianus in Cappadocia. Licinius reigned nineteen years and was survived by his wife and a son. And yet, after all the other participants in the abominable persecution had already perished, the penalty he deserved would surely demand this man also, a persecutor so far as he could act as such.

[30] Constantinus autem ex se Byzantium Constantinopolim nuncupavit ob insignis victoriae memoriam. Quam velut patriam cultu decoravit ingenti et Romae desideravit aequari: deinde quaesitis ei undique civibus divitias multas largitus est, ut prope in ea omnes regias facultates exhauriret. Ibi etiam senatum constituit secundi ordinis; claros vocavit.

[30] In commemoration of his splendid victory Constantine called Byzantium Constantinople after his own name; and as if it were his native city, he adorned it with great magnificence and wished to make it equal to Rome. Then he sought out new citizens for it from every quarter, and lavished such wealth on the city, that thereon he all but exhausted the imperial fortunes.

There he also established a senate of the second rank, the members of which had the title of *clari*.

[31] Deinde adversum Gothos bellum suscepit et implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Constantinum Caesarem centum prope milia fame et frigore extincta sunt. Tunc et obsides accepit, inter quos Ariarici regis filium.

[31] Then he began war against the Goths, rendering aid also to the Sarmatians, who had appealed to him for help. The result was that almost a hundred thousand of the Goths were destroyed by hunger and cold through Constantinus Caesar. Then he also received hostages, among whom was Ariaricus, the king's son.

[32] Sic cum his pace firmata, in Sarmatas versus est, qui dubiae fidei probabantur. Sed servi Sarmatarum adversum dominos rebellaverunt, quos pulsos Constantinus libenter accepit et amplius trecenta milia hominum mixtae aetatis et sexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam, Italiamque divisit.

[32] When peace with the Goths had thus been secured, Constantine turned against the Sarmatians, who were showing themselves to be of doubtful loyalty. But the slaves of the Sarmatians rebelled against all their masters and drove them from the country. These Constantine willingly received, and distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy.

[33] Item Constantinus imperator primus Christianus, excepto Philippo, qui Christianus admodum ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, ut millesimus Romae annus Christo potius quam idolis dicaretur. A Constantino autem omnes semper Christiani imperatores usque in hodiernum diem creati sunt, excepto Iuliano, quem impia (ut aiunt) machinante exitialis vita deseruit.

[33] Constantine was also the first Christian emperor, with the exception of Philippus who seemed to me to have become a Christian merely in order that the one-thousandth year of Rome might be dedicated to Christ rather than to pagan idols. But from Constantine down to the present day all the emperors that have been chosen were Christians, with the exception of Julian, whose disastrous life forsook him in the midst of the impious plans which it was said that he was devising.

[34] Item Constantinus iusto ordine et pio vicem vertit; edicto si quidem statuit citra ullam caedem hominum paganorum templa claudi. Mox Gothorum fortissimas et copiosissimas gentes in ipso barbarici soli sinu, hoc est in Sarmatarum regione, delevit.

[34] Moreover, Constantine made the change in a just and humane fashion; for

he issued an edict that the temples should be closed without any shedding of pagan blood. Afterwards he destroyed the bravest and most populous of the Gothic tribes in the very heart of the barbarian territory; that is, in the lands of the Sarmatians.

[35] Calocaerum quendam in Cypro aspirantem novis rebus oppressit. Dalmatium, filium fratris sui Dalmatii, Caesarem fecit. Eius fratrem Hannibalianum, data ei Constantiana filia sua, regem regum et Ponticarum gentium constituit. Itaque Gallias Constantinus minor regebat, Orientem Constantius Caesar, Illyricum et Italiam Constans, ripam Gothicam Dalmatius tuebatur. Item Constantinus cum bellum pararet in Persas, in suburbano Constantinopolitano villa publica iuxta Nicomediam, dispositam bene rem publicam filiis tradens, diem obiit. Regnavit ann. XXXI. Sepultus est Constantinopoli.

[35] Constantine also put down a certain Calocaerus, who tried to achieve a revolution in Cyprus. He made Dalmatius, son of his brother of the same name, a Caesar; Dalmatius' brother Hannibalianus he created King of Kings and ruler of the Pontic tribes, after giving him his daughter Constantiana in marriage. Then it was arranged that the younger Constantine should rule the Gallic provinces, Constantius Caesar the Orient, Constans Illyricum and Italy, while Dalmatius was to guard the Gothic coastline. While Constantine was planning to make war on the Persians, he died in an imperial villa in the suburbs of Constantinople, not far from Nicomedia, leaving the State in good order to his sons. He was buried in Constantinople, after a reign of thirty-one years.

ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR: CHRONICA THEODERICIANA — THE ANONYMUS VALESIANUS, LATTER PART: THE HISTORY OF KING THEODORIC

[36] Igitur imperante Zenone Augusto Constantinopoli, superveniens Nepos patricius ad Portum urbis Romae, deposuit de imperio Glycerium et factus est episcopus et Nepos factus imperator Romae. Mox veniens Ravennam; quem persequens Orestes patricius cum exercitu, metuens Nepos adventum Orestis, ascendens navem fugam petit ad Salonam et ibi mansit per annos quinque; postea vero a suis occiditur. Mox eo egresso factus imperator Augustulus. Augustulus imperavit annos X.

[36] Now during the reign of Zeno Augustus at Constantinople, the patrician Nepos came to the Port of the city of Rome, deposed Glycerius, who was made a bishop, while Nepos himself became emperor at Rome. Presently Nepos came to Ravenna; he was followed by the patrician Orestes with an army, and in fear of his coming Nepos embarked on board a ship and fled to Salona, where he remained for five years; but later he was slain by his own men. Soon after Nepos left Rome Augustulus was made emperor and ruled for ten years.

[37] Augustulus, qui ante regnum Romulus a parentibus vocabatur, a patre Oreste patricio factus est imperator. Superveniens autem Odoachar cum gente Scirorum occidit Orestem patricium in Placentia et fratrem eius Paulum ad Pinetam foris Classem Ravennae.

[37] Augustulus, who was called Romulus by his parents before he mounted the throne, was made emperor by his father, the patrician Orestes. Then Odoacar made his appearance with a force of Sciri and killed the patrician Orestes at Placentia, and his brother Paulus at the Pine Grove, outside the Classis at Ravenna.

[38] Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cuius infantiae misertus concessit ei sanguinem, et quia pulcher erat, etiam donans ei redditum sex milia solidos, misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Enim pater eius Orestes Pannonius, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit se illi iunxit et eius notarius factus fuerat. Unde profecit et usque ad patriciatus dignitatem pervenerat.

[38] Then he entered Ravenna, deposed Augustulus from his throne, but in pity for his tender years, granted him his life; and because of his beauty he also gave him an income of six thousand gold-pieces and sent him to Campania, to live there a free man with his relatives. Now his father Orestes was a

Pannonian, who joined with Attila at the time when he came to Rome, and was made his secretary, a position from which he had advanced to the rank of patrician.

[39] Ergo postquam factus est imperator Zeno a filio suo Leone, qui natus fuerat de filia Leonis Ariagne nomine, regnat cum filio suo anno uno, et merito Leonis regnum remansit apud Zenonem. Zeno vero cum filio iam regnans anno uno, imperavit annos XIII, Isauriae nobilissimus, qui dignus esset filiam imperatoris accipere, exercitus in arma.

[39] Then, after Zeno was made emperor by his son Leo, who was the offspring of the daughter of Leo the Great, Ariagne by name, he reigned for a year with his son Leo, and it was through Leo's merit that Zeno retained his power. But after sharing the rule with his son for one year, Zeno was emperor for fourteen years more; he was an Isaurian of high rank, trained to arms, and worthy to receive an emperor's daughter in marriage.

[40] Perhibent de eo, quia patellas in genucula non habuisset, sed mobiles fuissent, ut etiam cursum velocissimum ultra modum hominum haberet. In re publica omnino providentissimus, favens genti suae.

[40] It is said of him that he was of even superhuman speed as a swift runner, since his kneepans were not attached to his knees, but moved freely. In the administration of the State he was in general most wise, but inclined to favour his own people.

[41] Huic insidiabatur Basiliscus, ipse primus senator; quo cognito, Zeno cum aliquantis divitiis petiit Isauriam. At ubi ille egressus est, mox Basiliscus, qui ei, ut dictum est, insidiabatur, arripuit imperium.

[41] A plot was made against him by Basiliscus, himself a senator of high distinction. As soon as Zeno learned of the plot, he took some of his wealth and went to Isauria. But soon after his departure Basiliscus, who, as was said, was plotting against him, seized upon the imperial power.

[42] Basiliscus imperavit annos II. Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem Novam, ubi erat Theodericus dux Gothorum, filius Walamerici, et eum invitavit in solacium sibi adversus Basiliscum, obiectans militem, post biennium veniens, obsidens civitatem Constantinopolim.

[42] Basiliscus ruled for two years. Zeno strengthened the Isaurians within the province; then he sent to the city of Nova, where Theodoric, the general of the Goths and son of WalamERICUS, was stationed, and invited him to render him relief against Basiliscus. Then he came back to Constantinople after two years, brought an attacking force against the city, and laid siege to it.

[43] Sed quia senatus et populus Zenonem metuentes, nequid mali pateretur civitas, relicto Basilisco se illi omnes dederunt aperta civitate. Basiliscus

fugiens ad ecclesiam, intra baptisterium cum uxore et filiis ingreditur. Cui Zeno dato sacramento securum esse de sanguine, exiens, inclausus cum uxore et filiis intra cisternam siccam, ibidem frigore defecerunt.

[43] But because the senate and people feared Zeno, to prevent the city from suffering any harm they deserted Basiliscus, opened the gates, and all surrendered to Zeno. Basiliscus fled to a church and took refuge within the baptistery with his wife and his sons. After Zeno had given him a pledge confirmed by oath that his blood would not be shed, he came out and was shut up with his wife and children in a dry cistern, where they all died of cold.

[44] Zeno recordatus est amorem senatus et populi, munificus omnibus se ostendit, ita ut omnes ei gratias agerent. Senatum Romanum et populum tuitus est, ut etiam ei imagines per diversa loca in urbe Roma levarentur. Cuius tempora pacifica fuerunt.

[44] Zeno remembered the affection felt for him by the senate and people; and therefore showed himself so generous to all that he earned the gratitude of every one. He upheld so well the senate and people of Rome, that statues were even erected to him in various parts of the city. His times were peaceful.

[45] Odoacar vero, cuius supra fecimus mentionem, mox deposito Augustulo de imperio, factus est rex mansitque in regno annos XIII. Cuius pater Edico dictus, de quo ita invenitur in libris vitae Beati Severini monachi intra Pannoniam, qui eum admonuit, et praedixit regnum eius futurum.

[45] Odoacar, of whom we have made mention above, presently deposed Augustulus from the rule and was made king; he remained on the throne for thirteen years. His father was named Edico, and Odoacar is also mentioned in the books on *The Life of Saint Severinus*, a Pannonian monk, who gave him advice and predicted his future royal power.

[46] Ita reperis ad locum: Quidam barbari cum ad Italiam pergerent, promerendae benedictionis ad eum intuitu deverterunt, inter quos et Odoacar, qui postea regnavit Italiae, vilissimo habitu iuvenis statura procerus advenerat; qui dum se, ne humillimae tectum cellulae eius suo vertice contingeret, inclinasset, a viro dei gloriosum se fore cognovit. Cui etiam vale dicenti ‘vade,’ inquit, ‘ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus, sed multis cito plurima largiturus.’

[46] In that place you find the following words: “When some barbarians were on their way to Italy, they turned aside and went to Severinus’ abode with a view to earning his benediction; among them also came Odoacar, who afterwards ruled in Italy, a youth of tall stature, but very poorly clad; and when he bowed his head, in order that it might not touch the roof of the very low cell, he learned from the man of God that he would attain glory. And as Odoacar bade him farewell, Severinus said: ‘Go on to Italy; go on, now clad

in paltry skins, but soon to be able to give great gifts to many ‘.”

[47] Interim, ut dei famulus ei praedixerat, mox in Italiam ingressus est, regnum accepit. Eodem tempore Odoacar rex memor factus quod a viro sancto praedictum audierat, statim familiariter litteras ad eum ‘dirigens, siqua speranda duceret, dabat suppliciter optionem. Ergo vir dei tantis itaque eius alloquiis per litteras invitatus, Ambrosium quandam exulantem rogat absolvi; cuius Odoacar gratulabundus paruit imperatis.’

[47] Meanwhile, as the servant of God had predicted to him, as soon as Odoacar entered Italy he received the royal power. At that same time, after becoming king, Odoacar recalled the prophecy which he had heard from the holy man, and at once addressed to him a friendly letter, “wherein he respectfully offered to grant his wish, should he think there was anything worth while to ask. Accordingly the man of God, encouraged by so cordial a letter of the king, asked for the pardon of a certain Ambrosius, who was living in exile, and Odoacar gratefully granted his request.”

[48] Igitur Odoacar rex gessit bellum adversus Rugos, quos in secundo vicit, et funditus delevit. Nam dum ipse esset bonae voluntatis et Arrianae sectae favorem praeberet, ‘quodam tempore dum memoratum regem multi nobiles coram sancto viro humana, ut fieri solet, adulatione laudarent, interrogat quem regem tantis praeconiis praetulissent. Respondentibus ‘Odoacrem,’ ‘Odoacar,’ inquit, ‘integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim annos ‘; annos videlicet integri eius regni significans.’

[48] After that, King Odoacar made war on the Rugi, and in a second campaign vanquished and utterly destroyed them. Then, since he was a man of good intentions and favoured the Arian sect, “it happened that once, when in the presence of the holy man many nobles, as often happens, were praising and flattering the said king, as men will do, he asked what king they had extolled with such high commendations. And when they replied ‘Odoacar,’ he said ‘Odoacar is safe for between thirteen and fourteen years,’ thus, of course, indicating the years of his safe reign.”

[49] Zeno itaque recompensans beneficiis Theodericum, quem fecit patricium et consulem, donans ei multum et mittens eum ad Italiam. Cui Theodericus pactuatus est, ut, si victus fuisset Odoacar, pro merito laborum suorum loco eius, dum adveniret, tantum praeregnaret. Ergo superveniente Theoderico patricio de civitate Nova cum gente Gothica, missus ab imperatore Zenone de partibus Orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam.

[49] Zeno accordingly rewarded Theodoric for his support, made him a patrician and a consul, gave him a great sum of money, and sent him to Italy. Theodoric stipulated with him, that if Odoacar should be vanquished, in return for his own labours in Odoacar’s place he should rule in his stead only until

the arrival of Zeno. Therefore, when the patrician Theodoric came from the city of Nova with the Gothic people, he was sent by the emperor Zeno from the regions of the Orient, in order to defend Italy for him.

[50] Cui occurrit venienti Odoacar ad fluvium Sontium, et ibi pugnans cum eodem, victus fugit et abiit in Veronam et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronense V kalendas Octobres. Ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoacar fugit Ravennam pridie kalendas Octobres.

[50] As Theodoric was on his way, Odoacar met him at the river Sontius, engaged in battle with him there, and was defeated and put to flight; he withdrew to Verona, and on the 27th of September made a fortified camp on a plain of moderate extent before the city. Theodoric followed him there, and joined battle with him; numbers fell on both sides: Odoacar, however, was overcome, and on the 30th of September fled to Ravenna.

[51] Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non et Tufa magister militum, quem ordinaverat Odoacar cum optimatibus suis kal. April. Eo anno missus est Tufa magister militum a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam.

[51] Theodoric the patrician went on to Mediolanum, and the most of Odoacar's army surrendered to him, including Tufa, his general-in-chief, whom Odoacar had appointed, along with his other high officials, on the 1st of April. In that same year Tufa, the commanding general, was sent by Theodoric to Ravenna against Odoacar.

[52] Veniens Faventiam, Tufa obsedit Odoacrem cum exercitu, cum quo directus fuerat; et exiit Odoacar de Ravenna, et venit Faventiam, et Tufa tradidit Odoacri comites patricii Theoderici, et missi sunt in ferro, et adducti Ravennam.

[52] Tufa came to Faventia, and with the army with which he had been sent besieged Odoacar. The latter left Ravenna and came to Faventia, where Tufa handed over to him the high officers of the patrician Theodoric, who were put in irons and taken to Ravenna.

[53] Fausto et Longino. His consulibus Odoacar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wisigothae in adiutorium Theoderici, et facta est pugna super fluvium Adduam, et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte et occisus est Pierius comes domesticorum III idus Augustas, et fugit Odoacar Ravennam, et mox subsecutus est eum patricius Theodericus veniens in Pinetam et fixit fossatum, obsidens Odoacrem clausum per triennium Ravenna, et factum est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem Theodericus, Festum, caput senati, ad Zenonem imperatorem, et ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam.

[53] The consulship of Faustus and Longinus. When these were consuls, King Odoacar marched out from Cremona and went to Mediolanum. Then the Visigoths came to the help of Theodoric, and a battle was fought on the 11th of August on the bank of the river Addua, where many fell on both sides; Pierius, commander of the household troops, was slain, and Odoacar fled to Ravenna. The patrician Theodoric soon followed him, came to the Pine Grove, and made a camp there; then he kept Odoacar in a state of siege for three years in Ravenna, where the value of a modius of wheat rose to the price of six gold-pieces. And Theodoric sent Festus, the head of the senate, as an envoy to the emperor Zeno, hoping to be invested by him with the royal robe.

[54] Olybrius V.C. Cons. Hoc consule exiit Odoacar rex de Ravenna nocte, cum Herulis ingressus in Pinetam in fossatum patrici Theoderici, et ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus, et fugiens Levila, magister militum Odoacris, occisus est in fluvio Bedente ; et victus Odoacar fugit Ravennam id. Iul. Igitur coactus Odoacar dedit filium suum Thelanem obsidem Theoderico, accepta fide securum se esse de sanguine.

[54] The consulship of Olybrius, *vir clarissimus*. In his consulship King Odoacar sallied forth from Ravenna by night, entered into the Pine Grove with the Heruli, and attacked the fortified camp of the patrician Theodoric. The losses were great on both sides, and Levila, Odoacar's commander-in-chief, fled and lost his life in the river Bedens ; Odoacar was defeated and fled to Ravenna on the 15th of July. Then Odoacar was forced to give his son Thelanes to Theodoric as a hostage, first receiving a pledge that his blood would be spared.

[55] Sic ingressus est Theodericus et post aliquot dies, dum ei Odoacar insidiaretur, detectus ante ab eo praeventus in palatio, manu sua Theodericus eum in Lauretum pervenientem gladio interemit.

[55] So Theodoric entered Ravenna, and after several days Odoacar laid a snare for him: but Theodoric discovered him in the palace and forestalled him, then caught him off his guard and with his own hand slew him with a sword as he was coming into the Laurel Grove.

[56] Cuius exercitus in eadem die iussu Theoderici omnes interfecti sunt, quivis ubi potuit reperiri, cum omni stirpe sua. Et moritur Constantinopolim Zeno imperator, et factus est imperator Anastasius.

[56] On the same day, all of Odoacar's army who could be found anywhere were killed by order of Theodoric, as well as all of his family. This same year the emperor Zeno died at Constantinople, and Anastasius was made emperor.

[57] Theodericus enim in legationem direxerat Faustum Nigrum ad Zenonem. At ubi cognita morte eius antequam legatio reverteretur, ut ingressus est Ravennam, et occidit Odoacrem, Gothi sibi confirmaverunt Theodericum

regem, non expectantes iussionem novi principis.

[57] Now Theodoric had sent Faustus Niger as an envoy to Zeno. But when the news of the latter's death came, before the envoy returned, but after Theodoric had entered Ravenna and killed Odoacar, the Goths, without waiting for the command of the new emperor, made Theodoric their king.

[58] Vir enim bellicosissimus, fortis, eius pater Walamir dictus rex Gothorum, naturalis tamen eius fuit; mater, Ereriliva dicta Gothica, catholica quidem erat, quae in baptismo Eusebia dicta.

[58] For he was a most brave and warlike man, whose father, Walamir, was called King of the Goths; but Theodoric was his natural son; his mother was called in Gothic Ereriliva, but being a Catholic received at her baptism the name Eusebia.

[59] Ergo praeclarus et bonae voluntatis in omnibus, qui regnavit annos XXXIII. Cuius temporibus felicitas est secuta Italiam per annos triginta, ita ut etiam pax pergentibus esset.

[59] Hence Theodoric was a man of great distinction and of good-will towards all men, and he ruled for thirty-three years. In his times Italy for thirty years enjoyed such good fortune that his successors also inherited peace.

[60] Nihil enim perperam gessit. Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno, Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen nihil contra religionem catholicam temptans; exhibens ludos circensium et amphitheatrum, ut etiam a Romanis Traianus vel Valentinianus, quorum tempora sectatus est, appellaretur, et a Gothis secundum edictum suum, quo ius constituit, rex fortissimus in omnibus iudicaretur. Militiam Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit. Dona et annonas largitus quamquam aerarium publicum ex toto faeneum invenisset, suo labore recuperavit et opulentum fecit.

[60] For whatever he did was good. He so governed two races at the same time, Romans and Goths, that although he himself was of the Arian sect, he nevertheless made no assault on the Catholic religion; he gave games in the circus and the amphitheatre, so that even by the Romans he was called a Trajan or a Valentinian, whose times he took as a model; and by the Goths, because of his edict, in which he established justice, he was judged to be in all respects their best king. Military service for the Romans he kept on the same footing as under the emperors. He was generous with gifts and the distribution of grain, and although he had found the public treasury nothing but a haystack, by his efforts it was restored and made rich.

[61] Dum illitteratus esset, tantae sapientiae fuit, ut aliqua, quae locutus est, in vulgo usque nunc pro sententia habeantur; unde nos non piget aliqua de multis

eius in commemoratione posuisse. Dixit ‘aurum et daemonem qui habet, non eum potest abscondere’; item ‘Romanus miser imitatur Gothum et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.’

[61] Although untrained in letters, he was nevertheless so wise that even now some of his sayings are regarded among the people as aphorisms, and for that reason I am glad to place on record a few out of many. He said, “One who has gold and a demon cannot hide the demon.” Also, “A poor Roman plays the Goth, a rich Goth the Roman.”

[62] Quidam defunctus est et reliquit uxorem et parvulum filium nescientem matrem. Ab aliquo sublati sunt filius eius parvulus et ductus in aliam provinciam et educatus. Factus iuvenis quoquo modo revertitur ad matrem; mater enim iam sponderat virum. Cum vidisset mater, amplectitur filium, benedicens deum se filium revidisse; et fecit cum ea dies triginta. Et ecce veniens sponsus matris, videns iuvenem, interrogavit quis esset. Quae respondit esse suum filium. At ubi comperit esse filium eius, coepit repetere arras et dicere ‘aut nega filium tuum esse aut vero abscedo hinc.’ Mulier compellitur ab sponso, et coepit negare filium, quem ipsa ante confessa est, et dicere: ‘Vade, iuvenis, de domo mea, quia peregrinum te suscepi.’ Ille enim dicebat regressum se ad matrem in domum patris sui. Quid multa? Dum haec aguntur, filius rogavit regem adversus matrem, quam rex iussit in conspectu suo sisti. Cui et dixit: ‘Mulier, filius tuus adversus te rogat; quid dicis? Est filius tuus an non?’ Quae dixit: ‘Non est meus filius sed peregrinum eum suscepi.’ Et dum per ordinem omnia filius mulieris intimasset in auribus regis, dicit mulieri denuo: ‘Est filius tuus an non?’ Quae dixit: ‘Non est filius meus.’ Dicit ei rex: ‘Et quae est facultas tua, mulier?’ Quae respondit: ‘Usque ad mille solidos.’ Et dum maritum se rex non esse facturum sub iusiurando pollicitus est nisi ipsum, alium non acciperet maritum, tunc confusa est mulier et confessa est suum esse filium. Sunt eius et multa alia.

[62] A certain man died, leaving a wife and a little son who did not know his mother. Her son, when a small boy, was taken from her by some one, carried to another province, and there brought up. When he became a youth, he somehow returned to his mother, who had now become betrothed to another man. When the mother saw her son, she embraced him, thanking God that she had seen her son again, and he lived with her for a month. And behold! the mother’s betrothed came, and seeing the young man, asked who he was. She replied that he was her son. But when her betrothed learned that the youth was her son, he began to ask the return of the earnest-money and to say: “Either deny that he is your son, or I certainly depart hence.” The mother yielded to her betrothed and began to deny her son, whom she herself had before acknowledged, saying: “Leave my house, young man, since I took you up as a stranger.” But he kept saying that he had come back to his mother and to the house of his father. To make a long story short, while this was going on the

son appealed against his mother to the king, who ordered her to appear before him. And he said to her: "Woman, your son appeals against you; what have you to say? Is he your son, or not?" She replied: "He is not my son, but I took him up as a stranger." And when the woman's son had told the whole story in order to the king, he again said to the woman: "Is he your son, or not?" She said: "He is not my son." The king said to her: "How much property have you, woman?" She replied: "As much as a thousand gold-pieces." And when the king declared with an oath that he would not make anyone else than the young man himself her husband, and that she should receive no other husband, then the woman was disconcerted and confessed that the young man was her son. And there are many other things told of the king.

[63] Postea vero accepta uxore de Francis nomine Augofladam. Nam uxorem habuit ante regnum, de qua suscepit filias: unam dedit nomine Areaagni Alarico regi Wisigotharum in Gallias, et aliam filiam suam Theodegotham Sigismundo, filio Gundebadi regis.

[63] Afterwards Theodoric took to wife a Frankish woman named Augoflada. For before he began to reign he had a wife, who had borne him daughters. One of these, called Areaagni, he gave in marriage in Gaul to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and another daughter of his, Theodegotha, to Sigismund, son of King Gundebadus.

[64] Facta pace cum Anastasio imperatore per Festum de praesumptione regni, et omnia ornamenta palatii, quae Odoacar Constantinopolim transmisserat, remittit.

[64] Theodoric, through Festus, made peace with the emperor Anastasius with regard to his assumption of the rule, and Anastasius sent back to him all the ornaments of the Palace, which Odoacar had transferred to Constantinople.

[65] Eodem tempore contentio orta est in urbe Roma inter Symmachum et Laurentium; consecrati enim fuerant ambo. Ordinante deo, qui et dignus fuit, superavit Symmachus. Post facta pace in urbe ecclesiae ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam, et occurrit Beato Petro devotissimus ac si catholicus. Cui papa Symmachus et cunctus senatus vel populus Romanus cum omni gaudio extra urbem occurrentes.

[65] At that same time a dispute arose in the city of Rome between Symmachus and Laurentius; for both had been consecrated. But through God's ordinance Symmachus, who also deserved it, got the upper hand. After peace was made in the city of the Church, King Theodoric went to Rome and met Saint Peter with as much reverence as if he himself were a Catholic. The Pope Symmachus, and the entire senate and people of Rome amid general rejoicing met him outside the city.

[66] Deinde veniens ingressus urbem, venit ad senatum, et ad Palmam populo

allocutus, se omnia, deo iuvante, quod retro principes Romani ordinaverunt inviolabiliter servaturum promittit.

[66] Then coming to Rome and entering it, he appeared in the senate, and addressed the people at The Palm, promising that with God's help he would keep inviolate whatever the former Roman emperors had decreed.

[67] Per tricennalem triumphans populo ingressus palatium, exhibens Romanis ludos circensium. Donavit populo Romano et pauperibus annonas singulis annis, centum viginti milia modios, et ad restaurationem palatii, seu ad recuperationem moeniae civitatis singulis annis libras ducentas de area vinaria dari praecepit.

[67] In celebration of his *tricennalia* he entered the Palace in a triumphal procession for the entertainment of the people, and exhibited games in the Circus for the Romans. To the Roman people and to the poor of the city he gave each year a hundred and twenty thousand measures of grain, and for the restoration of the Palace and the rebuilding of the walls of the city he ordered two hundred pounds to be given each year from the chest that contained the tax on wine.

[68] Item Amalafrigdam germanam suam in matrimonium tradens regi Wandalorum Transimundo. Liberium praefectum praetorii, quem fecerat in initio regni sui, fecit patricium, et dedit ei successorem. Successit itaque in administratione praefecturae Theodorus, filius Basili. Odoïn comes eius insidiabatur ei.

[68] He also gave his own sister Amalafrigda in marriage to Transimundus, king of the Vandals. Liberius, whom he had appointed praetorian prefect at the beginning of his reign, he made a patrician, and appointed for him a successor. Now his successor in the administration of the prefecture was Theodorus, son of Basilus. Odoïn, his general, made a plot against the king.

[69] Dum haec cognovisset, in palatio quod appellatur Sessorium caput eius amputari praecepit. Verba enim promissionis eius, quae populo fuerat allocutus, rogante populo in tabula aenea iussit scribi et in publico poni.

[69] When Theodoric learned of it, he had Odoïn beheaded in the palace which is called the Sessorium. At the request of the people he gave orders that the words of the promise which he had made to them should be inscribed upon a bronze tablet and set up in a public place.

[70] Deinde sexto mense revertens Ravennam, aliam germanam suam Amalabirgam tradens in matrimonio Herminifredo regi Turingorum et sic sibi per circuitum placavit omnes gentes. Erat enim amator fabricarum et restaurator civitatum.

[70] Then returning to Ravenna, five months later, he gave Amalabirga, another

sister of his, in marriage to Herminifred, king of the Turingi, and in that way gained peace with all the nations round about. He was besides a lover of building and restorer of cities.

[71] Hic aquae ductum Ravennae restauravit, quem princeps Traianus fecerat, et post multa tempora aquam introduxit. Palatium usque ad perfectum fecit, quem non dedicavit. Portica circa palatium perfecit. Item Veronae thermas et palatium fecit et a porta usque ad palatium porticum addidit. Aquae ductum, quod per multa tempora destructum fuerat, renovavit et aquam intromisit. Muros alios novos circuit civitatem. Item Ticino palatium, thermas, amphitheatrum, et alios muros civitatis fecit.

[71] At Ravenna he repaired the aqueduct which the emperor Trajan had constructed, and thus brought water into the city after a long time. He completely finished the palace, but did not dedicate it. He completed the colonnades around the palace. He also built baths and a palace at Verona, and added a colonnade extending all the way from the gate to the Palace; besides that, he restored the aqueduct at Verona, which had long since been destroyed, and brought water into the city, as well as surrounding the city with new walls. Also at Ticinum he built a palace, baths, and an amphitheatre, besides new city walls.

[72] Sed et per alias civitates multa beneficia praestitit. Sic enim oblectavit vicinas gentes, ut se illi sub foedus darent aliae gentes, sibi eum regem sperantes. Negotiantes vero de diversis provinciis ad ipsum concurrebant. Tanta enim disciplinae fuit, ut, si quis voluit in agro suo argentum vel aurum dimittere, ac si intra muros civitatis esset ita existimaretur.

[72] He also showed many favours to the other cities. And he so won the goodwill of the neighbouring nations, that they offered to make treaties with him, in the hope that he would be their king. Indeed, merchants flocked to him from the various provinces, for his organization was such that if anyone wished to send consignments of gold or silver in his domain, it was deemed as good as if he were within the walls of a city.

[73] Et hoc per totam Italiam tanto modo augurium habebat, ut nulli civitati portam fecerit : nec in civitate portae claudebantur: quivis quod opus habebat faciebat qua hora vellet, ac si in die. Sexaginta modios tritici in solidum ipsius tempore emerunt, et vinum triginta amphoras in solidum.

[73] And he followed this principle so fully throughout all Italy, that he gave no city a gate; and where there were already gates, they were never shut; and every one could carry on his business at whatever hour he chose, as if it were in daylight. In his time sixty measures of wheat were bought for a single gold-piece, and thirty amphorae of wine for the same price.

[74] Eodem itaque tempore habebat Anastasius imperator tres nepotes, id est

Pompeium, Probum et Hypatium; cogitans quem de ipsis faceret post se imperatorem, quodam die iussit eos secum prandere, et intra palatium post prandium meridiari, et singula lecta eis sterni. Et in uno lecto iussit ad capitem regium insigne poni, et quis de ipsis in eodem lecto elegisset dormire, in hoc se debere cognoscere cui regnum postea traderet. Unus quidem in uno lecto se iactavit, duo enim in alio, amore fraterno, se collocaverunt. Et ita contigit, ut in illo lecto ubi regium insigne positum erat nullus eorum dormiret.

[74] Now at that same time the emperor Anastasius had three grandsons, namely, Pompeius, Probus, and Hypatius. Considering which one of them he should make his successor, he invited them to have luncheon with him one day, and after luncheon to take their midday siesta within the palace, where he had a couch prepared for each of them. Under the pillow on one couch he ordered the symbol of royalty to be put, and decided that whichever of them chose that couch for his nap, in him he ought to recognise the one to whom he should later turn over the rule. One of the grandsons threw himself down on one couch, but the other two, from brotherly affection, took their places together on another, and so it happened that none of them slept on the couch where the emblem of royalty had been placed.

[75] Dum haec vidisset, coepit cogitare intra se, et discens eo quod nullus eorum regnaret coepit orare deum, ut illi revelatio fieret, ut scire possit, dum adviveret, quis post occasum eius regnum susciperet. Haec eodem cogitante et orante cum ieiunio, quadam noctu vidit hominem, qui ita eum admonuit: ‘Crastinus qui tibi primus intra cubiculum nuntiatum fuerit, ipse accipiet post te regnum tuum.’

[75] When Anastasius saw this, he began to ponder, and learning from it that none of them should rule, he began to pray to God that He would show him a sign, so that while he still lived he might know who should receive the royal power after his death. While he was considering the question with fasting and prayer, one night in a dream he saw a man, who advised him as follows: “The person whose arrival shall first be announced to you tomorrow in your bedroom will be the one to receive your throne after you.”

[76] Ita factum est ut Iustinus, qui comes erat excubitorum, dum advenisset, ubi directus fuerat ab imperatore, renunciaretur ipse ei primus per praepositum cubiculi. Cumque haec cognovisset, coepit gratias deo referre, qui ei dignatus est revelare successorem.

[76] Now it chanced that Justinus, who was commander of the watch, on coming to a place whither he had been directed to go by the emperor, was the first to be announced to him by his head-chamberlain. And when the king knew this, he began to thank God for having deigned to reveal to him who his successor should be.

[77] Cumque haec apud se tacite habuisset, quadam die procedens imperator, dum festinus Iustinus vellet a latere imperatoris transire, obsequium ordinare vellens, calcavit chlamydem imperatoris.

[77] These words he kept to himself, but one day, when the emperor was in a procession, and Justinus wished to pass along quickly on one side of the emperor, in order to put his followers in line, he trod on the emperor's cloak.

[78] Cui imperator hoc tantum dixit, 'quid festinas?' Nam ultima vita regni sui temptans eum diabolus, vellens sectam Eunomianam sequi; quem populus fidelis repressit, ita ut ei in ecclesia clamaretur: 'In trinitatem lanceolam non mites.' Non post multum temporis in lecto suo intra urbem Constantinopolim morbo tentus extremam clausit diem.

[78] But the emperor only said to him: "What is your hurry?" Then in the last days of his reign the devil tempted him, wishing him to follow the Eunomian sect; but the people of the faith checked him and even cried out to him in the church: "You shall not hurl your puny lance against the Trinity." Not long afterwards Anastasius was taken ill and confined to his bed in the city of Constantinople, and ended his last day.

[79] Igitur rex Theodericus illiteratus erat et sic obtuso sensu, ut in decem annos regni sui quattuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. De qua re laminam auream iussit interrasilem fieri, quattuor litteras 'legi' habentem; unde si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per earn pennam ducebat, ut subscriptio eius tantum videretur.

[79] Now King Theodoric was without training in letters, and of such dull comprehension that for ten years of his reign he had been wholly unable to learn the four letters necessary for endorsing his edicts. For that reason he had a golden plate with slits made, containing the four letters "legi"; then, if he wished to endorse anything, he placed the plate over the paper and drew his pen through the slits, so that only this subscription of his was seen.

[80] Ergo Theodericus, dato consulatu Eutharico, Roma et Ravenna triumphavit qui Eutharicus nimis asper fuit et contra fidem catholicam inimicus.

[80] Then Theodoric made Eutharicus consul and celebrated triumphs at Rome and at Ravenna. This Eutharicus was an excessively rough man, and an enemy to the Catholic faith.

[81] Post haec Theoderico Verona consistente propter metum gentium facta est lis inter Christianos et Iudaeos Ravennates. Quare Iudaei baptizatos nolentes, dum ludunt frequenter oblatam aquam in aquam fluminis iactaverunt. Dehinc accensus est populus non observantes neque regi neque Eutharico aut Petro, qui tunc episcopus erat, consurgentes ad synagogas, mox eas incenderunt. Quod et in Roma in re eadem similiter contigit.

[81] After this, while Theodoric was remaining at Verona through fear of the neighbouring peoples, strife arose between the Christians and the Jews of the city of Ravenna; accordingly the Jews, being unwilling to be baptised, often in sport threw the holy water that was offered to them into the water of the river. Because of this the people were fired with anger, and without respect for the king, for Eutharicus, or for Peter, who was bishop at the time, they rose against the synagogues and presently set them on fire. And this same thing happened in a similar affair at Rome.

[82] *Mox Iudaei currentes Veronam, ubi rex erat, agente Triwane praeposito cubiculi, et ipse haereticus favens Iudaeis, insinuans regi factum adversus Christianos. Qui mox iussit propter praesumptionem incendii, ut omnis populus Romanus Ravennates synagogas, quas incendio concremaverunt, data pecunia restaurarent; qui vero non habuissent unde dare fustati per publicum sub voce praeconia ducerentur. Data praecepta ad Eutharicum, Cilligam, et Petrum episcopum secundum hunc tenorem et ita adimpletum.*

[82] Presently the Jews hastened to Verona, where the king was, and there the head-chamberlain Triwane acted on their behalf; he, too, as a heretic favoured the Jews, and cajoled the king into taking action against the Christians. Accordingly Theodoric, on the presumption that they had resorted to arson, presently gave orders that the whole Roman population should furnish money for the rebuilding of the synagogues of Ravenna which had been burned; and that those who did not have anything from which they could give should be whipped through the streets of the city while a herald made proclamation of their offence. This was in substance the order given to Eutharicus, Cilliga, and the Bishop Peter, and thus it was carried out.

[83] *Ex eo enim invenit diabolus locum, quem ad modum hominem bene rem publicam sine querella gubernantem subriperet. Nam mox iussit ad fonticulos in proastio civitatis Veronensis oratorium Santi Stephani, id est altarium, subverti. Item ut nullus Romanus arma usque ad cultellum uteretur vetuit.*

[83] Shortly after that the devil found an opportunity to steal for his own a man who was ruling the state well and without complaint. For presently Theodoric gave orders that an oratory of St. Stephen, that is, a high altar, beside the springs in a suburb of the city of Verona, should be destroyed. He also forbade any Roman to carry arms, except a small pen-knife.

[84] *Item mulier pauper de gente Gothica, iacens sub porticu non longe a palatio Ravennati, quattuor generavit dracones; duo de occidente in orientem ferri in nubibus a populo visi sunt et in mari praecipitari, duo portati sunt unum caput habentes. Stella cum facula apparuit, quae dicitur cometes, splendens per dies quindecim. Terrae mota frequenter fuerunt.*

[84] Also a poor woman of the Gothic race, lying in a colonnade not far from

the palace at Ravenna, gave birth to four snakes; two of these in the sight of the people were carried up on clouds from west to east and then fell into the sea; the two others, which had but a single head, were taken away. A star with a train of fire appeared, of the kind called a comet, and shone for fifteen days. There were frequent earthquakes.

[85] Post haec coepit adversus Romanos rex subinde fremere inventa occasione. Cyprianus, qui tunc referendarius erat, postea comes sacrarum et magister, actus cupiditate insinuans de Albino patricio, eo quod litteras adversus regnum eius imperatori Iustino misisset; quod factum dum evocatus negaret, tunc Boethius patricius, qui magister officiorum erat, in conspectu regis dixit: 'Falsa est insinuatio Cypriani; sed si Albinus fecit, et ego et cunctus senatus uno consilio fecimus; falsum est, domne rex.'

[85] After this the king began from time to time, when he found an opportunity, to vent his rage upon the Romans. Cyprianus, who was then a referee, afterwards count of the privy purse and a master, was led by avarice to make a charge against the patrician Albinus, to the effect that he had sent to the emperor Justinus a letter hostile to Theodoric's rule. When Albinus was summoned and denied this, the patrician Boethius, who was master of ceremonies, said in the king's presence: "The charge of Cyprianus is false, but if Albinus did that, so also have I and the whole senate with one accord done it; it is false, my Lord King."

[86] Tunc Cyprianus haesitans, non solum adversus Albinum, sed et adversus Boethium, eius defensorem, deducit falsos testes. Sed rex dolum Romanis tendebat et quaerebat quem ad modum eos interficeret; plus credidit falsis testibus quam senatoribus.

[86] Then Cyprianus, after some hesitation, produced false witnesses, not only against Albinus, but against his defender Boethius. Moreover, the king was plotting evil against the Romans and seeking an opportunity for killing them; hence he trusted the false witnesses rather than the senators.

[87] Tunc Albinus et Boethius ducti in custodiam ad baptisterium ecclesiae. Rex vero vocavit Eusebium, praefectum urbis, Ticinum et inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Quem mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misere fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi eius creparent, sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur.

[87] Then Albinus and Boethius were imprisoned in the baptistery of a church. And the king summoned Eusebius, prefect of the city, to Ticinum, and pronounced sentence on Boethius without giving him a hearing. Presently at the Calventian estate, where Boethius was confined, he had him put to a wretched death. He was tortured for a long time with a cord bound about his forehead so tightly that his eyes cracked in their sockets, and finally, while

under torture, he was beaten to death with a cudgel.

[88] Rediens igitur rex Ravennam, tractans non ut dei amicus sed legi eius inimicus, immemor factus omnis eius beneficii et gratiae quam ei dederat, confidens in brachio suo, item credens quod eum pertimesceret Iustinus imperator, mittens et evocans Ravennam Iohannem, sedis apostolicae praesulem, et dicit ad eum: ‘Ambula Constantinopolim ad Iustinum imperatorem, et dic ei inter alia, ut reconciliatos in catholica restituat religione.’

[88] Then the king, on his return to Ravenna, acted no longer as a friend of God, but as an enemy to His law; forgetful of all His kindness and of the favour which He had shown him, trusting to his own arm, believing, too, that the emperor Justinus stood in great fear of him, he sent and summoned to Ravenna Johannes, who at that time sat upon the apostolic throne, and said to him: “Go to the emperor Justinus in Constantinople, and tell him among other things to restore those who have become reconciled and joined the Catholic Church.”

[89] Cui papa Iohannes ita respondit: ‘Quod factururus es, rex, facito citius; ecce in conspectu tuo adsto. Hoc tibi ego non promitto me facturum, nec illi dicturus sum. Nam in aliis causis, quas mihi iniunxeris, obtinere ab eodem, annuente deo, potero.’

[89] To him the Pope Johannes replied: “What you will do, O king, do quickly. Lo! here I stand before you. But this thing I will not promise you to do, nor will I give the emperor your command. But anything else which you may enjoin upon me with God’s help I shall be able to obtain from him.”

[90] Iubet ergo rex iratus navem fabricari et super impositum eum cum aliis episcopis, id est Ecclesium Ravennatem et Eusebium Fanestrem, et Sabinum Campanum, et alios duos, simul et senatores Theodorum, Importunum, Agapitum, et alium Agapitum. Sed deus, qui fideles cultores suos non deserit, cum prosperitate perduxit.

[90] Thereupon the king in anger gave orders that a ship should be built, and that Johannes should be embarked on it with the other bishops; that is, Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fanum Fortunae, Sabinus of Campania, and two others; and with them the senators Theodorus, Importunus, and Agapitus, with another Agapitus. But God, who does not desert his faithful worshippers, conducted them in safety.

[91] Cui Iustinus imperator venienti ita occurrit ac si Beato Petro; cui data legatione, omnia repromisit facturum praeter reconciliatos, qui se fidei catholicae dederunt, Arrianis restitui nullatenus posse.

[91] The emperor Justinus received the Roman bishop on his arrival as he

would have received Saint Peter, gave him audience, and promised that he would do everything that was asked, except that those who had become reconciled and returned to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians.

[92] Sed dum haec aguntur, Symmachus caput senati, cuius Boethius filiam habuit uxorem, deducitur de Roma Ravennam. Metuens vero rex ne dolore generi aliquid adversus regnum eius tractaret, obiecto crimine iussit interfici.

[92] But while all this was going on, Symmachus, the head of the senate, whose daughter Boethius had married, was brought from Rome to Ravenna. There the king, fearing that through resentment at the death of his son-in-law, Symmachus might take some step in opposition to his rule, ordered him to be put to death under a false accusation.

[93] Revertens Iohannes papa a Iustino, quem Theodericus cum dolo suscepit et in offensa sua eum esse iubet. Qui post paucos dies defunctus est. Ergo euntes populi ante corpusculum eius, subito unus de turba adeptus a daemonio cecidit, et dum pervenissent cum lectulo ubi latus erat usque ad hominem, subito sanus surrexit et praecedebat in exsequias. Quod videntes populi et senatores, coeperunt reliquias de veste eius tollere. Sic cum summo gaudio populi deductus est corpus eius foris civitatem.

[93] Then Pope Johannes returned from Justinus; Theodoric received him in a hostile spirit, and ordered him to be deemed as one of his enemies; a few days later Johannes died. When the people were marching before his dead body, suddenly one of the crowd was possessed by a devil and fell down; but when they had come, with the coffin in which Johannes was carried, to the place where the stricken man lay, he suddenly got up sound and well and took his place in the front of the funeral procession. When the people and the senators beheld this, they began to take relics from the Pope's garments. Then the body was escorted out of the city attended by the great rejoicing of the people.

[94] Igitur Symmachus, scolasticus Iudaeus, iubente non rege sed tyranno, dictavit praecepta die quarta feria, septimo kalend. Septembr. indictione quarta, Olybrio consule, ut die dominico adveniente Arriani basilicas catholicas invaderent.

[94] Then Symmachus, an advocate and a Jew, at the order of a tyrant rather than a king, announced on an appointed day, which was a Wednesday, the 26th of August, in the fourth indiction, under the consulship of Olybrius, that on the following Sabbath the Arians would take possession of the Catholic churches.

[95] Sed qui non patitur fideles cultores suos ab alienigenis opprimi mox intulit in eum sententiam Arrii, auctoris religionis eius; fluxum ventris incurrit, et dum intra triduum evacuatus fuisset, eodem die, quo se gaudebat ecclesias

invadere simul regnum et animam amisit.

[95] But He who does not allow his faithful worshippers to be oppressed by unbelievers soon brought upon Theodoric the same punishment that Arius, the founder of his religion, had suffered; for the king was seized with a diarrhea, and after three days of open bowels lost both his throne and his life on the very same day on which he rejoiced to attack the churches.

[96] Ergo antequam exhalaret, nepotem suum Athalaricum in regnum constituit. Se autem vivo fecit sibi monimentum ex lapide quadrato, mirae magnitudinis opus, et saxum ingens quod superponeret inquisivit.

[96] But before breathing his last he named his grandson Athalaric as his successor. During his lifetime he had made himself a mausoleum of squared blocks of stone, a work of extraordinary size, and sought out a huge rock to place upon it

The Biography



The Forum at Rome — Ammianus eventually settled in Rome, where he wrote his History.

INTRODUCTION TO AMMIANUS by J. C. Rolfe



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THE LIFE OF AMMIANUS.

Our knowledge of Ammianus is derived almost wholly from his own writings. He was born about A.D. 330 in Syrian Antioch, of a good Greek family, and probably received his early education in his native city. Antioch at that time was one of the principal cities of the Roman Empire, *orientis apex pulcher*, and Ammianus took just pride in its material prosperity. He was not, however, equally proud of his fellow citizens, a mixed population of Greeks, Jews, Syrians, and other peoples, united only in their devotion to luxury and the pursuit of pleasure. The historian makes no reply to the criticisms passed upon them by Julian, except to characterize them as exaggerated. But Greek still maintained its intellectual leadership, and the opportunities for education were good. The city produced other men of distinction, notably Libanius and Joannes Chrysostom.

Ammianus spent his active life during the reigns of Constantius II, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, in the second half of the fourth century, when, in spite of some memorable victories, the [p. x] prestige of the empire was on the wane. The turning-point in its history was the disastrous defeat of Valens by the Goths at Adrianople in 378, in which the emperor himself met his death, and at that date our direct knowledge of Ammianus comes to an end.

At an early age the future historian was made one of the *protectores domestici*, a select corps of the imperial bodyguard, which is further testimony to his good birth. In 353 he was attached by the emperor's order to the staff of Ursicinus, commander-in-chief of the army in the East, and joined him at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. He accompanied his general to Antioch, where Ursicinus was entrusted by Gallus Caesar with the conduct of trials for high treason. Ammianus' early life is closely connected with the career of Ursicinus, to whom he was strongly attached, and with whom he shared prosperity and adversity. Incidentally, he immortalized his chief, of whom little or nothing is known from other sources.

In 354 Ursicinus, who had become an object of suspicion to the emperor, was summoned to the court at Mediolanum, accompanied by Ammianus.

There palace intrigues caused Ursicinus to be still more distrusted by Constantius, who accordingly assigned to him the difficult task of suppressing the revolt of Silvanus, who had assumed the purple at Cologne ; but although the mission was successful, Ursicinus not only received no commendation [p. xi] from the emperor, but was even accused of embezzling some of the Gallic treasure. Ammianus remained with his chief in Gaul until the summer of 357, and hence was in close touch with the exploits of Julian, the newly appointed Caesar. Ursicinus was next summoned by the suspicious emperor to Sirmium in Pannonia, and from there, because of the danger which threatened from the Persians, was once more sent to the East, still accompanied by Ammianus.

But when the Persians began hostilities in 359, Ursicinus was again recalled to court, but on reaching the river Hebrus received orders to return to Mesopotamia, which had already been invaded by the enemy.

Since Sabinianus, who in the meantime had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army in the East, took no action, Ursicinus with his staff went to Nisibis, to prevent that city from being surprised and taken by the Persians. From there he set out for Amida, to keep the roads from being occupied, but immediately after leaving Nisibis sent Ammianus back to the city on an errand. In order to escape the hardships of the siege with which Nisibis was threatened, Ammianus after hastily carrying out his orders tried to rejoin his general. He was all but captured on the way, but finally came up with Ursicinus and his following at Amudis, warned them of the approach of the Persians, and accompanied them in their retreat. By a clever stratagem they misled their pursuers into taking the wrong direction, and finally reached [p. xii] Amida. There by a cipher message from Procopius, who had gone to the Persians as an envoy and was detained by them, they were informed that the enemy's main body had crossed the Tigris, and Ursicinus sent Ammianus, accompanied by a faithful centurion, to the satrap of Corduene, who was secretly a friend of the Romans, in quest of more definite information. From a rocky height Ammianus saw the advance of Sapor's army, witnessed their crossing of the river Anzaba, and reported what he had learned to Ursicinus. He, on hearing of the enemy's advance, resolved to go to Samosata and destroy the bridges by which the Persians were planning to cross the Euphrates ; but through the negligence of the Roman cavalry outposts his forces were attacked and scattered. Ammianus after several narrow escapes was forced to return to Amida, where he took part in the stubborn resistance of the city to the Persian attack. When Amida finally fell, he succeeded in making his escape under cover of night and after many adventures met Ursicinus at Melitene in Armenia Minor and with him returned safely to Antioch.

After the deposition of Ursicinus in 360 we hear little definite about the historian's career. He took some part in Julian's Persian campaign of 363, but in what capacity is uncertain; he apparently joined Julian with the arrival of the Euphrates fleet, since it is after that point in his narrative that we find him using the first person. After the return [p. xiii] of the Roman army to Antioch on the death of Julian and the accession of Jovian he seems to have remained in his native city for a considerable time, since his account of the trials conducted there for high treason in 371 is clearly that of an eye-witness. He probably made his home in Antioch until the defeat and death of Valens, but his residence in the city was interrupted by journeys to Egypt and to Greece after the great earthquake of July 6, 366. It was doubtless in Antioch that he did some of his extensive reading in preparation for the writing of his History. His military career occupied a comparatively brief period of his life, the greater part of which was devoted to study and writing.

After the events of 378 Ammianus went to Rome by way of Thrace, where he seems to have inspected the battlefields, choosing the land route rather than the more convenient trip by sea in order to get material for his History. At any rate, he seems to have taken up his residence in the Eternal City before 383, and his bitter language about the expulsion of foreigners at that time because of threatened famine has led some to infer that he was one of those who were forced to leave. The words of Symmachus, *defectum timemus annonae, pulsus omnibus quos exserto et pleno ubere Roma susceperat*, imply that the expulsion was general, [p. xiv] and Ammianus' unfavourable opinion of the Anicii, who at that time were a powerful family at Rome, may have some bearing on the question. Others believe that his rank as a former *protector domesticus*, which carried with it the title of *perfectissimus*, would have spared him such an indignity. If he was driven out, it seems probable that the hope of Symmachus, *quam primum revocet urbs nostra quos invita dimisit*, was fulfilled, for Ammianus wrote his History in Rome, and acquired a certain position in the city, numbering among his friends Symmachus and Praetextatus, although apparently some circles of distinguished Romans did not admit an *honestus advena* to intimacy.

That Ammianus was not a Christian is evident from many of his utterances, for he speaks of Christian rites, ceremonies, and officials in a way which shows a lack of familiarity with them. At the same time he was liberal in his attitude towards the Church; he twice censures the closing of the schools of rhetoric to Christian teachers, praises the simple life of the provincial bishops, and in general favours absolute religious toleration. He often refers to a supreme power (*numen*), with such adjectives as *magnum*, *superum*, *caeleste*, *divinum*, *sempiternum*, and others of the same kind, and he sometimes speaks of this power as *deus*, but in [p. xv] much the same sense as the word is used by Horace and other pagan writers. He indicates a belief in astrology, divination, dreams, and other superstitions of his time, and he speaks of *Fortuna* and *fatum* as controlling powers, but shows that they may be overcome or influenced by man's courage and resourcefulness. The view of Dill that "his real creed was probably a vague monotheism with a more decided tendency to fatalism" is rightly questioned by Ensslin, who says that Ammianus was a determinist, but not a passive fatalist, one who in inactive quiet awaited what might come.

When Ammianus died is quite uncertain. The latest allusion in his History is to the consulship of Neotherius in 391. In the same year the Serapeum at Alexandria was burned, but the historian refers to the building as if it were still standing; other indications are his references to Probus and Theodosius. He was certainly living in 391, and probably in 393, but how much longer his life was prolonged cannot be determined.

HIS HISTORY.

Ammianus set himself the vast project of succeeding Tacitus as an historian, and might have entitled his work *Res Gestae a fine Corneli Taciti*; but the title which has come down to us is simply *Res Gestae*. [p. xvi] It covered the period between the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96 to the death of Valens in 378, and was divided into thirty-one books, of which the first thirteen are lost. Since the surviving eighteen books deal with a period of twenty-five years, from 353, the seventeenth year of the reign of Constantius II, to the battle of Adrianople, the lost books must have given a brief account of the two hundred and fifty-seven years to which they were devoted. In 391 Libanius implies that Ammianus published, and probably recited parts of his work at Rome with great success. Seeck thinks that the part which was published in 390 or 391 ended with the twenty-fifth book; that this was his original plan, and that he was encouraged to go farther by the favourable reception given to a public recitation; that he intended to continue beyond the death of Valens is indicated by his promise to tell of the fate that overtook Maximinus and Simplicius, but his failure to do so may possibly have been an oversight. That the work was published in instalments seems to be indicated by the prefatory remarks at the beginning of Books xv. and xxvi.

There can be no doubt that Ammianus took his task seriously and made careful preparation for it, reading extensively in Latin literature and making copious notes of what he read. He naturally gave special attention to Tacitus, in particular [p. xvii] to the Histories, and imitated him so far as he could. He also read Livy and sometimes attempts to use his periodic structure, occasionally with success. He also was acquainted with Sallust, although the traces of the Amiternian's diction may be due to the latter's influence on Tacitus. It is of no significance that he nowhere mentions either Tacitus or Livy in his work. To perfect his Latinity he read Cicero, whom he quotes more than thirty times; partly for the same reason and partly for information about Gaul, he read Caesar. In addition to these conspicuous examples he shows acquaintance, not only with such prose writers as Gellius, Valerius Maximus, the elder Pliny, Florus, and others, but also with the poets; for example, Plautus and Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan. Of later writers he used the *Annales* of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, and the work of an anonymous Greek writer who followed the Thucydidean chronology by summers and winters; Ammianus shows in this respect a mixture of the annalistic and the Thucydidean method. He depended also for historical information on the *Diary* of Magnus of Carrhae; and in his excursions he made use of Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, Solinus, Ptolemy, and others, as well as of the official lists of the provinces (*Notitiae*).

In addition to his literary sources Ammianus relied for a considerable part of his work on his own [p. xviii] observation and personal experiences, and it

is these that give his work its greatest charm. It is evident that he wished to write a history, rather than follow the biographical treatment which had been popular since the time of Suetonius; he speaks with scorn of those who, *detestantes ut venena doctrinas*, read only Juvenal and Marius Maximus. Yet he could not wholly escape the influence of the followers of Suetonius; he has a biographical sketch of each of the emperors and Caesars included in his History, besides an encomium of the eunuch Eutharius, but he did not follow any fixed form of biographical composition. He also disapproved of the epitomes which were fashionable in his day, yet he did not hesitate to draw on Eutropius, Rufius Festus, and Aurelius Victor.

Ammianus aimed at strict truthfulness without suppressing anything that was well authenticated or indulging in deliberate invention, faults which he censures in his criticism of the official reports of the emperor Constantius; and he avoided exaggeration. Although he recognised the danger of speaking freely and frankly of recent or contemporary [p. xix] personages and events, he does not profess to write *sine ira et studio*, but gives free expression to praise or blame; he did not hesitate to censure where censure was due, and he more than once finds faults even in his hero Julian. In the historical part of his work he may fairly be said to have attained his ideal of truthfulness; that he was less successful in his numerous excursions was due in part to lack of knowledge, and to some extent to an apparent desire to conceal the extent of his dependence upon literary sources. If he had heeded Livy's warning about digressions, his work would have been more uniformly successful. They could be omitted without interfering with the course of the narrative.

Ammianus wrote for Roman readers, and in particular for the leading literary circle of the Eternal City, of which Symmachus was a prominent member. It was for that reason, and not merely because he was continuing the narrative of Tacitus, that he wrote in Latin and not in his native language. His readers and hearers were of course *utriusque linguae periti*, but they knew their Roman literature and could appreciate and applaud his echoes of Livy, Cicero, and other greater writers of the past.

In modern times Gibbon found him sincere, modest, loyal to his superior officers, copious and authentic, an accurate and faithful guide. Mackail calls him an officer and a gentleman, worthy of a place among [p. xx] the great Roman historians. Seek praises his ability in depicting character, all but unexampled in ancient literature, and ranking him with the first historians of all time. In ancient times his work was little known; it is cited only once, by Priscian, who seems to have had no more of the History before him than we have to-day. Cassiodorus is said to have written out the entire work and to have imitated its author's style.

HIS STYLE.

That Ammianus gave great attention to the style of his work is evident. Klein's idea of the manner in which he composed the History seems plausible, namely, that he wrote his first draft in his natural Latin, using also from memory expressions which he had met in his wide reading. When he wished to publish, or recite, a part of it, he worked it over with particular attention to stylistic effect, drawing heavily on the results of his reading from the notes which he had collected. Being a soldier, he knew Latin as the official language of the army; he could speak, read, and write it, but he did not acquire a thorough mastery of it, the *Sprachgefühl* of a native Roman. As Pliny aptly says, *invenire praeclare, enuntiare magnifice interdum etiam barbari solent; disponere* [p. xxi] *apte, figurare varie nisi eruditis negatum est*. It was in particular Ammianus' attempt to decorate his style with ornaments of all kinds, drawn from every source, combined with his imitation of Tacitus, that produced his very extraordinary Latin; in the words of Kroll, "sein taciteisches Latein ist schwer zu verstehen, unleidlich geziert und überladen, eine Qual seiner Leser," a verdict in which the present translator would take exception only to the last clause. Some of his peculiarities are an unnatural word-order, attempted picturesque and poetic forms of expression, and a general striving for effect, due in part to the general taste of the time in which he lived, and in part to the custom of public recitations. There are colloquial features: the use of the comparative for the positive, of *quod* with the indicative for the accusative and the infinitive, of the present for the future, the imperfect for the pluperfect, and the pluperfect for a preterit; also improper uses of the subjunctive, and a disregard of the sequence of tenses. Naturally, characteristics of his native language appear; some of the peculiarities already noted may be traced to that source, as well as his extensive use of participial constructions.

In spite of all this, when we consider the high value which the Romans, even of late times, set upon form and rhetoric, it does not seem possible that the success of his public recitations was due solely to the content of his History, or that his style [p. xxii] could have been as offensive to his hearers as it is to the modern reader of his work.

Ammianus' attention to form is further shown by the rhythmical structure of his prose; for it has long since been observed that he regularly ended his clauses with metrical *clausulae*. These have recently been made the object of special study by Clark and Harmon, with the result that they have been found to be based upon accent and not upon quantity. The system which he uses was a simple one: between the last two accents of a phrase two or four unaccented syllables are placed, never one or three. Quantity makes no difference and final vowels are never elided; Greek words as a rule retain the Greek accent; *i* and *u* may be read either as vowels or as consonants. Of course it is possible

that in some instances the arrangement of syllables may be accidental, but the number of *clausulae* is too great to be other than designed. In spite of the simplicity of his system Ammianus has considerable variety in his endings, as is illustrated by Clark in the following scheme:

Cursus planus:

expediti6nis ev6ntus, xiv. 1, 1.

Ill6c transit6rus, xiv. 6, 16.

A6gyptum p6tens, xxii. 5, 5.

r6gna Pers6dis, xxiii. 5, 16.

Cursus tardus:

p6rtium 6nimis, xiv. 1, 1.

Instrum6nt non l6via, xiv. 6, 18.

[p. xxiii]

Cursus velox:

fr6gerat et lab6rum, xiv. 1, 1.

relat6iri quae aud6ret, xiv. 1, 6.

obi6cti sunt praeter m6rem, xiv. 2, 1.

A6gypto trucid6tur, xiv. 11, 32.

gram6nea prope r6vum, xxiv. 8, 7.

n6mine alloc6tus est, xv. 6, 3.

inc6nsas et habit6cula, xviii. 2, 19

ROMAN OFFICIALS IN THE TIME OF AMMIANUS.

The transformation of the Roman Empire into an oriental monarchy began in A.D. 284, when Diocletian became sole ruler. He abandoned all republican traditions and undertook the reorganisation of the civil and military administration. The process was continued by Constantine and his successors, until the government became a bureaucracy in the hands of a limited number of high officials. The powers and rank of these ministers varied during this period, and involve a number of difficult problems. For the sake of reasonable brevity the offices are described so far as possible as they were in the time of Ammianus.

Diocletian, realising that the rule of the vast empire was too great a task for one man, took Maximianus as his colleague, sharing with him also the title *Augustus*. The authority of the two *Augusti* was equal and all laws and edicts were issued in their common name, but practically the empire was divided into two parts, Diocletian ruling the East, with his headquarters at Nicomedia, Maximian [p. xxiv] the West, at Mediolanum. The *Augusti* were not accountable to any legislative body or magistrate. They wore the imperial diadem and a robe trimmed with jewels, and an elaborate ceremonial was required of all who approached them. Everything connected with the emperor was called *sacer*, *sanctissimus*, or *divinus*.

Nine years after Diocletian became emperor he and Maximian chose two Caesars, who stood next to themselves in rank and dignity; they were, however, dependents of the *Augusti*, having no authority except what was conferred upon them by their superiors, and receiving a fixed salary. The administration of the empire was then divided into four parts; Diocletian took Thrace, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and assigned to Galerius, the Caesar whom he had nominated, the Danubian provinces, Illyricum, Greece, and Crete; Maximian governed Italy and Africa; Constantius, his Caesar, ruled Gaul, Spain, and after 296 Britain. This division was only for administrative purposes; the empire in reality consisted of two parts, of which the two *Augusti* were the supreme rulers.

The main purpose of the institution of the Caesars was to provide for the succession, and it was a part of the plan that when one of the *Augusti* died or resigned, his place should be filled by one of the Caesars, who at the time of their appointment were adopted by the *Augusti*. When Diocletian and Maximian retired in 306, a series of wars followed among the Caesars and the *Augusti*. In that year Constantine I, later surnamed the Great, assumed the title of Caesar, which was acknowledged by [p. xxv] Galerius; in 308 he was declared Augustus along with Galerius, and Severus and Maximinus were chosen as Caesars. Maxentius, son of Maximian, was proclaimed Augustus by the troops at Rome, but was not acknowledged by the other *Augusti* and Caesars; he defeated and slew Severus in Italy, whereupon Licinius was made

an Augustus by Galerius. In 308 there were four *Augusti*: Constantine, Galerius, Licinius, and Maximinus, in addition to the usurper Maxentius. A series of wars followed. Maximinus was defeated by Licinius and died shortly afterward; Galerius had died in 311. Constantine defeated Maxentius at Saxa Rubra in 312 and reigned for a time with Licinius. After two wars, with a brief interval of peace, Constantine defeated Licinius at Adrianople and Chalcedon in 324. In that year he became sole Augustus, with his sons Crispus, Constantine and Constantius as Caesars; in 335 Delmatius and Hannibalianus were added to the list of Caesars, making five in all.

Constantine ruled alone until his death in 337, when his sons Constantinus II, Constantius II, and Constans were declared *Augusti*; Crispus had in the meantime fallen victim to the jealousy of Fausta, his stepmother, and Delmatius and Hannibalianus were now put to death. In 340 war broke out between Constantinus II and Constans; the former was defeated and slain, and Constans became sole emperor in the West. In 350 Constans died, and three usurpers appeared: Magnentius in Gaul, Nepontianus at Rome, and Vetranio at Mursa in Pannonia. The last two were quickly [p. xxvi] disposed of; Nepontianus was killed in less than a month after his elevation to the supreme rank, and Vetranio was defeated and deposed by Constantius after ten months. The contest with Magnentius, who had appointed his brother Decentius to the position of Caesar, lasted for three years; Constantius defeated the usurper at Mursa and drove him into Gaul, where Magnentius was again defeated and took his own life. Constantius ruled as sole Augustus until 361; in 351, while the war with Magnentius was still going on, he had conferred the rank of Caesar on his cousin Gallus and sent him to the East, to carry on war against the Persians. With Gallus' arrogance and cruelty at Antioch the extant part of Ammianus' narrative begins.

After Constantius became sole emperor his authority was supreme, but the four-fold administrative division of the empire into the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul was continued; the divisions were called prefectures, and were governed by praetorian prefects, resident at Constantinople, which Constantine had made the capital of the empire in 330; at Sirmium; at Mediolanum (Milan); and at Treveri (Trèves) or at Eboracum (York). The prefectures were divided into dioceses, and the dioceses into provinces; the provinces were under the charge of a governor called *consularis*, *corrector*, or *praeses*. There were thirteen dioceses and 101 [p. xxvii] provinces (compared with 45 in Hadrian's time), a number which was later increased to about 120.

The purpose of these divisions and of the consequent increase in the number of these and of other officials was to prevent any officer from becoming powerful enough to start a revolution and interfere with the regular succession to imperial power. The same end was sought by a sharp division between civil and military authority, and by the fact that the competence of the various official groups was not always clearly defined, which led to jealousy and rivalry among the officers. Also the subordinates of the higher

officials were appointed by the emperor, and the conduct of their superiors was besides watched and reported to the Augustus by a corps of secret service men, the *agentes in rebus*. The effect of all this, and the elaborate ceremonial required in order to approach the emperor, removed him from contact with his subjects and enhanced his dignity and majesty; at the same time he was unable to hear the complaints of the people, since the officials, who often enriched themselves at the expense of the provincials, concealed one another's [p. xxviii] misdemeanors. In fact, the emperor, although in theory all-powerful, was actually a tool in the hands of a hierarchy of powerful ministers; the real control was exercised by the highest civil and military officers, and those in charge of the affairs of the imperial household.

The entire body of officials was divided into a number of grades, each with its own title. All officers who held positions of sufficient importance became members of the senatorial order, with the title *clarissimi*, which was also held by the two higher grades. A smaller group of higher officials had the title *spectabiles*, and a third body, including only the heads of the various administrative departments, made up the *illustres*. The title *nobilissimus* was reserved for the members of the imperial family. Two classes ranking below the *clarissimi* were the *perfectissimi* and the *egregii*; these included only a small number of officials, and the titles gradually went out of use.

Two other orders of a somewhat different character were created by Constantine. A purely honorary title, *patricius*, was open only to those who had held the positions of praetorian prefect, city prefect, commander-in-chief of the army, or *consul ordinarius*. It was held for life and its possessor took precedence of all officials except consuls in office.

To the *comites*, originally merely the companions of an emperor or high official on his travels, Constantine gave importance by making *comes* (count) a title of honour conferred upon the holders of some public offices, or conferred as a reward for service [p. xxix] The counts were attached to the emperor and the ruling house, but it was a natural and easy step to assign them various duties as the emperor's deputies, both in a civil and in a military capacity. There were three grades (*comites primi, secundi, et tertii ordinis*), and counts appear among the *illustres*, the *spectabiles*, and the *clarissimi*. Like other officials, they were variously designated as in actual service (*in actu positi*); as *vacantes*, men of inferior position who on retiring from office were given the rank and insignia of counts as a reward for good service; and as *honorarii*, who received the title by imperial favour or by purchase, but did not have the right to wear the insignia.

The emperors gathered about them a body of advisers, which entirely superseded the senate in importance. It was first called the *auditorium* or *consilium principis*, but Constantine gave it the title of *consistorium principis* or *sacrum consistorium*; *consistorium* does not appear in inscriptions until 353, and Ammianus seems to be the first writer to use the word. There is difference of opinion as to its membership. It was composed mainly of the [p.

xxx] heads of the various departments of administration, certainly of those most intimately connected with the imperial household (*dignitates palatinae*): the Minister of Finance (*comes sacrarum largitionum*), the Minister of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*), the Quaestor (*quaestor sacri palatii*), who was the emperor's legal adviser, and the Master of the Offices. The prefect, whose seat of government was at the capital (*praefectus praetorio praesens*), was probably a member, as well as the Grand Chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*), and some officials of the grade *spectabilis*. The members of the council were called *comites consistoriani* or simply *consistoriani*. It was presided over by the emperor, or in his absence by the Quaestor, who was obliged to give his decisions in writing; the proceedings were taken down by secretaries and stenographers (*notarii*).

Since the consulship was often held by the emperor, that office was one of high honour and the consul in office ranked next to the emperor himself, above the *patricii* and the prefects. The consuls, however, had little actual power. On the day of their accession to office they held a procession, which the [p. xxxi] emperor himself attended, exhibited games, and freed slaves. The title *consularis*, which was the highest title held by the governors of the provinces, did not necessarily imply that its holder was an ex-consul.

The Praetorian Prefect (*praefectus praetorio*) in the time of Augustus was a military officer, the commander of the praetorian cohorts in Rome, which formed the emperor's body-guard. It was the highest grade in the equestrian *cursus honorum*, and its holder gradually acquired great power. Sejanus was practically the ruler of Rome during the absence of Tiberius, and Titus, although of senatorial rank, assumed the office in order to increase his authority and to have a freer hand. There were ordinarily two prefects, although occasionally there was only one, and in the latter part of the reign of Commodus there were three.

This official, as time went on, became more prominent as a judge and in a civil capacity, and under Septimius Severus and Gallienus he was practically a civil minister, although he retained some vestiges of military authority even under Diocletian. When Constantine abolished the praetorian guard and replaced it by the *scholae Palatinae*, the dignity and rank of the prefect survived and he became the highest civil servant of the emperor, without any participation in military affairs. He was appointed for an indefinite period, but because of his great [p. xxxii] power he was seldom kept in office for more than a year. Constantine also appointed a *praefectus per Gallias* and a *praefectus per Orientem*, and to these a *praefectus per Illyricum* was later added, so that each of the four grand divisions of the empire was governed by a prefect. The prefect had a number of *vicarii*, each of whom governed one of the dioceses into which his prefecture was divided.

In spite of various restrictions the power of a prefect was very extensive. His office, like that of the other *illustres*, was large and well organized, with assistants, recorders, clerks, shorthand writers and mounted messengers. From

the time of Alexander Severus he was a member of the senate. He had complete control of the general tax ordered by the emperor (*indictio*), and through his subordinates took part in levying it; he held court as the emperor's representative; he issued edicts, which had the same force as those of the emperor, unless they were annulled by the Augustus; he supervised the governors and judges of the provinces, proposed their names, and paid their salaries; and he had a general supervision of the grain supplies, manufactures, coinage, roads and courier-service (*cursus publicus*). His insignia were a lofty chariot, a golden pen-case, a silver inkstand, and a silver tripod and bowl for receiving petitions. He wore a cloak like that of the emperor, except that it [p. xxxiii] reached to the knees instead of to the feet; as a mark of his former military rank he carried a sword. Of the four praetorian prefects one who was resident at the court of an emperor or a Caesar seems to have been called *praesens* or *praesentalis*, if the number of *Augusti* and Caesars was less than four.

The Prefect of the City (*praefectus urbis*) in early times had charge of the city of Rome during the absence of the king or the consuls. His duties and powers were gradually taken over by the city praetor (*praetor urbanus*), until Augustus revived the office, in order to provide for the government of Rome during his absence. Under Tiberius, because of his long stay at Capri, the office became a permanent one, and it increased in power and importance until the City Prefect ranked next to the Praetorian. He had command of the city troops (*cohortes urbanae*) and general charge of the policing of the city. In addition to this he had a number of officers under his supervision, through whom he managed the census, the markets, and the granaries, and had power over all the corporations and guilds which carried on business in the city. Within the hundredth milestone he had supreme judicial, military, and administrative power. He convoked and presided over the senate, and made known its wishes to the [p. xxxiv] emperor. His insignia were twelve fasces, he wore the toga, and shared with the praetorian prefect alone the privilege of using a chariot within the city. There was also a city prefect at Constantinople (xxvi. 7, 2) with corresponding powers.

In very early times the Master of the Horse (*magister equitum*) was an assistant of the dictator, and was appointed by him; he played a particularly important part between 49 and 44 B.C., because of the frequent absence of the dictator Caesar from Italy. Augustus transferred the powers of this official to the *praefectus praetorio*, who exercised them for a long time. Constantine in the early part of his reign, for the purpose of limiting the powers of the praetorian prefect, revived the office by appointing two commanders-in-chief of the military forces of the empire, one of the cavalry (*magister equitum*), the other of the infantry (*magister peditum*). From the middle of the fourth century these two officers began to be called *magistri equitum et peditum*, or *magistri utriusque militiae*, and finally, *magistri militum*. Ammianus uses both titles, as well as *magister armorum*, *magister rei castrensis* and *pedestrus*

militiae rector. Constantius added three more *magistri militum*, for the Orient, Gaul, and Illyricum, and in the *Notitia Dignitatum* we find five in the Eastern, and three in the Western Empire.

With the appointment of these officers the [p. xxxv] organisation of the army was changed. The *limitanei*, who guarded the boundaries of the empire, were diminished in number, while the *comitatenses*, or field-troops under command of the several *magistri militum*, and the *palatini*, attached to the court and commanded by the Master of the Offices, were increased. The *magistri militum* were the judges of the army under their control, and had the power of jurisdiction even in some civil cases involving their soldiers; but their civil powers were very strictly limited, and in civil matters the decision ordinarily rested with the provincial judges; an appeal from their decision went to the *praefectus praetorio*, and not to the *magister militum*. The *magistri militum* were judges over their subordinates, the *comites rei castrensis* and the *duces*, but not over the subordinates of the *comites* and *duces*. They could not move troops from one part of the empire to another, without the emperor's order, except in case of a very great emergency.

Next in rank to these three officials was the Grand Chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*). Chamberlains are first mentioned in connection with Julius Caesar's capture by the pirates ; four years later Cicero alludes to them in such a way as to imply that they were regular members of the families of the wealthier citizens; they had considerable importance as personal attendants of the governors [p. xxxvi] of provinces, but were not members of their official staff. When Augustus reorganized the palace service, the chamberlains formed a corps under the headship of an officer called *a cubiculo*, who was in close touch with the emperor, later sometimes his companion and confidant, and hence gradually acquired wide influence. Another official of the corps is perhaps the *decurio cubiculariorum*, mentioned by Suetonius in connection with the murder of Domitian. The *praepositi* of the time of Ammianus were eunuchs, and as constant companions of the emperor they had great power; in one instance a *praepositus* who confessed that he had taken part in a conspiracy escaped punishment through the intervention of his fellow eunuchs, and Ammianus ironically says that the emperor Constantius had considerable influence, if the truth be told, with Eusebius, his Grand Chamberlain.

The Grand Chamberlain had a considerable body of subordinates, all of whom were employed in the personal service of the emperor; the *primicerius sacri cubiculi* was the head of those who served as the chamberlains of the emperor's apartment, and the *comes castrensis sacri palatii* of all who were not chamberlains, such as pages, and the throng of palace servants; other subordinates, with [p. xxxvii] appropriate titles, had charge of the royal wardrobe, of necessary repairs in the palace, and the keeping of any noise from reaching the imperial apartments (the *silentiarii*).

Another important official in close contact with the imperial household was

the Master of the Offices (*magister officiorum*). In 321 and 323 we hear of a *tribunus et magister officiorum*, so that the office goes back at least as far as Constantine, although the earliest *magister* who appears in inscriptions held office in 346. Since *tribunus* implies military service, the office is supposed to have originated when Diocletian organized the *officiates* of the palace on a military basis and chose the senior tribune of the praetorian guard to take charge of the various corps of palace attendants, and also to command the soldiers attached to the court. As one of the *dignitates palatinae* the functions of the Master of the Offices came in conflict with those of the Praetorian Prefect, whose power he still further curtailed, and to some extent with those of the Grand Chamberlain. Besides being in command of the five *scholae* of the palace guards, he had supervision over the chiefs of the four imperial *scrinia*, or correspondence bureaus, and over the *schola* of the *agentes in rebus*, [p. xxxviii] and he also had charge of the *cursus publicus*, or state courier-service. The management of this was at first in the hands of the Praetorian Prefect, but was transferred under Constantine to the Master of the Offices. This control of the means of conveying state dispatches and persons travelling on state business throughout the empire was a very important one, since it included the right to issue passes giving the privilege of using the *cursus*. It brought the Master into frequent collision with the Praetorian Prefect, but the Master had the superior supervision.

The Master of the Offices also had control of the great arsenals and manufactories of arms of Italy, and in particular it was through him that imperial audiences were obtained, and that the ambassadors of foreign powers were received and introduced. Actual entrance into the audience-chamber was under the direction of a *magister admissionum*, and a corps of *admissionales*; in the cases of distinguished applicants for audience the *magister admissionum* functioned and in very exceptional cases the *magister officiorum* himself, regularly in the case of women of distinction. He had a very large corps of assistants and subordinates; his duties were very complex and important, and he was one of the most powerful officials.

The *Quaestor Sacri Palatii* was also numbered among the *dignitates palatinae* and was in close touch with the emperor. In the days of Augustus the quaestorship was the lowest office that gave [p. xxxix] admission to the senate. It was given additional prestige by the arrangement by which some of its occupants were selected by the emperor himself (called *quaestores candidati* or *quaestores Augusti*, or *principis*), and because one of them was regularly attached to the person of the ruler, to read his letters and other communications to the senate. As the emperor's letters came more and more to have the force of laws and edicts, the Quaestor was considered a legal officer connected with civil jurisprudence, and ranked as one of the highest officials of the court. He had the rank of Count and at the end of the fourth century became an *illustris*. His duties required him to be the mouthpiece of the emperor, and to suggest to the ruler anything that would be for the welfare

of the state. He had the right to suggest laws and to answer petitions addressed to the emperor. It was therefore necessary that he should be a trained jurist, in order to be an exact and just interpreter of the law. He also had the supervision of every one who entered the capital; he made inquiries into the character of all who came from the provinces, and found out from what provinces they came and for what reasons, the purpose being to prevent worthless men from taking up their residence in the city.

Theodoric wrote to the senate with regard to the office of Quaestor: "It is only men whom we consider to be of the highest learning that we raise [p. xl] to the dignity of the quaestorship, such men as are fitted to be the interpreters of the laws and sharers of our counsels," and Claudian said of that official "thou comest to give edicts to the world, to make reply to suppliants. A monarch's utterance has won dignity from thine eloquence."

The Count of the Sacred Largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*) was the Minister of Finance, who controlled the revenues of the state, except those which passed into the hands of the prefects, the Count of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*), the Quaestor, and the Master of the Offices. He had supreme charge of the *sacrum aerarium*, or state treasury, including the former *aerarium* and *fiscus*, exerting it in the provinces through his subordinates, the *comites largitionum*, of whom there was one for each diocese. The latter had subordinates called *rationales summarum*, each of whom collected the money and taxes either of his whole diocese or of a great part of it.

The *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* also had under his supervision numerous direct and indirect taxes, and the revenues from the provinces were sent to him by the first of March. Through subordinates he had control of the sea-coasts and of merchants, who could not go beyond certain cities prescribed by law; and the trading in salt, which was a government monopoly, was under his direct supervision, [p. xli] including the granting of licences for the working of the public salt mines, the revenues from which were under his control. Through other subordinates he had charge of the banks in the various provinces, in which the money that was collected was kept until it was sent to him. He controlled the other mines and those who worked in them, the coinage, and the mints. He was general superintendent of the imperial factories, the employees in which could not engage in private work and were hereditarily confined to their special trades; they were under the direct charge of *procuratores*.

He also had judicial control over his subordinates and the power of confirming the appointments of some judges in the provinces. As his title implies, he administered the bounties of the emperor (the *largitiones*). The disposition of the money under his charge was entirely dependent on the good will of the emperor, either in meeting the demands of the various necessities of state, or in giving presents, or in conferring rewards.

Like the other high officials he had in his office a great number of bureaus

of correspondence (*scrinia*) consisting of officials who received the payments made each year by the provinces; kept accounts of the *sacrae largitiones* through *tabularii*; made out the fiscal accounts and supervised the *largitiones*; had charge of all the expenditures for clothing needed in the palace and for the soldiers, whether they belonged to the palace troops or not, of the silverware of the palace, and the like.

The Count of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*) had charge of the *aerarium privatum*, [p. xlii] consisting both of the *res privatae*, the inalienable crown property, and the *patrimonium sacrum*, the private and personal property of the emperor, which could be inherited by his family. His subordinates were at first the *magistri* (later the *rationales*) *rei privatae*, one for each diocese or province, who took care of all finances within their province, including lands belonging to the temples, and kept a record of the income. He had the superintendence through his *rationales* of the government estates, both at home and in the provinces, as well as of the revenues from estates which were especially assigned to the imperial house. The *res privatae* at this time included also the confiscated property of men who had been condemned or proscribed, which before Tiberius had gone to the state treasury (*aerarium*), as well as all deposited money which because of long lapse of time had no claimant, and property for which there were no heirs.

The Count of the Privy Purse also superintended the collectors of the rents of the imperial property in the provinces, and of the gifts of silver or gold demanded in time of need from those to whom the emperors had made presents of real estate, which was free from taxation.

To the *dignitates palatinae*, or offices whose duties did not call their holders away from the capital, might be added the Counts of the Body Guard (*comes domesticorum equitum* and *comes domesticorum peditum*), who are placed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* immediately after the *Comes rerum privatarum*, although they were not always *illustres*, but sometimes held that rank. With the *domestici* [p. xliii] the *protectores* are sometimes coupled, and when Constantine in 312 disbanded the praetorian troops, he gave their rank and duties to the *protectores et domestici*. Thus we have two kinds of palace troops: the *scholae palatinae* under the command of the Master of the Offices, and two corps of *protectores et domestici*, who ranked higher than the members of the *scholae palatinae* and were commanded by the *comites domesticorum*. Ammianus is the first to refer to the *protectores* and *domestici* as also divided into *scholae*. These consisted of ten divisions of fifty men each, commanded by *decemprimi*, of the rank *clarissimus*, and these were under the supervision of a *primicerius*, of the grade *spectabilis*; the *protectores* themselves ranked as *perfectissimi*.

In addition to accompanying the emperor when he went abroad, the *protectores* and *domestici* were sent to the provinces to perform various public services, although a part had to be always *in praesenti*, or at court. Sometimes, as in the case of Ammianus, they were sent to a *magister militum*

and placed under his orders. Whenever they were sent abroad, their pay, which was already large, was increased.

Tribunus is a title of various military officers in connection with the *domestici*, the *armaturae*, the *scutarii*, and the *protectores*; also of officers in charge of manufactories of arms and of the imperial stables. As has already been noted, the title was [p. xlv] given also to civil officials, such as the higher in rank of the *notarii*. *Tribuni vacantes* had the title and rank of *tribuni* without a special assignment.

For further information see Index II, which sometimes supplements also the notes on the Text.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

There are twelve manuscripts that contain all the surviving books of Ammianus. Two break off at the end of Book xxvi. (PR). and one ends abruptly at xxv. 3, 13 (D). There are besides six detached sheets which once formed part of a codex belonging to the abbey of Hersfeld; these are now in Kassel, and the manuscript to which they belonged is designated as M. Of the other fifteen manuscripts seven are in Rome (VDYEURP), one each in Florence (F), Modena (Q), Cesena (K), and Venice (W), and the remaining four in Paris (CHTN). V and M are of the ninth century, the rest of the fifteenth. A full description of all these and their relations to one another is given by Clark, who has convincingly shown that of the existing manuscripts only V has independent value. To this are added the readings of M, so far as that manuscript has been preserved, and so far as the readings of its lost part can be restored from the edition of Gelenius, who professed [p. xlv] to follow M, but made extensive emendations of his own.

Clark reconstructs the history of the text as follows. A capital manuscript, presumably of the sixth century, was copied, probably in Germany by a writer using the *scriptura Scottica*. In the early Caroline period a copy was made from this insular manuscript, which is the parent of V (*Fuldensis*), and of the one of which the Hersfeld fragments formed a part (M). No copy of the *Hersfeldensis* exists, but many of its readings are found in the edition of Gelenius. Every other manuscript is copied from the *Fuldensis* (V), four directly (FDN and E), and the other nine through F, including Gardthausen's *codices mutili* (P and R), which are copies of V at two removes at least.

Since the text of V is in bad shape, with numerous *lacunae*, some of the readings of the early editions are of value. The first printed edition (S) was that of Sabinus, Rome, 1474, containing Books xiv.-xxvi.; it is a reprint of R, the poorest manuscript in existence, and hence of little or no value. The next (B), that of Petrus Castellus, Bologna, 1517, was a reprint of S, in which the text was further debased by irresponsible emendations, which vitiated all the subsequent history of the text of Books xiv.-xxvi. A pirated reprint of B by Erasmus (b) was published at Basle in 1518.

The first improvement dates from the edition of Accursius (A), Augsburg, May, 1533, who used a manuscript copied from V and corrected from a copy of E, which is itself a transcript of V emended by a humanist. A still greater improvement was [p. xlv] made by the edition of Gelenius, Basle, July, 1533, who also was partly dependent on the copy of E, but had access besides to the purer tradition of M.

Subsequent editions were those of Gruter, 1611, who corrected his text from V; of Lindenbrog, Hamburg, 1609, who made use of F and first provided the text with explanatory notes; of Henricus Valesius, Paris, 1636, whose annotations formed the basis of all later commentaries, while his brilliant

scholarship and critical acumen led him to make numerous correct emendations, with the help of N (his *codex Regius*). He also recognised the existence of metrical *clausulae*, and says three or four times that certain emendations do not correspond with these. His punctuation also seems to take account of the *clausulae*, and hence is often the same as that of Clark. Also important are the editions of Wagner and Erfurdt, Leipzig, 1808, with a collection of the best material in previous commentaries, and of Ernesti, Leipzig, 1773, with a useful *index verborum*, which, however, is not complete, and gives only the numbers of the chapters, without those of the sections, a practice especially exasperating in the long chapters.

The critical study of the text begins with the edition of Henricus Valesius. His younger brother Hadrianus in his edition (Paris, 1681) had the use of two additional manuscripts, C and the codex Valentinus, which is now lost. Later editors were content with the readings of these editions until [p. xlvi] 1871, when Eyssenhardt published his text at Berlin, which was followed in 1874–75 by that of Gardthausen (Leipzig). The latter was the first to use the *Petrinus* (P), which he thought was written before V came into Italy, from an archetype on a plane with V, and that a copy of V, corrected from M, was the archetype of E and of Accursius' codex. His readings of P are often erroneous, and it is now recognized, as already said, that P does not represent a tradition independent of V. The standard critical edition is that of C. U. Clark, of which volume one, containing Books xiv.-xxv., and volume two, part one, containing xxiv.-xxxi., were published at Berlin in 1910 and 1915 respectively. The second part of volume two, the indices, has not yet appeared.

[p. xlvi]

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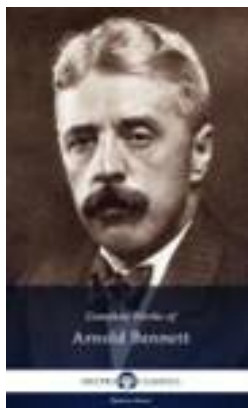
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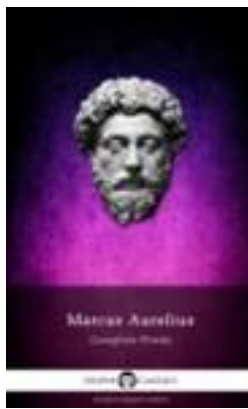
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One Thousand and One Nights
R. Austin Freeman
Rafael Sabatini
Saki
Samuel Pepys
Sir Issac Newton
Stanley J. Weyman
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Middleton
Voltaire
William Hazlitt
William Hope Hodgson



Ancient Classics

Aeschylus
Ammianus Marcellinus
Apollodorus
Appian
Apuleius
Apollonius of Rhodes
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arrian
Bede
Cassius Dio
Catullus
Cicero
Clement of Alexandria
Demosthenes
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Euripides
Frontius
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hippocrates
Homer
Horace
Josephus
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Livy
Longus
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Marcus Aurelius
Martial
Nonnus
Ovid

Pausanias
Petronius
Pindar
Plato
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Propertius
Quintus Smyrnaeus
Sallust
Sappho
Seneca the Younger
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Statius
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Suetonius
Tacitus
Terence
Theocritus
Thucydides
Tibullus
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Xenophon



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Luís de Camões
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Sir Walter Raleigh
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Michelangelo
Paul Cézanne
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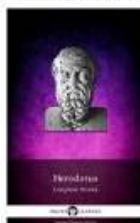
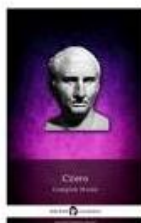
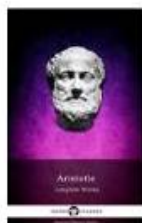
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